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S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS
(991)

MARCH — APRIL

Philosophical Method

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I argue that the method of conjecture and refutation proposed by Popper for science, is, as a method, effective and sufficient for philosophy. The method is effective in those fields of philosophy where truth is fundamental to the first order theories, and to the philosophical theory, such as epistemology, philosophy of science, philosophy of language, philosophy of psychology &c. It is true then most of what Popper says about method and the nature of philosophy in Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature is false. Sceptics such as Wittgenstein are also refuted.

NP forms branch in coloured area

Political Reporter

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The National Party established a branch in Pretoria's coloured Eersterus township this week.

NP spokesman Sheila Camerer said the meeting had been held at the request of residents. Forty-five attended.

Newly elected branch chairman Russel Leyds said: "The political direction taken by President de Klerk motivated us to take this initiative so that we can have a real say in our future." *St- 1/3/91*

MEC Tjol Lategan told the meeting that formation of the branch was proof that the NP was serious about bringing together people who belonged together.

Ms Camerer said requests to start branches in other areas had been received and that the NP would continue to sign up members who subscribed to the party's principles and values.

DEMOCRACY FM 11/3/91 304A OSCAR CEREMONY

Picture it: representatives of every significant political grouping in SA — except the Conservative Party (CP) and the AWB — hands joined, praying for peace.

Sounds unlikely, even impossible, but it happened in Cape Town this week during one of the most remarkable political gatherings since President F W de Klerk ushered in the new SA more than a year ago.

It was the launch of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD), headed by former Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dhlomo. The impressive array of political leaders sharing drinks instead of swapping abuse stunned even the most cynical critics of SA's "institute industry."

The attendance and amicable chatter between guests at the subsequent cocktail party overshadowed — perhaps by design — the news value of Dhlomo's address to the gathering.

According to IMPD national director Saths Cooper, there were representatives from the ANC, the PAC, the NP, Azapo, the SACP, the Afrikaner Volkswag, the DP, the Labour Party (LP), Inkatha, Solidarity, the National People's Party (NPP) and Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement.

Dhlomo believes it was the most represen-

tative cross-section of political opinion ever assembled.

And it is understood that De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi would have attended had a logistical hitch not forced a change of plan.

The NP was represented by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, while other high-profile dignitaries included PAC leader Benny Alexander, Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, ANC executive committee members Pallo Jordan and Aziz Pahad, LP leader Alan Hendrickse, Solidarity's J N Reddy and NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi.

The diplomatic corps was there in force and included the ambassadors of the US, Britain, Germany, Italy, France, Canada and Australia.

The combination of Dhlomo as executive chairman and Cooper (a former Azapo president) as Johannesburg-based national director, is further evidence of what the institute has already achieved in reconciling political differences.



Dhlomo

The IMPD's aim is to promote the establishment and maintenance of multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in SA. Its formation followed nearly a year of groundwork, in which all significant political groupings — including the CP — were

briefed on and who expressed support for its aims. Leaders of many of the organisations took part in two seminars, at which the institute's aims were discussed in detail.

Dhlomo says the IMPD wants to develop a "covenant on democracy" in conjunction with political organisations to clarify the precise meaning of multi-party democracy and then get the organisations to commit themselves to the covenant.

He says the IMPD will be non-aligned. It is funded mainly by overseas institutes and foreign governments — not by choice, but through necessity.

"It is ironic indeed that we have found ourselves in a situation in which foreign foundations, governments and institutes gave more generously and cared more deeply about the development of a genuine multi-party democracy in SA than did South African businessmen. These are the same businessmen who look forward to doing business in a stable and democratic socio-political environment in the not-too-distant future."

Dhlomo believes there is room for the institute and that it will not duplicate the work of others or compete for the same funds.

He says that it differs in that its trustees represent a "uniquely wide range of socio-political thinking" in SA; it is politically non-aligned; its primary aim is mass education rather than high-profile conferences involving leadership elites; and it is a black initia-

tive, which will widen its scope and effectiveness compared to most other "advocacy organisations" which tend to be white initiatives.

There's no doubt that it got off to an impressive start, but the real work lies ahead. Establishing a democratic culture in a country that's never known one is no easy task. ■

Right out of the political picture?

It's simply wishful thinking

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W/M and 1/3 - 7/3/91

A NUMBER of commentators have recently concluded that the South African political right is on the way out.

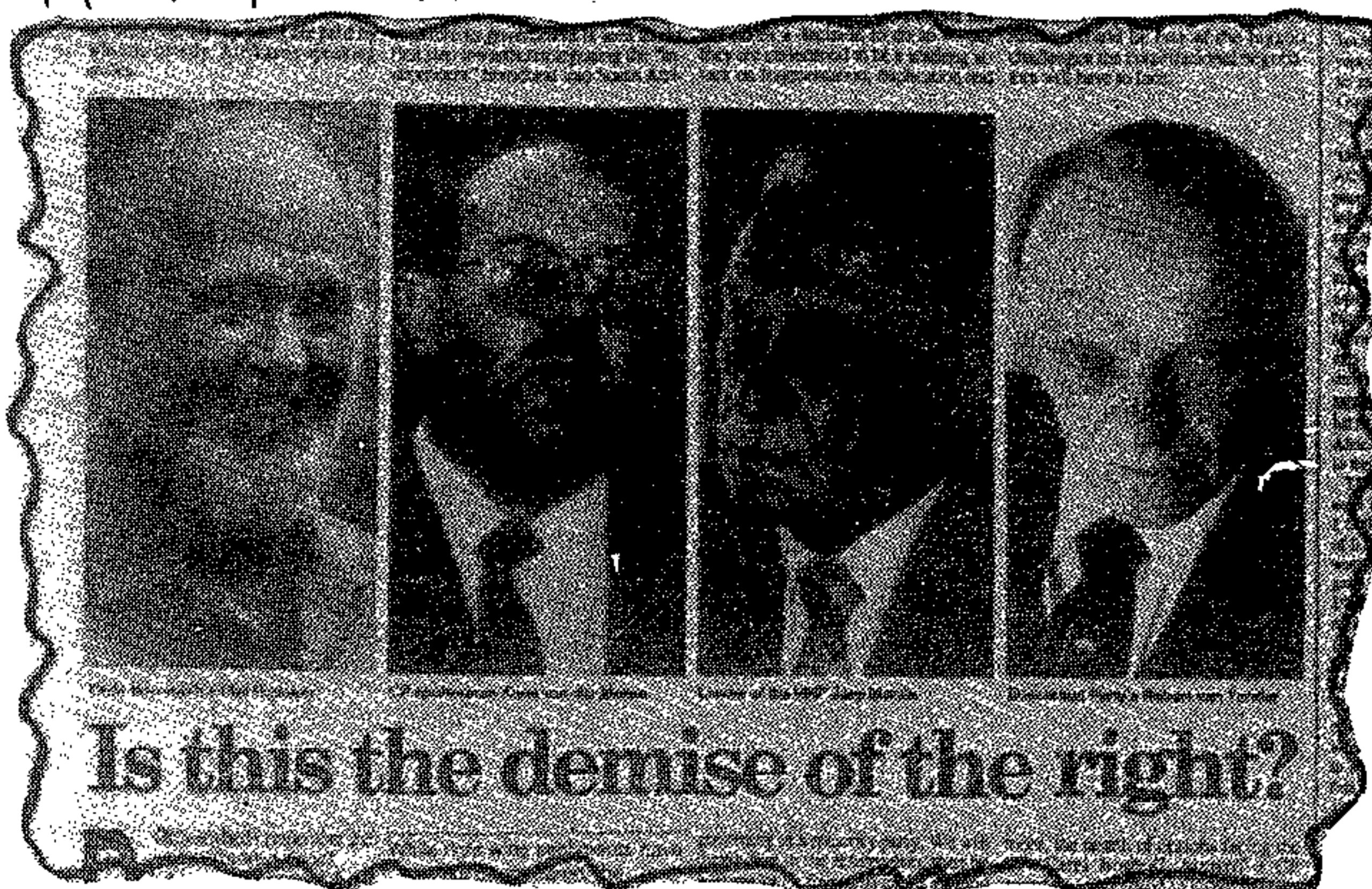
Writing in last week's *Weekly Mail* Phillip van Niekerk states that President FW de Klerk has successfully called their bluff and describes the Boerestaat Party's Robert van Tonder and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche as "pale shadows of their former selves".

It is comforting to imagine that we are witnessing the demise of a reactionary racism in the face of a rampant non-racialism as the absence of the political right from the political scene would certainly simplify the process of creating a credible and lasting peace. But however tempting this assumption might appear, it is riddled with difficulties and reflects the populist assumption embodied in the dictum "out of sight, out of mind".

There has unquestionably been a tapering off in the visible (in particular black terror) activities of the extra-parliamentary right in the last four months. But to interpret this as a decline in grassroots right-wing (fascist) sentiment is a totally different matter. Van Niekerk himself concedes and provides evidence that reactionary white sentiment continues to flourish in wider civil society and not simply in isolated letters in *The Citizen*.

Politically speaking, when the lack of right-wing unity is seen as a weakness, a crucial phenomenon of right-wing radicalism is misunderstood. It disregards the frantic behind-the-scenes search by various right-wing organisations for unity and the common opposition to "democratisation". The radicalisation in Conservative Party rhetoric and its position of political powerlessness under the current rules of the game provides the environment in which it could possibly play a unification role in right-wing politics.

The terror used by the extreme right (52 incidents of right-wing terror occurred in



Premature? An article last week argued that the rightwing is on its way out

The *Weekly Mail*'s Phillip van Niekerk argued last week that the white right is fading off the political scene. **WIM BOOYSE** disagrees

1990) was an initial attempt to halt De Klerk's "democratic revolution". The successful police clampdown, however slow on illegal activities of the extremist right (more than 91 right-wingers were detained in 1990 and the police have solved 84 percent of right-wing terrorist incidents) forced them to change their strategies.

Research indicates that the right has realised that they can not somersault into a revolution before proceeding through an organisational phase. (All revolutions in the 20th century have been characterised by the fact that an "organisational phase" is a

prerequisite for waging a revolution. The right's attempt to by-pass the organisational phase and to leap-frog into armed propaganda failed dismally.)

It is evident in recent developments that the right has adopted a temporary "defensive posture" in contrast to their vulgar offensive strategy of 1990. Weekend paramilitary training continues to take place and has increased substantially since October 1990. More than 130 weekend training camps were conducted by the "Wen Kommandos" in the above period.

Van Niekerk's assumptions are thus controverted by the facts on the ground. The threat to a credible peace in the country by the extreme right is in its infancy and one should not summarily dismiss embryonic but definite indications of a possible counter-revolution.

●Wim Booysse is a political risk consultant in Pretoria.

Laws of SA have no moral force over the masses

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1/11/91

W/Mail 113-713191

ONE of the major difficulties in the process leading up to negotiations is an attitude on the part of the government that its legitimacy as a government should not be brought into question. From the outset of the talks with the African National Congress it has adopted the attitude that "the law is the law" and that as the government of the day it has to uphold the statute book and rule the country as it sees fit.

Nobody expects the government to abandon the administration of the country without anything else to fill the gap that would be created. But for progress in the negotiations process to be uninterrupted, the government has to accept that the majority of South Africans do not recognise its right to rule over us. Nor do the laws — especially discriminatory and repressive laws — hold any moral force over the multitude in this country.

The agreement reached between the ANC and the government on February 12 1991 concerning the implications of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action and related activities is an important advance in this regard. It implicitly gives recognition to the fact that Umkhonto weSizwe exists as an army in this country.

The agreement states: "The Working Group noted the historical fact that the ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe had placed arms and cadres within the country." Yet the agreement does not compel the ANC to hand over arms and ammunition in the possession of MK inside the country. The agreement does not require of the ANC to shut down its military camps outside the country or to discontinue the building and training of its army at these bases.

Just what progress have the government and the ANC made since the signing of the Pretoria Minute?

MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA, executive committee member of the PWV branch of the ANC, reports

Noteworthy in the agreement is the government having explicitly conceded "that the population at large has a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations". Hopefully the government would give effect to this by ending its war against peaceful protest — or mass action, as we call it.

The agreement also calls on the security forces to "take cognisance of the suspension of armed actions and related activities". And, furthermore, establishes a joint liaison committee to investigate "all allegations of unlawful activities or activities contrary to the spirit of this agreement, by the security forces." Two very significant points arise here. Firstly, it directly brings into question the role of the security forces and secondly it compels the security forces to not only uphold "the law" but also very importantly the spirit of the agreement.

The ANC has agreed that the following would not take place: attacks by means of firearms, etc.; military training inside the country; infiltration of men and materiel; the creation of new underground MK structures, and threats of armed action. The agreement is a victory, for it now clears the way for the release of all political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles by April 30 1991 — the deadline set by the 1990 National Consultative Conference of the ANC.

All this with the ANC having finally succeeded in getting the government to accept that it has suspended armed actions and not terminated the armed struggle. The armed struggle will only be terminated when significant progress is made on the negotiations front. In terms of the Harare Declaration which embraces the ANC's perspective on negotiations (and indeed that of the international community), "armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated" only after the adoption of a new constitution.

This agreement breaks the biggest logjam in the talks between the ANC and the government thus far. It constitutes a victory for the ANC as the logjam was broken after five months of long and hard negotiations without it having to compromise on its strategic orientation.

The major concern, however, of ANC branches is that the Askaris and other killer squads have not been disbanded — nor have their activities been suspended. The activities of the notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau continued even after the ANC's suspension of armed action. All of these so-called special forces were set up to combat the democratic movement in general and the ANC in particular. That they continue their war of apartheid is evidenced by the death of ANC Jabulani Branch chairman and human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni. There is a genuine belief amongst our membership that the agreements signed on paper are not going to lead to the disbanding of the death squads.

The government must visibly disband the "counter-insurgency" units and "dirty-tricks" departments. Failing which the call from our membership on MK to provide armed defence will continue to intensify.

Reform has transformed the AAM,
reports Mike Siluma from London

Anti-apartheid groups begin to forge new roles

Star 1/3/91

4/23

304A

POLITICAL reforms introduced by the De Klerk Government over the past year have dramatically transformed the political terrain inside South Africa and precipitated a thaw in Pretoria's relations with most of the West.

Changes in South Africa have had no less of an impact on the world's anti-apartheid movement, which has for decades campaigned for the international isolation of Pretoria.

With the goal of a new and democratic South Africa at last on the horizon, the anti-apartheid movement is having to look beyond being a pressure group for change. It now has to find ways to play an active role in the building of a post-apartheid Southern Africa.

The first anti-apartheid movement was formed in Britain in 1960, out of the remnants of the South Africa Boycott Committee, itself created in response to ANC president Albert Lutuli's call for the boycott of South African goods. It later spread to America and most of Western Europe.

In addition a number of specialist anti-apartheid groups, working in concert with the AAM, were later formed. They include Southern Africa — The Imprisoned Society (campaigning for the release of political prisoners); the Committee on South African War Resistance (supporting exiled war resisters); and the Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

With many exiled conscientious objectors returning home, Cosawr dissolved itself last year.

But as far as the broader anti-apartheid movement is concerned, the struggle against apartheid will continue for some time, albeit with somewhat modified goals.

The secretary of the British AAM, Mike Terry, explained: "Previously our task was to complement the ANC's struggle to end apartheid. Now that the conditions exist in which a negotiated settle-

ment can be achieved, our priority is to ensure that the peace process in South Africa succeeds."

Abdul Minty, the Johannesburg-born anti-apartheid campaigner who is the director of the Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with SA, said the future role of the anti-apartheid movement would be decided by progress made in efforts to bring about a democratic society in South Africa, including the present talks between the ANC and the Government.

"Any decision on the future role of the movement would, obviously, be taken in consultation with anti-apartheid movements in other countries. Meanwhile, we have to make sure that sanctions which the international community has decided to maintain, such as the arms embargo, are strictly adhered to."

Beyond this, added Mr Minty, those opposed to apartheid would have to play a role in "addressing the legacy of apartheid" inside South Africa, including helping blacks overcome the effects of decades of discrimination, especially in education and training.

One organisation which has already decided to do this is the Commonwealth. A meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers decided this month that, while retaining sanctions to maintain the momentum of change inside South Africa, the 50-member community of nations should immediately set up a programme aimed at providing career training for black South Africans.

The ambitious scheme, expected to cost millions of rands and aimed at preparing blacks for senior government jobs, was decided upon after an intensive investigation into South Africa's present and future human resource needs.

Meanwhile, the future role of the European anti-apartheid movement is to be decided at a special meeting in London in July.

— Star Bureau. □

NP drive to promote its 'new SA'

THE NP has embarked on a publicity drive to sell the new SA.

More than a million pamphlets outlining the party's minimum requirements under a new dispensation would be distributed to homes over the next few weeks, the party's chief information director Renier Schoeman said yesterday. 51000 113-11.

Schoeman said each constituency would be issued with at least 6 000 pamphlets and could apply for more.

The pamphlets set out constitutional requirements stated by NP leaders, including President F W de Klerk.

These include a free market economy, an independent judiciary, well-

PATRICK BULGER

managed security forces, freedom to associate, a Bill of Rights and a political system that includes politicians upholding these values, and regular elections. (304A)

"At a time of rapid political development, the party's information service felt it necessary to restate certain important requirements," Schoeman said.

The pamphlet, he said, stated the party was irrevocably committed to the creation of a new and just SA and answered the question people were asking: What will the new SA look like?

Idasa's Borraine lashes Mandela on sanctions

THE ANC's position on sanctions is untenable, says Idasa executive director Alex Borraine.

In an editorial in Idasa's latest newsletter calling for the "urgent" end to sanctions, Borraine criticises ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on this issue. 30411 (11) (242)

Borraine writes that on the one hand the ANC rightly demands that reparations be made to those who have been severely discriminated against for so long.

On the other hand, Mandela insists

Political Staff

that sanctions cannot be lifted until there is a new constitution.

"But there is no way in which serious attention can be given to the plight of the dispossessed unless there is significant economic growth, and a new constitution is several years down the road. 8/10/91 1/3/91

"South Africa simply does not have the time to wait until then," he argues. "The new SA must start now."

Borraine writes that hand in hand

with progress on the negotiation front should go constant and urgent attention to the economic plight of the majority of South Africans.

F W de Klerk's "enlightened and courageous" decision to scrap the fundamental race laws which had bedevilled SA society for so long had led to the perception that he was being "rewarded" by a shift in the international community's stance on sanctions.

"And Mr Mandela is seen as the loser at a time when SA simply cannot afford winners or losers."

Treurnicht and Holomisa meet

CML- TWP 2/3/91 (11A) 304A

Political Staff

IN a surprise development in Parliament yesterday, Transkei Military Council chairman General Bantu Holomisa and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht held talks for the first time.

The meeting was a closely guarded secret until General Holomisa and his delegation swept into Parliament at 10.15am.

The four-hour discussions with the outspoken ANC supporter threaten to prove controversial for the CP as it approaches next Wednesday's Maitland by-election.

But Dr Treurnicht denied that General Holomisa's relationship with the ANC had any bearing on the discussions: "I did not talk with him as an ANC member, but as a head-of-state recognised by the govern-

ment of South Africa and other people of the country."

General Holomisa said after the meeting that he had initiated the talks as part of the process of "consulting each and every political party and organisation".

A variety of subjects had been discussed, he said.

He had briefed Dr Treurnicht on what Transkei "has achieved and what it is doing". The discussions had touched on a possible future constitution for South Africa and Transkei's referendum on reincorporation into the Republic.

All political philosophies had to be considered when South Africans got round the negotiating table, he said.

"It was my desire to approach the CP to share some views and listen to their wisdom as old people," said the general.

Asked how he reconciled his own political beliefs with meeting the CP, General Holomisa said he was anxious to hear from all people who represented South Africans and took a swipe at the National Party, saying it had "shifted the goalposts and taken on the stance of anti-apartheid activism".

Dr Treurnicht described it as a "very special private meeting".

He had used the occasion to explain the policies and philosophies of the CP.

They had differed on certain issues and fully agreed on others, he said.

General Holomisa said he hoped the CP would have an opportunity to present its case to a multi-party conference, but Dr Treurnicht said the "present state of affairs" in the country would make it extremely difficult for the CP to take part.

'Death of Rudolph will spark violence'

Star 2/3/91

RIGHT-WING hunger striker Piet "Skiet" Rudolph was "a martyr for the Afrikaner cause" and his death in jail could have violent repercussions, warned a number of right-wing political groups last night.

Now in his 25th day of a hunger strike at Pretoria Central Prison, the 55-year-old Orde Boerevolk leader is "frail and chalky white. He is dizzy and there have been dangerous signs of blood and protein in his urine", said Mr Rudolph's lawyer, Wim Cornelius, last night.

See PAGE 6

"If he dies in jail there will be repercussions. Thousands of CP supporters will make a martyr of him," said Conservative Party spokesman on justice Chris de Jager yesterday.

He said that he had asked the Government to prosecute or release Mr Rudolph on a number of occasions.

Mr de Jager said that right-wing groupings such as the CP, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Herstigte Nasionale Party would join forces.

Right-wing groupings have warned that they will avenge Mr Rudolph's death. There has also been a call for Afrikaners to show their solidarity and sympathy with the hunger strikers by join-

PAT DEVEREAUX and ADA STUJT

ing in a countrywide one-day hunger strike next Friday.

An AWB spokesman said last night: "Mr Eugene TerreBlanche has already said all hell will break loose if the Government does not meet the hunger strikers' demands. It will be worse if one of them dies."

Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, said: "We are perturbed that the Government is discriminating against these rightwingers on hunger strikes while they were very lenient with hunger strikers sympathetic to the ANC."

Mr Cornelius said he had visited five other right-wing hunger strikers, Darryl Stopforth, Arthur Archer, Craig Barker, Corrie Lottering and Fanie Goosen, in the Johannesburg Hospital yesterday.

"Mr Archer's weight is down to 50 kg, Mr Stopforth and Mr Archer have lung conditions and Mr Barker has a heart conditions. These problems could be exacerbated if the hunger strike continues," said Mr Cornelius.

He added that another OB member, Leonard Veenendaal, had apparently also been admitted to hospital.

But confusion has arisen about Mr Veenendaal's exact

TO PAGE 2.

Rudolph

Star 2/3/91

FROM PAGE 1.

whereabouts. His lawyer said yesterday he believed his client had already been transferred to Johannesburg Hospital, but this was denied by Major W Greyling of the Department of Correctional Services.

Yesterday Mr Veenendaal, Mr Stopforth and Mr Horst Klenz, were physically unable to make a scheduled court appearance at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. Their case was postponed to April 2.

An Orde Boerevolk spokesman, Coen Vermaak, said Mr Rudolph was already instructing his family to make burial arrangements and had said farewell to all his friends.

The strike was launched to protest against the State President's refusal to negotiate with right-wing organisations for the establishment of an independently ruled territory for Afrikaners.

since the middle of last Peter Wronsky's re- that another

First Soviet diplomats here soon

HARARE — The first Soviet diplomats to be stationed in South Africa since ties were cut in 1956 could be in Pretoria by the end of the month.

They will apparently be there with the blessing of the African National Congress, for a senior Soviet diplomat has disclosed that the ANC was informed in advance of Moscow's plan to base diplomats in Pretoria and raised no objection.

'Interests office'

The Soviet diplomats will use the Austrian embassy in Pretoria as an "interests office" and South African diplomats will operate on the same basis from the Austrian embassy in Moscow.

Confirmation that the Soviets are due in Pretoria at the end of this month or early in April came from Soviet ambassador-at-large Vyacheslav Ustinov. In an interview in Moscow with the Soviet news agency Novosti, which was released in Harare, he said the setting up of the reciprocal interests sections "will make it possible to start working on the questions of future co-operation between the two countries in various spheres of life for the time when apartheid is done away with."

If everything went smoothly and as international sanctions were rescinded, Soviet-South African relations would expand and apparently lead to the establishment at first of consular and then diplomatic relations. Novosti says Mr Ustinov high-

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lighted "a kind of vacuum" which had emerged between Soviet representatives and the ANC leadership since they returned to South Africa.

He said the new arrangement would make it possible to re-establish this contact and also to make contact with "all other public and political forces of the country."

Mr Ustinov sees the interest section as "contributing to the affirmation" of the reform process in South Africa. The Soviet Union considered it its moral duty to help accelerate the process, he said.

Novosti reports that the opening of the interests offices has provoked some controversy in the Soviet Union.

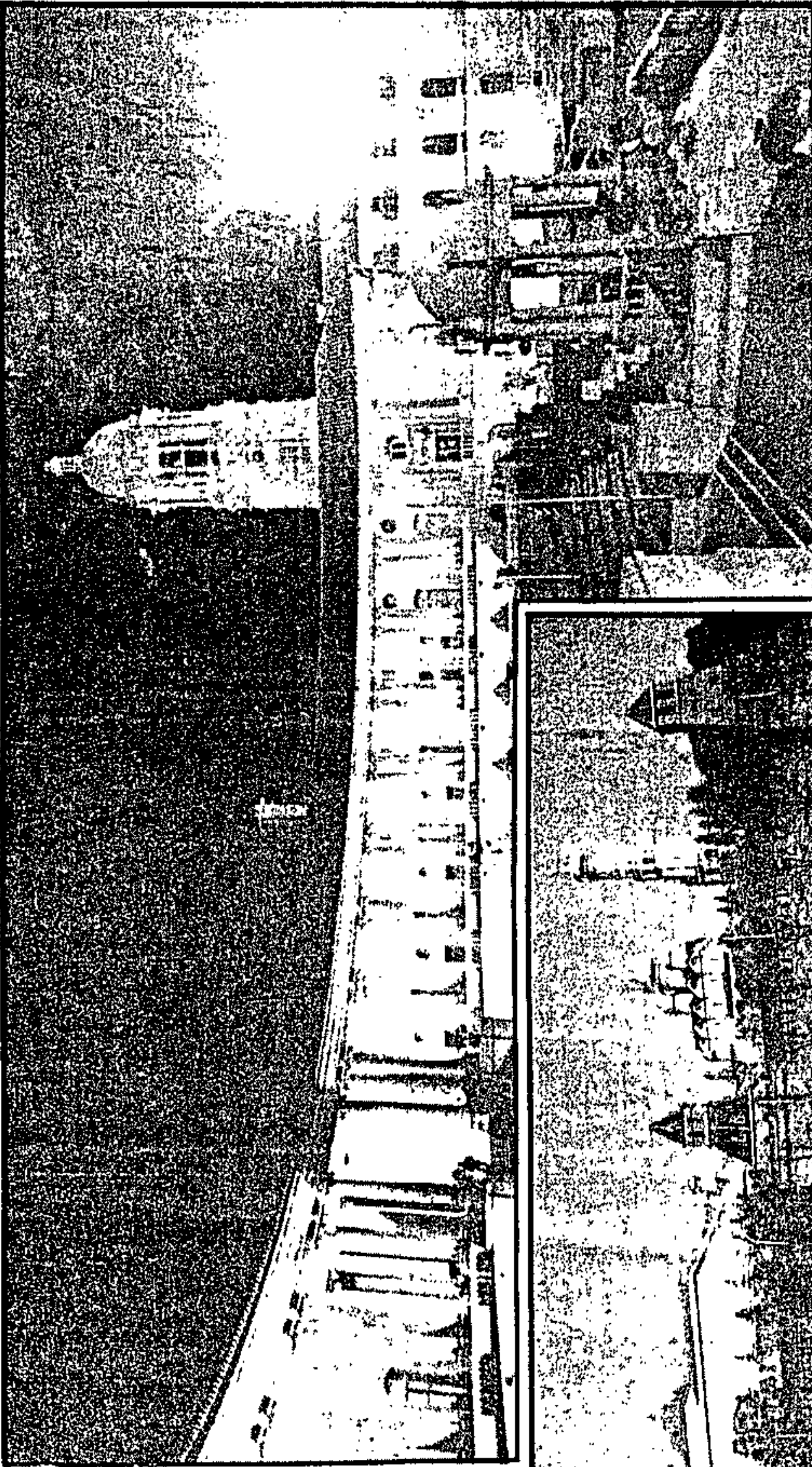
Opposed

It has been opposed by Vasily Solodovnikov, a leading African specialist who, when he was Soviet ambassador in Lusaka, was considered to be Moscow's top man in Southern Africa.

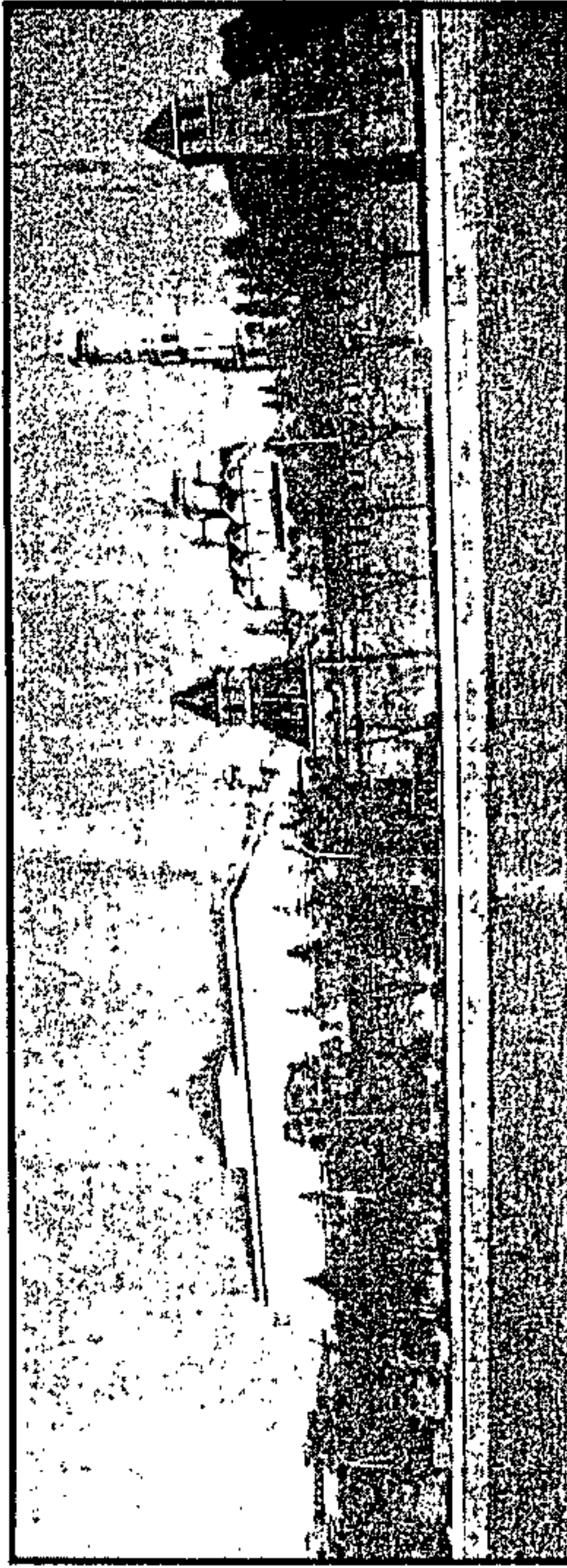
Mr Solodovnikov, now deputy chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, is due to make a two-week visit to South Africa this month at the invitation of Idasa.

He told Novosti the interests office move contravened UN sanctions resolutions and would strengthen the hand of the South African Government in its negotiations with the ANC.

However, he did not object to the broadening of contacts between the Soviet and South African people.



TALE OF TWO CITIES: Pretoria and Moscow have more in common than appears at first sight. "The reason why these cities not only deserve one another, but should not delay in admitting a common parentage: Both spawned, encouraged and honed to an acme of awfulness The Bureaucrat."



Moscow and Pretoria are closer than you think

The Soviet and South African capital sister cities? It's not nearly as incongruous as it may seem, writes CLAIRE ROBERTSON, a former Pretoria bureau chief of The Star who spent five weeks in the USSR.

There are other things, perhaps not enough to justify claims of sisterhood, but intriguing, nevertheless. The gloomy nations that dominate these cities, the Slavs and the Afrikaners, grow maudlin on remarkably similar national drinks, mamboer and vodka. They make theirs from vegetables, we use fruit, and both are deadliest when distilled in the bathtub.

Visitors to both cities will be struck by the poor dress sense of the locals, although in Pretoria, where they'd never stoop to queue for anything but rugby

tickets, they dress like that by choice.

In the mass of uniforms on display the cities echo one another. Soldiers, militia and police abound on Marx Prospect and Church Square, and boys issue orders (in voices hardly broken) not to photograph this or that.

This attitude approaches the heart of the matter — the reason why these cities not only deserve one another, but should not delay in admitting a common parentage: both have spawned, encouraged and honed to an acme of awfulness The Bureaucrat.

Just be thankful that in Pretoria The Bureaucrat controls only access to government, not

important things like bread and toothpaste.

The parallel evolution of The Bureaucrat in the two cities was inevitable: Moscow and Pretoria go way back together.

Almost a century ago scores of Moscow's young men made the journey to the Transvaal to join the brave Boer who dared defy the British empire.

The cities even agree about what constitutes a looker: the steel-thighed boers and chisel-bosomed womenfolk on the Voortrekker Monument frieze are interchangeable with any of the many Peasant and Factory Worker or cosmonaut superbabies on Moscow pedestals.

Nee wat, Mayor Morkel ... (om Paul would have approved.

Row over AWB corruption claim

Star 2/3/91
(304A) (2/3)
PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

A ROW has developed between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche and a newspaper alleging corruption in the AWB.

Mr TerreBlanche said he would instruct his lawyers to take action against the newspaper concerned, Die Transvaler.

The report alleged unhappiness in the AWB that an expensive car, won in a competition to boost AWB funds, had been given to the AWB leader.



KEN OWEN

3/3/91
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ON SUNDAY

Thabo Mbeki will take over P.W. Botha's houses. Most of the cabinet will shift to Acacia Park and drive their own cars.

The top public servants, who live like Randlords (Pretoria-style: two Alsatians, a broodboom and a heart bypass), will have to hand over their jobs, their Mercedes, their fabulous pension scheme, their ability to award arms contracts, and perhaps their seats at Loftus, to a new elite.

They will find that it is hard to come down in the world and, if they are as foolish as their English compatriots, they will nurse a paralysing sense of dispossession. (To this day, English private schools train their pupils to join a governing elite which is forever closed to them, so they end up as apolitical stockbrokers or madly left-wing trade union organisers.)

Foreign commentators are gleefully propounding apocalyptic views about the future which are solemnly repeated in the once-liberal, upper-income (I nearly wrote upper-class) suburbs. The tone, combining helplessness with *schadenfreude*, is captured in this passage by Charles Moore in the Spectator:

"No Xhosa writ will run in Natal, no Zulu power will be wielded in the Western Cape. The likely means of settling the quarrels will be by violence or partition, or both. Then

FORMER MP Wynand Malan emerged from the seclusion of church and law this week to predict to a business-orientated audience that the country would have an ANC-led government within 18 months, more or less. Who's ready for it?

To quarrel with his prediction is not easy. The time-span seems to me rather short (I would say four years), but I agree the ANC will win. The symbolism of the ANC name is so powerful that black people will vote for it as a gesture of liberation, if for no other reason. The National Party's hope for a Turnhalle-DTA alliance of minorities doesn't have much chance.

Malan predicts, too, that the ANC government will be similar, in its emotional content and therefore in its policies, to the National Party of 1948. From D.F. Malan to Mandela, as it were. If so, the entire English community will heave a sigh of relief.

Survival under a malevolent and rapacious nationalism is a game we know well enough. It hardly matters whether it's white nationalism that loots you or black, the problem is to survive without power. It's a matter of ducking and weaving.

For the Afrikaners, of course, it's a different matter. Start at the top: President De Klerk will have to give up Tuynhuys and Groote Schuur,

men must do) to "solve the problem of poverty" (or housing, or education, or AIDS) in order to ensure their own happy future in the country. It also leads to a good deal of plain black-mail: "Gimme or else."

Yet I wonder if it can be quite as simple as Malan suggests. For one thing, while we seem destined to have an ANC government, we do not have the slightest idea what kind of an ANC government it will be.

We know that the SA Communist Party plays a role within the ANC, similar to the role played in the National Party by the Nazis in the 30s and 40s, of sharpening nationalism to an ideological point.

For example, Nelson Mandela's reputed speechwriter, Raymond Suttner (whom Ronnie Kasrils calls a communist) refuses to defend my right

of free speech because, he says, I distort what he says. Shades of Jimmy Kruger! It almost makes me wonder why I once objected so strenuously to the banning of that repository of Marxist lies and distortions called New Age.

Is this what we are to expect from Wynand Malan's black nationalism? That, corrupted by Marxism as Afrikaner nationalism was corrupted by Nazism, it will repeat the worst mistakes of Strijdom and Vorster, including the suppression of unpopular views? White nationalists suppressed their black enemies in the name of fighting communism; will the black nationalists suppress their capitalist enemies in the name of fighting racism?

If the ANC's commitment to free

speech is ambivalent, its views on private property waver between rapacity and anxiety; half its members want to grab what they can, the other half fear the consequences.

Few, if any, have grasped that without private property the individual has no capacity for independent action, and there can be no liberty.

As a result, the content of a bill of rights remains unknown or, insofar as it is known, unsatisfactory. Nor is it comforting that those who lead the attempt to shape a new constitution include several who led the attack on the libertarian aspects of our judicial system under the pretext of fighting apartheid. Much remains to be revealed about the ANC's true character.

Meanwhile, our experience of Afrikaner nationalism tells us what to expect of black nationalism: an emotional force, driven by resentment and vengeance; insatiable, irrational, and xenophobic.

Of course, it is possible to deal with these bursts of nationalist fervour. English whites will know, and Afrikaners will in time learn, that it is best to keep out of politics, to toady and to accumulate quietly such security and prosperity as one can find. A powerless minority thrives best when it shuns illusions of power and avoids ostentatious consumption.

Whites, however, are unprepared. They have barely begun to imagine the changes that lie ahead. Public servants, destined to be replaced before the century is out, still work to accumulate petty power and long-term privileges; serving officers in the army and the police cling to powers that will, in their lifetime, be used against them; rich town councils try to drive away the squatters who, very soon, will govern them.

BEFORE white nationalists can do anything to help black nationalists, as Wynand Malan urges, they need to make a leap of imagination to the new South Africa. So far, they'd don't even see the need to do that.

● This column last week repeated the oft-published story that former President P.W. Botha, as a teenager, rode his horse through the house of a *bywoner*. Mr Botha has challenged its accuracy: he wasn't in his teens, but at primary school; it wasn't a horse, but a Shetland pony; he didn't ride it into the house, it followed him; and it wasn't a *bywoner*, but a family friend.

Those of us who have firm views on Mr Botha's character as a politician will have to find another explanation for his behaviour.

MBEKI: NP'S MOVING TO OUR WAY OF THINKING

S/ Times 31/3/91
Sunday Times Reporter

THE economic and political positions of the National Party are not very different from those of the ANC, says Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of external affairs.

In an extensive interview in the latest edition of Mayibuye, mouthpiece of the ANC, Mr Mbeki said President FW de Klerk used the same words as the ANC when discussing bills of rights and the independence of the judiciary.

"If indeed the NP has dropped the notion of group rights as a constitutional mechanism, as a brick in the constitution, and hence talking about South Africa being one nation and of nation-building, obviously

that would represent common positions."

He said if the NP understood the terms they used as the ANC did, there was agreement on a wide range of issues. (304A)

The fact that the government was talking about the need to redress poverty and racial disparities in incomes represented important movement on the part of the NP towards positions that the ANC had been advancing.

About proposed multi-party constitutional negotiations, Mr Mbeki said it was possible they would be structured on the Namibian model, whereby prospective participants would have to prove a certain level of support.

□ GIVING DEMOCRACY A CHANCE

By ZB MOLEFE

T HIS week's launch of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) gave the impression that we had already arrived at a post-apartheid South Africa.

The political parties represented at the glittering function in one of Cape Town's top hotels told the story - the ANC, PAC, Afrikaner Volkswag, SA Communist Party, Inkatha, the National Party, Solidarity and homeland parties like Ximoko (Gazankulu) and Inyandza (KaNgwane).

There were also political personalities like the Labour Party's Allan Hendrikse, Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi, the Democratic Party's Zach de Beer and KwaZulu's Frank Mdlalose.

Also present were well-known businessmen like Raymond Ackerman and diplomats from more than 20 countries, including US ambassador William Swing and Finnish charge d'affaires Hannu Uusi-Videnoja.

Former KwaNatal Indaba chairman and ex-KwaZulu education minister Oscar Dhlomo hit the nail on the head: "(You) represent what I believe to be the most representative cross-section of South African political opinion that has ever assembled in one place."

Dhlomo, the IMPD's executive chairman, emphasised the institute

New institute to teach SA about tolerance and reconciliation



Saths Cooper: first national director.

should remain politically non-aligned and "accessible to all".

"Despite the continuing violence in our country there are signs, at least at leadership level, that a spirit of greater tolerance is starting to emerge," Dhlomo said.

"Why then", he asked, "are we going to so much trouble to establish an institute to promote something that the leaders of all major parties more or less agree on?"

Part of the answer, he said, lies in the realisation that South Africa's histo-



Zach de Beer: present at the launch.

ry had left the country without a democratic tradition which could "positively influence and guide our political behaviour in the future".

Dhlomo agreed most South Africans were united in their commitment to root out apartheid "but we do not always realise being anti-apartheid is not the same as being committed to multi-party democracy".

Many interested observers have asked how the IMPD differed from other organisations work-



Oscar Dhlomo: we are accessible to all.

ing in the same field.

Four areas made the IMPD stand out, he said.

Firstly, the institute's trustees represented a wide range of socio-political thinking in South Africa, enabling the institute to operate in areas not open to less representative organisations.

Secondly, it was committed to following a policy of strictly party-political non-alignment.

Thirdly, the emphasis of the institute's activities would be on mass "education" of the public regard-

ing multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation.

Finally, most advocacy organisations in South Africa have been predominantly white initiatives. This limited their scope and effectiveness, he said.

Dhlomo warned: "There is no doubt that many signs point to the imminent sprouting of long-dormant seeds of democracy in our country. But we must not become dazzled by the prospects of early success."

"There is still a possibility for the democratic shoots to be trampled underfoot," he said.

■ **FORMER** Azapo president Saths Cooper was this week named as the first national director of the IMPD.

Cooper will quit his job as senior lecturer in psychology at the University of the Western Cape.

He told a Press conference he no longer had ties to any political organisation.

Cooper was a founder member of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC).

On December 21, 1976 Cooper - together with other prominent Saso members - was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

He was released in 1982 and went on to become Azapo's president. He read for a PhD at Boston University, United States in 1989.

Kaizer Nyatumba reports on a Soviet view of South Africa's future

The radical road to dictatorship?

Star 4/3/91

3048

DICTATORSHIP and civil war will be the bane of the new South Africa if the radicalisation of society in the country is not immediately stopped, says a top Soviet academic, Professor Anatoly Gromyko.

In a book published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Professor Gromyko — director of the Moscow-based Institute for African Studies' Centre for South African Studies and son of a former Soviet president — said if the African National Congress and the Government failed to "stop quickly the newly started process of the radicalisation of South African society" a political settlement in the country could remain "just a dream for a long time".

Professor Gromyko, with other representatives of the Academy of

Sciences of the USSR, presented a paper at the first joint South African/Russian conference held in Moscow in June last year. Papers delivered at the conference, including Professor Gromyko's, are included in the book.

A delegation from the SAIRR also attended the conference.

The Soviet academic said he was now more optimistic about South Africa's future than ever before. He emphasised the need for negotiations between the Government, the ANC and other political organisations in order to arrive at "the stabilisation of the situation in South Africa and in the whole of the southern African region".

Professor Gromyko said one of the most distinctive features in South Africa's present develop-

ment was the "high degree of contradiction and unpredictability of political processes".

He singled out the increasing alienation between right-wing whites opposed to the Government's reforms and black "leftists" who dismissed any negotiations with the Government.

Professor Gromyko also warned that it was an error for South Africans to assume that their problems could be solved by disregarding the country's ethnic composition, saying any attempts to secure the rights of different ethnic groups were immediately dismissed as yet another form of apartheid.

This approach, he said, would not "change the reality and character of the existing ethnic and racial structures in South Africa".

a country whose ethnic composition and problems he ranked as one of the most complicated in the world today.

Another top Soviet academic, Dr Yuri Skubco, said although there were some similarities between South Africa and the Soviet Union, change could come more easily in South Africa than in his country. Unlike the Soviet Union, he said, South Africa already had the foundation of a market economy and political democracy which was hindered by both racial limitations and a police state.

Dr Skubco said there were "striking similarities" between the Soviet society under communism and the South African society under apartheid, and that now that the two countries were undergoing political change they faced similar difficulties. □

Police vow to stop boer militants

Staff Reporter

The police are making an all-out effort to trace an organisation styling itself the Boer Republican Army (BRA), and allegedly operating on similar lines as the Irish Republican Army.

It is the first time that an organisation of that name has surfaced in South African politics.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that action was being taken after the BRA threatened to kill top government officials, anti-apartheid leaders and security police.

Published

The names and addresses, telephone numbers and facsimile numbers of the officials were published in a document which has been handed out in the Western Transvaal.

The names include those of President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The existence of BRA was disclosed in the Sunday Star yesterday.

Captain Kotze said police were trying to establish the authenticity of a document claiming the existence of the group.

Threats

He commented that as there were many white extremist groups "it would first have to be established whether this group exists".

Captain Kotze said that "all threats of this nature" were taken seriously by the police "as the security of the president and other members of Government is a priority".

According to the newspaper, the document says members of existing right-wing groups were now automatically members of the BRA.

Afrikaners called to fast for hunger strikers

By Monica Nicolson *Star* 5/3/91

Right-wing organisations have called on all Afrikaners to join in a day of fasting tomorrow to show solidarity with Piet Rudolph and the other seven right-wing hunger strikers.

A statement by Kallie Bredenhann on behalf of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Boerestaat Party, Boere Weerstandsbeweging and Orde Boerevolk was telefaxed from the office of Jack Nel, Mr Rudolph's attorney.

Mr Rudolph has been fasting since February 9 at Pretoria Central Prison, where he

is being kept with fellow hunger strikers Henk Bredenhann and Leonard Veenendaal.

OB spokesman Coen Vermaak said he believed the condition of Mr Bredenhann and Mr Veenendaal was serious as both had stopped drinking water.

"They have deteriorated very fast and are in a worse condition than Mr Rudolph, who is also going downhill fast," he said.

The other hunger strikers — Darryl Stopforth, Arthur Archer, Craig Barker, Corrie Lottering and Fanie Goosen — are in the Johannesburg Hospital where they are in a poor

condition, according to their attorney, Wim Cornelius.

Mr Archer, suffering from a lung infection, is said to have lost 20 kilograms. Mr Barker has a heart condition.

In an interview with Sapa, the wife of Mr Rudolph said he was determined to fast to his death. *(304A)*

Bregie Rudolph, who visited her husband yesterday, said he was thin and weak, but mentally very strong. *(304A)*

She said he was being well looked after by the doctor appointed by the authorities and said she was satisfied with the treatment the prison services were offering him.



No food . . . rightwingers call for day of fasting in solidarity with Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph.

Whither democracy, security and freedom?

Gowelan 5/3/91

(304A)

SOUTH AFRICA is awash with proposals for its future. Every faction and pundit is peddling them.

They have merit, but none is comprehensive - the winning formula. Before that can be found, answers must be found to a number of questions which there seems to be a general reluctance to ask.

Representatives will soon meet around a negotiating table, when these questions must be confronted.

It is probable that they have not figured high in debate because they have apparent racist connotations, but there is no doubt they loom in the thinking of many people of all races and tend to be raised privately, like skeletons from a cupboard.

Security

The most obvious is what will be done to prevent the new South Africa from going into social, political and economic decline as almost every other African state has done since independence?

It might sound simplistic but it exercises the minds of South Africans right across the board, from workers to magnates.

The lesson of majority rule has almost invariably been followed by a deterioration of standards and the quality of life, frequently to the point where life itself is endangered.

Plans for entrenched rights, independent judiciaries, guaranteed parliamentary representation and similar constitutional failsafes are not enough to assuage misgivings.

History proves that none of these are watertight protection, especially against the will of a majority, because whatever their leaders compromise on now, the overwhelming majority will insist upon no less. It may take time but it will come.

WILF NUSSEY, former Editor of *The Pretoria News*, poses some of the questions that loom uncomfortably in many people's thinking.

Worry about the future involves more than the franchise, courts or free speech. It extends to fundamental values of everyday life like security in one's home, freedom from corruption, the safety of property and protection against official harassment.

These have been devalued everywhere else in Africa to varying degree. The worry is not eased by this country's past year of high profile upheaval and crime and the State's apparent inability to curb either.

The first question leads to others:

- * How will the new South Africa cope with its black voting community's inexperience of the principles and workings of a democratic state? Or, in more detail;

- * How can the country's very large proportion of unsophisticated people be representatively and effectively involved in the sophisticated administrative and economic infrastructure (as is their right) without a fall in standards, efficiency and personal safety?

- * How can faith in democracy be created among people who are total strangers to it, accustomed only to an archaic tribal system?

- * How can those dedicated to making democracy work be assured of sufficiently peaceful conditions to do so? Perhaps most important of all;

- * How can the poor, hungry and frustrated black masses be persuaded to lower their high expectation sights and aim instead for the slow upliftment process of democracy? How can they be convinced that political power does not automatically bring wealth

(except to a few), that there is no quick constitutional fix?

And there is a corollary question:

- * How can foreign governments and entrepreneurs whose investment capital is desperately needed be persuaded that these questions can be answered, that South Africa be made stable and safe for their money?

The implication in these questions is that the danger to stability lies in the unsophistication of so many black people.

That is not a racist judgment but an unfortunate fact. It is not their fault but a product of history; even had apartheid never existed it is doubtful that the Third World element would have been much smaller than it is now.

Apartheid's greatest sin, perhaps, is that it alienated those blacks who were able to escape from the Third to the First World and could now be contributing constructively to a non-racial society, instead of to corrosive nationalism.

AWB

These questions are not the exclusive province of such extreme groups as the AWB and BBB. They are relevant to all, irrespective of ethnic group. The proper liberal approach to them, ironically is to confront them boldly and defuse them by finding solutions.

Politicians pandering to the demands of naive, unsophisticated voters will do the country and the voters a disservice no less damaging than the National Party did for 49 years by pandering to white supremacist wants.

Lowering standards to accom-



modate aspirations would start the slide into degradation and put South Africa on the same road as Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and so many others where democracy is dying of the cancers of autocracy, greed and corruption.

The way around that fate is via compromise, obviously.

There will have to be some levelling between the high standards of life most whites take for granted and the poor living conditions of many blacks whose labours help make white life comfortable.

It cannot be otherwise in a country with such a diversity of cultures and degrees of sophistication: when the constitutional sluice gates are opened and the nation's ingredients are allowed to mix freely they will find their own level.

The accent on high standards, however, must never be relaxed. Even when they fall to some extent, as they will, the objective of the new government must be to raise them.

There can be no reduction of school and university standards simply to produce more black graduates, no lowering of entrance qualifications for the civil service, no creation of jobs without productivity, no Zimbabwe-style ban on firing incompetents, no controlled prices that make production uneconomic.

No free lunch.

But the right formula must be found or the trek to liberation begun by FW de Klerk last year will lead full circle back to domination in another form.

That will be the real challenge when the leaders gather at the indaba table.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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

ANC prof welcomes agreement on rights

CM-100B 5/3/91 3041 WA
Staff Reporter

THE government's recent acceptance of the need for a bill of rights was an example of apartheid ideology being replaced by pragmatism, Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC constitutional committee told a meeting at UWC yesterday.

Prof Asmal, a visiting professor of law at the university, was a founder of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement during his 30 years in exile. He returned to South Africa last month.

He discouraged a negative view which saw the adoption of a bill of rights simply as a restriction on the powers of a future government.

A bill of rights would mean that those who had been deprived of their rights under apartheid could claim them, while those who had rights all along would be reassured that they would be protected.

Prof Asmal said formal equality under a bill of rights in a future South Africa would have to be supplemented by affirmative action to undo the effects of centuries of racism and sexism.

"Respect for rights in future requires an acknowledgement of the past systematic wrongs," he said.

Azapo: Perm sees SA aiming for big disaster

CMT-T14/5 5/3/91
MAK 304A

DURBAN. — Azapo yesterday alleged that the SA Permanent Building Society believed business and the government were solely responsible for the present "economic mess" in South Africa.

At a news conference here, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley claimed that the Perm feared that "South Africa (was) heading for a major disaster" which could see the country degenerate into a Beirut, Lebanon or Ethiopia.

Mr Moodley said he was quoting from a Perm report of an investigation into the country's political, economic and social set-up, released to Azapo on Sunday.

This followed a meeting between the Azapo central committee and Perm officials on Sunday. The Perm team was led by MD Mr Bob Tucker, and the meeting was held at the Perm's request, reporters were told.

A follow-up meeting was in the pipeline, said Mr Moodley.

He claimed the report had attributed South Africa's economic situation to "the plundering nature of big business and the government", who had "robbed the country of its riches without developing its people".

The analysts had offered several ways of resolving the situation and Azapo had asked the Perm for a summary so that these could be studied.

Mr Tucker had told Azapo that the contents of the report had been conveyed to the government, the ANC, the PAC, Inkatha and several other "big businesses".

The Perm's view was that the country could be headed for a major disaster and it felt it was its duty to inform everybody involved, individually and collectively, so that solutions could be found, Mr Moodley alleged.

Perm's response

However, a spokesman for the Perm, Mr Theo Coggin, said Azapo had breached a strict code of confidentiality by releasing the statement.

Mr Coggin said the Azapo statement was a simplistic picture of only one aspect of one scenario.

He said a confidential presentation of different scenarios for South Africa in the 1990s — developed by Mutual and Nedcor of which Perm is a part — was made known to a number of key decision-makers over the past few weeks and was released to Azapo on Sunday.

At the press conference Mr Moodley also said:

- The Indian government had banned all future cultural tours to South Africa because of reports of large financial gains made by performing artists and promoters at the expense of cultural development in the community.

NP can block constitution it does not like — FW

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk said last night that the National Party had the power to prevent acceptance of a constitution which went against the values the party stood for, and it would use that ability in a reasonable way.

No party, not even the African National Congress, was in a position to enforce its will and views on a new constitutional dispensation, he said.

Speaking at a lively Maitland by-election meeting in a school hall packed with about 600 people, Mr de Klerk was repeatedly interrupted by hecklers.

"There is a wealth of support, across colour lines, for what the NP stands for," he said.

Pensions

Mr de Klerk said civil servants could be assured that the NP would not agree to a constitution that exposed them to manipulation or a system of "jobs for pals".

There would be no undermining of job security in the public service. The National Party would ensure that careers and pensions were not under threat.

Replying to a question on whether he believed the matter of hit squads had been "sliced open to the bone", he said he, the Government, and the top management of the security forces, would not lift a finger to protect members of the security forces against the consequences of their misdeeds.

But he cautioned against painting all security forces "black", and asked why no attention was given to civilians murdered in terrorism.

Mr de Klerk said that after Mr Justice Louis Harms had made his recommendations to the Government, any indication that anyone had broken any law had been followed up.

As far as there were facts that could form the basis of a criminal prosecution, there would be a prosecution. — Sapa.

*1. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the State President:† *Hansard 5/3/91 (304A)*

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on whether, over the past 10 years, any section of the National Intelligence Service has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to certain organisations, whose names have been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) which section of the Service,

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- (b) to which of these organisations and (c) to what extent;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B364E

The DEPUTY MINISTER FOR INFORMATION SERVICES (for the State President):

- (1) and (2) *Hansard 5/3/91 (304A)*

I am not prepared to comment in any way on whether or not there exists any specific relations between the National Intelligence Service and any persons or institutions. This will defeat the purpose of lawful actions and also the rightful, legal protection of security information as contemplated amongst other things, in the Protection of Information Act, 1982, and other relevant laws. Denials in related instances may lead thereto that later refusals to supply information in other instances because it will not be in public interest, can be construed as admissions. This principle also applies to similar questions directed to other members of the Cabinet.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 19 February 1991:

(3) A committee comprising mainly of experts from the private sector, is at present busy with inter alia an investigation into the investment opportunities of the pension funds. I shall provide a full statement on this matter as soon as this extensive investigation has been completed.

Family planning: amount spent

*15. Mrs C H CHARLEWOOD asked the Minister of National Health:

Whether there has been a decrease in the amount spent by her Department on family planning in the current financial year; if so, (a) why and (b) what amount (i) has been spent on family planning in the current financial year and (ii) was so spent in the 1989/90 financial year?

Hansard 5/3/91 B343E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

No, (a) falls away and

- (b) (i) R128 000 000 has been spent up to date in the present financial year and (ii) R113 000 000 was spent in the 1989/90 financial year.

Project Dyson

*16. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) (a) What is understood by Project Dyson, (b) when will this project be completed and (c) how many present members of the Defence Force are involved in it;
- (2) whether any former members of the Defence Force are involved in this project; if so, (a) how many and (b) why?

B349E

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) (a) Project Dyson is primarily aimed at the rationalisation of occupational differentiation in the Permanent Force. In terms of the Project, 38 different occupational classes have been consolidated into a single occupational class, namely that of Military Practitioner. The rationale of the Military Practitioner dispensation rests on the concept of soldier-ship in order to neutralise the over-

emphasis of functional specialities at the cost of soldier-ship. By implication, the nucleus salary structures of 38 different occupational classes have been reduced to a single basis salary structure for the Military Practitioner. A further facet of the Project also includes the rationalisation of the various allowances.

- (b) The Project has not been finalised in total. The Military Practitioner dispensation and the accompanying salary structure has been implemented with effect from 1 July 1990 and was completed on 28 February 1991. The refinement of certain facets of salary and allowances is in progress. The remaining facets of Project Dyson will be implemented as part of other personnel projects on an ongoing basis.

Hansard 5/3/91

- (c) All members of the Permanent Force are, in one way or another, affected by Project Dyson.
- (2) No. Only those persons who were members of the Permanent Force on the implementation date, in other words 1 July 1990, are affected by it. (a) and (b) Fall away.

SADF: Special Forces

*17. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether there are still Special Forces in the South African Defence Force; if so, what is the function of these forces;
- (2) whether these forces exist as separate Defence Force units; if so, how long will they continue to exist as such units?

B352E

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) Yes. The Special Forces are, just as other units of the SA Defence Force, employed in accordance with the stipulations of section 3(2) of the Defence Act.
- (2) Yes. With the exception of CCB which has already been operationally disbanded and is in the process of having its administrative affairs closed down by the Chief

of the Army, it is not planned to disband any of the remainder of Special Forces.

Afrikaans as official language

*18. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether it is the standpoint of his Department that Afrikaans should be retained as an official language under a new constitutional dispensation; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 5/3/91 B354E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) The official status of languages, and thus also Afrikaans, will be dealt with in the process of negotiation and eventually in the new constitutional dispensation.
- It is however the view of the Department and the Government that the status of Afrikaans, as well as English, will be maintained in the new constitution.
- (2) Lapses.

Peaceful protest marches

*19. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether, with reference to statements made by him during an interpellation debate on 13 February 1990 (a newspaper report on which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply), proposals to clarify the requirements for peaceful protest marches have been formulated; if so, what requirements have been laid down; if not, why not?

Hansard 5/3/91 B357E

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The enactments providing for the control of peaceful protest marches are to be found in *inter alia* the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982) and various Provincial Ordinances. As already indicated by me the provisions relating to gatherings and processions are under review. It must be pointed out that at present the authorities enjoy the co-operation of the majority of organisers of protest

marches in complying with formal and informal arrangements and directives.

Mbekweni: electricity supplied to schools

*20. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training:

- (1) Whether schools in the Black residential area of Mbekweni, Paarl, falling under his Department, are not being supplied with electricity at present; if so, which schools;
- (2) whether the electricity account for these schools has been paid to date; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons are these schools not being supplied with electricity at present;
- (3) whether he is contemplating steps to have the supply of electricity to these schools restored; if not, why not; if so, what is the nature of these steps?

B358E

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

- (1) Yes.
- Simon Hebe Secondary School
Mbekweni Primary School
Langaboya Junior Primary School

- (2) Yes. According to my information, the electricity supply to the township was cut off by the Paarl Municipality. This was apparently caused by residents refusing to pay the Mbekweni Residents' Council for services since October 1990. Consequently the latter has been unable to pay the Paarl Municipality for the services.
- (3) No. Negotiations between the Paarl Municipality and the Mbekweni Residents' Council, as well as the Council and the residents are in progress in order to end the boycott and resume the supply of electricity. Local conditions preclude the selective restoration of power to schools.

SADF: support to certain organisations

*21. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether, over the past 10 years, any section of the South African Defence Force has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to certain organisations, whose names have

CP 'proud' of Tvlapartheid

By Helen Grange and
Esmarë van der Merwe

The Conservative Party is "proud" of Transvaal towns found by The Star to be discriminating against blacks in spite of the abolition of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

CP spokesman Pikkie Coetzee, responding to a survey by The Star revealing that many towns were still reserving facilities for whites, said: "We couldn't care one bit.

"We are in favour of keeping up separate development.

"The Government had no mandate to change the law regarding separate amenities. We are fully supportive of these towns," he said.

The Star found that 17 towns out of 45 surveyed were blatantly flouting the law, 22 were practising "backdoor" discrimination and only six towns had removed all racial barriers.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on local government, Jan van Eck, said the Government appeared to be encouraging local authorities to discriminate against blacks under the pretence of the maintenance of standards.

He said a recent circular by the Department of

Local Government and Housing in the House of Assembly had requested local authorities to report weekly to the Government whether drug and alcohol abuse had increased, and whether there had also been an increase in refuse following the scrapping of the Act.

"This is a scandalous insinuation that misbehaviour increases when black people share facilities with whites."

Sheila Cameron of the National Party said continued discrimination, through any means, was "unacceptable".

"We condemn such action.

"The law is clear that there is to be no discrimination between black and white."

The Star had done a "public service" by bringing discrimination to the fore, she said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation was "not surprised" at the results of the survey.

"We are extremely concerned about the increasing spate of racial attacks.

"Whites have become extremely aggressive and are attacking black people at random.

"This is something white society has to address," she said.

Tos Wentzel reports on renewed ties between the Soviet Union and SA

A 35-year freeze begins to thaw

It was smoke pouring out of a chimney of the Soviet consulate in Pretoria on a summer's day in 1956 that finally indicated the Russians were leaving.

The South African Government had ordered the closure of the consulate and documents were being destroyed before the small consulate staff returned home. There were 13 Russians, including three children. There was also a consular agent in Cape Town who had to close his office.

Fourteen years of diplomatic contact had virtually come to an end after the Minister of External Affairs, Eric Louw, announced in Parliament on February 1 1956 that the Soviet government had been asked to close the consulate.

South Africa was not represented in Moscow at that time.

Last week it was announced that formal diplomatic relations between the countries had come a step nearer through interest offices in the Austrian embassies in Moscow and Pretoria. This means

there will be South African officials in Moscow and Russian ones in Pretoria.

One of the most immediate reasons for the closure of the consulate in Pretoria was the multiracial parties given there — something thought to be quite horrendous by the Nationalist Government of the day.

In his statement Mr Louw pointed out that provisions of the Liquor Act, which then prohibited whites and blacks from drinking together, had not been observed on the premises of the consulate-general and that recently "a serious infringement of the Act was committed on those premises notwithstanding a previous warning".

At the time Nationalist newspapers printed stories of how blacks and Indians had attended these parties along with whites and had had drinks together.

Mr Louw also accused the consulate staff of cultivating and maintaining contact with subversive elements in the Union "par-

ticularly among the Bantu and Indian population".

He also said Radio Moscow was inciting the "Bantu and non-European population".

The Soviet Union emphatically denied there had been any justification for the closure of the consulate.

Mr Louw did not announce a total break in diplomatic relations. He said these could be conducted through the Soviet embassy in London and the then High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa.

In reality the diplomatic relations faded away and the enmity between the two countries increased until the breakthrough on a Namibian peace settlement again brought positive contact.

For the past few years there have been visits to South Africa by Soviet diplomats, including a deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and last year the Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism,

Kent Durr, and top officials visited the Soviet Union, as did the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, and other officials.

A top delegation of what Mr Durr has described as "enterprise leaders", the equivalent of top businessmen in a capitalist State, and members of the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers visited South Africa late last year and there was also a group of Soviet scientists, researchers, journalists and economists.

The trade delegation was here largely on an exploratory visit, but there are high hopes that trade between the two countries can now be greatly increased.

South African tourists can now go to the Soviet Union and a group of Russian travel agents was here last year.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. K. Botha, has indicated it is now only a question of time before there are full diplomatic relations between the two countries. □

30411

Treurnicht stands ready for battle

304A

Sowetan
6/3/91

FORMER dominee, editor and Cabinet Minister Dr Andries Treurnicht is at 70 more than merely the leader of the official Opposition, the Conservative Party.

This Cape-born doctor of philosophy has emerged as the standard-bearer of a white right inflamed by what it holds is an unpardonable political reversal.

Standing now at the divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary resistance, he is one of South Africa's most important leaders.

Treurnicht's courteous urbanity belies a fierce political and philosophical resoluteness.

His remarks on the right's political strategy is carefully qualified: for now he will fight in parliament, but that may not be the terrain of a future conflict.

Treurnicht studied at Stellenbosch, after which he was appointed a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church.

He served in Oudtshoorn, Rondebosch, Stellenbosch and Pretoria, completing a MA in philosophy at Rondebosch and a PhD at the University of Cape Town.

Surprise

In 1960 he became editor of the church's influential newspaper *Die Kerkbode*, making it a prominent rallying point for conservatism in the church. Seven years later, at the invitation of Prime Minister John Vorster, he became editor of the new Pretoria daily *Hoofstad*.

He stepped into the parliamentary political arena with a by-election win against Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais in Waterberg in 1971.

Albeit a backbencher, his chairmanship of the Broederbond in the early 1970s endowed him with considerable influence.



In just four years, in what many considered a surprise promotion, he became Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education.

Reforms

Three years later he entered the Cabinet, serving first as Minister of Public Works and Tourism and then becoming in 1980 the Minister of State Administration.

Dr No, as he came to be called, was an unashamed inhabitant of the National Party right and was an unrepentant critic of the fledgling reforms of the late 1970s.

Nevertheless, he amassed considerable support in the Transvaal and in 1978 soundly defeated Minister Fanie Botha as the provincial leader.

Four years later, the fissure in party thinking widened dramatically: Treurnicht led the revolt and 22 NP MPs turned their backs on Prime Minister PW Botha.

So was formed the Conservative Party, and so began the new struggle for white "self-determination".

It is perhaps ironic that Treurnicht counts his election as Transvaal leader of the NP among the most meaningful events in his political career.

Spurned

But when he spurned the NP, he had no doubt that he was doing the right thing.

"If you act according to your principles, you have only one choice."

Treurnicht described the foundation of the right's campaign for self-determination.

"It is all founded on two principles: the unity of the human race and then, the other side of the same coin, the diversity of peoples. This is just such an ordinance of God as the unity of humanity."

Power

"My scriptural readings and my studies led me to certain very firm convictions, not only about morals, but about this important question of self-determination and the sovereignty of peoples."

"The opposite of that, the power sharing of the government, is nothing but a surrender of power, of say over your own affairs."

"The very existence of the white people and their rights and freedoms are at stake now. And this is causing white people, Nationalists too, to rethink their future."

He said people ought to be anxious, for political events now, he says, have "dangerous" consequences.

Treurnicht has a predilection for spy novels but presently his bedtime reading is Groen van Prinsterer's *History of the Dutch People*.

Important

The book tells of the revolt of the Dutch against Spanish domination in the late 1500s, culminating with the Union of Utrecht in 1579, according to which the northern provinces of the Netherlands formed the independent Dutch Republic.

"It is politically very important now to read about what they did under those circumstances," he says.

Treurnicht has no plans to retire.

"The political game is too interesting and challenging. Nobody



ANDRIES TREURNICHT

could miss this stage of the - yes, let's say it - the fight."

For now, Treurnicht insists, the "fight" is a parliamentary one, a battle for a "democratic" upper hand.

Warning

But he warned: "If the self-determination of whites is ignored, then we are talking about a totally different type of game."

"In the meantime, we hold the Government to its word that it will give the opportunity for whites to go to the polls, and we prepare for that."

If he watched Monday night's *Agenda* programme on South Africa's political armies, one wonders if it crossed his mind that he, more than anyone else, had the power to trigger a revolt of the right. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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SA's new plan in force by 1994?

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A new constitution for South Africa could be agreed by the end of next year and implemented before the next white general election is due in September 1994, a select committee of British MPs predicts in a report published here this week.

The Commons Foreign Affairs committee investigated UK policy towards South and Southern Africa last year, during which members met President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, along with other political, business and academic leaders.

On the "prospects for political change", the committee notes in its report that "the main constitutional issues will have to be resolved within the next three years".

New constitution

"Since his election as State President in 1989, Mr De Klerk has repeatedly made it clear that he does not intend to hold another general election on the basis of the 1983 (tricameral) constitution.

"Instead, he has stated that the present electorate will be asked to take part in a referendum on the new constitution when it is complete. He has not ruled out the idea that a referendum of the whole population may be held at the same time.

"Therefore, the new constitution will have to be in place by September 1994, the date by which the next general election is due."

The report spelt out "one estimate of a possible

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The Foreign Office yesterday welcomed recommendations, in the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs select committee's report on South and Southern Africa, that sanctions be lifted when apartheid laws have been repealed.

The Foreign Office said "the committee's recommendations ap-

pear to be very much in line with government policy".

Although the government still has two months to respond to the report, yesterday's statement indicates that Britain's policy of leading the international campaign to lift sanctions is likely to continue — provided the reform process in South Africa makes progress.

timetable" for this process of constitutional reform.

This, it said, was that "towards the middle of this year, an all-party congress will assemble".

"By the end of the year it will announce provisional agreement on transitional arrangements; and around the end of 1992 it may agree on a constitutional framework which could be put to a referendum.

"Its approval would be followed by the creation of a formal new constitution, which could be accepted by the present Parliament and then endorsed, by September 1994, in a second referendum followed by elections for a new legislative assembly."

The report adds that this was but one interpreta-

tion of "what will undoubtedly be an intricate process, and needless to say, there will be many dangers which may make any such estimates seem, in future, absurdly optimistic".

The committee said it did not believe the current reform process would be reversed by the present government.

The Soweto rising of 1976, followed by the risings of the mid-1980s had "posed serious challenges to the government".

Black protests

"Since these, the government has had great difficulty in retaining control in many black townships because local government structures have been rejected.

"The black protests brought home to Pretoria that a country of 36 million people could not be ruled effectively if political rights were restricted to 14% of the population and the demographic tide continues to run powerfully as black numbers rapidly increase.

"After believing that separate development was acceptable in theory and workable in practice, South Africa's government has now recognised that neither is true.

"That recognition makes it highly unlikely that the current reforms will be reversed under the present administration although there are still many obstacles on the way to a post-apartheid South Africa."

NP confident of big win in Maitland

87w 6/3/91
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Nationalists are confidently predicting a clear affirmation of President F.W. de Klerk's reform mandate in today's Maitland by-election, but all eyes will be on the performance of the Conservative Party.

The majority margin will be the subject of considerable party political propaganda in the days to come.

The CP, whose candidate is former Nat Theuns Kruger, tacitly accepts that it has no chance of winning the seat, but says it will be ready to make calculations late tonight to show the extent of what it believes is a considerable swing to the right.

President de Klerk — like CP leader Andries Treurnicht — drew his party's campaign to a close at a public meeting in the constituency on Monday night at which he appealed for a "fresh" mandate to strengthen his hand "in moving forward with speed and determination".

It is clear that the National Party candidate, Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs, Louis Pienaar, will pick up a lot of support from Democratic Party supporters who, two years ago, reduced the NP majority from about 4 200 to just over 1 400.

The DP chose to stay out of Maitland this time.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Star 6/3/91
FW ducks

questions about aid by NIS

By Peter Fabricius
Political
Correspondent

President de Klerk and his security ministers yesterday ducked questions in Parliament as to whether National Intelligence Service or other security agencies were giving financial and organisational support to Inkatha and other political organisations.

Umhlanga Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan put a series of questions to Mr de Klerk, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Both Mr Vlok and General Malan refused to reply and referred to Mr de Klerk's answer.

Mr Jordaan asked whether over the past 10 years any section of NIS had "directly given financial or organisational support to certain organisations, whose names have been furnished to the State President's Office".

"If so, which section of the Service, to which of these organisations and to what extent?"

No comment

Mr de Klerk said: "I am not prepared to comment in any way on whether or not there exists any specific relations between the National Intelligence Service and any persons or institutions. This will defeat the purpose of lawful actions and also the rightful, legal protection of security information as contemplated, among other things, in the Act on the Protection of Information, 1982, and other relevant laws."

If he denied these questions and later had to withhold comment on other queries for security reasons, the refusal to comment would be taken as an admission.

The same principle applied to questions directed to other members of the Cabinet.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, replying to similar questions, referred to Mr de Klerk's reply.

Mr Jordaan asked Mr Vlok whether during the past eight years the SAP had "directly or indirectly rendered financial or organisational assistance to Inkatha or a certain trade union, whose name has been furnished to the police".

Factors continue to dampen optimism, says foundation

Sowetan 7/3/91

304A

THE unprecedented levels of violence, the continuing crisis in black education, rising urban militancy, and an excess of ideological rhetoric served to dampen optimism in South Africa, the South African Foundation said this week.

In his annual report, the foundation's director

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

general, Mr K R S von Schrinding, said 1990 saw South Africa set on a path of fundamental change, with the accompanying easing of international isolation.

He said on the international front hopes for a new world order in the

wake of the end of the Cold War were soon dashed by crises such as the Gulf issue.

Two issues were clear, he said.

The first was that the major political actors remained committed to the goal of a negotiated new constitution involving all South Africans,

despite occasional setbacks and turbulence.

Secondly, he added, the focus of politicians in the next decade would be on meeting the socio-economic aspirations of the black majority, as well as overcoming huge developmental backlogs in areas such as housing, education, training and so on.

Queen to take tea with FW

LONDON - The Queen of England wants to grant President FW de Klerk an audience at Buckingham Palace next month and so end more than 30 years of estrangement between the Royal Family and Pretoria.

But her wish to take tea with the President and Mrs de Klerk is causing headaches at the Foreign Office. They fear other Commonwealth countries, particularly Zimbabwe,

could take offence at any early royal seal of approval for South Africa.

Nigel Dempster, probably Britain's best informed gossip columnist, wrote in the *Daily Mail* yesterday the Foreign Office's is concerned "whether the Commonwealth summit in

Zimbabwe later this year might not feel that Buckingham Palace was anticipating their readiness to end sanctions and the boycott of South Africa which Nelson Mandela wants kept for the time being.

"As the Queen will be hosting the traditional Commonwealth banquet with President Mugabe at

her side in Harare, no one would want the occasion to be spoilt by a row over De Klerk having been a premature guest at the Palace."

The Queen has already been in contact with senior Foreign Office officials and informed them of her wish.

of her wish. - *Sowetan Foreign Service.*



Sowetan 7/3/91

HB

30477

Expect some decay under ANC govt, says Wynand

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TIM COHEN (11) 304A

SA SHOULD expect an ANC-led government within the next two years, an enlarged bureaucracy and "some sort of decay", former DP co-leader Wynand Malan said at a conference yesterday.

Speaking at a seminar hosted by Damelin on Strategies for Business Prosperity in a New SA, Malan said it was possible the ANC would win less than 50% of the votes under a new constitution, but he would not bet on it.

He said if the bureaucracy was not enlarged, it would be necessary to institute a social security system.

There was "room to manoeuvre" within SA's budget constraints for the enlargement of the bureaucracy.

While the ANC was clearly not totally unified on all matters, it was totally unified on its main objectives: the abolition of apartheid and coming to power.

The idea of a possible split in the ANC's leadership was a myth, he said. However, he drew an analogy with the development of Afrikaner nationalism, pointing out that the original Botha/Smuts government had tried to be too accommodating after union, leading to the NP break-away under Hertzog.

Although a similar possibility may exist after a new constitution was negotiated, Malan predicted the ANC would be unified for at least four years after elections.

SA would experience some "decay", and whites would have to contend with a drop of living standards, but the country would not become a Kenya, he said.

Zach: DP has place in govt

Political Staff 30(4)

UMHLANGA — The DP could well become part of a "larger entity" in the future, party leader Zach de Beer said last night.

The country needed "a broad-based, centrist, moderate" government for stability and growth and part of the ANC, the Nationalists and the Democrats should be part of it.

The process would take several years and the DP still had a role to play in helping others apply policies it had always stood for, he told a Umhlanga constituency meeting in Maidstone. 6 (PM 7/3/91)

De Beer said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and other black leaders were already making a "major input" to government policy and legislation.

It was the view of the DP that "the input of black leaders into political decision making should be steadily increased".

NP holds on to Maitland

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party had a setback in the Maitland by-election when many of its supporters and members of the Democratic Party failed to turn up to vote yesterday.

As ballots were being counted last night, both parties agreed that the NP had managed to keep the seat — with a drastically reduced majority.

Nat candidate Mr Louis Pienaar said there was "little doubt that we won", but expressed disappointment at the low poll.

Conservative Party frontbencher Mr Tom Langley said the swing towards the CP in the by-election indicated that the party would win more than 100 seats in the House of Assembly if an election were held tomorrow.

The NP retained the seat with 6 009 votes to the CP's 3 152 votes.

Officials of both parties said last night that only 46-47% of roughly 20 000 eligible voters had bothered to cast ballots.

The low poll, reflecting a stayaway of NP and DP supporters, was seen as a good sign for the CP. The NP's MP for Tygervallei, Mr Sakkie Pretorius, said the by-election showed that the government was encountering resistance to its reform programme, but he added: "The government cannot lose power by having a bad result here."

He believed the depressed economy and fears about security of private ownership had been a

major factor in the fairly poor turnout for the NP at the polls.

Although a respectable 2 300 special votes had been cast before polling opened at 7am yesterday, voting was painfully slow for much of the day.

By 3.30pm only 2 287 of the constituency's 19 753 voters had cast their ballots at the four polling stations, giving a percentage poll of 26% when special votes were included.

By 8pm the poll had risen to just above 40% and half-an-hour later to almost 44%.

In the 1987 general election, the NP received 4 280 votes in Maitland, the Progressive Federal Party 3 228, the CP 744 and the HNP 144. In the 1989 general election, when the CP had no candidate, the HNP managed 441 votes, the NP 6 154 and the DP 4 749.



AT THE HUSTINGS ... Nationalist Party candidate Louis Pienaar (right), and his wife, Isabel, chat to a voter Mr Dirk Joubert, 81, at a polling station in the Maitland constituency yesterday.

What are we doing here? query MPs

Star 7/3/91

On
The
House

SHAUN
JOHNSON



304A
2/3/91
2/3/91

For what is arguably the first time in several years, the House of Representatives has been debating an important question.

The question is: "What are we doing here?"

As the politically aware reader will know, others outside the tricameral Parliament have been wanting this answered since 1984. Now they are getting some satisfaction in the Reps' twilight days.

The formal topic for discussion was the Budget, but the interleaving theme was "Our Relevance". (Research shows that the word "relevance" was used in the House this week as often as most prepositions. Indeed, it was frequently used as a preposition.)

"All the signs are that if we do not now act with resolve we will be written off by history," declaimed Jac Rabie (UDP, Reiger Park), at the time of writing the Leader of the Official Opposition. No one was prepared to argue with that.

His proposal to the majority Labour Party (Proprietor: Hendrickse and Sons), was that all Reps should stop their silly debate and "march to Tuynhuys to deliver our demands to the State President".

It was not immediately clear what

ourable Member?" he demanded.

"He has been in Parliament since time immemorial. It is now the golden opportunity for him to get a golden handshake."

Making allowances for poetic licence — the Hon Member for Bishop Lavis had in fact been in Parliament since the early 1980s, not time immemorial — Mr Roper was touching on a crucial issue.

Those Reps who have been in the system from the beginning already

qualify for parliamentary pensions, while more recent arrivals do not. Hence the consuming interest in matters which may otherwise appear to the casual observer to be somewhat parochial, trivial, and — dare we say it — "irrelevant".

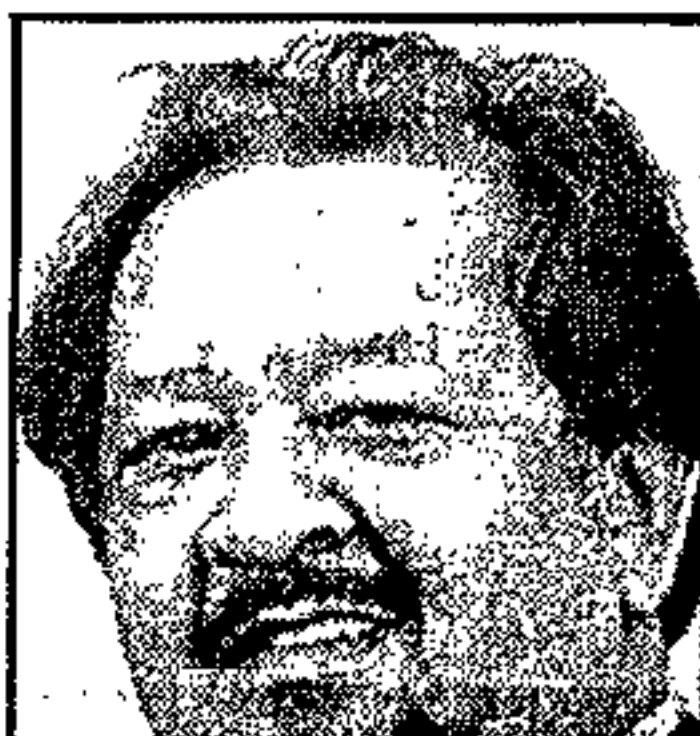
It is a

hard fact that the Reps have very close to no influence whatsoever in Parliament in these pre-New South Africa days. The time when they could block group areas legislation and embarrass the Government by forcing Bills through to the Presidents' Council has now passed.

Thus the House sees out its autumn in a state of something approaching amiable chaos, contemplating its collective



Jac Rabie.



vance. (re-
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shows that
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Rable (UDP, Reiger
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(Proprietor: Hendrickse
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Reps should
stop their
silly debate
and "march
to Tuynhuys
to deliver
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to the State
President".

It was not
immediately
clear what
these de-
mands were,
besides that
overarching
issue which
is concen-
trating the
mind of the
nation: "Will
the Reps get
full pensions when the
playhouse is abolished?"

Nic Isaacs (DRP, Bish-
op Lavis, until a week
before himself the Lead-
er of the Official Opposi-
tion), was also all for
walking out.

"There is no more hon-
our in this House," he
added, begging a ques-
tion or two.

The Labour Party,
which had earlier staged
a protest boycott of a
parliamentary Joint Sit-
ting (a piece of mass ac-
tion which seemed to es-
cape the notice of every-
body except the Labour
Party), got very cross
about this.

Boycotts were fine to
pressure for more money
for the Reps' constitu-
ents, they said, but a per-
manent walkout was be-
yond the pale.

Arthur Roper (LP,
Alra Park) went straight
to the point.

"Who will profit more
financially (from walk-
ing out) than that Hon-



Jac Rable.

sions, while
more recent
arrivals do
not. Hence
the consum-
ing interest
in matters
which may
otherwise
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the casual
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what paro-
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The time when they
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Allan Hendrickse.

Thus the
House sees
out its au-
tumn in a
state of
something
approaching
amiable
chaos, con-
templating
its collective
navel and
convincing
itself of the
urgent need
to continue
doing what-
ever it was
it was doing
in the first
place, which
no one can

quite remember for the
moment.

While South Africa
changes beyond recogni-
tion, the men in the Reps
(irreverently known as
the "House of Repro-
bates" or "House of Hy-
perbole") stay much the
same. The heroines of
Hansard carry on filling
in party affiliations in
pencil because they
change so often.

The intensity of insult
is raised to an ever
higher plane. The Speak-
er, like the boy with his
finger in the dyke, barely
manages to avoid scenes
of epically unparliamen-
tary proportions.

More than anything
else, though, the House
of Representatives is
home to the most ex-
traordinary characters,
all of them under grave
threat of extinction in
the new South Africa.

Be warned: in the
weeks to come, their
final acts will be preser-
ved for the historical
record.

NP thrashes CP in Maitland by-election

Political Staff Star 7/3/91

CAPE TOWN — Triumphant Nationalists more than doubled their majority in the Maitland by-election last night, but the result also reflected an almost 27 percent swing to the Conservative Party.

The NP won 6 009 votes against the CP's 3 152 — a winning margin of 2 857. In 1989, in a contest between the DP and HNP, the NP majority was barely 1 000. However, with a low poll of 46,5 percent the NP total is more than 100 down on the 6 154 of 1989.

A beaming Minister of National Education and Environmental Affairs, Louis Pienaar, last night declared the result a "mandate for reform".

"It indicates decisive support for the policies of change of the Government and I believe that the voters of Maitland have fallen in line with the majority of voters in the whole of South Africa."

Cape NP leader, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, said: "I'm delighted we have doubled our majority under the most difficult circumstances and

that is an indication of the mood of the people. They want to go forward to a new and a better South Africa."

However, CP leader Dr Andries Treunicht declared the results a "remarkable achievement" for the CP.

He said the swing of nearly 27 percent means the CP "are in a position to win a general election".

"It's a very clear message to the Government that President de Klerk cannot speak on behalf of the white nation, and he is not in a position to represent them at the negotiation table."



Louis Pienaar . . . cruised to victory.

World Bank 'may give SA loan package'

By Michael Chester

The World Bank may be prepared to mount a mammoth loan package to assist SA's reform programmes in a post-apartheid era, but only when it is convinced the Government has mapped out a realistic route towards ultimate aims.

That was the blunt message delivered by the SA Chamber of Commerce (Sacob) in Johannesburg yesterday.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said the first

clues on the realism of Government approaches to solutions of black/white socio-economic inequalities should be revealed by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in the 1991 Budget on March 20.

Mr Parsons reminded a news conference that Sacob had estimated that it would cost between R60 and R70 billion to bring about black/white equality at one stroke, far beyond South Africa's economic means.

Sacob was pressing the merits of a "social contract" acceptable to all sides and set-

ting out a timetable that could take as long as 10 years to complete if the economy was not to be damaged beyond repair.

"Even if the World Bank agreed to write out a cheque for all R70 billion in loans to South Africa, it would still take several years to complete the whole programme," he said.

"Potential overseas investors such as the World Bank need to be convinced that the Government has found a viable timetable and the right strategies to achieve the goals we all want to see reached."

Star 8/3/91

(304A)

Don't be fooled by ANC vows'

Staff Reporter

3/3/91

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht last night said South African whites should not be fooled by the ANC's alleged commitment to peaceful solutions" and should be prepared to defend their families and property — with Neighbourhood Watches if necessary.

He was speaking at a packed CP rally at the Hoërskool Flor-
daan Roodepoort.

Dr Treurnicht said there were many black leaders who were prepared to side with the CP in its resistance to "revolutionary, terrorist organisations" such as the ANC and the PAC.

Different groups in South Africa should each be allowed a separate right to land, freedom and self determination. Acceptance of power sharing was the betrayal of self determination.

Dr Treurnicht said: "We won't be governed by FW, or by Mandela, or by his 'good wife' Winnie. The CP demands the right to own residential areas, schools, facilities and land."

Nats get 'mandate for reform'

3048

Sowetan 8/3/91

TRIUMPHANT Nationalists more than doubled their majority in Maitland on Wednesday night in a by-election that nevertheless reflected an almost 27 percent swing to the Conservative Party.

The NP won 6 009 votes against the CP's 3 152, winning the seat by 2 857 votes.

In the last election in 1989 - in a contest with the Democratic Party and the HNP - the NP majority was barely 1 000.

Votes

The NP tally on Wednesday night, however, is more than 100 votes short of the 6 154 it got in 1989.

The poll, which yielded 24 spoilt papers, was a low 46,5 percent.

There was satisfaction on both sides - relief for the Nats, and promising portent in the mathematics for the CP.

Shouts

Speaking against a cacophony of cheering and, from CP supporters, shouts of derision, a beaming Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar, declared the vote a "mandate for reform".

"I am very satisfied with the result. It indicates decided support for the policies of change of the Government and I believe that the voters of Maitland have fallen in line with the majority of voters in the whole of South Africa."

Sowetan
Correspondent

YEAR ago they trampled menacingly across the SA political psyche, their rhetoric, khaki uniforms and sjamboks a stubborn block in the way of a new SA.

If there was then a sense of the right-wing movement being all dressed up with nowhere to go, it was not apparent in the apocalyptic utterings of the right's bully-boys. Early last year they paraded the streets of towns like Welkom which witnessed a mushrooming of right-wing militant groups.

That the Welkom saga was in fact a particularly nasty gold miners' dispute being waged above ground, was never seriously investigated. Instead this was the right on the march, SA was led to believe.

Some months later the violence came, but not from the right-wingers and not on the broad streets of right-wing towns like Ermedo or Burgersdorp. Rather, it came from townships like Vosloorus, Thokoza and Bekkersdal.

Now, with right-wing terrorism almost non-existent and its leaders resorting to hunger strikes to try to squeeze concessions from government — unsuccessfully as it transpires — the right appears weaker than ever before.

While former militants like Piet "Skiet" Rudolph — with one eye on amnesty — declare that they are now prepared to negotiate a new dispensation, the Conservative Party and its leader Andries Treurnicht hold out against negotiating with "communists".

The militants — some of them inside the CP — argue for armed struggle and a separate and sovereign volkstaat. The CP ideologues stick to the party's policy of "partition", pointing out that the international trend is towards recognising separate nationalisms.

Amid vague threats of an armed uprising, the CP is pinning its hopes on a referendum at which the De Klerk-Mandela "new deal" will be put to the vote and found wanting.

The right's armies try to dodge the march of progress

PATRICK BULGER

6/02/89

304A

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Risk consultant and right-wing expert Wim Booysse believes the right has realised the impossibility of a simple leap from generalised dissent into armed struggle. This may explain its low profile of late. Rather, he argues, the right is sowing the seeds of a counter-revolution.

Armed training is continuing with fervour. "The most important component is the creation of defensive cell structures — especially by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. Training is going on in all the Boer towns," Booysse says.

Between August last year and January this year, he counted no fewer than 127 weekend training courses on farms in right-wing rural districts. He says the AWB is setting up a jigsaw of "order groups" which are organised at area, regional and division level.

Kommandants and veldkornets train the commandos which are defensive in posture. Neighbourhood watches are infiltrated by rightists intent on using them for their own political purposes. "The AWB has shown an unbelievable surge in profile and is attracting a younger and more sophisticated element," he says.



□ TERREBLANCHE

By contrast the CP remains caught up in its own contradictions. It can remain a traditional parliamentary party seeking power through the ballot box, or break with Parliament and link up with the

militants in extra-parliamentary struggle.

The farmers' siege of Pretoria — catching the CP leaders unaware as it did — illustrates that the party may well be out of touch with right-wing rural militancy.

While the rhetoric of the CP has radicalised, there is a difference in emphasis between pragmatists and ideologues. There is as yet no clear split, but a tendency in the CP strongly backs the idea of going to the negotiating table and putting the case for a sovereign Boerestaat. The ideologues battle to break with the party's Verwoerdian heritage and pin their hopes on the referendum. What the right never suspected last year was the intensity of state reaction to its incipient terrorist revolution.

In a series of swoops, police relentlessly hunted down and detained right-wingers in much the same fashion the state used for years to contain the left. Rudolph's armed uprising ended in capture and acrimony with Rudolph calling on his incredulous followers to hand in their weapons and negotiate a new future. So much for armed struggle. But CP gains in recent by-

elections reinforce the view that the right is far from finished as a political force. The prayer vigils in support of the former hunger strikers are being seen in right-wing circles as a way to unite the right around a single emotional and militant issue. On the ground, the right wing remains obstructive and effective.

In dozens of Transvaal towns, the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act has been matched by outlandish fees for amenities for "non-rate-payers" — that is, blacks. On the Transvaal and Free State platteland the right remains the dominant political force.

Even in the urban areas, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche pulls crowds of almost 2 000 people in places like Alberton that border on townships that have witnessed some of the worst political violence in SA history.

For its part, government has abandoned the spectre of the militant right as an excuse for not pushing through further social and political reforms. Government relies on the hopelessly fractious right to remain its own worst enemy. It is anxious to come up with a workable constitution that will both defuse and allay white fears.

The right suffers most of all from an unworkable and illogical political policy and an inability to push itself to the centre stage of SA politics.

Historically SA's two main constitutional options have always been partition. If accommodation is to be the pattern of the future, the right will be dragged kicking into an uncertain future. Sporadic right-wing violence will be commonplace, however.

Partition, or even a watered-down federal arrangement, might placate the khaki brigade.

A constitutional arrangement that puts urban interests above rural concerns may well leave the right confined to far-flung backwaters. There it may remain powerful and reactionary but unable to impose its will on national politics.

'NP could still win referendum'

Can Tink 8/3/91
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent 304A

MAITLAND was the second-worst by-election result ever for the National Party — but the government should still be able to win a referendum for a new constitution, say two leading political analysts, Mr Donald Simpson and Professor Japie Spoenstra, of Potchefstroom University.

However, they caution that the upcoming by-election in the marginal Ladybrand constituency will serve as a better barometer of whether President F W de Klerk is really in trouble.

But veteran political commentator Professor Willem Kleyhans said yesterday that the outcome of the Maitland poll must be "frightening" for Mr De Klerk given that it was a mainly English-speaking urban constituency.

"It was a 10% lower poll than in 1989 and 14% lower than in 1987, but despite that there was a five-fold increase in the right-wing vote. The NP will have to be very sober and realistic about this."

Professor Kleyhans submitted that the CP — who polled 3 152 votes to the NP's 6 009 in Maitland — have now shown that they have substantial support in the urban areas of the Cape, as was demonstrated in Vasco in 1989.

Mr Simpson and Professor Spoenstra say that if the Maitland result is extrapolated to the rest of the country, the NP would win 81 seats in a general election, the CP 75 and the DP 10.

The analysts dismissed NP claims that they were left in the lurch by DP supporters.

DP to fight on independently

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has decided to continue to champion its cause as "a separate, distinct and totally independent" political entity.

The decision to go it alone follows a long period of self-analysis by DP structures countrywide which produced a series of "Quo Vadis" or strategy documents in response to recent political changes.

Releasing a document entitled "The DP in the early 1990s" yesterday, DP national chairman Mr David Gant said: "The document effectively puts an end to speculation that the DP is either ready to disband itself or be sucked into political organisations either to the left or to the right of it."

The document, which has been adopted by the leadership, is now ready for implementation.

Mr Gant said yesterday: "The primary rationale for continuing the independent status of the DP is the lack of sufficient evidence that any other political organisation currently competing for electoral support truly understands or, in fact, practises liberal democracy."

This included the characteristics of liberal democracies such as protecting human rights, upholding the rule of law, rejecting violence, corruption and intimidation and promoting the welfare and living standards of all the nation's people.

"South Africa is characterised by a stagnant and depressed economy, by continuing violence perpetrated by those claiming to reject it, by corruption and financial mismanagement at all levels of government, by cover-ups and security scandals, by unfortunate distortions of society caused by apartheid, and by conflicting political rhetoric in respect of both constitutional and economic proposals and policies," he said.

TRANSITION FM 8/3/91

EASING THE PASSING

Government envisages an important role for the proposed multiparty conference but the NP is committed to the supreme authority of the existing parliamentary structure in governing the country. (304A)

That's according to Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking in the House of Delegates in response to a motion calling for the formation of a "super Cabinet," to govern the country during the transition to democracy, Viljoen said there was no intention to replace the legislative and executive functions with an interim regime representing the main parties to negotiations.

Government is also not prepared to dismantle or dissolve any of the structures provided for in terms of the present constitution — including the "own affairs" structures and "certain aspects" of local and regional government — until mutually acceptable options have been negotiated.

Viljoen's comments were seen in part as an effort to stabilise parliament in the face of a growing perception among MPs that they are becoming increasingly irrelevant. There has been strong speculation since President FW de Klerk's opening-of-parliament speech that government is planning to establish a transitional "super Cabinet" to give extra-parliamentary leaders shared responsibility for executive decisions.

continue →

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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(304A)

Viljoen says De Klerk's reference in his opening speech to "certain transitional arrangements" that give leaders of parties to the negotiations "a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions" should not be misinterpreted. Viljoen adds: "It is quite clear that there is no commitment that the present legislature and the present executive should be adjusted ..."

However, he suggests a number of possibilities that could be agreed on during multiparty talks:

- ☐ The acquisition by the multiparty conference (MPC) of the "stature and capacity" to influence materially the governing process "directly and even authoritatively," but leaving the ultimate responsibility to groups operating under the current constitution;
- ☐ The "natural development" within the MPC of an influential leadership corps which could "informally" influence existing decision-making functions;
- ☐ The establishment by the MPC of a formally structured leadership corps to act as "a kind of council of negotiating leaders representative of the most significant parties to provide a consultative input to government;" and
- ☐ The formation of multiparty working groups dealing with specific areas of interest and providing "sound guidance" in the transitional period.

Viljoen says mutually acceptable transi-

tional arrangements would help to defuse factors which could delay the negotiating process — such as over-inflated political and economic expectations among young people.

It is clear that government realises that the co-operation of extra-parliamentary groups in general and the ANC in particular is essential to maintain a relatively stable administration during the negotiating process.

But at the same time it is totally opposed to the ANC's call for an interim government, which implies the suspension of parliament and the constitution. Viljoen says that to call for the dissolution of any aspect of the existing constitution before negotiating acceptable substitutes "would be putting the cart before the horse." ■



The good old days ... Jesse Jackson, Trevor Huddleston and assorted concerned citizens at a British Anti-Apartheid Movement meeting in the heyday of the anti-apartheid campaign

Photograph by Jillian Edelstein

Minty is director of the Oslo-based World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration With South Africa, set up in 1979 at the suggestion of the United Nations, to look specifically at any contravention to the UN arms embargo.

The campaign's work will continue until the embargo has been lifted and this — according to a report by the British House of Commons select committee on foreign affairs — will be the last to go. When it does, Minty hopes to return to South Africa, after at least 33 years in exile.

The International Defence and Aid Fund (Idaf) will move its centre of operations from London to South Africa as soon as structures have been set up.

Ex-South African Bill Frankel, legal consultant to Idaf — which provides funding and support for political trials — said there was no longer any reason for the organisation to be based abroad since its unbanning last February.

"In the light of the prevailing conditions in South Africa and at the request of interested organisations, it is appropriate for a legal resource programme such as Idaf to be handled from within South Africa," he said.

The new organisation would inevitably change its name, and might be in

some way connected to existing local organisations such as the Legal Resources Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights, Frankel said.

The American Committee on Africa, based in New York, will focus in the short term on maintaining sanctions, until, as founder Jennifer Davies says, "the promise of change has evolved into the process".

The committee, which has branches across America, will also work with the 80 cities and 26 states which impose local sanctions against South Africa and continue its campaign for the release of political prisoners as well as providing support for labour movements in this country and organisations tackling apartheid at a grass-roots level.

It will also be involved in human rights and anti-repression work, said Davies.

In the longer term, working with local networks, the committee will move into reconstruction so as to help South Africa develop its role as an integral and important player in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Washington-based lobby organisation, TransAfrica, was founded 14 years ago to represent black Americans and galvanise their opinion towards American policy. Its interests

spread to the Caribbean.

According to director Randall Robinson, TransAfrica will continue to oppose sanctions until all apartheid laws have been removed from the statute books.

"The government still has a considerable distance to go before sanctions can be lifted. I will not believe in the irreversibility of change until blacks have been given the right to vote and I have serious reservations about the extent to which De Klerk is prepared to go," Robinson said.

Once sanctions have been lifted and a democratic constitution drawn up, TransAfrica will focus on trying to create a climate in the United States of assistance to a new democratic government in South Africa.

"Then we would want to play an aggressively constructive role in order to help the new democracy to flourish."

The Holland Committee on South Africa is continuing in the short term to lobby its government to keep sanctions in place, said representative Kees de Pater in Amsterdam.

In the longer term it will step up its programme of support to democratic organisations and victims of apartheid in South Africa and to that end, will transform from a political action group into a smaller organisation,

aimed at providing information, financial support and material aid to this country.

After celebrating its 30th birthday last year, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Holland is currently debating where to go next.

Editor of their magazine Bard Luijck said he believed that they were on the way to success in their main goal — to destroy the system of apartheid. But the replacement of apartheid laws with democratic ones wouldn't necessarily mean an end to apartheid; this would take many years and a lot of support and the Dutch AAM would help provide that support.

The Swedish Isolate South Africa Committee (Isak) is an umbrella organisation embracing 63 member groups.

Its short term role will continue to be to campaign against sanctions until this is no longer necessary and to support the democratic movements, said publicity officer Lars Hult.

In the longer run, it will encourage a network of different organisations in Sweden to co-operate with their sister organisations in South Africa and to provide financial and moral support.

In the future it is possible Isak will cease to exist.

Wimand 8/3-14/3/91

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SAMANTHA WEINBERG

looks at their future

RECONSTRUCTION rather than obstruction will be the nature of the involvement of international anti-apartheid movements in South Africa in the future.

From the late 1950s, organisations sprang up outside the country, geared towards fighting apartheid and in particular, pressurising governments and international formations into imposing sanctions against South Africa.

These organisations, many of whom were loosely or more formally tied to the African National Congress, can claim much of the credit for introducing sanctions onto the international political agenda and for keeping them in place.

However, as the apartheid laws begin to crumble and with them, the justification for sanctions, the anti-apartheid movement has started to re-appraise its role and in many cases, to change its name.

Most of the organisations contacted by *The Weekly Mail* this week said there was still a part for them in the future, but this would be more in the realms of addressing the legacies of apartheid and providing support for democratic movements within the country.

But this role would not start until sanctions had been dismantled and in many cases until a democratic constitution had been instituted and a democratic government installed.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in London is holding a conference in July to decide on its future structure and working groups have already been set up to look into whether — and if so, how — the AAM can be involved in South Africa.

In the short term, the priority of the AAM is to ensure the peace process in South Africa succeeds, but in the longer term, there is a role for a "post-apartheid organisation" aimed at trying to resolve the inequalities created by the apartheid system over the last 50 years, according to Abdul Minty, honorary secretary of the AAM and one of its founders.

Minty said the AAM supported the position taken by the Commonwealth — that sanctions should only be removed when the apartheid laws have been dismantled and a position of irreversible change reached. However, as the AAM has never taken a position entirely independent of the ANC, it would still expect to take its lead from them.

Already some of the AAM's constituent organisations, such as the Committee on South African War Resistance (Cosawr), have been dissolved.

Anti-apartheid omnibus changes gear

FW de Klerk's reforms have forced the international anti-apartheid industry to change direction sharply and suddenly.

Mail 8/3-14/3/91

Mail

A brother's view of a pragmatic president

W. M. 8/3-14/3/91.

364A (P)

EVERYONE remembers that speech. Where they were, what they were doing at the precise moment when President FW de Klerk turned his back on a lifetime of conviction and altered the course of our politics.

My back row seat in the carpeted football stadium known as the "Chamber of Parliament" allows a certain perspective. Shortly after 11h00 on February 2 1990, FW de Klerk was standing three paces from my seat, as he momentarily paused, before striding down the aisle to deliver his momentous address. He seemed remarkably ordinary — no chestful of medals, no homburg, no overbearing sense of self-importance.

His remaining grey hairs reinforced his grey, lined countenance. Yet there was also a confidence and a certainty in the expression. At first sighting I was struck by FW's lack of height. Yet, somehow, when he stood behind the podium of parliament and, in increasingly assertive cadences, buried the apartheid way of doing business, he seemed immensely elevated, strong and assertive. There was no winged oratory, no finger-waving. Simply cold logic delivered with stunning conviction.

There have been other important speeches and debates. But February 2 1990 will not be surpassed.

John Major, on his elevation to the premiership of Britain, was described as having "the charisma of a suburban bank manager". With his election, the age of the grey man had arrived. But such descriptions flatter only to deceive. It is precisely the absence of messianic zeal, hyperbolic flourishes and overwhelming righteousness which starkly contrasts Major with Margaret Thatcher.

De Klerk, on assumption of office, was also seen as conformist. However, his "regular guy" demeanour was a special counterpoint to PW Botha's bluster and bullying. Shell-shocked survivors of Botha's imperial presidency confirm the divergence in approach. "It's like a pleasant summer after a long winter" — a young rising star Nationalist MP told me recently. Where PW used to subject his caucus to a weekly lecture, terrifying his MPs into cowed silence, FW apparently encourages free-ranging debate. Another member tells how his two years under Botha's *Storm and Drang* was punctuated by only one brief conversation with the *Hooftleier*, whereas his new boss recently had him round for a braai.

Few are immune to the charm. About a week after "the speech", several DP newcomers and I were milling around our benches waiting for parliament to begin. Up came the president, pumped our hands, welcomed us to parliament and animatedly discussed his encounter ("tough" was his description) with the Picasso of the television interview, Ted Koppel, which had been screened the night before.

Where PW brooded in the Tuynhuis, FW can be seen in the parliamentary tearoom with colleagues, chatting away, cigarette in hand, expansive in manner. This collegiality, courtesy and innate decency is also believed to have established the "special chemistry" which is said to fuse the relationship he enjoys with Nelson Mandela. Insiders also aver that its spontaneity helped keep the Pretoria Minute from foundering.

My CP colleague Jamie Momborg — a former Nationalist insider — believes that the difference between FW and PW is also generational. The worst excesses of the latter's regime occurred when the president was a septuagenarian. De Klerk, in contrast, assumed office when 20 years younger.

What is it in the personal past that fore-shadows the presidential future? Marxist historiography eschews the "great

Not a hagiography, but still an admiring view: that's Willem de Klerk's new book on his brother, President FW. **TONY LEON**, Democratic Party MP for Houghton, reviews the work

man theory of history". It suggests that leaders and events exist at the confluence of inevitable historical forces. Willem de Klerk's new biography on his younger brother, *FW de Klerk: The Man in His Time*, attempts to weld personality and history together.

Intriguing questions abound around FW — he is after all still a dark horse, who deliberately charmed a low-profile, loyalist, insider course to the top. None of the incessant publicity — which surrounds his person and office — answers this conundrum: What occasioned his remarkable U-turn, especially from one who was regarded as a leading party right-winger?

Willem de Klerk suggests that there was indeed a conversion — perhaps not Damascene in nature since FW is more a creature of calibrated rationality than a visionary idealist. But a fundamental change of



FW de Klerk

heart, no less: "His conversion was built, rather, on pragmatism — it evolved as a process." The "conversion" was multi-layered: firstly, it is suggested that FW's "strategic conservatism" enabled him to "do magical things" with the Afrikaner. Secondly, his dead-centre positioning in the party allowed him to listen to the rumblings of discontent within it (eg. the fact that Barend du Plessis nearly beat him for the job indicated a yearning for change). His education, obvious intelligence and open-mindedness were also crucial contributory factors. He was frank enough to stare impending doom in the face — and thus attempt to turn the ship around in mid-course. And his Calvinistic sense of mission gave him the necessary determination to manage the task, without self-doubt.

One of the remarkable features of FW's policy shifts has been the unanimity he has engendered in his traditionally conservative caucus. Willem de Klerk attributes this to the particular leadership style of the president. Since the author has the benefit of a lifetime of observation it is worth quoting his perspective:—

"Not that he (is) some adored, charismatic figure at whose feet his colleagues huddled ... He is a team man who consults others, takes them into his confidence, honestly shares information with his colleagues, and has a knack for making people feel important and at ease ... The loyal support he mustered ... was based neither on fear nor on adulation: He has gained the loyalty of trust."

In contrast, some, from outside the NP, who have met De Klerk during formal meetings, suggest that an element of the "superman complex" occupied a place in his thinking. Willem de Klerk discounts the possibility. He also denies that FW has any "rabbits" to pull out of the hat to avert majority rule. Yet he believes his brother will play a "leading" role in the transformed democratic South Africa.

The president positively relishes the cut and thrust of the House of Assembly, especially if he can adroitly bash the Conservative Party (with the convert's zeal, one wonders).

On this issue, one of the few personal vignettes contained in this study is fascinating: Prime Minister John Vorster wanted to promote De Klerk from the back bench to deputy minister in January 1976. The information was leaked

to FW and his father, the formidable Nat leadership figure, Senator Jan de Klerk. Father duly hired a Cape Town hotel suite for a family celebration. The clan's hopes were dashed. Twelve hours before the appointment was to be announced, the message came through that Dr Andries Treurnicht was to get the post. ("He had to be promoted to keep him quiet.") In the event, Vorster, who presciently forecast that FW would one day be prime minister, later promoted him directly to the cabinet, skipping the deputy-ministerial route entirely.

Whether the animus between the president and the leader of the Opposi-

tion originates from such a preferment is not pursued. However, he seems a person bereft of the personal antagonisms which thrive in politics.

The book itself is a stylistic *blanc-mange*. It lacks rigorous editing: flashes of brilliant analysis bog down in a clearly awkward translation. The often haphazard arrangement of ideas cries out for an index (which unforgivably is missing). Organised references and occasional footnotes would greatly improve its readability — and the text itself is over-padded with lengthy Hansard extracts better placed in an appendix.

The author also moves disconcerting-

ly from strong first-person insider accounts to detached third-person observations — but this is usually consistent with a particular theme.

This is no kiss-and-tell memoir. It is generally admiring, without being totally hagiographic. Clearly President de Klerk is a remarkable leader. His brother suggests that he is no Kerensky either — he is not about to phase himself out of politics in order to disappear after a brief transition. However, no book, however insightful, can at this time determine what role the voters of the new South Africa will assign to FW.

●FW de Klerk: *The Man in His Time* by Willem de Klerk (Jonathan Ball, R49,95)

FW: 'The choirmaster of capitalism'

W/mailed 8/3 - 14/3/91

3044

A DYED-in-the-wool verkamp-
te, State President FW de
Klerk continues to confound
both friend and foe with his
liberal reforms.

Firstly, he unbars not only
the African National Congress and the
Pan Africanist Congress but also the
South African Communist Party and
the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto
weSizwe. Surely the last two organi-
sations (and Joe Slovo) were for a
generation and a half the *kego* every
white Afrikaner learnt to fear from his
mother's breast.

Then comes the promise of the repeal
of the Population Registration Act and
the Group Areas Act, arguably two of
the pillars, nay, foundation stones, of
apartheid. Somewhere he even men-
tioned universal suffrage, a dirty
word — okay, two dirty words — if
there has ever been one to the National
Party.

De Klerk has been called all sorts of
names: a traitor, a man of integrity, a
prophet, a man of courage. He has
even been called a coward and an Af-
rican.

What gets left out in the many praises
and condemnations of De Klerk is
what is perhaps the single most im-
portant thing about the man and this is
that he is a cold calculator and a bold
manager of risks, to borrow a phrase
from (Minister of Constitutional De-
velopment) Gernt Viljoen.

De Klerk's objective is fairly simple:
it is to make South Africa safe for cap-
italism. Since coming to power after
ousting PW Botha in 1989, this objec-
tive has undergone considerable mod-
ifications and refinements. At one
stage, for example, the issue of group
rights — later renamed minority pro-
tection — appeared to be a key com-
ponent of this objective. Lately this
has become less so. No doubt there
will be other refinements.

How then does De Klerk propose
both to achieve his central objective of
making South Africa safe for capital-
ism, which implies maintaining white
living standards intact, and at the same
time engineer a government that is ac-
ceptable to the great majority of the
people of South Africa?

De Klerk has been accused of trying
to be both a player and a referee at the
same time. There is something in this,
but a more accurate description of De
Klerk is that of the choirmaster. De

Everyone loves President FW de
Klerk, it is commonly believed.
Everyone? Cosatu's
MOELETSI MBEKI argues
that he is a cold calculator with a
single objective: to make South
Africa a safe place for capitalism

Klerk sees himself as the man who is
marshalling the many disparate voices
of South Africa, ranging from the Af-
rikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the
Blanke Boerskap Beweging (BBB)
on the lower register of the octave
through to the high notes of the SACP
and Workers Organisation for Social-
ist Action. De Klerk, however, has
more than the old choirmaster's tuning
fork and baton. Under his falsetto he
hides the lethal arsenal of the security
forces and its surrogates and some
carrots for those who become voice
trained to sing in tune and in harmony
with the others.

Let us look at the base on which De
Klerk's cold calculations to make
South Africa safe for capitalism are
made.

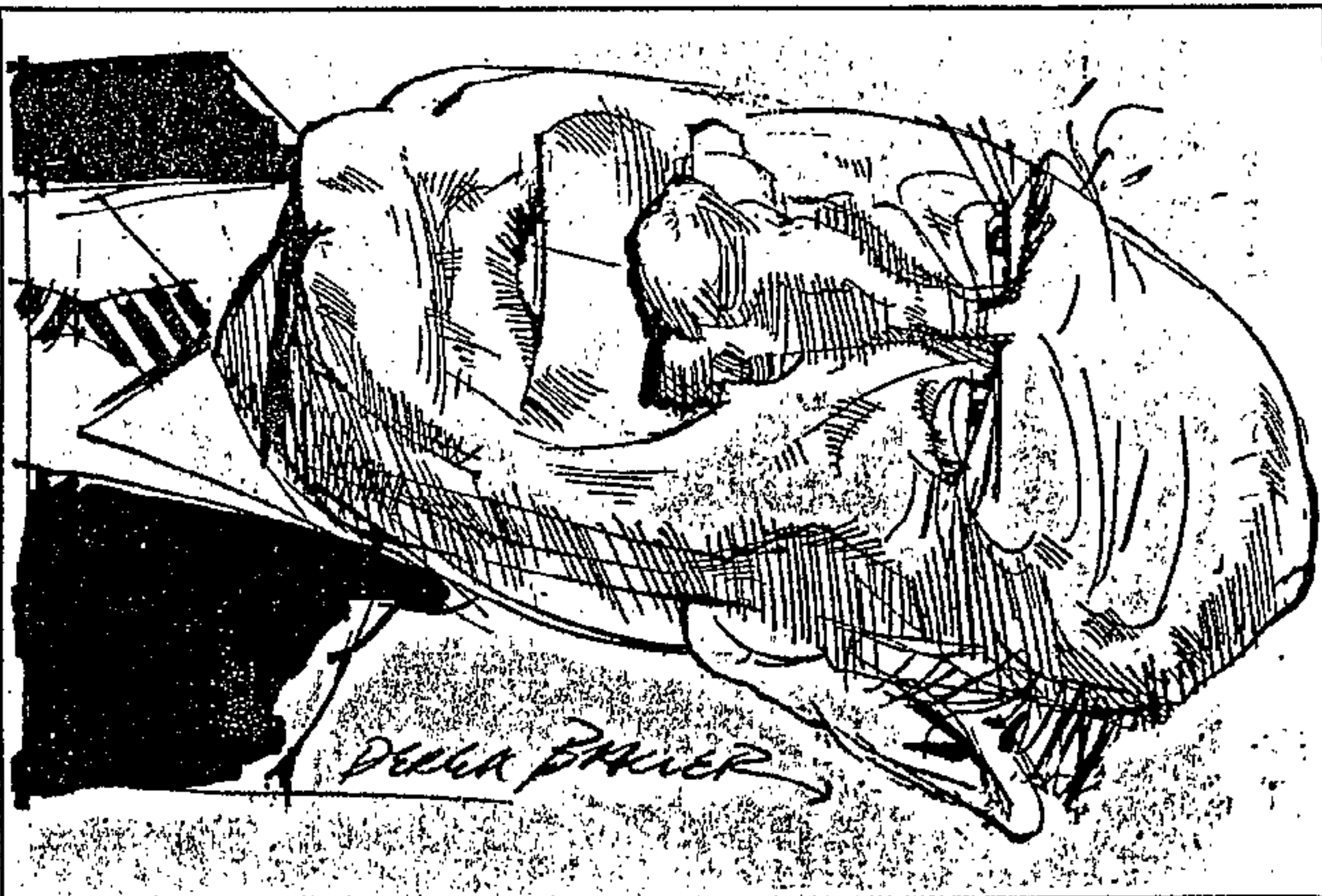
● He understands that the exclusion
of blacks from the political processes
of the country can never be sustained
by any means, least of all by force.

● He understands that black puppets
who have been so close to the NP's
scheme of things — and to other
white regimes before the NP — are
more of a source of instability than a
route to a solution of South Africa's
political problems.

● He understands how to use force
to achieve his political objectives with-
out appearing to be using force him-
self. To achieve this De Klerk under-
stands that he needs to keep the black
puppets he inherited from his prede-
cessors in place at least until he has
completed his reform process.

● He understands that white domina-
tion and the attendant system of white
privilege which started off as a rickety
house of cards has hardened into a sol-
id structure that cannot be easily
pushed over by blacks.

● He understands that white South
Africa cannot defy the West, and espe-
cially the United States, and hope to
survive for any considerable period of
time.



State President FW de Klerk — 'a bold manager of risks'

W/mailed 8/3 - 14/3/91
That the exclusion of blacks from the
country's political processes has failed
in its objectives hardly needs demon-
strating. More significantly this exclu-
sion has put South Africa in the top
league of unstable countries in Africa
together with Uganda, Ethiopia and
Mozambique. Thus it really makes no
difference what type of regime South
Africa has at present, left, right or cen-
tre, it is not a safe place for capitalism.
Hence the enormous flight of capital
from the country in recent years.
The difference between De Klerk and

brought into the country's political life
if stability is to be restored.

The second difference between De
Klerk and his predecessors is that he
recognises that the blacks who must
be brought into the political processes
must be true representatives of the
black community and not puppets as
in the past. (3044)

Black puppets created in the past —
bantustan chiefs and their bureaucra-
cy, local councillors, tricameral parlia-
ment participants, to name but a few
— however, continue to play a critical
role in De Klerk's calculations. This is
because these puppets make it possi-
ble for De Klerk to use force against
the liberation movement but pass this
off as conflict among blacks. By this
device the black puppets appear to
gain in stature and are therefore pre-
sented as substantive political players
when in fact they are an arm of the
NP. The liberation movement in turn
is thus forced to slow down its popu-
lar mobilisation and moderate its de-
mands especially for socio-economic
transformation in order to strike deals
with the puppets.

By using black puppets to force the
liberation movement onto the defen-
sive, this leaves the field wide open
for the NP to appear as the main inhi-
bitor of change in South Africa. While
the opposition is trying to put out the
many fires being started all around it
by the NP's black puppets, De Klerk
forges ahead with eliminating racially
discriminatory legislation and thereby
winning the approval of the interna-
tional community, especially the
West. The international community in
turn rewards De Klerk with the lifting
of sanctions, thus further weakening
the bargaining position of the libera-
tion movement.

The \$64 000 question that De Klerk
has yet to answer is what happens
next. Having weakened his oppo-
nents' bargaining position while per-
mitting them to operate legally, how
will he translate the advantages he has
into an electoral victory based on a
universally accepted constitution that
has however been negotiated with
weak partners?

● Moeletsi Mbeki is head of the Commu-
nications Department at the Congress of
South African Trade Unions. Prior to return-
ing from exile last year, he was researcher
with the Zimbabwe Institute on Southern Af-
rica and senior journalist with *The Herald* in
Harare.

'Huge task to end monstrous inequalities'

Wend 8/3 - 14/3/91

A BRITISH parliamentary group hails President FW de Klerk's repudiation of apartheid but warns that "many dangers" threaten South Africa's trek towards non-racial democracy.

The House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC) also recognises that ending apartheid and constructing a new constitution by September, 1994, is "a huge and daunting task".

Seven Conservative and four Labour MPs who make up the committee portray South Africans as a people torn by tribal, political and criminal violence, beset by white as well as black extremists, living under the shadow of security forces whose loyalty and accountability to De Klerk's reformist government is unpredictable.

On the economic level the British legislators see white South Africa's sophisticated industrial structure as belonging to the First World; the remainder as resembling the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. "The inequalities which result are monstrous," they say. Housing conditions in the squatter camps and townships "are often deplorable"; black joblessness is serious; lack of education and health care "appalling". Their report observes that political reform alone is unlikely swiftly to satisfy the expectations of "the oppressed majority" for higher living standards and it adds: "It is South Africa's tragedy that even were these ine-

A report by a British foreign affairs fact-finding mission which visited Southern Africa last year says reforms in South Africa are the key to stability in the region. **ARTHUR GAVSHON** reports from London

qualities to be removed, her people would still be in a Third-World, not a First-World economy."

The FAC visited nine of the 11 countries of sub-continental Africa last November-December and in each took evidence from government and opposition leaders. In their report published on Monday they pinpointed the unfolding reformist developments in South Africa as the key to the future stability of the whole region which, until recently, they said, was a battleground for East-West superpower rivalries.

The focus of the committee's investigation was on the political and economic implications for Britain of the changes being generated within South Africa. As the British legislators put it, "change in South Africa has helped to bring change in the region" as a whole — not only because the apartheid strategy of destabilising neighbouring countries appeared to be ending but also because of the withdrawal of Soviet bloc states from sun-Saharan commitments and alliances.

On the basis of the evidence committee members heard from politicians, academics, businessmen of all shades and racial groups they offer a catalogue of the obstacles which stand in the way

of an enduring settlement:

- Violence among blacks topped their list. It was "the saddest" and with complex causes. But most of the evidence from individuals and groups — like the British Council of Churches, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, the International Commission of Jurists — suggested that, at least in Natal, opponents of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement were more often the attacked than the attackers. Police involvement on Inkatha's side also was cited.

- Extremism was detected too. Among whites the report identified "mainly Afrikaner bureaucrats" whose jobs would be threatened under the new order. In the townships and squatter camps "radicalised urban youth" were said to have filled the vacuum left by the exiling or jailing of older leaders.

- As the FAC see things "the most chilling prospect" for De Klerk would be the loss of police and army support for his reforms even though their role in government has been downgraded. The report showed that the committee voted down a minority view blaming Inkatha for most of the troubles on the basis of Judicial Commission and High Court reports, investigations and pro-

ceedings.

3044

- Failure by South Africa's first post-apartheid government to fulfil the rising expectations of blacks for better standards would be dangerous as well as sad. This is because it might "encourage radical voices to demand that a new majority government takes steps to promote equality by coercive means, by a forced redistribution of wealth". Among other things it might result in mass disinvestment and it certainly would scare potential international backers.

- The FAC cited estimated costs of eliminating the inequalities between white and black in the education, housing and hospital systems. They amount to £9-billion annually for the next 10 years; £4.8-billion for pre-university education alone, £1.6-billion for basic housing and £2.6-billion for reasonable hospitals. "The consequences of failure (to meet these needs) would be disastrous," the report said.

How to meet these enormous needs? The committee confined itself to suggesting that the recipes offered by the government and big business on the one side and by the African National Congress on the other side should go "hand in hand": their rival prescriptions amounted to a dynamic expansion of the economy for the creation of new wealth and for a phased programme of wealth redistribution.

Drop the bluster. Adopt a joint strategy

W/Mail 8/3-14/3/91 (304)

THERE are three transitional mechanisms in debate: a multi-party conference (MPC), an interim government (IG) and a constituent assembly (CA). Each one addresses important transitional problems that not one on its own can solve.

This is not appreciated by all parties involved in driving the transition and causes confusion.

●A constituent assembly: a mechanism that has to help to constitute a new government, construct a new constitution and give it popular legitimacy. The latter function, by the way, can also be performed by a referendum.

Historically, the most recent case of a "successful" constituent assembly was Namibia. However, it could only perform the above-mentioned functions because certain other transitional problems had been "solved". For example, the problem of monitoring transition was the responsibility of the United Nations Organisation. The problem of maintaining stability during transition was the responsibility of Untag. And perhaps most important of all, because of the illegality of the constitution in Namibia at the time, there was no incumbent regime that had to divest itself of power.

These three problems are intimately involved in the transition in South Africa and therefore to call for constituent assembly elections now is to put the cart before the horse. In fact,

An interim government, a multi-party conference or a constituent assembly? While the debate rages on over which is best in the transitional process,

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT argues that one cannot be used in isolation of the others

the worst possible thing that could happen in our transition, particularly for parties opposing the regime, is to hold premature elections for a constituent assembly. Premature in the sense that the problems of monitoring, stability and the status of the incumbent regime during transition have not satisfactorily been resolved. A CA is the mechanism that could come into play after other problems have been dealt with that can no longer bedevil a CA. What mechanism could do this?

●A multi-party conference: a mechanism that enables interested parties to put issues of transition on a common agenda and discuss, negotiate, debate ways of resolving them. Such issues must include problems of transitional monitoring, transitional stability and the status of the incumbent regime during transition. No doubt other issues will be debated as well, such as the transformation of the state in

the form of new departments and policies on education, health, defence, local government, land as well as the issues and principles to be dealt with in a new constitution. As deliberations on these issues make progress no doubt multi-party working committees will evolve to deal with ongoing transitional problems.

●An interim government: the most viable concept of this mechanism that is emerging is that of the incumbent regime and its opponents devising mechanisms by means of which they jointly share responsibility for managing transition. As they continue doing so a *de facto* interim form of government will emerge. As this is done successfully a climate could develop which would be conducive for testing popular support for the activities of an interim government and a new constitution. Such a testing could be in the form of a constituent assembly or a referendum.

It becomes nonsense to posture and bluster about the remedial qualities of any of these transitional mechanisms in isolation from one another, or to pretend that individually each one can solve all transitional problems.

Each one addresses important problems of transition and South Africa will make much quicker progress in this process if the different parties can develop a joint strategy of transition.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff
THE Democratic Party has expressed its determination to continue as a separate entity dedicated to liberal democracy.

The party has done this in a strategy document for the early 1990s which has been considered by its national council and regional and constituency formations.

Mr David Gant, chairman of the council, said the document put an end to speculation that the DP was either ready to disband itself or to be sucked into political organisations either to the left or the right of it.

There was no evidence that any other political organisation truly understood or in fact practised liberal democracy and its characteristics of protecting human rights, upholding the rule of law, rejecting violence, corruption and intimidation and promoting the welfare and living standards of all.

Shared vision

The party's ultimate target group was all voters in the new South Africa.

Its best prospect for membership and support were those who shared the party's vision and who, because they looked upon themselves first and foremost as individual South Africans, did not want to be coerced into responding as members of a group.

Equally important were those whom the party could influence, thereby promoting acceptance of its policies and principles as well as the necessary processes of negotiation and reconciliation.

The party faced the challenge of converting itself from a largely white entity to one which accommodated the needs and aspirations of all South Africans who shared its values.

Consistent record

Because of the consistent record of the party and its predecessors it enjoyed a high degree of credibility across the political spectrum and was able to interact with all organisations.

The DP's five-point plan for the new South Africa aims at:

- A negotiated, democratic constitution which incorporates a federal system and restricts the powers of the State;
- A social market economy which addresses the problems of poverty and inequality while promoting growth;
- A development programme to enable people to become participants in a growing economy rather than be recipients of charity;
- The establishment of structures in government and society that promote nation-building and a shared common vision;
- The recognition of the cultural diversity of South Africa as a national asset which could be developed in a spirit of mutual respect, tolerance and conciliation.

Mr Gant said that since February 2 last year President De Klerk, his ministers and some of his MPs had begun to adopt beliefs, policies and rhetoric that formerly were the province of the DP and which had formed the basis for its 1989 election manifesto.

There was in fact a sense of pride and triumph among DP supporters that the road they had for so long mapped out for South Africa was now being followed by those who had for so long refused to recognise it.

DP UNVEILS FIVE-POINT PLAN FOR THE NEW SA

3041
b1-4865 9/3/91

F R Tomlinson and a dream die together

Star 9/3/91.

304A

"HISTORY," said Professor F R Tomlinson only 10 years ago, "will have to decide whether we were right or wrong."

History is now poised to complete those deliberations following the death in Worcester in the Cape last month of the "architect of the homelands".

He is certain to be found to have been wrong — and the irony of the timing of the revelation could not have been more acute.

For in the very week in which Frederick Rothmann Tomlinson died at the age of 82 — some 35 years after the publication of his famous Tomlinson Commission Report — the first of the "independent" homelands took a step toward inexorable reincorporation into South Africa.

The incremental "homecoming" of Ciskei marks the beginning of the end of the grand homelands plan, rendering Professor Tomlinson's 17-volume, one-million-word report all but obsolete at a stroke.

Undignified obscurity

In Parliament, too, the country's white legislators are dismantling the laws of the past four decades. The old ideologues and technocrats of apartheid are being consigned to undignified obscurity.

Professor Tomlinson will nevertheless occupy a permanent place in the modern history of South Africa, and it must be clearly understood for what it is and what it is not.

He cannot fairly be referred to — although he often is — as "the architect of apartheid" writ large. To be sure his mammoth report laid a foundation for the politicians to put apartheid into practice (and even coined the phrase "separate development").

But he insisted it was a technocratic "solution" to a prescribed political "problem" — that of the homelands.

"I was asked to do a job," he said in a rare interview in 1976. "I was not ideologically committed to the idea of separation except in as much as any South African has been born and bred with some idea of separateness."

As chairman of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, Professor Tomlinson spent nearly five years in the early 1950s dreaming up the scattered ethnic enclaves which Verwoerd firmly believed would unscramble South Africa's racial egg.

Professor Tomlinson emerged convinced that the homelands could work — but only on condition that white South Africa dug deep into its pockets to ensure rapid development.

He subsequently fell out with Dr Verwoerd, who liked the political but not the burdensome financial elements of the plan, and the professor broke a 20-year silence on the implementation of his report in 1974.

He had never been consulted since completing the report, he told the South African Agricultural Union.

History now
deciding that
apartheid
is a failure



HONOURED: Professor Tomlinson was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service in 1985.

SHAUN JOHNSON

He now believed that the Government had "wasted 15 years" in making only desultory progress in the development of the homelands. "The commission had seen the whole task as stated by it," he said, "as an expected act of faith of the white population."

Small scale efforts

"I am convinced that there was the opportunity at the time of the appearance of the report in 1956, to fire great enthusiasm, idealism and support among

the white section of the population by starting large scale ambitious programmes which gripped the imagination

"Instead of which we got important but... small scale efforts..."

Professor Tomlinson's criticisms at the time were very revealing of the man himself, and of the strictly limited political options which were considered at that stage to be reasonable by whites.

What was at issue were degrees of paternalism. Professor Tomlinson said repeatedly that he believed "we (whites) are in Africa for God's purpose. I believe that we have important missionary work to do and I saw the Tomlinson Commission Report as part of that work, as part of my Christian duty".

He expressed "great faith in the ability of black South Africans to manage their own affairs", saying "I have a very high regard for the potential, still largely dormant, of our black people".

But Professor Tomlinson totally rejected any possibility of wholesale integration: It was as unthinkable to the supposed "neutral" expert as it was to the apartheid ideologue Verwoerd.

It is for this reason that he will probably not retain his reputation as a visionary who "saw through" apartheid dogma. History is more likely to remember him as a brilliant technocrat whose theories were never properly tested, but were unworkable anyway.

Professor Tomlinson was, despite his name, an Afrikaner. He had an English grandfather, but his mother's side of the family had emigrated to South Africa from Germany as early as 1774.

Household notoriety

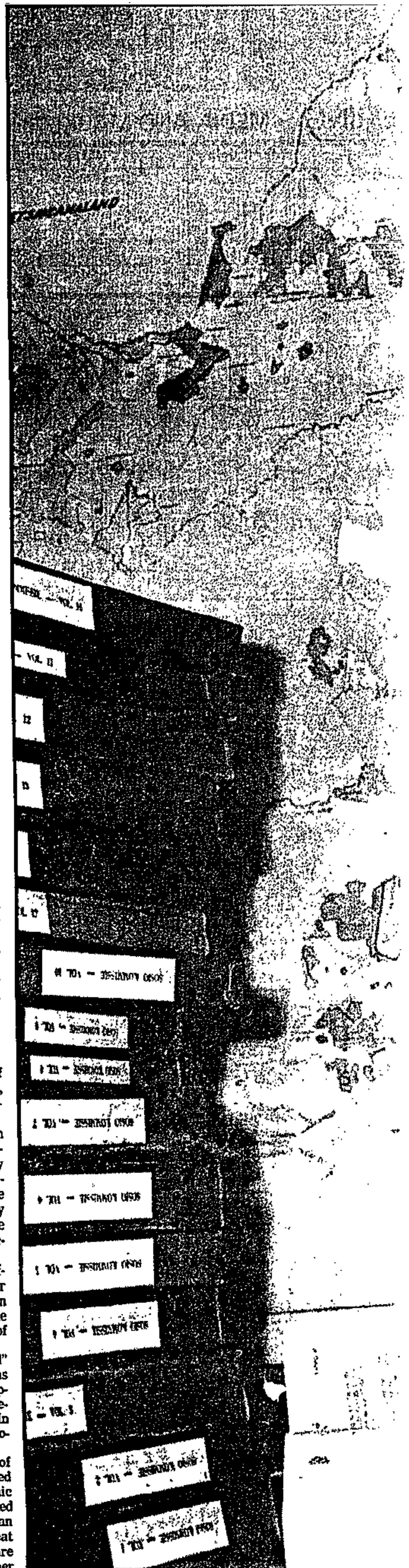
He excelled in the academic study of agriculture at Stellenbosch University, eventually completing a PhD at Cornell University.

He started lecturing at Stellenbosch at the age of 25, and became a professor thereafter. It was in this capacity that he was invited to chair the commission which eventually bore his name — he was apparently recommended by J G Strijdom, later to become prime minister — and moved from relative academic obscurity to household notoriety.

This was short-lived: Dr Verwoerd effectively gagged him, and Professor Tomlinson's light receded as he took on long-term tenure as the Director of the Transvaal Region of the Department of Agriculture.

He made a brief comeback, "recalled" in 1982 by Prime Minister P W Botha as a consultant to the Department of Co-operation and Development, and then retired to his home town of Swellendam. In 1985 President Botha conferred the Decoration for Meritorious Service on him.

Professor Tomlinson died at the end of February in Worcester, and was buried in Swellendam. A long-time academic colleague, Professor Dirk Smith, hailed him as a "great Afrikaner who had an intense love for his country... a great cedar tree has fallen, but its roots are anchored across the whole land". Other historians have yet to have their say.



MASTERPLAN: Professor Tomlinson

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MASTERPLAN: Professor Tomlinson with the 17 volumes of his famous Tomlinson Commission Report.

Time to halt the corruption

PW BOTHA, we should not forget, politically corrupted not only the army and the police. He corrupted and distorted the constitution.

The most obvious sign of this is the executive presidency. This is a disaster. Botha inflicted it on the country in his quest for power, without any understanding of how executive presidents have behaved in Africa or Asia or Latin America.

Let there be no misunderstanding. In practice, an executive presidency is synonymous with a dictatorship, with one exception, the US. An executive president is typical of corrupt and inefficient Third World administrations. Executive presidents very quickly become corrupted by power and human rights seldom survive for long. Opposition parties are even more transient.

Fragile

The US is not typical of countries with executive presidents, but it should not be a model for the new South Africa.

The US constitution is the product of late eighteenth century "enlightenment", in which the danger of excessive power in the presidency is met by a complex series of checks and balances. The American president is not a dictator.

The problem for the US, ironically, is not a corrupt president but a corruptible legislature. With 20 000 professional lobbyists in the US, the administratively in-

STimes 10/3/91
STUART JONES argues that the South African executive presidency should be the first to go in a new constitution

competent Congress is a sitting duck.

Further limitations upon the excessive concentration of power within the presidency are imposed by the nature of federalism.

In Britain, for example, Mrs Thatcher never seemed to understand that genuine decentralisation did not involve the central government granting powers to the provinces, but in permitting the provinces to adopt policies that diverged with those of the central government.

In the US, as in Canada, Australia, Germany and Switzerland, matters such as education and health and welfare are the preserves of the individual states: they are not federal responsibilities.

A federal form of government, therefore, can act as a powerful constraint upon excessive centralisation and concentration of power. The US is not merely an exception to the rule that executive presidents lead to dictatorships. It is the exception.

De Gaulle in France was a de facto dictator. He overthrew the constitution and, by doing so, took France out of the mainstream of European constitutional development. France is a country characterised by a strong tradition of individualism and General De Gaulle's dictatorship was mild.

Moreover — and this was important — he retained the office of prime minister.

Thus, when Chirac's party won the election in 1986 and gained control of the French parliament, he was able to limit the power of Mitterrand as executive president. This constraint upon the executive presidency disappeared when Chirac lost the election two years later and Mitterrand's party won the election.

The case for the abolition of the executive presidency is not only suggested by the peculiar complexity of the US model and the fragile compromise of the French system, it is demanded by the examples of appalling mismanagement and corruption of African, Latin American and Arab executive presidents.

It is demanded, too, by the actual experience of the free democratic countries of the world. With the exception of the US, all the free countries have a head of government who is not head of state.

Some are monarchies; some republics. Britain, Canada, Australia and the Scandinavian countries are monarchies, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Ireland are republics. Their presidents do not strut around in fine uniforms; they perform ceremonial tasks. Who can, off hand, recall the name of the president of the

Swiss Federation?

In Asia, there are few democratic governments but all of them without exception are countries in which the head of government is not also head of state.

They can be counted on the fingers of one hand: Japan, India and Israel. All of them came under the influence of democratic English-speaking governments at the time when their modern constitutions were adopted.

In Africa there is no democratic government: in Africa there is no western type parliamentary democracy. Throughout Africa, including South Africa, the curse of executive presidencies lies heavily. It almost guarantees misgovernment.

Disaster

Yet, in his unwisdom, obsessed with power and inflamed by what the French call "folie de grandeur", Botha inflicted this model upon South Africa. It was a prescription for disaster — an Afrikaner rejection of Western roots. Not only was it the wrong model, it created an awful model for the new South Africa.

It is not too late to rectify this mistake. The tailors of the constitution for the new South Africa should have as their first priority the abolition of the executive presidency and the restoration of the office of prime minister in a parliamentary democracy.

□ Dr Stuart Jones is a senior lecturer in the Department of Economic History, University of the Witwatersrand

star 11/3/91

Ministers can buy their own homes

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government has decided to allow Ministers and deputy Ministers the option of buying their own homes in a move that may see the sale of residences worth millions of rands, Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs George Bartlett has confirmed.

He said the need to unlock funds, and an improvement in the security climate, had led to the decision, which took effect recently. (3c4A)

Sixty-eight Ministers and deputy Ministers live in State-owned residences. Ministers living in their own homes would

receive allowances. This would mean a saving of about 40 per cent when compared with the costs of State residences.

Mr Bartlett said Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok had been consulted on the security aspects. Security would be maintained at the private homes. "There is a feeling that we get better return in such cases because a police guard means a presence in the community," he said. (2c3B)

The new decision means the Government has dropped the policy of trying to herd all Ministers and deputy Ministers into contained villages for security purposes.

Survey puts SA optimism near the top

Business Day Reporter

SA WAS one of a few countries around the world whose citizens became more optimistic about their future last year.

Markinor research company said South Africans' confidence index rose three points to 116 points last year, putting it ahead of most of the 36 countries surveyed by Gallup International.

The only other countries whose optimism levels rose were the UK, Germany, Austria, Denmark and Iceland.

Markinor carried out the local survey and said the improvement in SA's optimism level could probably be ascribed to confidence in government's reforms.

The international poll was conducted in December when war clouds were beginning to gather over the Middle East.

Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson said major political change was always followed by improved confidence.

Countries showing a dramatic fall in confidence included the Soviet Union, Canada, Hungary, Finland and Israel.

The most pessimistic country was Hungary, with an optimism rating of 18 points. Next worse off was the Soviet Union with 54.

SA's optimism level of 116 points was above those of Austria, Japan, Italy, France, the US, Australia and Switzerland. Top of the list was Iceland with 135 points, followed by Chile (134), Taiwan (131) and Argentina (128).

FW urges a united SA

^{15 (pay 11/3/91)}
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has called on SA's different communities to unite in a successful new nation. (304A)

He told a Sandton banquet on Saturday, where he was honoured with the Goodwill Foundation of SA's Friendship Personality of the Year award, he was accepting it as the "flag bearer of a movement which has accepted as its goal a just and equitable society".

There were still too many people in SA who believed in solving problems by violence and intimidation, he said.

There were also those who continued to be obsessed with past grievances.

The challenge of SA's peoples was to build bridges between the islands of the different communities, he said. — Sapa

Joe Rogaly suggests the best chance for a new SA lies with President de Klerk's Nats

The party for true democrats

Star 11/3/91

304A

THE time has come for South Africans of liberal persuasion to stop dithering about the African National Congress. They should cease to be hypnotised by the ANC, so chic a topic at Johannesburg's suburban cocktail parties. There is another party for true democrats of all races to support: the National Party headed by President de Klerk.

What, look to the Nats? In spite of everything that has happened over the past year-and-a-half this must still seem outrageous to some English-speaking whites.

I think it is pretty outrageous myself, although I am advocating it. I remember 1948, when the Afrikaner Nationalists, many of them sympathisers with Nazi Germany during the then recent war, came to power.

For the next 40 years they hampered down the iron chains of apartheid, ruling with a ferocity that was rightly condemned by the rest of the world.

It deserved the contempt it brought upon itself. The social and economic consequences of its years of misrule will persist for decades to come.

Some of the damage was done by disinvestment and sanctions. Yet I have no time for the fellow-travellers of apartheid, too many British Tories among them, who argued for contact rather than isolation. They were merely chasing a trading interest. Sanctions were one of the ingredients that brought the downfall of white supremacy.

Indeed, the effectiveness of the withdrawal of financial support by the world's banks is acknowledged by the foreign affairs committee of the House of Commons, whose report on British policy towards southern Africa was published last week. The committee now wants sanctions ended, sporting ties resumed and the arms embargo kept in place.

The committee's chairman, David Howell, may have become

a bit of a Nat himself. But unilateral gestures are not in the British interest. We should move in concert with the Commonwealth, the European Community, the United States and the United Nations.

We would be opposed by the ANC. Until very recently it was the only true opposition. It has always represented the aspirations of the black majority, and doubtless still does. The young Nelson Mandela and his fellow-lawyer, Oliver Tambo, were men of quality. Transferred to a British shire they might have become Conservative MPs with strong cabinet potential.

My sympathies have been with the ANC throughout my adult life. It is impossible to dim one's admiration for Mr Mandela, but difficult to maintain faith in the ANC in its present chaotic state. This is not only a consequence of the malodorous events surrounding the trial of Winnie Mandela, although with an eye to the administration of justice under an ANC govern-

ment that must be a factor.

There is a more fundamental problem. The years of struggle have created a terrifyingly armed army of young street fighters. Mr Mandela is barely able to control them, and he is not immortal. The balance between communists, state socialists, nationalists and others within the ANC coalition is unclear. An ANC government, unrestrained by constitutional safeguards or the strong presence of other well-based parties, is not a reassuring prospect for South Africa.

As for Inkatha, my guess is that this mainly Zulu party would impose the worst kind of tribal autocracy. There can be no peace in South Africa until there has been a proper election, with the ANC taking the leading role if the voters so ordain — but there can be little hope for democracy if there is virtual one-party rule.

The principal reason is the disparity between the poverty of most blacks and the wealth of

most whites. The ANC's natural electorate is what it calls the masses. That means people who for very good reasons demand an impossibly ambitious and basically uneconomic redistribution of wealth.

Middle-class blacks may break away to other parties that better understand the need for creating new wealth and stimulating inward investment. The National Party is a natural home for them. But it, too, will fall if it does not increase taxes on the whites in order to give more to the blacks.

As the Commons committee says, South Africa needs both redistribution and wealth creation. A multiparty democracy may just achieve a workable balance, even though the predominant party is the ANC.

The question remains — why the Nats? Their "manifesto for a new South Africa", issued in conjunction with President de Klerk's recent address to Parliament, constitutes a theoretical founda-

tion for a democratic, wealthy, creating South Africa.

Oh yes, it will be argued, but the Nats are masters at using words to deceive. I have rehearsed the same argument myself, many times, but Mr de Klerk's actions to date have taken events too far for it to be reasonable to doubt his word. Yet the reinstatement of capital punishment, which has just taken place, is a sickening sign that the spirit of the old South Africa still exists, even with Mr de Klerk presiding.

So what about a period of backsliding, as with Mr Gorbachev over perestroika? This is possible, and if it happens the ANC will once again be the only place to go. But as matters stand the best chance of preventing such a catastrophe, and giving hope that there will really be a new democratic South Africa, is to embrace Mr de Klerk's Nats. □

● Joe Rogaly is senior political commentator of the Financial Times, London.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Hansard 11/3/91

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Republican Party of South Africa

4. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether a political party known as the Republican Party of South Africa is registered with his Department; if so, (a) when was it registered and (b) who are its office bearers?

D32E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Yes,

(a) 1989-07-06

(b) National Leader — Govindasamy Reddy

National Secretary — Kuppusami Maistry

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

TUESDAY, 12 MARCH 1991

INTERPELLATIONS

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

General Affairs:

Identity documents: national identity

*1. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

† Whether he will consider introducing legislation in Parliament to allow people applying therefor to have their children's national identity entered on their identity documents; if not, why not?

BS27E.INT

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, if by national identity one means population group identity, then the answer is clearly no. The Identification Act of 1986, which came into operation with effect from 1 July 1986, makes provision for uniform identity documents to be issued to all South Africans. Therefore, for more than four years now, or since 1986, the department has been issuing identity documents in which there is no indication of the holder's group affiliation, either by means of the definition of group or race, or by the indication of the name, as was the case up to the beginning of 1970 in the case of the earlier green identity card, or by means of a figure in a code as was the case from 1970 to 1986 in the first identity document. If a genuine need did exist to indicate a person's population group in the document, my department and I would by this stage probably have been inundated with representations and complaints from the public.

However, neither I nor my department are receiving any negative reaction to the contents of the new identity document. The hon member evidently has no problems either with the removal of the definition of a person's group from the identity document. This has been successfully implemented for almost five years now. I deduced from his question that he would like a person's national identity to be included in the

identity document. However, it is not clear to me exactly what the hon member means by national identity... [Interjections.]... because this has been included for years. If he means the population group or race group, in other words apartheid concepts based on colour, it is obvious that the words "national identity" are incorrect and that he means to say race group.

The Official Opposition has an obsession with the concept of nation (*volk*). When we ask them who they are actually referring to when they talk about nation, we get confusing replies.

I should like to know from the hon member whether he is going to spell out to us in clear terms today what nation it is whose national identity must be included in an identity document. This Parliament will then know whether he actually means that a racialistic reference should be included in the identity document. [Interjections.]

As a legal man the hon member surely knows that concepts cannot be used haphazardly in legislation. He has a golden opportunity today to indicate how he wants to entrench the concept of nation (*volk*) in legislation in view of South Africa's unique diversity. [Interjections.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister says we have an obsession with regard to our group identity and national identity. Of course we have an obsession with this. We shall tell the hon the Minister why we have an obsession about this. It is because he is trying to take it away from us in this new constitutional dispensation, and this will be catastrophic for our people. [Interjections.] That is why we have an obsession with it.

I now want to ask the hon the Minister—he must look at me when I ask him—whether he is a White person. [Interjections.] Is the hon the Minister an Afrikaner? Does he speak Afrikaans? We say we want to have the national identity included in that identity document, whatever the applicant may prefer. It might be a person who wants to have "Afrikaner" recorded; it might be a person who wants to have "English-speaking South African" recorded. It might also be a person who wants an entry stating that he is a White person, and that his children's

national identity must also be recorded on a birth certificate.

We on this side of the House cannot understand why that side of the House is now suddenly having problems with the concept of national identity. All these years they knew what was being referred to when reference was made to "nation" or "White nation". We shall tell hon members why they no longer do this. It is because Nelson Mandela has taken it away from them. And now they cannot get over this. [Interjections.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, the party over here in its past, and the party over there in its present, have been the parties of apartheid. They based themselves on forced association and on violent association, when people did not have a choice, but were told who they would belong to.

The CP claims that they speak on behalf of the Afrikaner. [Interjections.] Their confidence in their representation of the Afrikanervolk is such that it can only be achieved through filling in a block on a document. [Interjections.] I want to say that if that is what their cultural commitment, their "volks" commitment is, then it is non-existent and they have no right to speak for the Afrikaner or anyone else. [Interjections.]

However, what is interesting is that this party has in fact conceded the new South Africa in this question. They say all right, change the rules, but let us have a little block on a form which still says that we are the same as we always were. I want to say that the Afrikaner language and the Afrikaner culture do not need forms.

HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

Mr R V CARLISLE: Nor does any culture in this country. It survives because it has the worthiness to survive. It requires no forms, no forced association. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the hon member is obsessed with identity. He wants arbitrary entries to be made on request, stating that a person is an Afrikaner, a White Afrikaner, an English-speaking Afrikaner or whatever. Can one imagine what chaos this will eventually result in!

How does one determine a person's colour? Why does the hon member discriminate against adults in the first place? Why only for children? What about the naturalised citizen who does not have

an identity document on which "White" is stated? [Interjections.] If a person comes to this country who is not a citizen, or whose colour is not indicated in an identity document, should only his children be registered? What becomes of him? If two Black people want to register a Black child, and want there to be an entry "Black", must I comply? [Interjections.] The hon members of the CP say "yes". Surely this is not logical. Let us assume a Black person says this Black child must be registered as a White, must I comply in this case as well? [Interjections.] Certainly not, they say.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! It is in the nature of interpellations that provision is made for seven turns to speak for hon members of the various parties within 15 minutes. It is definitely not an opportunity for everyone to shout at once and drown the sound of the voice of the hon member who is speaking. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: This is precisely the problem. If the child is White, it must be recorded, but if the Black parents come and say their Black child is White, it must not be recorded.

Does the clerk at the counter determine what colour the child is? Who determines this? If the hon member's wife—I know she is White—says she wants to register her child, how do I know that the hon member is the father of the child? [Interjections.] How does one know what colour one must record? This could surely lead to total chaos, and it is precisely for this reason that we wanted to establish order because under the present dispensation one can find four people of four different colours and groups within a single family. This is the problem we are faced with and which we want to rid ourselves of. Nowhere in the world does one find group and colour recorded in an identity document. [Interjections.]

Are hon members ashamed of their identity? Is the greatest treasure they have to walk around with a little book saying that they are White? Is that the greatest wealth one can have? [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister is ashamed of being an Afrikaner, and he has a desire to run away from the fact that he is White and that he is an Afrikaner. [Interjections.]

The Government's urge to destroy the Afrikaner people increases every day in its shamelessness. When they took over, there was a free people in Southern Africa. This free people has been reduced to a minority group, and a group may no longer be a group in their new South Africa, as long as that group is constituted on the basis of race or ethnicity. In their eyes a group may not have its own fatherland either, and according to the reply of the hon the Minister, it may no longer have its own name. In other words, the children of Afrikaners may no longer call themselves by the name of their people, namely Afrikaners. [Interjections.] How boundless is this treachery!

The more the hon the Minister wants to destroy separateness, the more separation there will be in South Africa. [Interjections.] The more he wants to destroy the existence of our people, the stronger this people's will to survive will be; it will receive constant nourishment from our own history, on our own soil.

The power to protest and the power to fight for a people and its survival here in Southern Africa will come from that shining star which will lead us, namely freedom in our own fatherland.

Long live the Afrikaner people! [Interjections.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, if that hon Minister has problems not knowing who the father of his children is, I have no such problem. [Interjections.]

The constitutional dispensation of the NP is based on free will, and now when we ask to lay claim to that free will—they say it is incorporated in their system—they refuse to give it to us. We say that whether a man is Black or White, or a Xhosa, an Afrikaner or an English-speaking South African, he must have a free choice in terms of the NP's dispensation, but we are asking the Government please to be consistent and not to adopt a dualistic approach.

We want to tell hon NP members that they do not know what they are talking about. In the United States of America, a country the NP so much likes to model itself on, there is a recognition of the right we are talking about in this interpellation. [Interjections.]

Finally I want to tell hon members that the CP will never forgive the NP for making this people—a people in its own right—into a minority

group, and for having changed that minority group into a few single individuals who are to make up a hotchpotch of a new nation under the hon the State President.

We want to be a people and we want this recorded on our identity documents.

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, it is only a man who does not have confidence in himself about being an Afrikaner . . . [Interjections.] . . . who wants to have proof stating that he is an Afrikaner, and then still wants to be defined as an English Afrikaner or a White Afrikaner or a Brown Afrikaner or a Jewish Afrikaner. Where does this end? It is total chaos! I want to tell the hon member there is no chance whatsoever that legislation can be submitted in terms of which voters can bring about arbitrary entries of a discriminating nature on a non-uniform basis onto the population register and identity documentation.

Hon members still have a chance to register their children as White, but then they must have their children quickly. Our Act will soon be here. [Interjections.]

Up to now . . . [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, up to now, since 1986, not a single person, including hon members of the CP, has raised objections either to me or to the chief director of the citizen services to this system in which there is no reference to colour in the identity document.

Because I come from the Cape, I took one person—the only member on that side who is from the Cape—and went through his voters' list. I am referring to the voters' list for Kuruman, and it is very interesting. What did the hon member for Kuruman do? At some point since June 1986—I do not know on what date—he probably exchanged his identity document for the present one which has no reference to colour. [Interjections.] Today we do not know whether the hon member for Kuruman is a White man. [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Is the hon the Minister entitled to obtain private information from people who are employed by the department and then abuse it

across the floor of this House... [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! This is not a matter the Chair can rule on. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I should like to explain that 10 minutes ago... [Interjections.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, on a further point of order: With the greatest respect I want to tell you that that hon Minister is blurring out for political gain information he has access to in his ministerial capacity, and which, as far as I know, is confidential in terms of the law. I submit that this is illegal and that you must stop him. [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I am not prepared to continue calling the House to order. Hon members will oblige me to take drastic steps against the next hon member who misbehaves. My throat is sore from calling members to order and getting no reaction.

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, on a point of order...

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! First I want to deal with the point of order of the hon member for Soupansberg. It is not possible for the Chair to rule here and now whether the hon the Minister is abusing information at his disposal or not. I do not know what all the implications are of what is being discussed here, and I am therefore unable to rule on a point of order now. I can go into the matter later and give a further ruling, but I cannot restrain the hon the Minister here and now from using the argument he used. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, 10 minutes ago I telephoned the NP office and a quarter of an hour ago my private secretary telephoned the office in Kimberley. The voters' list of Kuruman is a public document in which any person may obtain any information, including the hon member's number which I shall not even mention here. It is a public document. I shall never abuse my position.

*Mr J H HOON: You are a disgraceful Minister!

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! No, the hon member for Kuruman must withdraw that allegation.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

*Mr J H HOON: That hon Minister is extremely disgraceful!

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I am not going to argue about that; the hon member must withdraw that allegation.

*Mr J H HOON: I shall not withdraw it; he is disgraceful!

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! In that case the hon member for Kuruman must withdraw from the Chamber.

[Whereupon the hon member withdrew.]

[Interjections.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: The Chair has given repeated rulings that when an hon member addresses you on a point of order, it must be done in silence. While the hon member for Soupansberg was addressing you on a point of order, the hon member for East London North shouted loudly at you.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I have already indicated my dissatisfaction at the fact that appeals for order are not obeyed. I agree with the hon member for Losberg as far as his point of order is concerned, but unfortunately hon members seem to take pleasure in disregarding the appeals of the Chair. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: Finally I want to say it is regrettable that this fine subject has been politicised. [Interjections.] I regret that the opportunity has been abused in an attempt to get at this side of the Government, as though enough devout attention was not being devoted to the concepts of Afrikanerhood, of being English, or any concept which defines culture. This side of the House respect this at all times.

*Mr S P BARNARD: You are lying again!

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: The hon member for Hercules has just said that the hon the Minister is telling a lie. Is that permissible?

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! It is not permissible. Did the hon member for Hercules make such a statement?

*Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister caused the voters' list...

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I am merely asking the hon member whether he made such a statement.

*Mr S P BARNARD: I said he was lying again. He is lying when he claims to have said that.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for Hercules must withdraw that immediately or withdraw from the Chamber. [Interjections.] Order!

[Whereupon the hon member withdrew.]

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, on the point of order I wanted to make a moment ago: While you were giving a ruling and were asking for order in this Chamber, an hon member of the CP made the allegation that the hon the Minister was a disgrace to the Afrikaners. Is that permissible?

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I shall reserve judgment on that matter. The time for the first interpellation has most definitely expired. That brings us to the second interpellation.

Debate concluded.

Ciskei: incorporation into RSA

2. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

12/3/91

Whether the Government is considering any steps to have Ciskei re-incorporated into the Republic of South Africa; if so, what steps; if not, why not?

B537E.INT

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, at present the situation is that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei are independent states. They gained their independence from South Africa firstly by way of legislation passed by the South African legislature, secondly legislation passed by their legislatures and, thirdly, bilateral agreements on a large number of subjects concluded with South Africa.

The governments of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei—those three—have expressed a wish in general terms, in discussions and in public statements, to be re-incorporated into South Africa. [Interjections.] However, no formal proposals have been received by the South African Government.

Even if and when formal requests or proposals are received, I must point out that the Government of one state cannot unilaterally take a decision to join another. The South African Government cannot take a decision until this matter has been thoroughly canvassed and all the complex implications have been analysed at bilateral meetings.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, I would point out that in fact the hon the Minister's reply begs the question, because it actually passes the buck to other people, when in fact those states were the creature of this Parliament.

They were created at a time when, in terms of the hon the Minister's own definition, the South African Government was sinning by appointing political rights on the basis of race and skin colour.

I raise the issue of Ciskei, because it fills many South Africans with deep concern. Ciskei has become a political and ideological disaster, as well as a bottomless pit for the South African taxpayer's money. [Interjections.]

Leaving aside the financial aspects from this debate, a year ago South African troops went in there after a coup to save lives, to save property and to try to prevent thousands of people from becoming jobless. A few days later, Mr Brand Fourie was appointed overall co-ordinator of the Eastern Cape and Ciskei operation. [Interjections.] Two months later, the South African Government recognised Oupa Gqozo's military government without ascertaining whether he in fact had the support of the people of Ciskei.

Since then, we have had the appointment, subsequently withdrawn, of Vito Palazzolo as a special envoy. We have had further disclosures about the operations of Jalc. We have had ongoing tensions between Ciskei and Transkei. We have had tensions between Ciskei and the ANC. We have had the cold-blooded killing of Charles Sebe, and there has been a further attempted coup, with South African military intervention, resulting finally in an agreement with the Ciskei government, with an independent state, that South Africa would appoint four of Ciskei's Cabinet Ministers.

We say that this is a farce. What is the South African Government's positive policy towards re-incorporation? We are not asking what other people say. We want to know what the South

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The battle for the bay begins

Star 12/3/91

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AS Namibia prepares to negotiate with South Africa over the future of Walvis Bay, its officials are looking for a helpful political spinoff from the Gulf War.

In that war, United Nations resolutions were given some of the strongest international backing they have yet received anywhere and the Namibians hope this will give strength to the UN Security Council resolutions declaring that Walvis Bay and the offshore islands are part of their territory.

At the same time, the Namibians are aware that in the negotiations due to begin in Cape Town on Thursday they are calling into question a principle that has become holy writ in the Organisation of African Unity. This is that there must be no meddling with the territorial boundaries that

African states inherited from the colonialists, however open to dispute they might be.

On the regional front, Namibia is dealing with a South Africa that is beginning to bask in the credibility that has come from President de Klerk's reform policies.

This new credibility is helping to erode sanctions against South Africa and Namibia knows the South Africans are aware the process will be accelerated if Pretoria makes concessions on the Walvis Bay issue.

If the South Africans adopt an obstinate stance in Cape Town, however, the Namibians may cite the precedent created by the Gulf War.

A Namibian Foreign Affairs source said South Africa had in the past invoked "old colonial arguments" about the annexation of Walvis Bay by the British to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope

in 1878, and the title then passing to South Africa at Union in 1910.

The South African legal argument notes, however, that when the League of Nations conferred a Class C Mandate for the administration of the then South West Africa on South Africa in 1919, Walvis Bay was specifically excluded. During South Africa's administration of South West Africa, Walvis Bay was treated as part of the territory for administrative purposes only.

However, in 1977, in the light of a growing international challenge to South Africa's apparent hope to make South West Africa a form of fifth province, South Africa transferred the administration of Walvis Bay back to the Cape Province. The government of Prime Minister John Vorster appeared to be trying to make sure that if the territory were to be lost to South Africa, Walvis Bay

would not be lost with it.

At independence the Namibians took care to have their constitution recognise Walvis Bay as a *jure* part of Namibia. It was a position unambiguously, if symbolically, underlined recently when the first lady of Namibia, Kobus Nujoma, accompanied by the then outgoing Minister of Fisheries, Gert Hanekom, arrived in Walvis Bay to open a fish processing plant.

The office of the Chief Representative of South Africa confirmed that the Namibian dignitaries had not sought permission to enter territory that South Africa considers its own. However, they decided to refrain from making an issue of it. A Namibian Foreign Affairs source said, however, that "we consider Walvis Bay ours and we'll go there freely".

This symbolism was an impor-

tant element in the choice of a venue for the negotiations. It could not be Walvis Bay, for this would have posed the question of who was hosting whom. The Namibians were not prepared to be hosted by South Africa on ground they consider their own.

While President Nujoma said during his state visit to Cuba that Namibia's claim to Walvis Bay was not negotiable, the Namibian diplomatic position allows a little more room for manoeuvre.

It is that South Africa must recognise Namibia's sovereign right to the port and the offshore islands, but that once this principle is established, Namibia is prepared to look at a transition period during which the arrangement might be that of joint administration.

Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab has ruled out the idea of a

free port, again on the basis of the principle that Walvis Bay is *de jure* Namibian. However, some Foreign Affairs sources have hinted that South Africa might be granted free access to the port for a period.

For its part, South Africa seems not to have moved much from its argument that Walvis Bay is sovereign South African territory.

The South Africans go further and cite the Organisation of African Unity decision in Lusaka in 1969 to recognise "present boundaries" (in other words colonial ones) as "the boundaries of what will be free and independent African states".

The positions of both governments seem intractable, but the fact that they have committed themselves to negotiations indicates a willingness to find a solution. — Star Africa Service. □

By DR ALEX BORRAINE

PRESIDENT De Klerk's announcement on February 1 that the worst of South Africa's race laws were to be scrapped during the current parliamentary session shifted the focus away from obstacles in the way of negotiation to negotiation proper.

It is true that there is still the contentious matter of the release of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of the exiles.

It is also true that one of the disappointing features of the State President's speech was his lack of reference to security laws and the problems surrounding security forces.

Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the security laws will receive attention during the parliamentary session and that the matter of political prisoners and exiles is no longer one of principle but rather of the need to sharpen up the administration and to give urgency to these concerns about which emotions understandably run high.

Non-attendance

It is clear therefore that the focus will be very much on the all-party conference which was referred to by the government last year and very strongly supported by the ANC on January 8 of this year.

It is important that this conference gets off the ground as soon as possible.

However, there are some problems which will demand attention.

In the first place the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo have all announced that they will not attend the conference.

Every effort must be made to persuade these organisations to change their minds.

As far as the CP is concerned, this is going to be extremely difficult in the wake of Mr De Klerk's speech and

their steadfast refusal to have anything to do with so-called "terrorist" organisations and communists!

The CP has stressed that it is committed to self-determination and therefore will not take part in any process which robs them of that goal.

The key actors, namely the National Party on the one hand and the ANC on the other, should make it clear to the leadership of the CP that the question of self-determination could well be on the agenda of the all-party conference.

Alliance politics

At the same time the attempts to change the minds of the CP ought not to be conducted so much in public but should be a matter of private discussions.

The PAC has made it clear that it is seeking the unity of the oppressed, with specific reference to the ANC, before it will attend an all-party conference.

Already strides have been made in this direction and while alliance politics are inevitable in the current climate, it would be a pity if the unity, particularly among largely black organisations, should be seen as a ganging up on the rest.

All-party talks and sanctions end urgent

CPH - Times, 12/3/91
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There is considerable debate within the PAC on this matter, which suggests that it would be well worthwhile to try and persuade them to be at the table when the conference is held.

It is particularly important that this conference should take place soon because it could become a clearing house for some of the major problems surrounding the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly and President De Klerk's rejection of an elected constituent assembly.

Sanctions debate

The real question is popular legitimacy. It should not be beyond the wit and wisdom of the assembled parties to reach consensus on ways and means of ensuring not only the best constitution for a new South Africa but also that it has the support of the vast majority of South Africans.

Hand in hand with the progress on the negotiation front must go constant and urgent attention to the economic plight of the majority of South Africans.

It would be nothing short of tragic if the emphasis should shift from the need for economic growth in order that redistribution should take place, to a focus on the sterile debate on whether or not sanctions

imposed on South Africa ought to be lifted.

Unfortunately Mr De Klerk's enlightened and courageous decision to scrap the fundamental race laws which have bedevilled our society for so long has put him in the category of St George slaying the dragon! (This is particularly ironic, bearing in mind that the NP spent so much time and energy rearing the creature!)

Economic growth

As a result, Mr De Klerk is "rewarded" by the international community (according to most of the Press in South Africa) by it shifting its stance on sanctions. And Mr Mandela is seen as the loser at a time when South Africa simply cannot afford winners and losers.

It would of course have been preferable if there could have been a joint statement by the State President and the leader of the ANC calling for an end to sanctions and a plea for investment. But the ANC's December conference made this impossible.

The ANC's position on sanctions is untenable. On the one hand, it rightly demands that reparation must be made to those who have been so severely discriminated against for so long.

On the other hand, in his most recent statement, Mr Mandela insisted that sanctions could not be lifted until there was a new constitution.

But there is no way in which serious attention can be given to the plight of the dispossessed unless there is significant economic growth and a new constitution is several years down the road.

South Africa simply does not have the time to wait until then. The new South Africa must start now!

□ Dr Boraine is executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (IDASA). This article was first published in the IDASA journal, *Democracy in Action*.

ANC launches campaign for constituent assembly

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The African National Congress and its alliance partners yesterday launched a signature campaign to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Leaders of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SA Communist Party yesterday told a press conference in Johannesburg that a national door-to-door campaign, during which alliance members would "visit every home in South Africa to collect signatures", would go ahead on March 23 and 24.

The campaign would demonstrate "the major divide" between ANC and Government on a constituent assembly and interim government.

SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo said the alliance was worried that Government leaders said contradictory things when addressing the international community and "when they speak to their tribe".

He referred to President de Klerk's speech before the Maitland by-election that "the NP would block any new constitution which it did not like".

"The purpose is to show that we want a constitution accept-

able to the majority of our people, and not to the NP."

Joint rallies "to launch the campaign on the ground" will be staged by the tripartite alliance on March 21.

A statement by the alliance said the Government rejected a constituent assembly because it feared the participation of the masses in deciding the future.

It was afraid the people would elect a constituent assembly which would produce a constitution in conflict with the National Party's vision.

"The people of South Africa have never contributed to the drawing up of a constitution in our country. All South Africans must be active participants," the joint statement said.

The Government should not be in control of the process of transition.

Asked what the envisaged interim government's composition would be, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the ANC wanted the involvement not only of the ANC and the Government but of other parties and organisations as well.

The alliance leadership said the Government's offer of a "super Cabinet" in response to the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government was inadequate.

UNHCR can help bring back exiles - US ambassador

CAPE TOWN — The view that South African sovereignty would be infringed if the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was present in the country to help with the repatriation of exiles, was yesterday described as irrelevant.

Speaking at a Cape Town Press Club lunch, the US ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, said that in a few years South Africa might be doing more business at UN offices in New York and Geneva than in many national capitals.

"Whether the UN is yet ready for a grand re-entry of South Africa through the front door remains to be seen. But there are other routes into the UN system which could be explored now," said Mr Swing.

"One such example is co-operation with the UNHCR on the repatriation of South African exiles. No one disputes that the UNHCR can mount this operation at the least cost to the South African taxpayers.

"Objection to a UNHCR presence on grounds that this would infringe South African sovereignty is an old, increasingly irrelevant argument."

South Africa would also reap substantial diplomatic, economic and scientific benefits should it choose to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Exiles: US envoy shrugs off objections to UN aid

CAPE TOWN — Objections to a UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) presence in SA to help with the repatriation of exiles were old and increasingly irrelevant, US Ambassador to SA William Swing said yesterday.

Speaking at a Cape Town Press Club lunch, he said it was possible that in a few years time SA would be doing more business at UN offices in New York and Geneva than in many national capitals.

"Whether the UN is yet ready for a grand re-entry of SA through the front door remains to be seen. But there are other routes into the UN system which could be explored now.

"One such example is co-operation with the UNHCR on the repatriation of South African exiles. No one disputes that the UNHCR can mount this operation at the least cost to the South African taxpayers.

"Objection to a UNHCR presence on the grounds that this would somehow infringe on South African sovereignty is an old, increasingly irrelevant argument."

SA would also reap major diplo-

matic, economic and scientific benefits should it choose to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The confluence of global, regional and domestic trends had never been as favourable as now for a successful transition to democracy in SA.

"This may well be a landmark year in US-South African relations and in SA's ties with the rest of the world," Swing said.

Relations between the US and SA were influenced and shaped by wider world events and SA's isolation was ending due, in part, to geopolitical shifts on other continents such as the demise of communism.

Complexity

"We believe SA can be a success story and that it will vindicate many commonly held beliefs and views about promoting human rights, prosperity and economic justice. Success stories of this kind are becoming less rare and will invariably find US support."

SABC radio news reported Swing said Americans were discovering the true complexity of South African

society and the challenges which lay ahead on the road to democracy.

He said there were also renewed possibilities for US involvement in SA. There was no doubt that the US would maintain its interest in SA once apartheid had gone.

Swing said southern Africa had the greatest potential for development of any region in Africa. If, however, SA was removed from the equation, that promise disappeared.

"Today the southern African region is poised for the biggest step of all — that of a newly democratic SA.

"The SADCC will have to rethink whether its original objective of decreasing southern African dependence on SA should not evolve into a policy of increasing the inter-dependence of all southern African states."

The key to SA's relations with the world was in SA.

"Those South Africans determined to build a strong, non-racial, multi-party democracy and a dynamic market economy will always find friends and supporters, chief among these the American people and government." — Sapa.

12/3/91

304A

Sowing seeds for a white state

AFRIKANERS with a whites-only vision of the future are settling in the small north-western Cape rural town of Orania, sowing the seeds of an independent white state and turning their back on the emerging non-racial South Africa.

Unlike their forefathers who moved inland from the southern tip of Africa to escape British rule last century, the new

breed of Afrikaner "trekkers" are not bringing black or Coloured servants.

They dream of an all-white Afrikaner homeland which would not tolerate the presence of other races and would depend entirely on white finance, industry and labour.

They have taken the first steps by buying Orania, a deserted farming town, which they hope will become the capital of a white homeland called Orandia.

Sowetan 13/3/91

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Orania and Orandia are the brainchild of Carel Boshoff, an avuncular former theology professor and son-in-law of Hendrik Verwoerd, one of the principal architects of hardline apartheid when it was introduced in 1948.

"Time is running out for Afrikaner identity and self-determination in this new South Africa," Boshoff said, referring to President FW de Klerk's reforms to abandon race segregation and give the vote to the black majority.

Future

Orania is situated on the banks of the Orange River about 150km south of the diamond mining town of Kimberley.

It was founded in 1968 when the Government's

Department of Water Affairs began building dams and developing canal systems from the Orange into adjacent farming areas.

When the project was completed in January 1989, the white workers and their families left behind 90 pre-fabricated houses, a primary school, a church, post office and other facilities.

Most of the town's structures are falling apart, paint is peeling from buildings and the gardens are overgrown.

Boshoff and his conservative Afrikaner Volkswag (Afrikaner Nation Watch) movement bought the town recently at an auction.

They have already prepared for the future by giving about 400 Coloureds living in the neighbouring Grootgewag township until the end of this month to pack up and go.

Families

"This is the first Afrikaner town in the world. We bought the land, not the people. We have given them (Coloureds) until March 31 to get out. If they are not out by then, we will take steps," said Orania caretaker Thys Fick.

Restrictions are already in force, preventing non-whites from entering or moving around in the small town.

Six white families have already settled and more than 30 of the houses have already been sold to supporters of an independent Afrikaner homeland.

"I do not miss their (black) labour or their faces. We are very excited about our town," said one of the town's first occupants, who declined to be identified.

Study

Last year, Boshoff completed a study to prove the viability of the homeland. A question and answer sheet he produced asks rhetorically why blacks could not work there.

The answer: "Once you allow a small number of foreign workers it will create enormous political and social problems. Through the years, they will acquire certain vested rights and as their numbers grow, it will become more difficult to withhold those rights by way of legislation."

Orandia would stretch from the southern edge of the vast Karoo desert to South Africa's border with Namibia, and from just west of the diamond mining town of Kimberley through to the Western Cape coastline, incorporating several established towns.

The area has three of the country's biggest dams, ample farming, a power grid, roads, railways and an airport at Upington.

Although part of the potential homeland is desert, Boshoff believes it could be turned into a lush paradise and could eventually accommodate more than three million people.

Vision

But non-white inhabitants of the proposed Orandia currently outnumber whites by four to one. At least 300 000 would have to be moved to keep the area white.

Boshoff insists that non-whites will not be forcibly removed but "they will be encouraged to go and live where their labour will be required".

His vision of Orandia is not only that of an economically viable white state, but of an ecological paradise.

Among the crops expected to be grown are cereals, potatoes, vines, peaches and apricots.

The latter-day trekkers are ridiculed by their more liberal Afrikaner brethren, who believe that the future lies in multi-racialism and an undivided South Africa.

But Boshoff's supporters are unmoved. "We are not going back in time. We are not practising rigid apartheid. We are just fighting for what our ancestors left us, our culture, language and religion," Fick said. - *Sapa-Reuters*

Schwarz sees businessmen

in vital role

61 Day 13/3/91
BOVA TANIA LEVY
THE economy and constitution are too important to be left to politicians alone, says SA ambassador-designate in Washington Harry Schwarz in the latest Syfrets quarterly newsletter, Money Matters.

During constitutional negotiations, economic issues will have to be dealt with in a way which will prevent any new government ignoring agreements and arrangements to meet the unrealistic expectations of the masses, says Schwarz.

Subjected to greater pressures than those in power now, new politicians could plunge SA into an era of hyper-inflation with disastrous consequences for the country.

Business has to engage political and trade union leadership in dialogue about the nature of future political and economic structures, he says.

Demands to impose and equalise social services are made simultaneously with pressures — including threats of instability through mass action — to maintain sanctions.

People cannot ask for economic benefits while destroying them, he says.

Schwarz says politicians are already creating problems by unreasonably fanning expectations for their own objectives.

Van Zyl Slabbert discusses a controversial book by US academic Donald

New approach to old

8 Feb 13/3/91.

304A

PROFESSOR Horowitz's book, "A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society", is an important and provocative addition to the current debate on South Africa's future.

Writing in a lucid and intellectually uncompromising manner, Horowitz maintains that in South Africa's case "a democracy is possible but improbable". Because we have already squandered so many opportunities to create a new society, we are now forced to make decisions in a crisis atmosphere, which tends to lead to agreements strong on short-term style but weak on long-term substance.

On top of these problems, Horowitz warns that even after "South Africa manages to eliminate white domination, intra-African differences will be particularly important". This, he feels, combined with a "profound descensus" between solutions that are apt, or genuinely useful, and those that are merely politically acceptable, makes a successful, inclusive democracy unlikely in South Africa.

In this respect, Horowitz notes that South Africa is quite in line with the rest of Africa, and indeed

with ethnically and racially divided societies the world over, where democracy has struggled to survive. Accordingly, to engineer a constitution that will work in this country, he draws on the experience of other such societies to try to ascertain what kind of structure might achieve a positive result in our own case.

Horowitz's main argument is centered on his belief that "after South Africa manages to eliminate white domination, intra-African differences will be particularly important". Nevertheless, while he sees such factors as paramount, it would be facile and wrong to dismiss him as a "primordialist" reifying race and ethnicity.

Horowitz starts his book with a realistic assessment of the many difficulties and stumbling blocks facing democratic planners in South Africa. He then turns his attention to setting out the many "special precautions" needed both during and after transition to ensure democratic stability, and one does not have to share Horowitz's emphasis on ethnicity and race (and I do not) to take these seriously.

In fact, it is one of the distinctive

merits of Horowitz's work that he takes the actual process of transition seriously and attempts to relate it to a possible post-transitional democratic South Africa. This alone makes it compulsory reading for those "democratic innovators" both inside and outside government who speak so confidently of the remedial impact of "multi-party conferences", "interim governments" and "constituent assemblies".

Horowitz emphasises that in order to arrive at a successful outcome, the correct path must be chosen from the beginning. This must be done through creating a set of "incentives for accommodation", relating both to the different parties' self-interest before transition and towards creating apt institutions for after transition. These institutions, moreover, should be designed to urge maximum incentives for accommodation in every body and at every level.

As Horowitz sees it, the central challenge is "to take an environment conducive to ethnic and racial allegiances in the party system and create incentives for parties to bid for floating voters who would otherwise vote for their group identity".

The mechanism he favours for this is a presidential, federal system based on proportional representation with party proliferation and "vote-pooling". This latter point refers to a system of exchanging votes for candidates of different parties, thereby counting people's second, third and fourth choices as well. Such a system, he believes, would necessarily require parties to moderate their agendas to appeal to as wide a sector of the population as possible.

Horowitz also emphasises that while he feels party proliferation in post-apartheid South Africa will follow racial/ethnic lines, even if it doesn't the type of system he suggests will encourage conciliation along whatever lines of difference emerge in the polity. This setup would not be biased in favour of ethnic politics, merely against severe polarisation of any kind.

However, it is in discussing the incentives during rather than after transition that Horowitz is not very convincing. Democracy, he argues, will have to emerge out of a "new configuration of interests, positions and strategies that take shape as events unfold". This is tantalising but not very

informative. It is nice to know that "the bonds that grow up among the founding generation are so important", but what are the transitional incentives for such bonds other than commonly shared "unpleasant experience of the past"?

Translated into the vernacular of our current dynamics, Horowitz seems to argue that the quality of the interaction between De Klerk and Mandela, as they grope towards transitional arrangements, will somehow generate incentives to reward democratic procedure and outcome. In a plausible but not particularly original manner he talks about a "three sector party spectrum" during transition: an emerging coalition in the centre (maybe De Klerk, Mandela et al) flanked by militants on left and right pushing it towards consensus.

This brings up an interesting paradox. On the one hand, Horowitz talks about the creation of a central coalition to lead us through the process of transition. On the other hand, however, he insists that a necessary element to induce vote-pooling in a post-transitional electoral system is party proliferation organised along racial/ethnic cleavages.

Given this dichotomy, when does he see party proliferation taking place? Similarly, how can a transitional coalition make provision for an electoral spectrum that they must be unaware of and yet be concerned to create institutions that will reward moderation?

Another serious omission is any reference to the state of the economy during and after transition. No successful transition to democracy is likely in a declining economy.

In similar vein, I find the absence of any consideration of the State and its relation to democratic transition and constitutional outcome surprising. We have over decades managed to create a cumbersome bureaucratic monster that has to be transformed and made serviceable to a new and democratic South Africa — a tall order indeed.

Nevertheless, these are issues that do not seriously detract from the merit of Horowitz's book. He has come up with a new approach to old problems, and at this period in our history his book deserves to be read widely and seriously by our many "constitutional engineers". □

Dr Slabbert is president of Idasa.



Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer discussing the transformation of SA at the SA-German Chamber of Commerce yesterday. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Peaceful change in SA predicted

PATRICK BULGER

REVOLUTION was not possible in SA and there would be a democratic transformation as both the ANC and government needed each other, Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer told the SA-German Chamber of Commerce yesterday.

Schlemmer said SA was an unlikely case for a stable democracy as it was an unequal, highly politicised and ethnically divided society. However, he believed democracy could be achieved. He predicted revolution would be avoided by a professional civil service and a sophisticated defence force.

Societies undergoing transformation were full of examples of social contracts where protagonists became each other's gatekeepers — remaining in opposition but limiting damage to each other.

Government could not bring stability to

the townships without the co-operation of the majority-based movements.

And Nelson Mandela needed President F W de Klerk because he realised it was possible he could end up negotiating with somebody who was more hardline.

The NP would try to incorporate some of the CP in its new deal just as the ANC had to include Inkatha. This was necessary to consolidate constituencies and strengthen any agreement arrived at.

The question was whether the ANC — being more an alliance than a party — would retain coherence in its ranks.

Talks with a coherent ANC could produce a new constitution ready to be put to a referendum by late next year. Should the ANC lose its coherence the process could be delayed by up to two years, he said.

Calm descends on Reef townships after curfew

LINDEN BIRNS

VIOLENCE between Inkatha and ANC supporters had virtually stopped yesterday following the imposition of unrest regulations on Transvaal townships on Monday night.

Curfews were declared in six areas on the Reef after four days of fighting which left at least 60 people dead.

In Alexandra a soldier shot and killed a man at a squatter camp, Sapa reports. Police said the man was shot when he started running away after being arrested in connection with stolen goods. He was one of three people who had been arrested.

A man threw a petrol bomb at an SAP vehicle in Alexandra, but fled into a nearby shack settlement when police opened fire. In Soweto four more bodies were recovered by police in

Meadowlands and Dube early yesterday morning.

Soweto Police spokesman Capt Joe Ngobeni said the only other reported incident was the petrol bombing of a councillor's car at about 1.20am yesterday.

Witwatersrand Police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said the new unrest regulations gave police added powers to "stamp out for good" violence in Alexandra near Sandton.

Fighting which broke out in the township officially claimed 45 lives and left 53 people injured, although figures from the Alexandra Health Centre put the number of wounded almost 400% higher.

Malherbe appealed to all people who had been hurt to report how they had been injured in the unrest to a

special investigation team which had been set up at the Alexandra police station.

Late yesterday police in Alexandra were conducting door-to-door searches for dangerous weapons.

"Everything except traditional weapons — that is knobkerries and shields — we are taking away." He said this included any sharpened sticks or metal rods, pipes, axes, pangas, knives, spears and assegais.

The discovery of the four bodies in Soweto yesterday morning, brought that area's death toll to 10 since fighting resumed at the Mzimpholope hostel on Sunday night.

Ngobeni said although the affected townships were quiet, it was still too early to assess the effectiveness of the emergency regulations.

DP budget 'rids SA of poverty'

Political Staff

THE DP unveiled its "alternative budget" yesterday, putting forward proposals on eliminating poverty, improving social and economic stability and raising living standards.

DP finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said previous budgets had been designed to provide for the needs of five million whites, but the priorities had to be reassessed.

He said the budget had to reflect the rapid changes taking place in South African society.

The DP budget relies heavily on the guidelines of the DP's social market economy proposals adopted last year. It suggests defence spending be slashed by 9% (20% in real terms), own affairs be scrapped, the SA Police staff be doubled over five years and apartheid be ended immediately.

Mr Andrew said R2 billion of unused education resources in white schools had to be made productive.

He said the government and the private sector had to be encouraged to look at using labour-intensive small businesses.

The DP proposals form part of a longer-term development plan in which other key socio-economic targets are that:

- Education spending be increased over five years to 25% of the budget;
- Housing backlogs be eliminated within 10 years;
- Health spending increase to 4.5% of GNP over five years, and
- Pensions parity be introduced immediately.

The proposals are based on estimates that real GDP would decline by 0.9% in total over 1990 and 1991 and that inflation would average 14% a year over the same period.

The 1991/92 budget should show no real growth.

Food relief schemes must be in place before VAT on previously exempted foodstuffs is collected and the finance minister must report annually to Parliament the estimated amount of VAT collected on foodstuffs exempt from

GST.

The import surcharge should be repealed with immediate effect.

Other savings and extra expenditure measures proposed include:

- A lottery which could raise R500m;
- All Ministers' Councils and own affairs be abolished (a R690m saving);
- The Bureau for Information be abolished (R47m saving);
- A 43% rise in foreign affairs spending;
- Public service salaries be increased by 12%;
- Trade and Industry be cut by R189m by stopping industrial decentralisation schemes;
- Education get an extra R854m, health R551m, housing R500m and local government R100m;
- Agricultural spending be cut by R160m by rationalising the own affairs departments, and
- An extra R400m be set aside for feeding schemes, channelled as far as possible through existing private sector charities.

Graaff cabinet move surprise

CMT-Ti-P 14/3/77 (306A)
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday announced a cabinet reshuffle following the departure of Mr Kent Durr to take up the post of ambassador in London.

Mr De Klerk announced that deputy minister Mr Org Marais would become the new Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism.

And in a surprise move, Mr David de Villiers Graaff, MP, has been appointed deputy minister to Mr Marais.

In addition, deputy minister Mr Theo Alant, who at present holds the portfolios of Trade and Industry and of National Education, becomes deputy Minister of Finance, and will retain the portfolio of National Education.

As part of an attempt to rationalise the agriculture portfolio, Dr Kraai van Niekerk becomes the Minister of Agriculture, although he retains the Agricultural Development portfolio in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly. Mr A T Meyer, MP, becomes his deputy in both portfolios.

Mr Jacob de Villiers will remain Minister of Development Aid, but Public Works and Land Affairs will be added to his ministry.

Mr De Klerk said the reshuffle would take effect on April 1. — Sapa

(304A)
**'Destroy the
 devilish
 onslaught'**
Star 14/3/91

There could be no peace or prosperity in a country where people were thrown together, who did not belong alongside each other through inner conviction, D G H Nolte (CP Delmas) said in the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking on a private member's motion, he said that in giving over to "the age of the black man", the Government was guilty of the same wishful thinking as demonstrated by Rhodesian premier Ian Smith.

Whites were at a point where they had to either accept the continuation of the "devilish onslaught against them and be destroyed, or stand up and destroy the attack".

President de Klerk's greatest desire was to make South Africa part of Africa, he said.

"The only sensible thing to do is to have as little as possible to do with Africa because, like a sinking ship, it will take us with it," Mr Nolte added. — Sapa.

Liberal infiltrated Akademie, says CP

Star 14/3/91.

304A

Since Dr Wimpie de Klerk had coined the phrases "verlig" and "verkramp" in a speech in 1968, liberal elements of the Afrikaner community had increasingly infiltrated the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, Daan van der Merwe (CP Nom) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the second-reading debate on the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns Amendment Bill, he said after Tuesday's announcement of the repeal of the Land Acts that the National Party could no longer be trusted when they spoke about the Afrikaans nation.

The CP could therefore not support the Bill.

The NP was not capable of governing, let alone looking after the Afrikaners' interests.

Jannie Momberg (DP Simon's Town) said the different Akademie awards had become sought-after over the years and the organisation was mainly directed towards Afrikaans-speakers.

Support

When one looked at the award-winners, it was noticeable that all NP prime ministers had received awards, yet the names of "great opposition leaders" such as General Smuts, Koos Strauss, Sir de Villiers Graaff, Colin Eglin and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert were absent.

Mr Momberg suggested that the Akademie change its name to the "Akademie vir Weten-

skap en Kuns vir Afrikaanssprekendes" or the "Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns".

The DP supported the Bill.

Dr J J Swanepoel (NP Bloemfontein East) said the CP was confusing what was a people ("volk") and what was a nation ("nasie").

Replying to the debate, Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture in the House, said it was a pity that an organisation such as the Akademie, which aimed to promote the Afrikaans language, should be mistrusted by the official Opposition.

He thanked the DP and NP members for their support and wished the Akademie strength for the future.

The Bill was approved, with the CP's objection being recorded. — Sapa.



Dr Wimpie de Klerk ... coined terms "verlig" and "verkramp".



Piet Clase ... pity official Opposition mistrusts Akademie.

PROFILE: Oscar Dhlomo is carving a new political niche for himself

An activist without slogans

O this is a new South African.

Sitting on the other side of the desk in his shirt sleeves, unashamedly chain smoking and eating take-away chicken curry, is Oscar Dhlomo.

The man who wants to help pilot us towards his vision of the good life — multi-partyism, democracy and tolerance — is freshly back from the triumphant launch of his Institute for Multi Party Democracy in Cape Town.

Dhlomo has a clear picture of what a new South African would be, and there are no prizes for guessing such a person sounds just like a product of the IMPD.

"A person with a new outlook on life who will cherish democratic values. Who will be able to judge people as human beings rather than racial entities. Who will make an effort to reach across to other people of other cultures.

"Tolerance of other cultures and points of view will also have to be part of it."

There are not many of them around, "but there is no reason why there should not soon be more.

"Our socio-political environment has not tended to encourage this disposition. In the past you could live comfortably without bothering to inculcate these values.

"People have not been challenged.

"But there is no reason to believe there will not be more of the new breed soon. There are many factors helping create them: the growing irrelevance of skin colour and race as a criterion for categorising people and deciding their worth. In its place real values are taking over."

There are a number of milestones along his journey towards the new South Africanism he hopes to see flourishing across the country.

At home, as the fifth child in a family of 11, he learned from his parents the value of family life, respect for other people and getting along with them — a gift he acquired from his father who made friends very easily.

From his father, the first black transport operator in the province with a fleet of buses running from Umtumbulu to Isipingo, he also picked up business acumen and an uncanny knack for being able to diagnose car trouble.

He learned a love of education and how to combine commercial interests with deep community involvement.

Another major influence was his university experience which taught him a fierce love of freedom and academic independence.

He spent 10 years as an academic and during his time as a politician he often missed this intellectual freedom and objectivity.

"It was always a struggle to reconcile ideological loyalty to intellectual independence; it produced a strong tension in me." In the late 1970s he made his first trip overseas, from a society which was rigidly authoritarian and in which grand and petty apartheid were rampant.

"I thought there must be better political systems than this. And indeed there were."

FRONT RUNNERS

People who'll mould the new SA



Oscar Dhlomo dreams of his own newspaper for the whole of Africa

Photo: RAPS MAYET, Atrapix

The excitement of that first trip is still with him as he recalls: "It was a university travel fellowship to do research on my doctoral thesis. I came to this society which appeared completely free.

"So many newspapers in the streets. I did not know what to buy. I spent a fortune on papers.

"So many channels on the TV. Such questioning of senior political people including the prime minister. I went to Hyde Park Corner. They were virtually insulting the British gov-

ernment, yet there were the police keeping order and allowing them to do that.

"I could stay in hotels and go into train compartments and restaurants without having to look first for a notice saying whites only."

"Then I visited universities and colleges of education and found them relaxed and non-authoritarian.

"As I suspected, there was another way, and I liked it."

Further travel since then has continued this broadening education and confirmed his belief in the need for a more open society.

All this was formative for his role as minister of education and culture in KwaZulu, and his extraordinary competence while in effect KwaZulu's number two politician brought him the attention of a much wider audience.

He also impressed as leader of the Inkatha delegation during peace talks with the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions. The scuttling of those talks and their joint peace plan was due to circumstances quite beyond his control.

The Indaba and the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority put him further in the limelight and enhanced the impression of his competence.

The wide experience of his background combined with his other gifts has made him a highly desirable "catch" for any political organisation — the government offer of the plum ambassadorial posting to Washington, and the African National Congress' eagerness to have him on board are testimony to this.

But he prefers (certainly at this stage) to have a different role, claiming it suits his personality better not to have to forfeit intellectual independence for party discipline, and that he dislikes the insincere social relations which he feels politicians have to practise.

At the moment he is in a kind of political limbo, carving out a role for his IMPD. But he has a quite separate and well developed reputation, so regardless of its success, his personal prestige means he could at any time be called on to play the role that best suits his skills and temperament — as one of the midwives helping bring the new South Africa to birth.

When he allows himself time off he likes nothing better than to put on his sandals, shorts and a slogan-free T-shirt and spend time walking on the beach which borders his South Coast home.

What does he think about? Politics, the future of South Africa. But also perhaps his own road less travelled — if chance had dealt the cards differently he might have been a minister of religion or a lawyer.

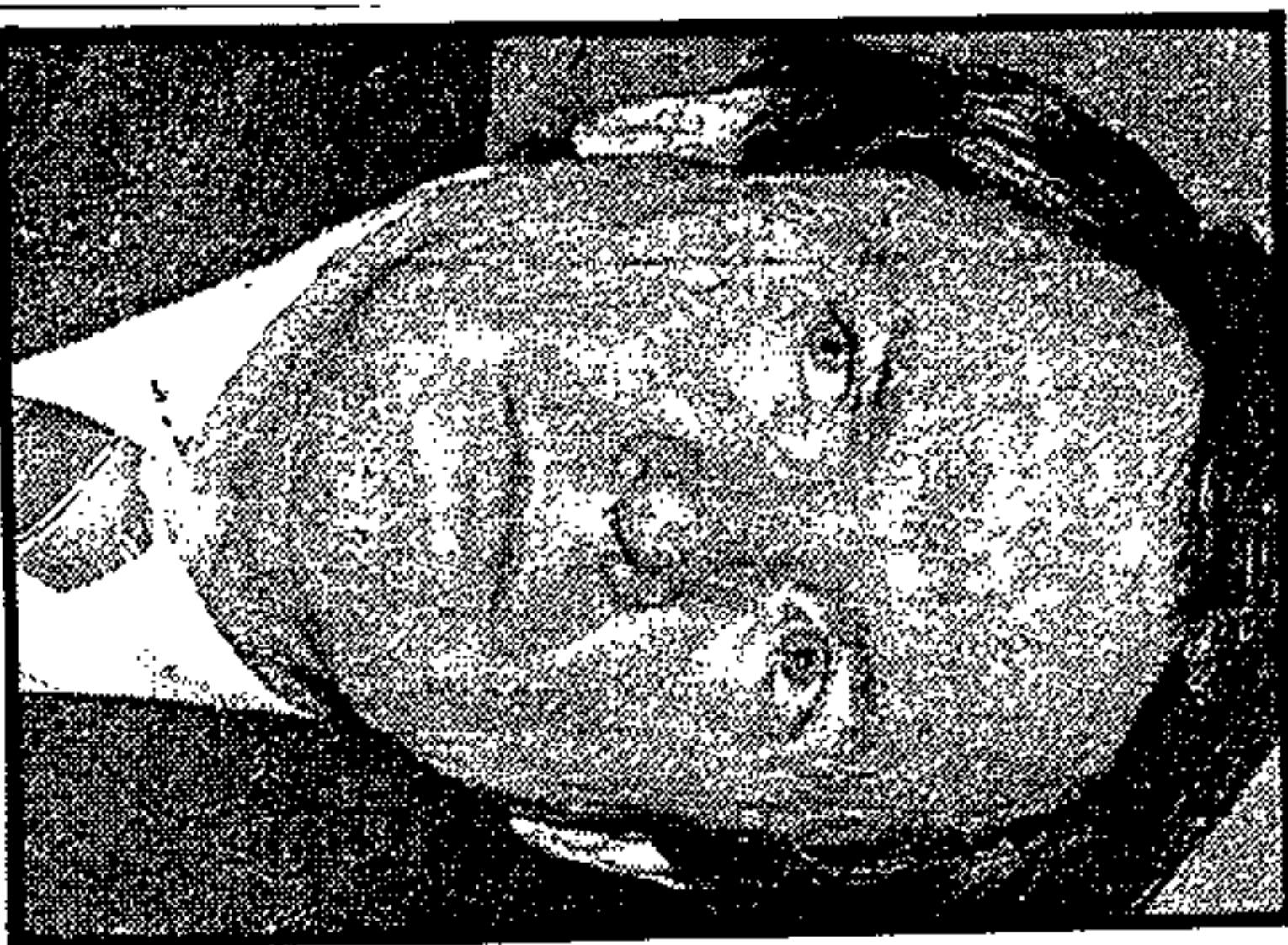
And when his beach walk takes him into fantasising about what he might do one day, it could be a pet dream — of establishing a newspaper for the whole of Africa to bring closer together a continent so much in need of democracy, tolerance and communication.

Carmel Rickard

Business wants a constitution that inspires trust

FOR the average businessman, a new constitution must facilitate good government in the "new South Africa".

The new SA will have to be far more efficient than the old one if it is to survive and grow. It will need all



□ PARSONS

its economic margin for its own proper purposes, and can afford to give nothing away to softheadedness or doctrinaire folly. Furthermore, any new constitution must inspire trust and confidence — not only internally but also abroad.

As John Stuart Mill once said: "All trust in constitutions is grounded on the assurance . . . not that holders of power *will not*, but that they *cannot*, abuse it."

Ideally what this means at the end of the day is that we want a constitution in which, if your worst political enemy came to power, your basic rights would be safe.

These, of course, must include economic rights. We want a constitution which reconciles political aspirations and economic ambitions. Hence it is in the interests of business to play a pro-active role in the negotiating process and in helping to shape the constitutional debate. The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) has set up a special committee to study the economic aspects of any new constitution and their implications for the business community.

If businessmen and investors are going to take a vigorous interest in

RAYMOND PARSONS

the quality of the political system — the "rules of the game" — then there are five key strategic elements to be borne in mind.

Firstly, it should be accepted that a multiparty, pluralist, self-restraining democracy will not be easy to create in SA. The reciprocal dynamic — the "checks and balances" — will not necessarily emerge out of the fabric of our politics. It will have to be "crafted" in the process of constitution-making.

Secondly, SA has a unique opportunity to learn from the mistakes of others.

The events of Eastern Europe have shown us how important economic factors are in shaping the destinies of nations and how governments which could not deliver the goods have been rejected. Then there is also the collective wisdom of international bodies such as the IMF and the World Bank.

Thirdly, SA must also avoid its own previous mistakes. We have had

our own extensive experience of social engineering in the past. The lesson is not just that it had no moral basis but also that state intervention on a large scale is bound to fail.

Fourthly, we must devote more energy towards the building of the "new SA" and indulge less in the rhetoric of recrimination and retribution. One way to facilitate this is to separate the immediate need for socio-economic upliftment from the fundamentals of a future economic and political system.

When constitutional negotiations begin the emphasis should be on the fundamentals of a sound economic and political system. We should take what is best from constitutional models around the world and adapt that to our conditions. If we allow constitutional negotiations to be bedevilled by redistribution issues, the risk of delay or even failure could be much higher.

The debate on the White Paper on land reform is a stark reminder of the real difficulties in this regard. It would be better for SA to commit itself to a separate agreed socio-economic programme, in which poverty and redistribution questions are

given attention in their own right. Finally, given the divisive forces and tensions which lurk just below the surface of our society — as well as the importance of negotiating a viable constitution — we must try to get it right the first time around.

We may not get a second chance to repair any serious mistakes if SA again locks itself into an unsuitable constitution. It therefore behoves us to ensure that the framing of a new constitution harnesses the best brains in the country. This includes inputs from the business sector on how it sees the "rules of the game" in a new constitution.

Business has to engage political and trade union leadership in dialogue about the nature of future political and economic structures. We must certainly try to get away from the highly centralised "Westminster" model of government as an open-ended source of uncertainty for business. Predictability and trust in the political system are paramount.

□ This is an edited extract from an address last night by Sacob director-general Parsons to the Institute of Bankers in SA.

LETTERS

Shaun Johnson on why so little has happened since the 'D F Malan Accord'

Peace bus needs major service

Star 15/3/91

304A

A MONTH ago today, and with considerable fanfare, the Government and the ANC simultaneously announced the "D F Malan Accord". Twelve hours of hard bargaining between President de Klerk and Mr Mandela had, we were told, breathed new life and urgency into the negotiations process.

The president declared the agreement a "stimulus... we will be moving rapidly towards the commencement of multiparty negotiations".

The five-page agreement provided for quick progress on the fraught questions of ANC arms, defence units, exiles and prisoners, security force action, and — crucially — planning for the multiparty conference (MPC).

But since then there has been virtual silence.

There has been visible progress on one of these issues — the return of exiles — but no sure signs of the negotiations process moving speedily into the more decisive multiparty phase.

Observers have become used to

thinking of the South African peace process as a temperamental motor vehicle, prone to stalling in cold or inclement political weather. It receives regular jump starts from the two chief mechanics, but the charge provided is often short lived. The engine revs briefly, but then cuts out again.

The pressing question now is: Has the engine of reform suffered a serious breakdown since the D F Malan "service"?

Senior Government sources insist it has not, although they concede that it may stay stalled for some time yet. They are disappointed by the enforced hiatus but, in the words of a senior source, "have no reason to believe that anything that has happened since February 15 should make us think we can't make the progress we hoped for".

Two key dates have emerged as turning points for the wider process: the April 30 "deadline" for the return of exiles and release of political prisoners; and the scheduled full conference of the ANC in June. The process will not proceed substantially until the out-

come of these two events is known.

The Government's view is that very little can happen in the way of fresh initiatives until the April 30 "hurdle" is cleared. Once that is achieved, say the sources, planning for the MPC could begin in earnest — although it cannot itself take place until the ANC has settled its internal leadership questions in June. The Government believes the ANC is effectively paralysed until this is resolved, because its current leaders do not want to open themselves to accusations of having acted without a proper mandate.

This makes for an initial interregnum lasting at least another six weeks, and a further, longer one after that.

It also explains why the "liaison committee" set up in terms of the D F Malan Accord has not yet begun to work. Similarly, the accord's injunction that the "armed struggle" working group should continue to meet, will not be heeded until May for this reason. Questions such as "control" of arms, defence units, mass action and the

like are therefore on the back burner.

A great deal depends on the atmosphere prevailing when the April 30 "deadline" arrives. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy, Roelf Meyer, have made it clear that not all exiles will have returned physically to South Africa by that date, nor will all political prisoners have been released. Rather, they believe the ANC should satisfy itself with the fact that the processes are irrevocably under way, and all procedures have been finalised.

There are fears among Ministers, however, that the ANC might insist on the more literal interpretation of the original agreement — accusing the Government of stalling the process, and thereby buying time for the organisation to sort out its own internal difficulties and uncertainties.

Nevertheless, there is general optimism that this will be at worst a temporary hiccup. The Government believes that in May it will be possible to activate the liaison committee and reactivate

the working group, as well as start the secret, multilateral discussions about the MPC which Dr Viljoen proposed at the opening of Parliament last month.

Prominent political leaders should constitute an informal MPC "steering committee", he said, to hammer out agreement on issues such as who should attend, how the meeting should be run, and where and when it will be held. "In-system" groups such as Inkatha, the Labour Party and the "self-governing" homelands, have already formed a working group, poised to plug into this process.

Then, according to this line of thinking, if the ANC conference returns its leadership to office more or less intact in June (in other words with a majority on the NEC of "negotiators" — those who have already aligned themselves with the process), the MPC can take place at the earliest possible opportunity. It is not impossible, therefore, that it could be convened as early as the end of June or beginning of July.

In broad terms the Government has taken encouragement from

the ANC's policy declaration of January 8 — which they characterise as a great deal more "moderate" than the resolutions of the ANC's December conference — and believe the "negotiators" are still firmly in control.

Senior sources complain about alleged ANC "negativism", citing the attack on the White Paper on land reform as the latest example, but are broadly satisfied that their chief negotiating partner is still playing the game. Disagreements over "acceptable" and "unacceptable" mass action persist, but have declined markedly.

The Government is, if anything, taking a benign and "understanding" approach towards the ANC. "What we are seeing in this period," said one source, "is more or less a repeat situation of the months preceding last year's December (ANC) conference. We expect stalling until June, but we can wait."

In the Government's view, therefore, the speed at which the peace bus moves forward is — for the moment — largely in the hands of the ANC. □

Ruling due today on CCB claims

A Pretoria Supreme Court judge will decide today if three former operatives of the now disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) can proceed on an urgent basis with a claim of more than R1,5 million.

The claim is in respect of pensions and other perks, against the Minister of Defence and the Defence Force.

The three men have instituted a claim under the code names of Derrick Farrell, Riaan Bosch and Daan du Toit for the payment of substantial benefits stipulated in their CCB service contracts.

These contracts, they said, were about to be nullified by coming legislation.

Du Toit said about 80 per cent of CCB members were so intimidated by the threat of legislation that they accepted the retrenchment packages offered them.

Counsel for the three men, F Hattingh SC, said the CCB members' contracts specified a retirement package as if the member had reached retirement age should the CCB be disbanded.

SW Burger SC, for the respondents, argued that the matter was not urgent and the applicants were asking the court to interfere with the sovereignty of Parliament. — Sapa.

Walvis talks end in stalemate

CAPE TOWN — Negotiations between Pretoria and Windhoek over the control of Walvis Bay ended yesterday without a final agreement.

After several attempts to hammer out a joint press statement failed, the two Foreign Ministers, Pik Botha and Theo-Ben Gurirab, said they would have to report back to their governments on the day's progress.

Both were in a congenial mood as they spoke on the steps of the Westbrook residence after a hard day's bargaining.

The outcome was predictable after Mr Gurirab had compromised the talks earlier in the week by telling the Namibian National Assembly he would settle for nothing less than the unconditional surrender of Walvis Bay by South Africa.

"The way we organised and convened the meeting obviously raised high and unrealistic hopes," he said.

There was light at the end of the tunnel, although "it is too small to show the time frame" within which a solution may be found, he added.

The two Ministers led high-powered delegations, numbering 11 Cabinet Ministers, supported by administrative and legal teams.

They met to try to resolve the dispute over the historic sovereignty inherited by South Africa over the Walvis Bay enclave — Namibia's only deep-water port — and the southern offshore Penguin Island group.

In addition, Namibia wants the boundary of the old Cape Colony moved from the northern shore of the Orange River to the centre —

the normal line for international boundaries.

No progress was made on any of these issues and Mr Gurirab would not say whether Namibia was prepared to negotiate them as separate issues.

After the talks ended, Mr Botha said it was the first time the two governments had discussed the issues.

"We conveyed to each other our views on these issues and, as you can imagine, there was a difference of opinion," he said.

Mr Gurirab said the fact that South Africa had not handed over the disputed territory on independence day, March 21 last year, "will remain a monument of tragic betrayal, motivated by a legacy of colonial conquest". — Sapa and Star Africa Service.

CP backs Tembisa expertise pact

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

A unanimous decision by the Kempton Park Town Council, with the full support of a six-man CP caucus, will be sealed today with the signing of an agreement with Tembisa to provide the black local authority with administration expertise.

The agreement will be executed on an agency administration basis in which the

municipality will oversee operations in Tembisa.

Councillor Chris Bekker (CP) said the initial proposal advocating joint administration was amended so assistance would be conducted on an agency basis to prevent financial implications for the ratepayer.

The mayor of Tembisa, Solomon More, has welcomed the move.

He said Tembisa's debts,

which amount to more than R8 million in electricity and water accounts alone, would be best dealt with by an upgrading of standards.

In Germiston, management committee chairman Leon Louw said negotiations had been under way for some time between Germiston, Bedfordview, Katlehong and Palm Ridge, regarding co-operation on a municipal level.

FM 15/3/91

CURRENT AFFAIRS

MAITLAND BY-ELECTION (304A) ACADEMIC INTEREST

Whichever way you calculate it, last week's Maitland by-election represented a massive advance by the white Right. But the victory is also a hollow one: by-elections for whites are rapidly becoming irrelevant.

The electoral history of the Maitland seat shows just how much ground has been gained by the CP. In 1981 there was no rightwing candidate. In 1987 the NP and PFP cornered 92% of the vote, leaving the crumbs for the CP. Much the same happened in 1989 when the Nats and DP got 96% between them; the CP allowed the moribund HNP to stand and it got only 441 votes out of 11 300. FM 15/3/91

Last week, in the Maitland constituency's first opportunity to judge the drastic reforms of the F W de Klerk presidency, the CP drew 3 152 votes to the NP's 6 009. The Nat total was only 145 votes lower than in 1989, but the DP did not stand this time, and the "pro-reform" vote dropped by nearly 5 000.

By-elections always favour opposition parties: party loyalists can safely stay away, or register a protest vote. But even so the swing to the CP is massive and, if a House of Assembly general election were to be held now, the Nats would surely lose their overall majority. But the CP, with 39 seats, would have to pick up another 45 to get the 84 needed for an overall majority over a Nat-DP alliance, and that is unlikely.

Such extrapolations, the stuff of our politics for so long, are now academic. The last thing De Klerk can be considering is a general election and the next time he goes to the country it will be an election that includes

blacks on nonracial voters' rolls. Constitutionally, the life of the present parliament expires towards the end of 1994, and that is his deadline. (304A)

The Maitland result indicates that the CP may even have the sympathy of more than 50% of white voters. If so, how will this affect De Klerk's promised referendum?

Not much, in the end. By the time the white electorate is asked to vote on the constitutional future, it will have little option but to endorse whatever the Nats, the ANC and others have come up with. The only alternative would be a return to the dead end that was apartheid, and this is already impossible. ■

AT THE SHARP END

FM 15/3/91

304A



A year of unprecedented political reform has sent SA's political shares soaring in the West. But there's still serious concern about the country's economic future, according to representatives of the SA Foundation based in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn.

Back this week for the foundation's annual meeting, the four told the *FM* that foreign investors are waiting for a clear and unambiguous statement on economic policy — and an end to unrest.

Though the lifting of sanctions and other restrictions is now taken for granted, conflicting signals are confusing business assessments of SA. Continuing violence, Nelson Mandela's threat of unrest if investors return without the ANC's blessing and the Winnie Mandela trial — as a reflection on future leadership — are bad for the country's image.

"There are more inquiries than ever from potential investors but it's going to be a while before the money starts flowing. Violence deters investors and if you look at the cause of the unrest — socio-economic backlogs and unemployment — the situation on paper looks disastrous," says London director John Montgomery.

Desmond Colborne, of the Paris office, agrees. "We mustn't kid ourselves about our attractiveness as an investment. A cynic could ask: Who wants to invest in another Lebanon?"

German potential investors and the German government are equally disturbed by increasing crime and unrest, says Bonn director Rudolph Gruber. Though Germany is SA's principal trading partner, the willingness of German firms to enter the market or increase investments depends largely on their perception of stability.

"The perception has moved from politics — as the primary obstacle to better relations — to economics. Though the economic indicators show government is serious about reducing inflation and controlling State spending, there is concern about the low level of personal savings, poor productivity and the failure of both the private and public sectors

to give absolute priority to productive investment.

"But above all it's the crime and unrest that disturb potential investors. It must be brought under control and there must be stability in labour relations. Investors are looking for the same good sense on the economic front to that which they've seen on the political front," says Gruber.

In the US a change of attitude towards SA is complicated by ignorance of developments in this country. "Outside of Washington the perception of what has happened in SA is way behind, because local politicians tend to be out of touch — even though SA remains a factor in parochial politics in many states," says Washington director Michael Christie.

The change in attitude towards SA among Western governments has been underpinned by the actions of President F W De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

"As the two major players, they've brought home the realisation that SA is getting to grips with its problems and there's no longer a need for the world to solve them," says Christie.

In spite of Mandela's threat to investors and the ANC's strong pro-sanctions line, decisions in Europe on lifting remaining trade and investment restrictions are unlikely to depend on the ANC's approval. Montgomery says the British government is already encouraging investment in SA.

In the US, says Christie, President George Bush has made it clear to the ANC that American foreign policy is made in Washington and it's there that the policy towards SA will be determined. "But if the ANC were to say sanctions are no longer appropriate, it would make Bush's life far easier."

Public opinion has also shifted favourably for SA, though in most countries public attitudes towards the country were never as strong as South Africans sometimes perceived them to be. Positive political change has also eroded support for anti-apartheid movements, particularly in Britain, Holland and the US.

European governments are increasingly seeing their future involvement in SA as part of a regional strategy. France, in particular, is showing unprecedented interest in SA as part of an overall review of its relations with Africa.

There's a belief that some European governments see involvement in the region via SA as an opportunity to put right some of the mistakes that caused economic collapse in post-colonial Africa.

"If not the last hope," says Colborne, "then SA must be seen as the best hope for Africa. As an outlet for investment and trade it's small pickings, but as a potential success story in Africa it's important to Europe."

However, Montgomery cautions against creating the perception that the West "will come riding out of the sunset on a white charger to save the SA damsel in distress. A lot will depend on the economic policies we follow. Parties to the negotiations must provide them as soon as possible. There's no more time to keep people on a string: they will start looking around for other investment opportunities."

Colborne agrees. "If SA can achieve a sustainable democracy and, if not an economic miracle, then at least a damage-limiting economic policy, it may create the right climate for investment."

There must also be a worthwhile return on investment. Colborne says Europe is suffering from "alms-giver's fatigue" and recent polls have shown that people are particularly opposed to pouring more aid money into Africa's bottomless pit.

Gruber says Germans are preoccupied with their own backyard — the former East Germany and the Soviet Union — but SA will receive attention if the prospects warrant it.

"There is a commitment by the German government not to decrease aid to Africa in spite of developments in eastern Europe. It accepts the need to check the collapse of Africa and believes a relationship with the southern African region using SA as a base is part of the solution."



PARTY POLITICS FM 1513/91
SHADES OF GREY (304R)

The Democratic Party (DP) has decided to recruit among blacks — despite the big confrontation over the issue at their 1990 congress in Johannesburg. A last-minute resolution from the floor, withdrawing a motion calling for the recruitment of blacks, averted a possible split in the ranks.

Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow, who was responsible for that face-saving motion, tells the *FM* that the DP issued a strategic document last weekend calling for the expansion of the DP's political base. Gastrow confirms that this means members of all race groups will be actively recruited.

The southern Transvaal region decided on such a strategy months ago. The regional executive, chaired by Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal, was instructed to look at ways to promote liberal democracy and actively recruit other races. A recruiting campaign is already under way in the Hillbrow, Yeoville and Bezuidenhout constituencies.

Transvaal DP spokeswoman Avril Howes says some surprising successes have been reported and the region will also start an advertising campaign as soon as money is available. There were no dissenting voices at the meeting, says Howes.

After the hard words at the congress last year, the decision to include nonracial recruitment may bring up old differences. Some MPs and members objected to recruiting blacks, for fear of intruding on the ANC's natural "turf." But Gastrow does not see a major split looming on this issue; indeed, objections will be made largely meaningless when the Population Registration Act is repealed.

But Soal says the party is aiming at recruitment in grey areas. "We are not planning to put up tables in Soweto. This will be a low-level approach."

TRI-CAMERAL SALARIES (304A)

SOUTH AFRICA'S 308 MPs are expected to earn R27-million in parliamentary salaries in the next financial year, plus a further R8-million in various parliamentary perks. Top earners are the 32 cabinet ministers and own affairs ministers who will earn about R185 000 each this year.

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AMT 7/14/91 10/3/91 30 K/A

CP to 'rise up in struggle'

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party made what is tantamount to a declaration of war on the government yesterday, vowing to "rise up in the struggle" to defend land and freedom with the "necessary means".

In a strongly worded statement read by CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the party said a people's claim to its own country was "not negotiable" and our people "are prepared to sacrifice their lives for these rights".

He declined to spell out details of what the CP planned to do.

A senior CP MP stated later, however, that the word "struggle" had been careful-

ly selected and it should be interpreted in the same way as it had been used by the ANC.

It is understood that the first phase of the "struggle" will take the form of "mass action" similar to that taken by farmers who drove vehicles into Pretoria earlier this year.

The CP's threat of mass action comes two days after the government tabled its White Paper on Land Reform.

Dr. Treurnicht said the government's plans to "deprive us of our collective ownership of land as a national asset" was a "serious assault upon a nation's right to self-government in its own territory".

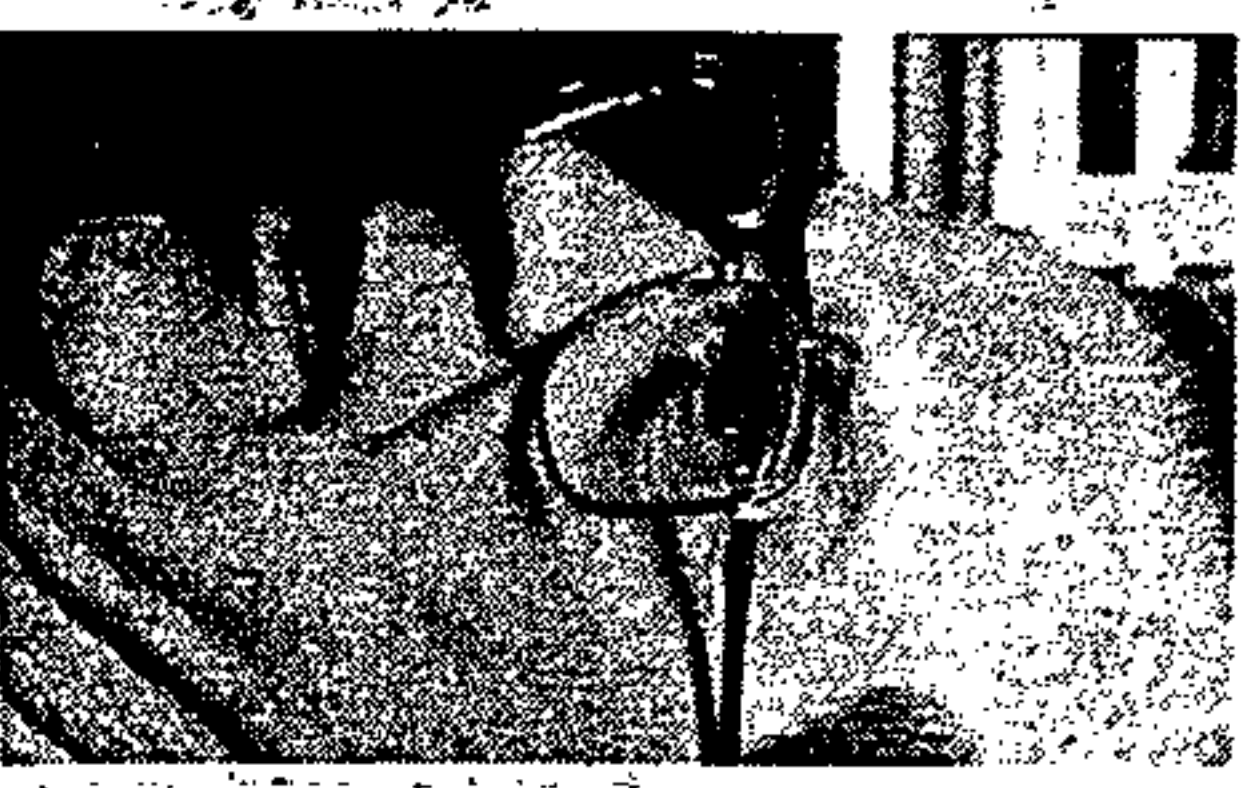
He said: "The government leaves us no

choice but to rise up in the struggle to defend our living space and our freedom with the necessary means at our disposal."

President F W de Klerk said last night that he would react fully to the CP statement "at a more convenient time".

The National Party's information officer in the Transvaal, Mrs. Sheila Camerer, said Dr. Treurnicht's statement was an "intemperate diatribe that had no foundation in fact or law. He was playing a dangerous game of flirting with violent action through revolutionary rhetoric."

He owed the electorate an explanation of what he meant and the implications for the country.



"WAR CRY" ...
Dr. Andries Treurnicht



A FIRST: David and Gillian Winkler and their daughter, Springbok athlete Marcel Winkler, are proud members of the new National Party branch.

The New Nats on the block

304A

Star 16/3/91

ROBERT BRAND

THE National Party is going places which a few years ago not many could have imagined.

It started, appropriately, in Eersterus where the first "non-white" NP branch was formed last month — and plans for more branches in "non-white" areas are already at an advanced stage.

And the rush by Eersterus residents to join the newly formed branch could signal the beginning of "a massive shift in our politics", according to political analyst Professor Willie Breytenbach.

"The NP does not go out of its way to recruit members," says NP Pretoria regional secretary Joggie Boers, who presided over the constituent meeting in Eersterus on February 26. "People come to us to join. And if enough people in an area want it, we form a geographic branch."

"The meeting was one of the highlights of my life. I was astounded by the brotherly love with which we were received," says Mr Boers, adding that plans are in the pipeline for more "non-white" NP branches.

Flooding in

In Eersterus, where the first "non-white" branch in the country was established, people are flocking to obtain membership cards. About 200 members signed up in the first two weeks after the branch was formed, and applications are still flooding in, says branch treasurer Gershwin Jones.

The branch executive consists of Russel Leyds (chairman), Maggie Leyds (secretary) David Winkler (vice-chairman) and Mr Jones.

Mr Winkler is the father of Springbok athlete Marcel Winkler, who joined the branch together with the rest of her family on the first day.

Miss Leyds gets the credit for the idea of starting an NP branch in Eersterus. "She came up with the idea, and we talked about it and decided to give it a chance," says Mr Jones, a former member of the Democratic Party.

"We've experienced some resistance from Labour Party and African Na-

tional Congress quarters, but not much. I believe the overwhelming majority of Eersterus residents are in favour of the branch being established."

Why would people in Eersterus — for many years the victims of the NP's apartheid policies — want to join the very party which took away their voting rights in the first place?

"People realise that parties such as the Labour Party do not really have a place in the new South Africa. In reality, only three parties are in the running — the NP, ANC and the Inkhata Freedom Party," says Mr Jones.

"The NP is the only party which can give this country peace and stability."

Professor Breytenbach says the establishment of "non-white" NP branches is a logical move for the party, taking into account the results of the most recent opinion surveys.

"The opinion polls have been showing all along that President de Klerk is the second most popular leader in the country after Mr Mandela. And the NP has three times more support among coloureds and Indians than among whites."

"The formation of NP branches in coloured areas, especially after the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and the Political Interference Act, is something that has been in the pipeline for quite some time. I am surprised that they are only now beginning to form these branches."

"Now that the Group Areas Act is going, there is nothing standing in the way of the NP to canvass support among coloured and Indian voters," Professor Breytenbach says.

"This could be the beginning of a massive shift in South African politics," he added.

According to the most recent opinion poll by the Human Sciences Research Council, 66 percent of coloured and 48 percent of Indian voters support Mr de Klerk — and converted into numbers, that is more than three times the number of white voters that would throw their support behind the NP.

'Boer struggle has begun'

Star 16/3/91
**We'll die to
 protect land
 rights — CP**

PETER FABRICIUS
 Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party parliamentary caucus declared yesterday that the Government's land reforms announced this week had precipitated the Afrikaners' freedom struggle.

"The Government leaves us no choice but to rise up in the struggle to defend our living space and our freedom with the necessary means at our disposal," said CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He vowed that "his people" were prepared to "sacrifice their lives" for their land rights.

With his party caucus standing behind him, he read out a solemn declaration at a press conference in Parliament.

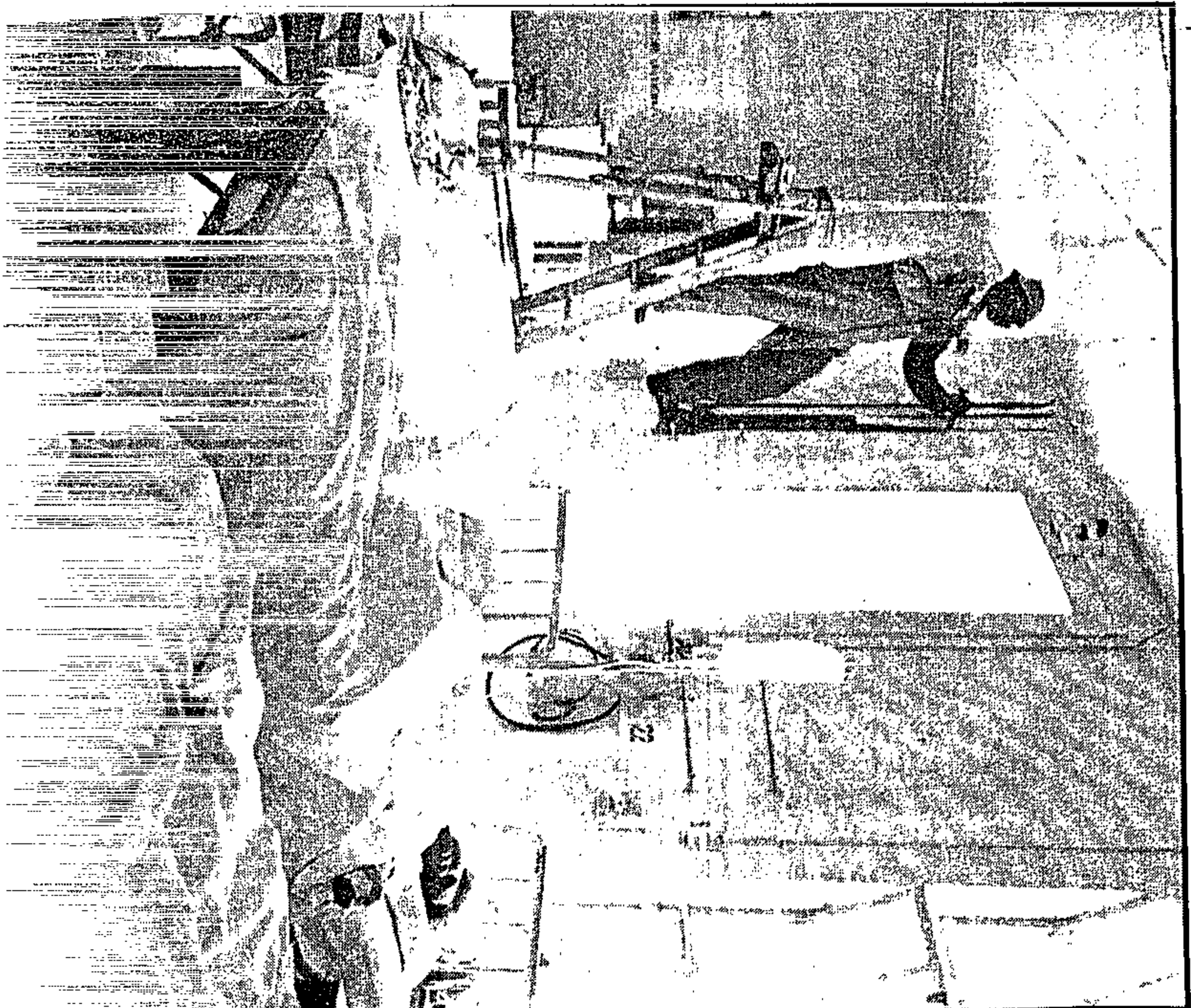
But he refused to say afterwards what form the "freedom struggle" would take and whether it would involve violence. This would emerge later, he said.

He said a nation's territory was one of the cornerstones of political power.

With its White Paper on Land Reform, the Government intended to deprive the nation of its collective ownership of land.

"This is an extremely serious assault upon a nation's right to self-government in its own territory and an obvious onslaught against our political power. No self-respecting people will tolerate this."

**SEE ALSO
 PAGE 11.**



**Doctors get
 death threats
 in race row**

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter

Star 16/3/91.
 TWO figures at the centre of the Goldfields hospital racism row have received death threats from extreme right-wing organisations in Welkom and Virginia.

Hair-raising accounts of animal poisoning, blatant death threats and shots being fired at the house of a prominent anti-apartheid medical doctor in Virginia were told the Saturday Star this week.

AWB threat

This week, as the hospital row grew, the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging openly threatened to "act hard-handedly" against Dr Rhett Kahn, the Democratic Party's Goldfields chairman and one of the driving forces behind the Goldfields Hospital Desegregation Campaign Committee.

His wife, Janet, also received threatening telephone calls after a high-powered visit by politicians, trade unionists and medical professionals to the Welkom

ed pressures for the desegregation of these hospitals, spearheaded by the GHDDC, the ANC and the DP, might again release right-wing anger against him.

In Virginia, Dr Kahn and his wife — dedicated anti-apartheid activists — have been the target of severe harassment by the Lunatic Right.

During last year's black consumer boycott of Virginia, during which Dr Kahn's help was called in to bring together businessmen and township leaders for negotiations, their home was shot at.

Police suspected that the notorious Blanke Vei-ghheid organisation was responsible, but the case was never solved.

A while later, the Kahn's dog and cat were mysteriously poisoned.

Virginia's only veterinarian — a well-known right-winger, according to Janet — refused to attend to the Kahn's other dog, which became seriously ill but did not die from the poison. The

since their lives" for their land rights.

With his party caucus standing behind him, he read out a solemn declaration at a press conference in Parliament.

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He said a nation's territory was one of the cornerstones of political power.

With its White Paper on Land Reform, the Government intended to deprive the nation of its collective ownership of land.

"This is an extremely serious assault upon a nation's right to self-government in its own territory and an obvious onslaught against our political power. No self-respecting people will tolerate this.

"The Government's intended actions will destroy the economic and social order of South Africa.

Seize

"It will destroy each nation's community life and friction will disrupt neighbourhood and community relations. Our people cannot and will not submit to this.

"The revolutionary forces will not be satisfied with the odd white property, erf or farm. They want to seize our entire country. They want to degrade us to the level of peasants, a powerless minority under a revolutionary black government."

Dr Treurnicht said other white communities had fled when this had happened to them. "Our people ... have no boat waiting in the harbour. We cannot flee, nor will we flee.

"Our national way of life, our community life, residential areas, schools, facilities and our very own Government are sacrificed for foreign accolades and so-called internal reconciliation.

"We acquired our land through the lawful occupation of large tracts of uninhabited land, through agreements, through cession, barter, and, to a lesser degree, through justifiable conquest.

"Whites did not exterminate other people to do this — although others had tried to exterminate them. Whites had given away millions of hectares of land without charge to other people who now occupied some of the most fertile and water-rich areas in South Africa.

"The southern African region did not consist of 87 percent white and

SEE ALSO PAGE 11.

13 percent black land. If one included the BLS (Botswana-Lesotho-Swaziland) states and the homelands, non-whites owned more than 50 percent of the land.

"Our people's claim to its own country and its right to self-government is not negotiable.

"We are prepared to negotiate with the elected leaders of neighbouring nations regarding the adjustment of borders only on the condition that our rights are recognised and respected.

"Our people are prepared to sacrifice their lives for these rights. The Government has no mandate to make the country the property of 'all and sundry'."

"Its action is immoral and the honourable way would be to test the will of white voters in a general election."

In response, the National Party accused Dr Treurnicht of playing a dangerous game by flirting with violence.

The NP condemned the statement as "an intemperate diatribe" that had no foundation.

Rhetoric

NP Transvaal spokesman Sheila Camerer said: "Dr Treurnicht owes the electorate an explanation of what he means and what the implications are for this country when he says 'the CP has no choice but to rise up in the struggle'."

"Once again Dr Treurnicht is playing the dangerous game of flirting with violent action through the use of revolutionary rhetoric."

Top US l

WASHINGTON — Influential congressmen and senior men Bush administration are to meet South African political leaders behind closed doors in Cape Town next week.

The delegation of prominent Americans is being brought to South Africa under the auspices of the Aspen Institute, attempting to facilitate South Africa's transition to a democratic system.

The primary objective of the

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...ment is playing the dangerous game of flirting with violent action through the use of revolutionary rhetoric."

Prayers will be held at Rabbi Avraham Tanzer said Mrs Kushlick would be deeply missed, view tomorrow at 6:15 pm. by those close to her and

following the development of the political situation in (South Africa). The head of the section, Dr An- representative had pri- tions with Soviet e- ca "they did not m: that they do not

Top US lawmakers due in SA for briefing

8/25/91
16/3/91

DAVID BRAUN

WASHINGTON — Influential US senators, congressmen and senior members of the Bush administration are to meet a range of South African political leaders behind closed doors in Cape Town next month. The delegation of prominent Americans is being brought to South Africa under the auspices of the Aspen Institute, which is attempting to facilitate South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic society. The primary objective of the visit, which

is to take place from April 1 to April 6, is to brief influential American policymakers at first hand on the latest developments and the prospects for South Africa. The Cape Town conference, which will be closed to the media, will feature President de Klerk, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Free-

dom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other political leaders, including some from the Pan-Africanist Congress. The American delegation will include Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Hank Cohen, other officials of the State Department and several senators and members of the House of Representatives who play an active role in the formulation of Washington's South Africa policy.

...A fi e a p b y K to Ra tri

Treurnicht's vow divides CP

DIVISIONS have arisen in Conservative Party ranks over its virtual declaration of war in response to the government's land reform measures.

In a statement on Friday, CP leader Andries Treurnicht vowed the CP would "rise up in the struggle" to defend land and freedom, using all "necessary means".

He refused to spell out whether this meant the CP would be prepared to use violence.

However, senior CP MPs interviewed after the release of the statement said the word "struggle" should be interpreted in the same way as it had been by the ANC — and the ANC regards armed action as one form of struggle.

Later, and in apparent defiance of

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

Dr Treurnicht's refusal to elaborate on the statement, Dr Pieter Mulder (CP Schweizer-Reneke), a moderate member of the party, said the call to whites to rise up in the struggle to defend their land did not necessarily mean the CP was approving armed struggle.

Asked about Dr Mulder's interpretation of the statement, CP frontbencher Daan van der Merwe — an indirectly elected hardliner — said Dr Treurnicht had made it clear no one in the party would elaborate on the statement.

"I am sticking by that," he said,

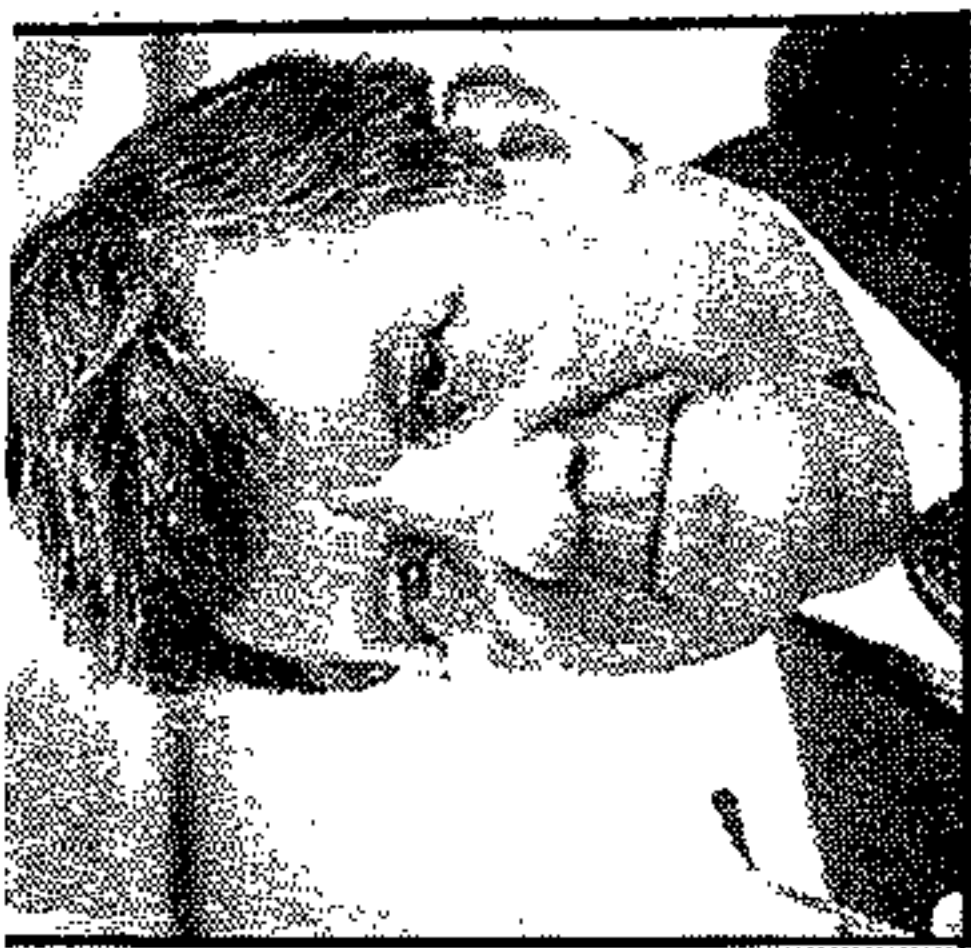
adding that Dr Mulder would have to provide his own explanation for not doing the same. (304A)

Dr Mulder was yesterday addressing a meeting in Clanwilliam and was not available for comment.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the State President said Mr De Klerk would react fully to the CP's call on whites to rise up for the struggle "at a more convenient time".

The NP's Transvaal information officer, Sheila Camerer (Rosettenville), described the CP statement as an intemperate diatribe without foundation in fact or law.

Dr Treurnicht, she said, was playing a dangerous game of flirting with violent action through the use of revolutionary rhetoric.



IKEN OWEN

ON SUNDAY

S/Times
17/1/91
304P

community. A good example is the hysterical letter, published elsewhere in this issue, written by Nationalist spokesman Sheila Camerer in response to my recent suggestion that a black nationalist government would behave much as the white nationalists have behaved: deplorably.

Mrs Camerer interprets this as a "nightmare" (which says something about how the Nationalists see themselves), and accuses me, quite irrationally, of retreating from my liberal convictions. The opposite is true: I have worked all my life for democracy and I welcome its imminent arrival.

But I see no need to tell comforting little lies to conceal from the populace the problems of the future. The next 10 years, I suspect, will be a very difficult time of transition, and afterwards the country — its politics, its daily life, its mores and standards — will be dominated by the majority who happen to be black people, and Africans at that.

Having once rejected an offer of British citizenship, and disdained a chance to acquire American citizenship, I feel no special need to be "saved" from African rule, and I have no doubt whatsoever that majority rule, even by black nationalists, is preferable to rule by a racial minority. At least we have a chance of

like the abolition of the pass laws, the repeal of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act brings white South Africans face to face with the future: to be happy and successful in the new South Africa will demand the ability to adapt to a different world. Testing times lie ahead.

These days, whenever I try to discuss the shape of the future, some other terrified creature yelps "Pessimist!" Among whites, the search for "optimism" has lately become neurotic.

So it seems sensible to begin by saying that, from a liberal perspective, things have gone about as well under President De Klerk as any realistic person had a right to expect. Even the disintegration of black communities, which has taken on a horror that none of us imagined, is an inescapable consequence of the immense social changes let loose upon the country.

Apartheid, in seeking to prevent the modernisation of South Africa, damned up pressures, both demographic and industrial; the bursting of the dam was bound to create great turbulence. The question is not whether we should avoid it — we cannot — but how we should deal with it.

First, however, some comments on the febrile mood of the white com-

which I stole from Denis Beckett's book, *The Fallacy of Heroes*, that there are no leaders to be found, only ordinary oaks like thee and me. I suggested that we oaks start thinking about how to cope with change.

To distrust leaders is, of course, the essence of liberalism: Nat or ANC, King George III or the Pope, Stalin or Gorbachev, De Klerk or Mandela, they are all fallible and probably corruptible. Only the law — the body of the law, not the mere statutes — can be trusted to protect the individual against the inherent thuggishness of government.

To my utter astonishment, Beckett himself interpreted my rather inane comments on the folly of relying on leaders as evidence of my "pessimism". In these troubled times, not even the most confirmed liberals, it

solving our problems; under white rule we had none.

That democracy will bring a host of social and political, and indeed personal, problems is true, and I foresee certain catastrophe if the SA Communist Party manages to steer the ANC into a socialist wasteland. The end of apartheid does not guarantee democracy, or prosperity, or anything else.

NOR will any white knight come to rescue us. A year ago, the more pitiful of white South Africans flung themselves down to grovel at the feet of Nelson Mandela; today, they are disillusioned with the poor man, and rail at him, though he has done as well as anybody had the right to expect.

Now the search is on for a new saviour. At a recent seminar on leadership, I put forward the theme,

seems, manage to maintain a decent, democratic scorn for the idea of a *führer*.

THE true liberal answer to our present anxieties is to strengthen the rule of law, to weaken the power of politicians, to undermine bureaucracy, and to set now the precedents of the law by which we hope to be governed in the future. The worst folly would be to hand to the ANC all the powers which the Nationalists have so thoroughly abused in their disgraceful regimen. It is in this spirit of sceptical hope

— neither pessimistic nor optimistic, but accepting that human nature is inherently flawed — that I welcome the land reforms announced in the past week.

Personally, I would have liked to see a mechanism to redress the

wrongs done to those dispossessed of their land by apartheid, provided that a land court operated not on the basis of race, to take land from "whites" to give to "blacks", but on the basis of individual claims to title.

Such a mechanism might have assuaged the general sense of dispossession felt even by Indians whose families never owned land at Cato Manor, or coloured people whose families did not own land in District Six, while its practical effect might well be limited, for two reasons.

Firstly, though many people were forcibly moved by apartheid, not so many can actually show that they were deprived of title to the land; most were tenants. Secondly, in practice very few people really want to go back to rural areas: the cities will explode in the next decade, but the *platteland* will be as empty at the end of the century as now. Our real problem is to accommodate the urbanising millions.

No administrative system, no army of bureaucrats, no land commissions or special courts can possibly manage the reallocation of land resources which will be necessary to recreate and expand the cities. Only a free market, always matching supply to demand by constant adjustments of price, can possibly perform such an

immense task of social reorganisation. Only the market can stimulate the innovation that will be needed, always testing new concepts, and quickly discarding those that fail, or rewarding those that succeed.

THE land reform proposals prepare the way for the market to operate with the necessary efficiency. Living patterns, land use, social customs, architecture and entrenched prejudices are all destined to be changed and many people will find it excruciatingly difficult to keep up with the changes.

Angry emotions will be aroused by block-busting (the deliberate importation of black people to drive down prices), by profiteering, by speculations; fortunes will be made and lost. But there is no other way known to man to accomplish the vast adjustment.

Naturally, the idea of letting the market work is opposed by the social engineers of apartheid, now clustered in the CP, and by the would-be social engineers of the left. There is no need to worry about that.

With luck, by the time the ANC is in a position to do anything about it, the market will have done its work, and the organisation of South Africa's people on racial lines will have been demolished. Hallelujah.

Coloureds join National Party

THE National Party is going places.

It started appropriately in Ersterus, where the first "non-white" NP branch was formed last month.

Plans for more branches in "non-white" areas are already in an advanced stage.

And the rush by Ersterus residents to join the newly-formed branch could signal the beginning of "a massive shift in South African politics," according to political analyst Professor Willie Breytenbach.

"The NP does not go out of its way to recruit members," says NP Pretoria regional secretary Mr Joggie Boers, who presided over the constituent meeting in Ersterus on February 26.

"People come to us to join. And if enough people in an area want it, we form a geographic branch."

"The meeting was one of the highlights of my life. I was astounded by the brotherly love with which we were received," says Boers.

In Ersterus, people are flocking to obtain membership cards. About 200 members signed up in the first two weeks after the branch was formed, and applications are still flooding in, says branch treasurer Mr Gershwin Jones.

Springbok

The branch executive consists of Mr Russel Leyds (chairman), Miss Maggie Leyds (secretary), Mr David Winkler (vice-chairman) and Jones.

Winkler is the father of Springbok athlete Marcel Winkler, who joined the branch together with the rest of her family on the night of its establishment.

Leyds gets the credit for the idea of starting an NP branch in Ersterus.

"She came up with the idea, and we talked about it and decided to give it a chance," says Jones, a former member of the Democratic Party.

"The idea was well received by the NP - they were very glad that we started a branch here and maintained a high profile at the constituent meeting."

"We've experienced some resistance from Labour Party and African National Congress quarters, but not much. I believe the overwhelming majority of Ersterus residents are in favour of the branch being established."

Why would people in Ersterus - for many years the victims of the NP's apartheid policies - want to join the very party which took away their voting rights in the first place?

"People realise that parties such as the Labour Party do not really have a place in the new South Africa," says Jones.

"In reality, only three parties are in the running - the NP, ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party."

"I would like to see many Ersterus residents joining the NP so that we can prosper. The NP is the only party which can give this country peace and stability."

Meeting

For the moment, the branch will concentrate on recruiting new members and planning its first public meeting - but should another election be held in the House of Representatives, the branch may well put up a candidate in Ersterus.

"I am very optimistic about the future of this country," says Jones. "Mr de Klerk has taken the bull by the horns and

is doing what we have always asked."

Boers agrees: "The establishment of the Ersterus branch shows that the NP has a product, a good product that we can sell to millions of people."

But just how acceptable is that product to the disenfranchised majority?

Breytenbach says the establishment of "non-white" NP branches is a logical move for the party, taking into account the results of the most recent opinion surveys.

"The opinion polls have been showing all along that President De Klerk is the second most popular leader in the country after Mr Mandela. And the NP has three times more support among coloureds and Indians than among whites," says Breytenbach.

"The formation of NP branches in coloured

areas, especially after the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and the Political Interference Act, is something which has been in the pipeline for quite some time.

"I am surprised that they are only now beginning to form these branches."

Fear

"One factor which could have inhibited people of high standing in the coloured community from joining the NP was the Group Areas Act - as long as the act remained on the statute books they couldn't join the NP for fear of being branded Uncle Toms."

"Now that the Group Areas Act is going, there is nothing standing in the way of the NP to canvass support among coloured communities."

According to the most

recent opinion poll by the Human Sciences Research Council, 66 percent of coloured and 48 percent of Indian voters support De Klerk. That translates into more than three times the number of white voters that support the NP.

"But it would be a mistake for the NP to concentrate only on coloured and Indian support. They would have to gain support among the blacks, where Mr Mandela is still by far the most popular leader," says Breytenbach.

"I am sure that Mr de Klerk will win an election in all the coloured and Indian areas, except perhaps the Indian areas in Durban."

This could well turn out to be the "silent majority", so often touted by Mr PW Botha but so unlikely while most apartheid legislation still remained intact.

Putting the cart

Star 18/3/91.

before the horse

306A ~~187~~

THE ANC has strongly endorsed a constituent assembly as the means of designing the constitution of South Africa. In doing so, they draw on the Namibian analogy. Yet Namibia is far more analogous to colonial or UDI Rhodesia than it is to the Republic of South Africa.

The South African State satisfies all the tests of international law required for the purposes of recognition. During their years in exile neither the ANC nor the PAC ever seriously contemplated or implemented a government-in-exile strategy.

There are, however, certain attractive aspects to a constituent assembly.

Most notably, a general election to choose representatives to the Assembly would clothe the participants with the necessary authority. Yet what would their mandate be? Short of every participating party electioneering solely on the basis of a detailed constitutional

plan, the electorate would have no certainty as to the eventual constitution which such an assembly would draft.

More problematic is the nature of the election itself. Since the purpose of the Assembly itself would be largely to fashion the system of elections, choosing the Assembly would be putting the cart before the horse.

Another danger inherent in the constituent assembly idea is if the purpose of a constitution is to protect the individual from the tyranny of the majority, then it is impracticable for a majoritarian Assembly to itself fashion such protective rights.

The final hurdle to a constituent assembly is both practical and virtually insurmountable: the objection of the South African Government.

It is naive to imagine that the National Party will surrender its supreme asset, namely power, before establishing the detailed nature of the new constitution.

A new nonracial constitutional arrangement must first be considered by all parties of relevance. There is a simple rebuttal to the extra-parliamentary argument that white South Africa is disproportionately over-represented in such an arrangement and the black opposition accordingly disadvantaged. It little matters whether the ANC/UDF/Cosatu/PAC/Inkatha forces have 100 or 10 representatives at such a conference. The new constitution will have no validity if it is simply achieved by a head-counting process at a national convention. It must be the result of consensus, and, where there is none, by compromise.

Each constituency represented at the conference will thereafter have to ratify its contents, jointly or separately. And the current Parliament will then, formally, have to enact the new Constitution Act and legislate itself out of business.

The ANC wants a multiparty

conference whose first task would be to determine constitutional principles. Given this shift of thinking and strategy, their demand for a constituent assembly cannot be to design the constitution as much as to legitimise it.

There can be no objection to such a body convened after the constitutional principles are agreed. A referendum would be probably more effective and persuasive, however. Or you could have a combination. A further argument which could be advanced in favour of a Constituent Assembly, and an interim government, is the historical demand for these steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration.

Yet the current usefulness of the Harare document is now open to question. You will recall that the Harare Declaration also called for "all troops to be removed from the townships". Yet only this week, in the bloody aftermath of the massacre in the

Alexandra township, it is the ANC that has supported the use of the police to intercede between the warring factions and parties there. Times change and we must be flexible enough to change with them.

Other constitutional dangers which are problematic include the tyranny of majoritarianism.

Some implacable foes of apartheid, such as the Democratic Party, are also deeply suspicious of unchecked majority rule.

When you have removed racism from the legacy of National Party rule in South Africa, we are still left with an appalling inheritance from an unfettered, unrestrained and unchecked sovereign Parliament.

The suppression of liberty, the trampling on civil rights and the disregard for human freedom in South Africa over the last 40 years are a potent lesson in the dangers of an unchecked sovereign Parlia-

ment, whether elected by a majority or by a minority.

That is why, in distinction to most other players in politics today, we champion limitations on the State, the dispersal of power in a federation, and the guarantees that come with a Bill of Rights.

We will all be better off, black and white, rich and poor, township resident and suburban homeowner, under a Bill of Rights that frees the individual by restricting the State. Prohibitions on torture, detention without trial, censorship of idea and the right to assemble, protest and vote are fundamental to the creation of an open society — which is the highest aim if the new South Africa is to be an improvement on the old. □

● Tony Leon is Democratic Party MP for Houghton. This is a shortened version of his address to students at the University of Stellenbosch last week.

Top Russian trio for Idasa seminar

By ALI MPHAKI

FOR the first time on a South African platform, three high-ranking members of the Communist Party of Russia will speak at an Idasa seminar in Pretoria tonight.

They are vice-president Mr Vasili Solodovnikov, Dr Salamandar Kalandarov, former Soviet ambassador to Zambia and now secretary-general of the committee, and consultant Mr Slava Tetelein. *Sowetan 18/3/91*

They are members of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity, one of the most important Russian contacts of the ANC before it was unbanned.

They have held talks with Cosatu, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and hope to meet several leaders including their "old friend" Mr Joe Slovo of the SA Communist Party, Azapo and Idasa leader Dr Alex Boraine.

This week they visited several places including Winterveldt near Pretoria, where they were shocked by the low standard of living, lack of transport and other services. *304A*

They will speak on Soviet internal policy and their country's policy towards South Africa.

Although they are not an official committee, they act as advisers to the Soviet state on African and Asian affairs.

"We carry a lot of weight in our government," Solodovnikov said.

Registration for the seminar at Boulevard Hotel starts at 7.30pm and is R10 a person. Further information can be obtained from Ethel at (012) 342 2335/6.

CP boycott delays mayoral election

Star 19/3/71 304A

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

The election of a new mayor for Vanderbijlpark had to be postponed last night because of the lack of a quorum after the entire CP caucus failed to turn up at a town council meeting.

Lashing out afterwards at the CP contingent, including management committee chairman Gerhard Smith and the present mayor Hennie Pretorius, the leader of the NP caucus, Johan Kilian, described their behaviour as shocking.

"We regret and deplore the bad behaviour displayed by

those who are responsible for the running of the town.

"We also find it amazing that people who claim they are prepared to fight for a cause are too cowardly to turn up at such an important meeting," said Mr Kilian.

Insulting

According to Mr Kilian, Mr Smith and Mr Pretorius were spotted "speeding away" from the municipal complex about five minutes before the meeting was scheduled to start.

He added that all the department heads and other senior council officials had arrived for the meeting and that the "boor-

ish behaviour" of the CP caucus was an insult to members of the town council and local rate-payers.

He also said the NP caucus had already decided, in terms of standing orders, to hold the election meeting later this week. Further action concerning last night's incident was being planned.

Mr Smith was not available for comment last night.

According to Mr Kilian, the CP caucus decided at a special meeting last week to change the council's quorum to an attendance of 50 percent plus one.

This decision was apparently pushed through without any reason and with the casting vote of the mayor.

Death of Wim de Villiers mourned by politicians and businessmen

8/10 May 19/13/91

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Administration and Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers died yesterday, President F W de Klerk announced in Parliament.

De Klerk said he had learned of De Villiers' death with sorrow and described him as "one of SA's greatest sons".

De Villiers collapsed on Thursday, apparently due to a narrowing of arteries, and had been unconscious since then.

His death will result either in another Cabinet reshuffle or, more likely, an appointment from outside the executive. There is speculation that no-one in the Cabinet is capable of handling his job as efficiently as he did and De Klerk might look

to the private sector once again.

He could also look to DP members with solid administrative experience.

De Klerk said while De Villiers's political career had been short, government had come to rely on his vast experience.

He had been a giant in the SA business world and had a particular quality of investigating issues rationally and properly before taking decisions.

Only someone with De Villiers's temperament could have curtailed government expenditure so effectively. He had made an impression which would influence developments in the country for the next five to 10 years, De Klerk said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said he had known De Villiers as a student and he had been moderate, able and dependable.

DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin said De Villiers brought the philosophy of the business world to government and the corridors of Parliament.

Finance Minister Barend Du Plessis said De Villiers had drafted so many reports of such value that he would influence SA's economy for some time to come.

De Villiers was a tough negotiator with other Ministers, forcing them to cut back

on spending and accept the restructuring necessary to streamline departments.

When government's privatisation drive bogged down, it was De Villiers who managed to pilot it through.

WILSON ZWANE reports Eskom chairman John Marree said that at a time when De Villiers's thinking and planning about the future of the country's economy were reaching the stage of implementation, his death was an "irreparable loss and a setback to SA".

Gencor executive director Naas Steenkamp said the career of De Villiers, under whose leadership Gencor developed into

one of the country's foremost mining houses, was distinguished by the emphasis he "placed on the considered and determined development of SA human resources as *sine qua non* for economic growth".

A Sacob statement said: "The business community was looking forward to his restructuring of the country's economy to meet the challenges of the new SA."

Afrikaans Handelsinstituut president Gerrie Steenkamp said De Villiers would always be remembered for his focussed but practical approach.

Write constitution by consensus ^{304A} De Beer

ELECTIONS for a constituent assembly would rapidly turn into a power struggle and would have little or nothing to do with constitutional matters, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at the Transnet labour relations conference near Pretoria, De Beer said constituent assembly elections could well result in a majority party or coalition riding roughshod over the minorities and imposing a constitution which placed no limitations on majority power.

He said the advantage of a constitution negotiated by consensus was that it would almost certainly receive the support of the present Parliament.

In contrast, a document drafted by a constituent assembly in which the existing Parliament had no say, had a good chance of being rejected by Parliament.

"Once the terms of the constitution are agreed, such an assembly may well be a way of legitimating it — with or without a referendum of all the people."

Addressing another key ANC demand, De Beer said an interim government would presumably be self-appointed and would

have no legitimacy, authority or accountability. "Furthermore, in the interests of legal continuity, it is plain that the existing Parliament has to remain in being, if only in order to legislate for the introduction of the new government in due course."

The best option was for the current government to take an increasingly lower profile. This could be done through joint advisory committees or submitting draft legislation to a council representing the liberation movements.

However, De Beer said he agreed with the ANC that the present government was not legitimate in the language of the new SA — "it is legal, but it is not legitimate".

He said no important legislation should pass during the next few years without it being discussed with leaders of the major black movements.

"Every political leader should understand his responsibility... whatever the needs of his party may be, he should never act in such way that his party gains at the expense of the nation."

B/pay 19/3/91
VERA VON LIERES

The engineer who taught politicians about business

By Day 19/3/91 (S04A)

WIM de Villiers, described variously as SA's economic messiah, a financial authoritarian or an enemy of the free market, died yesterday a few days before his 70th birthday. However his protagonists and critics might have described him, no one would call him anything but straightforward and honest in an era when business expediency all too often takes precedence over ethical behaviour.

De Villiers, Administrator and Economic Co-ordination Minister, was born in the eastern Free State hamlet of Jacobsdal on April 4 1921. In 1938 he matriculated at Grey College, Bloemfontein, and enrolled at UCT where he completed a doctorate in engineering, which, in those days, led to a job as a junior switchboard attendant at the Pretoria power station.

Last year he recounted in Parliament how he had personally experienced discrimination. Forty years ago, he said, it was extremely difficult for Afrikaners to get jobs and there were no Afrikaans university engineering faculties.

Spectacular

De Villiers was one of a band of entrepreneurial managers who exploded the myth that business was the preserve of English-speakers. In 1959 he entered the English-dominated mining industry and a meteoric business career was launched.

After joining Anglo American, he was posted to what was then Northern Rhodesia in 1950 to be employed as a power station engineer. Within a very few years his organisational talents were recognised and he was promoted to engineer in charge of technical research and development of Anglo's Nchanga copper mine.

In this capacity he transformed the mining philosophy of the Copper Belt by eliminating labour-intensive "gang" mining and replacing it with small but well-trained teams. Within two years he halved Nchanga's labour force, increased production and contributed to a doubling of the mine's profits. Unwittingly, De Villiers had paved the way for the copper mines' later Africanisation when independence came to Zambia.

These spectacular successes resulted in Anglo bringing him back to SA in 1961 to introduce the concept of concentrated mining in its gold

mines. Pilot projects were started clandestinely in several mines on the Rand and in the Free State in 1965 where De Villiers demonstrated the feasibility and profitability of his methods, provided the mines could have more "resident" skilled black labour rather than the usual masses of poorly skilled migrants. Political considerations overruled economic wisdom and the De Villiers' "experiments" were abandoned.

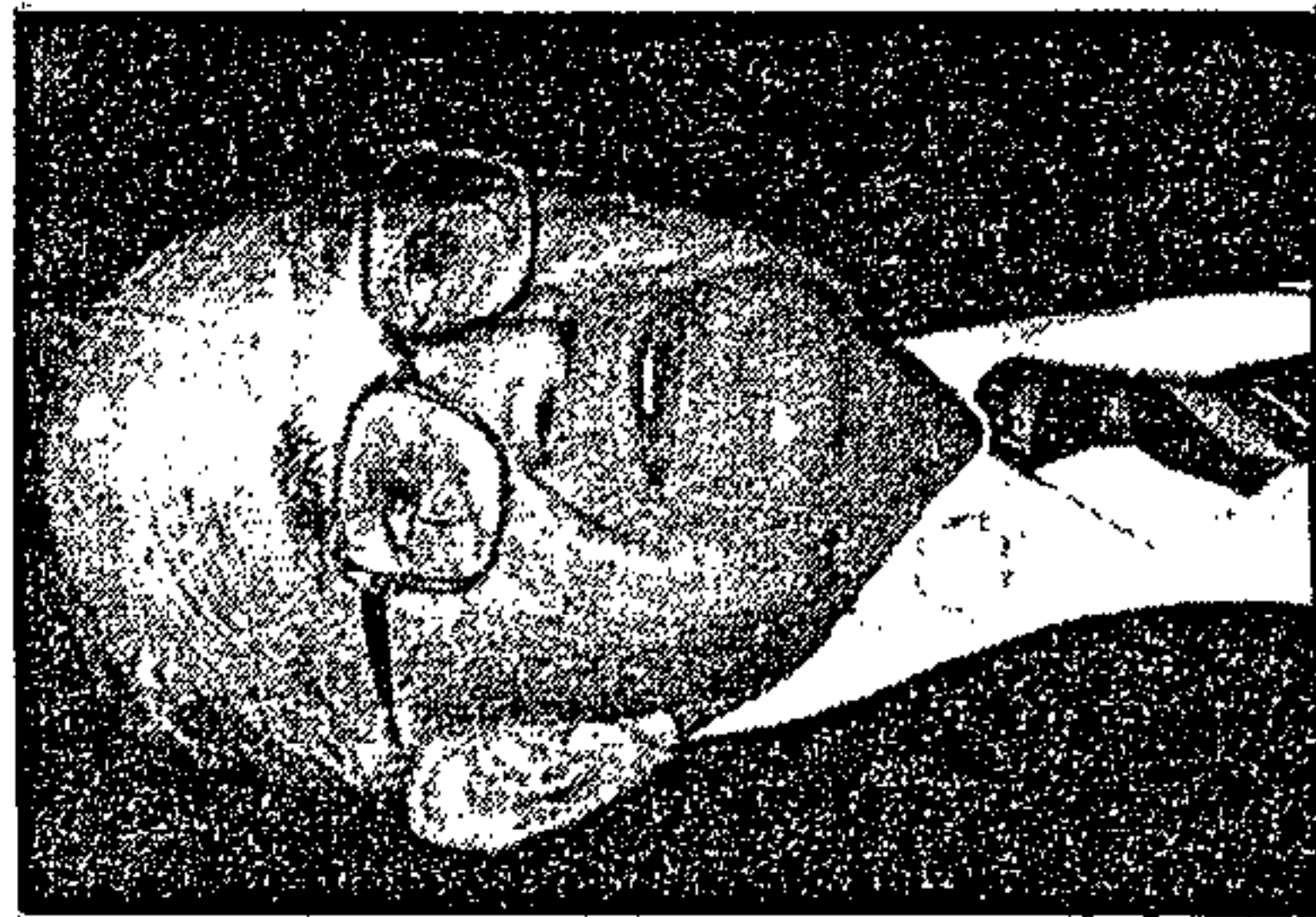
He was promoted to the position of MD of LTA Engineering, where he played a pivotal role in establishing the consortium which built the giant Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique. But he was never really happy in the very Brit environment at Anglo, and gladly accepted the invitation to join the Sanlam stable in 1969 which led to his moving to General Mining in 1970, becoming MD the following year. In that position he was instrumental in launching the hotly contested and successful takeover of Union Corporation which resulted in the formation of Gencor. His reward was the executive chairmanship of Gencor.

Government, however, did not allow his talents to lie fallow. He served on several commissions of inquiry, including those into Eskom and Transport, Posts and Health services. As chairman of a 1983 commission of inquiry into Eskom, De Villiers managed to persuade then Prime Minister P W Botha to refuse Eskom's request for R105bn for two new power stations. He did so because of his then unfashionable belief that SA was generating excess electricity — a belief only recently fully vindicated when the utility mothballed 10 power stations. At the time, however, he was severely criticised for unwarranted interference.

Other directorships he held included Perskor, the Atomic Energy Corporation, Reserve Bank, Development Bank, the Armaments Development and Manufacturing Board and Armscor. He was also chairman of Dagbreekpers, Perskor's controlling body.

In 1985 De Villiers was the man selected to spearhead SA's privatisation and he was appointed government's special adviser.

In September 1989 he was appointed Minister for Administration and Privatisation and became a nominated MP. Insisting he was no politi-



□ DE VILLIERS

cian, De Villiers was freed of party political duties to concentrate on his Cabinet portfolios.

His major privatisation achievement was Iscor, while scores of other state utilities — Sats, Eskom, Transnet, Sasol and Foskor among them — were prepared for privatisation. Under De Villiers' tutelage Transnet and Eskom were successfully converted into strongly business-oriented organisations.

There were fewer kudos, however, for his directive last year to these two parastatals to restrict tariff increases in De Villiers' one-man anti-inflation drive. The directive provoked allegations of over-interference, with one financial magazine even labelling him an enemy of the free market.

At 69, the oldest Cabinet member, De Villiers embarked last year on the daunting task of fundamentally restructuring SA's economy when he was given the portfolio of Economic Co-ordination.

Problem

His vision was to cash in on SA's comparative advantages — its minerals, its good agricultural base and its excess capacity in transport and power. He intended to bring down inflation to make SA competitive in international markets. A supply-side economist, he vigorously attempted to boost exports in an effort to regenerate an ailing industrial sector.

"Our biggest problem is unemployment. The aim of any strategy must be an employment-creating economy. We are exporting our employment opportunities," he said in a recent report.

Despite his responsibilities, De Villiers succeeded in maintaining a low profile.

On Wednesday it was announced that De Villiers would also take on the weighty Transport portfolio on April 1. He collapsed on Thursday while making a speech in Cape Town.

His death yesterday has left much of his work undone. Changing political demands have left privatisation firmly on the back burner and most of his restructuring plans remain unimplemented — and even unknown to the public.

De Villiers leaves his wife Francis, two sons, a daughter and six grandchildren.

'CP wants to negotiate over land, not power'

By Abel Mushi Star 19/3/79

A top CP politician said in Johannesburg last night that his party was not prepared to negotiate on power-sharing but was prepared to take part in negotiations over land.

Koos van der Merwe, CP spokesman on information, told the monthly Tribute Forum, hosted by Tribute magazine and attended by a predominantly black audience of about 300, that he was a staunch Afrikaner nationalist who was determined to fight for the self-determination of the "Boere".

He said the CP, which he said was not racist, was not prepared to negotiate power-sharing but could take part in negotiations about land.

Mr van der Merwe accused President de Klerk of conspir-

ing with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to beat "radicals of the Right and Left" in a "Namibian-style one man, one vote under international supervision."

He dismissed the ANC stance on sanctions as "dangerous" and "stupid" as it backfired on black people.

Safari suits

A speaker suggested to Mr van der Merwe that the best would be for him and his people to "go back to Holland".

"No way! Remember that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) has about 5 000 men," he retorted.

He had earlier said it would take the SADF five minutes to wipe out MK.

The Afrikaner, he said, was "not asking for a favour" but

was demanding a part of land in his fatherland where he could practise self-determination and maintain his own value system and culture in terms of a "modern approach to partition" as practised in other countries.

"We want to retain our Afrikaner way of life, safari suits and sakkie-sakkie musiek," Mr van der Merwe said to roars of laughter, adding he hoped there were Zulus and Xhosas who also wanted to retain what they had.

He said the CP recognised the wish of the "internationalists" who aspired to live together and be assimilated into one nation.

In the CP's envisaged state, the Afrikaners would remain "plain Boere" and would have their own schools and churches. He hinted that members of other races could face rejection from the Afrikaner community.



Historic moment . . . Koos van der Merwe at last night's meeting.

Death of Wim de Villiers mourned by politicians and businessmen

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BILLY PADDOCK

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one of the country's foremost mining houses, was distinguished by the emphasis he "placed on the considered and determined development of SA human resources as *sine qua non* for economic growth".

A Sacob statement said: "The business community was looking forward to his restructuring of the country's economy to meet the challenges of the new SA."

Afrikaans Handelsinstituut president Gerrie Steenkamp said De Villiers would always be remembered for his focussed but practical approach.

MULTICULTURALISM

although it is a reality in South African society, could prove to be extremely divisive and detrimental to existing standards in the country.

This was if it was taken to extremes, says the Washington director of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Michael Christie.

Addressing the Foundation's annual general meeting in Durban this week, Christie said South African society would be particularly vulnerable during its transition to a new dispensation.

"We in South Africa are putting aside what we were in order to seek new structures and new relationships in our society.

"We are moving, at the same time, out of our isolation. We are rejecting the thinking of the past and looking elsewhere, more than we did before, for new techniques, new ideas and new structures of thought," he said.

"We hope to achieve and sustain a democracy

in this country even though most South Africans, both black and white, are not accustomed to the habits and disciplines necessary in a democratic society.

"We therefore also hope that, in particular Europe and the United States will help us by linking their support and their aid to our adherence to basic democratic principles. We will welcome their involvement and absorption here of the core values upon which their societies are organised.

Influence

"We will therefore be open to their influence. But at the same time we will not easily be able to choose which set of influences to absorb and which not.

"Most white South Africans have always had closer ties to Europe than elsewhere. This is not true to the same extent of black South Africans, many of whom have closer ties to the United States, having lived there

Multiculturalism may be bad for a new South Africa

The Washington director of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Michael Christie, believes that multiculturalism - although it is a South African reality - could do immense harm if taken to its ultimate extremes in any future dispensation. He visited South Africa this week to address the Foundation's annual general meeting.

and having been educated there.

"From the American side, the African-American community takes a direct interest in South Africa and Africa in general. A recent study showed that US aid to Africa had increased considerably over the past few years and attributed this to the efforts of such political groups as the Congressional Black

Caucus.

"For all these reasons, we can assume that we will absorb many influences from the US over the next few years."

Christie said for this reason it was important to consider a development in academic life in the US which could have a marked influence on South African society in the future - the issue of multiculturalism.

"In essence, multiculturalism arises from the struggle by minorities for equality. It has taken root on campuses in the US and is a basis for the organisation of curricula at several of the leading universities. It is defined by the administration of one of these, Duke University, as an 'equality of officially designated groups'."

Christie said multi-

culturalism was best defined by looking at its opposite, uniculturalism, which represented, in essence, what was taught to most South Africans - the canon of so-called Western culture, in philosophy from Plato to Wittgenstein and in literature from Homer to Joyce.

To offer this canon as a core curriculum to black students or Hispanics or

Asians or women was, he said, in the words of the multiculturalists, a denial of their humanity.

"Ethnic minorities reject it on the grounds that it is Eurocentric, feminists on the grounds that it is phallogocentric. After all, it comprises the writings of a succession of DWEMMS (dead white European males)." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Hawke may visit SA as ties thaw

By Peter Fabricius ^{Star} 24/3/91
Political Correspondent

Plans are being made for Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke to visit South Africa as relations between the two previously hostile countries improve.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans had been invited to visit South Africa to explore a possible visit by Mr Hawke.

SA Ambassador to Australia David Tothill had met Mr Hawke to discuss a possible

visit, Mr Botha said.

Mr Hawke would be welcome to visit South Africa should he wish to do so.

Mr Botha was confirming Australian newspaper reports.

He said President de Klerk and Mr Hawke had been corresponding for several months about the changes in South Africa and the implications of those changes for relations between the two countries.

"Relations between Australia and South Africa have indeed improved. The fact that Mr Hawke has indicated his willingness to play a leading role

in the lifting of sanctions against South Africa is an indication of the measure to which relations have improved."

The thaw in relations between the two countries has been dramatic. It was only last year that South Africa cut its diplomatic representation in Australia by about half in what South African diplomats described as a "deliberate and calculated snub" because Australia had not acknowledged Mr de Klerk's reform moves.

Australia was expected to reciprocate by cutting its diplomatic representation in South Africa, but relations began to thaw before this happened.

Rudolph likens his aims to those of ANC

RIGHT-WING rebel Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who was released from detention yesterday, said he and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were fighting for the same things and had used the same methods.

"I am not a violent man," he said in an interview, despite admitting responsibility for five bomb blasts and the theft of a large arms cache from the SA Air Force.

Rudolph was the only right winger granted unconditional indemnity when government announced on Monday it was freeing 33 left-wing political prisoners.

He also disclosed that he intended disbanding his Orde Boerevolk organisation once it had secured the release of about 60

other right-wing detainees and prisoners.

The organisation was started to demonstrate that Boers would fight for their beliefs. Rudolph said he felt that this point had been made and the organisation would be used only as a forum for uniting the right wing and securing the release of other right wingers.

After his release he sent a telegram to President F W de Klerk congratulating him on his birthday and thanking him for his release.

Rudolph looked relaxed and healthy de-

spite his two hunger strikes.

He said yesterday the Orde Boerevolk accepted responsibility for five bomb blasts: one at Melrose House, one at the British Embassy, two at NP offices and one at the Rustenburg offices of the Food and Allied Workers' Union.

He also acknowledged responsibility for the theft of machine guns, R1 and R4 rifles at the SA Air Force headquarters in Pretoria last year.

Rudolph said he had signed a confession to this effect.

● See Page 2

● Comment: Page 12

TIM COHEN

304A

Visits to SA by world leaders on the cards

CAPE TOWN — Visits to SA by several world leaders may be on the cards for later this year — and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke and British premier John Major are top of the list. *6/24/91*

Both men have said they are considering a visit, and both will be in the region in October for the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Zimbabwe.

High-level government sources said yesterday similar interest had been expressed by other world leaders.

There has been speculation that former

LESLEY LAMBERT

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher might make a visit soon. *(304A)*

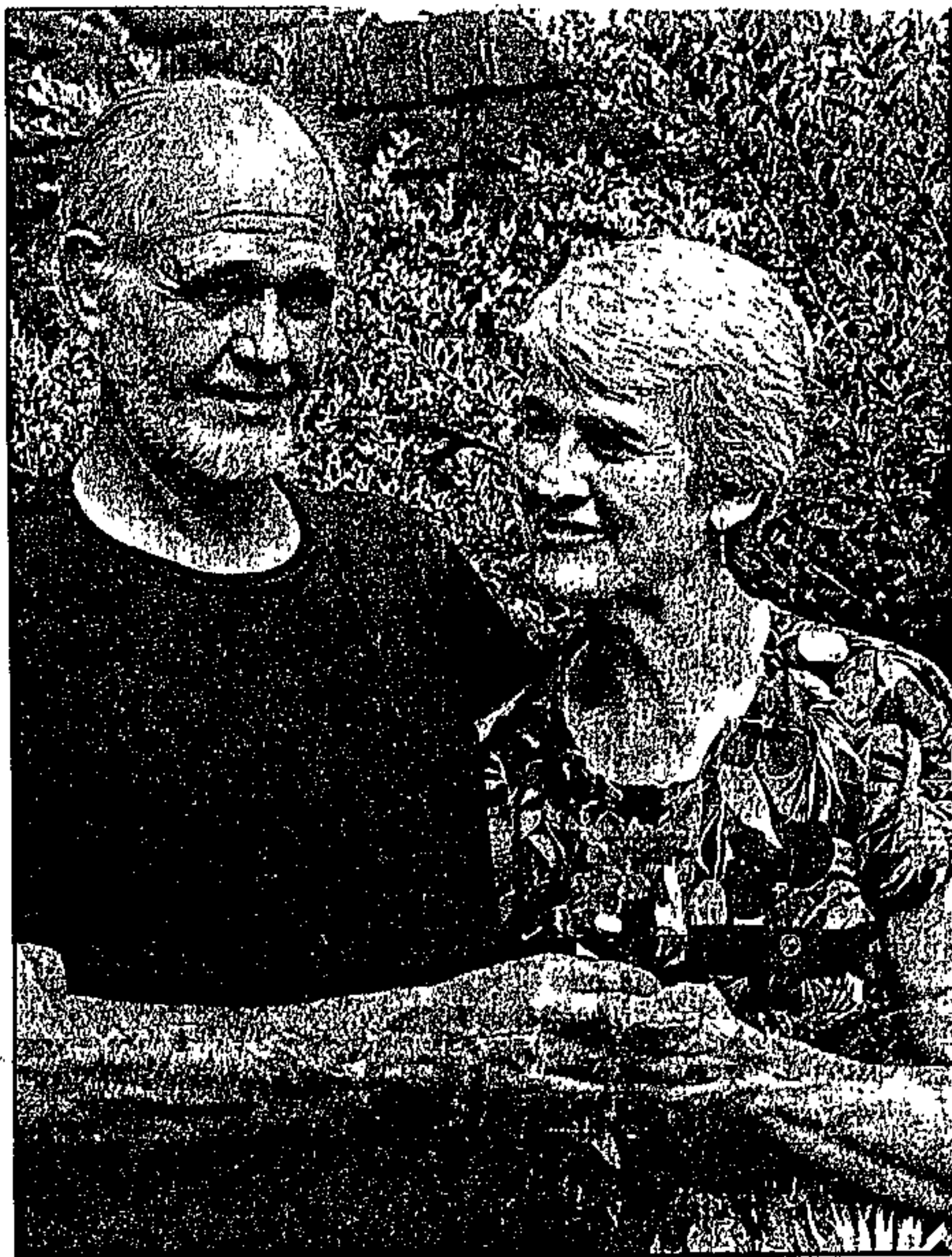
Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday confirmed President F W de Klerk and Hawke had been corresponding for many months on changes in SA and relations between the two countries.

Botha said Australia's Foreign Minister Gareth Evans had been invited to visit SA to explore a possible visit by Hawke.

NOTE : As and when the above terms and concepts are introduced in the lectures, tutorials or your reading you should write appropriate explanations or definitions in the spaces provided above. All these terms are explained or defined in your recommended texts so LOOK THEM UP.

	Trial balance
	Transaction
	- External transaction
	- Internal transaction
	Worksheet

C. (continued)



Reunited . . . Piet "Skiet" Rudolph and his wife Breggie at home after his release.

Rudolph to disband Boerevolk

Political Staff

Freed right-wing leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph is to disband his Orde Boerevolk and continue to put out feelers to negotiate with the Government.

But Mr Rudolph said yesterday he had left prison with his political views entrenched and would still consider using violence if the situation warranted it.

His immediate plans were to help other detained Orde Boerevolk members to get their freedom. Once he has achieved this, he would disband the organisation as it had fulfilled its objective.

Mr Rudolph was planning to hold talks with top right-wing leaders to see whether it was possible to come to an agreement with the Government about the "tragedy".

Asked what situation would warrant the return to violence, Mr Rudolph said it would be if the "Boere" were forced into a one-party state with a black majority government. A multiparty state with a black majority government would not lead to lasting peace either, he said.

Mr Rudolph said he had not made a deal whereby he would be released if he resumed eating.

He was told on Monday night that he would be freed. He did not know why he was released before any of the other rightwingers.

He said he was well treated by police and prison authorities. Although he had lost weight, he said his spirit was "right".

Mr Rudolph said he knew who had "betrayed" him but was not prepared to identify the person. He said there was "almost nothing" police did not know about right-wing activities.

His plans were to write his autobiography and have a volume of poetry published.

• More reports — Page 2

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Joyce Harris of the Black Sash rejects the Government's land plans

Stew 20/3/91

304A

Erasing apartheid's imprint on the earth

SINCE 1955, when the National Party Government immorally removed the coloured voters from the common voters roll in the Cape, the Black Sash has constantly and consistently registered its protest against all apartheid and unjust laws, some of which are currently being removed from the statute book.

It is painful but unproductive to ponder on what the current situation in our country might have been had our words been heeded. However, we cannot remain silent over the Government's White Paper on the land Acts.

Naturally we welcome their repeal, but our organisation has been intimately involved with the Government's whole policy of forced removals since they were first brought to our attention in East London in 1959.

We organised mass campaigns of protest. We issued a map of the

removals in 1978 and re-issued it a couple of years later. We published booklets. We wrote letters and articles to the press.

We fought the migrant labour system, the hostels, the homelands policy, the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, and all the disruption inherent in their implementation.

We formed Trac — the Transvaal Rural Action Committee — as a wing of the Black Sash, to work in rural areas with people threatened with removal or already removed and suffering gross injustices.

Always we made our information public, and always we made representation to those in Government who had the power to reverse decisions made on behalf of millions of people who had no representation in Government and whose lives and communities were being mercilessly destroyed and uprooted.

But nothing and no one could

halt the Government in its determination to alter the face of South Africa to suit its selfish policies. It caused untold suffering which continues to this day.

It might be convenient for the Government to refuse any reparations, sheltering behind logistic and cost difficulties, calling on people to let bygones be bygones and make the best of what is now on offer. But it is totally unacceptable to all those millions who have suffered so grievously, as it is to those who have been aware of their suffering.

These deeds were perpetrated in living memory. Many of the people involved are still trying to return to their land. Much of the land is still available.

The proposed legislation will entrench the present pattern of grossly unjust and unequal land distribution, with the very real possibility of a further wave of dispossession, leading to yet thousands more join-

ing the seven million already without adequate shelter.

Surely land must be an absolutely fundamental subject for negotiation? Yet once again we have the Government deciding on its own what should be done and how it expects people to feel about it.

There can be no peace unless justice is seen to be done — in every sphere of life, but now, particularly with regard to land. No one pretends that there are any easy solutions. There will be problems and complications and conflicting claims.

But something has to be done about the dispossessed people, and a Government which once found it quite easy to uproot, dispossess and remove, should not find it impossible to resettle, reimburse and satisfy — particularly if it works in conjunction with the people concerned. □

'Time for ANC to co-operate'

By Shaun Johnson *Star* 21/3/91

For the first time, the Government's Budget is aimed at an ANC and an international audience as much as at the National Party electorate.

"We are putting the ANC right on the spot," said one Government source. "We are saying, 'now come on, chaps, it's time to co-operate'. If there is a breakdown in our progress towards (social) equity, they must bear responsibility for it."

The Government believes that by being "courageous and daring" — specifically with social spending and progress towards overall equity — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has forced the ANC and its supporters to respond positively, or risk being blamed for sabotaging eventual economic justice.

Government sources expect that groups such as the ANC will criticise the amounts involved in changing the distributive focus of the Budget, but believe the general trend — towards "equity through growth and stability" — cannot be questioned.

The Government expects the ANC and others not to move the goalposts on sanctions, but rather to encourage investment, and promote social stability.

Mr du Plessis told Parliament: "This Budget thus bears a message that seeks the support and co-operation of a wide spectrum of people."

"The message is that despite our political differences we simply must work together so as to make an active and positive contribution ... to the creation of that climate that will promote investment, growth and job creation."

Allowing the political elite to negotiate a constitution behind closed doors without South Africans being able to elect their own representatives to a constituent assembly first, may lead to a future order that is neither democratic nor legitimate, warns Ian Liebenberg:

Beware of talks behind closed doors

304A

South 21/3-27/3/91

THE local media is currently overwhelmed by articles dealing with transition politics, most of them being written on topics like negotiations and the economic realities of the transition process.

Given the importance of such an issue, namely successful transition from authoritarian rule to a stable democracy by means of negotiations, this is not surprising.

Although many South Africans agree on the broad concept of democracy, there are huge differences on how this process should proceed.

On the issue of negotiations there are two broad schools of thought.

In the one school are those who argue that negotiations on a constitution should precede free and fair, nonracial elections, arguing that a referendum of some sort should ratify the already negotiated constitution.

Compromises

It is implied in this argument that negotiations should preferably be tackled behind closed doors to allow the political leaders to make the necessary compromises and attain some general consensus on a future constitution.

Two examples of this approach are the negotiation of the American constitution of 1787 and, more recently, the exercise to negotiate a "constitution" for Natal (the so-called Kaw-Natal Indaba).

It is implied in this approach that the political elite/leaders are the prime movers and thus the crucial historic agents in the negotiation process. In short, there is a tendency to rely heavily on the theory of political elites derived from the political philosophers Mosca and Pareto.

One example in this school is the American academic Arendt Lijphart, doyen of consociational theory and much quoted by the first report of the South African President's Council headed by Denis Worrall, which even-

tually paved the way to the South African tricameral disaster in 1983.

Another example is Samuel Huntington, widely quoted in South Africa for his suggestion that "blitzkrieg reform" can be one-sidedly affected by the ruling political elite in developing countries.

In his latest, quite widely published writings, it is argued that the most successful political approach would be "negotiations first, then constitution, then elections".

Following on this, it is argued that such negotiations should take place behind closed doors to secure optimum compromises by participating leaders from different groups.

The leaders, after the process of negotiations, should then "sell" the new constitution to their constituencies. Referendums should ratify the newly negotiated constitution, according to Huntington.

Legitimate process

People in the other school of thought argue that a universally acceptable and legitimate process of negotiations should include, first of all, free and fair elections for a constitution-giving body or constituent assembly.

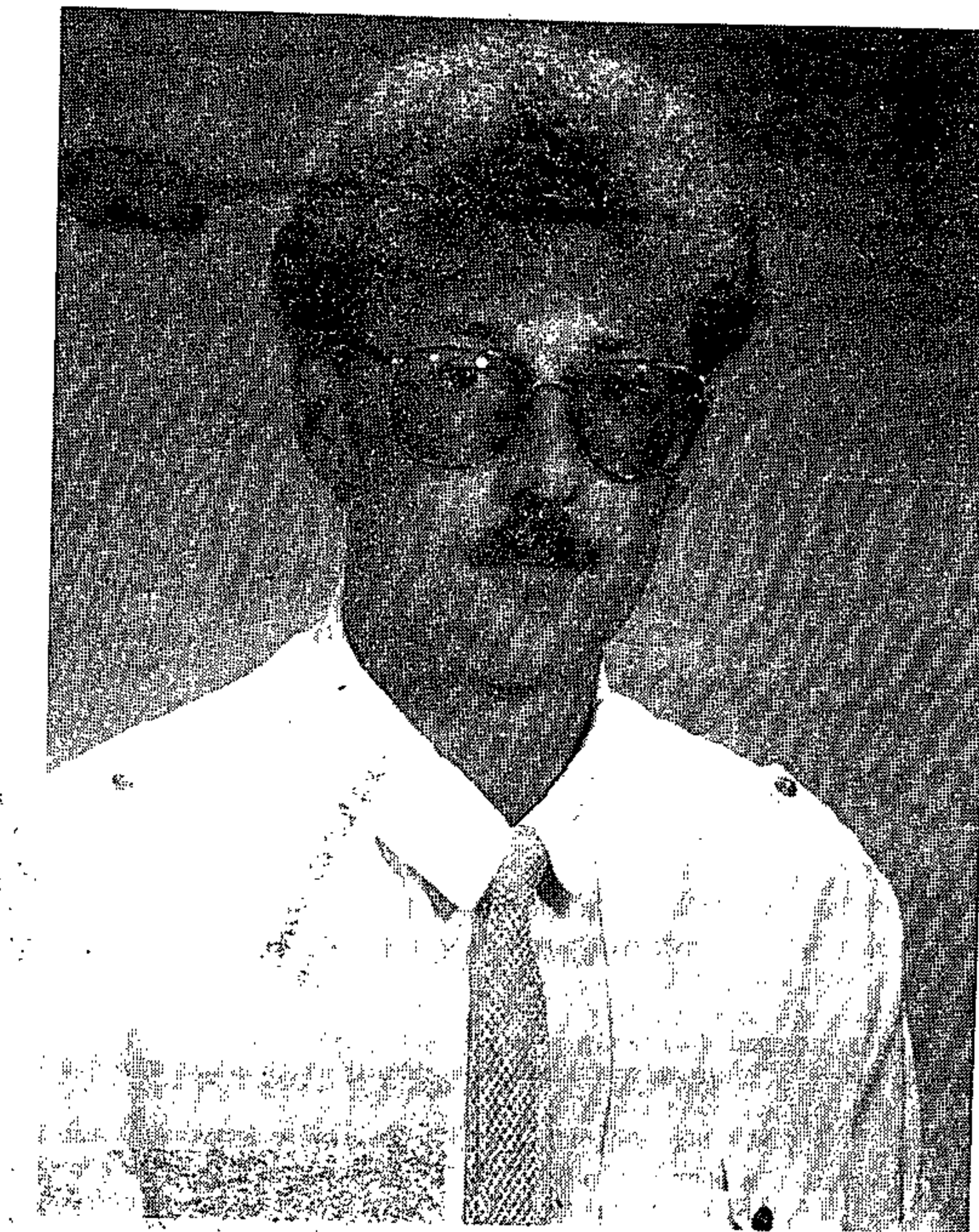
Here the argument is proposed along the lines: Once universally acceptable representatives are elected through a one person, one vote election, a constituent assembly representing the parties as elected by their followers can be put together to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa — more or less like what happened when the Namibian constitution was drawn up.

It seems, however, that locally quite a few academics favour the former school of thought with its inbuilt secrecy.

I disagree with this.

Huntington and others in his school assume the De Klerk government has proved to be a full-scale democratiser. Given the unpredictability of politics, this is a very questionable assumption.

Liberalisation in politics is not the same as democratisation — specially in South Africa where liberalisation has not affected the vast range of security legislation, although some security structures have been scaled down. Neither has it influenced the appointment and promotion of people in the security



Ian Liebenberg

apparatus well known for their political attitudes and methods under the regime of PW Botha.

Huntington also entertains the hidden paternalistic notion, as quoted in a Sunday newspaper recently that "it surely would be appropriate for South African blacks to cast their first vote in a referendum on a new democratic constitution".

On the contrary, millions of South Africans are waiting to cast their first votes in a democratic election for representatives of their party and choice — not to rubberstamp by means of a mere referendum a (presumably) secretly-negotiated constitution by some pre-chosen elite. There is to be found among Huntington and some neo-liberal South African academics the idea that

opposition to reform is a sign of the successes of the proposed programme of negotiations behind closed doors. It reminds one of the PW Botha quotation that revolutionaries are so visibly volatile and noisy because reform is working!

Legitimate problems

Dissatisfaction with the suggested process of negotiation by non-elected elites should not be simplistically equated with the myth that "these makers of democracy are succeeding in their work".

The dissatisfaction is real and visible and should be taken account of to establish a transition process that is universally acceptable and reflects wide-ranging legitimacy in South Africa.

Looking at the potentially more fundamental problems in Huntington's argument, it can be agreed that it might take longer to put together a constitution if it is being done by a democratically and freely elected constitution-giving body. But is this such a major difficulty?

Ratifying a secretly-negotiated constitution by party congresses and a general referendum to rubber-stamp this agreed-upon constitution creates other problems:

- There could be legitimate criticisms of the strength and legitimacy of some of the actors in such a multiparty conference to negotiate a draft constitution. Free and fair elections would stop this bickering and give greater legitimacy to the process of constitution making.

- To ratify the proposed new constitution by internal congresses of the participating actors in the constitutional negotiations taking place behind closed doors is no proof of democracy. Some of the main actors and parties claiming to be working for democracy in South Africa are not necessarily democratic in terms of their internal structures or procedures. We have not even mentioned the potential manipulative role of some "hidden" agents like the Afrikaner Broederbond in a body assigned to draft a constitution which is not electorally tested.

- Currently the myth is widely accepted that the political elites will be able to sell — and sustain — a democratic order. This has time and again in history been shown to be cheap talk by power-hungry elite.

Democratic values

Time and again, democracy as embodied by the "rule-by-elite" has been seen to erode democratic values and structures.

South Africans must ensure that the elite is not only kept in check by the populace, but that the mechanisms to do so are enshrined in a constitution based on widely accepted legitimacy.

To start off this process of checks and balances by allowing semi-secret negotiations by electorally non-tested actors is indeed like trying to build a house by starting off with the roof.

It also leaves wide open spaces for ideological and structural manipulation and distortion of free, open and fully participatory political structures.

It also potentially harbours the beginning of distorted political communication, which is not conducive to healthy politicking.

Power politics, including negotiations, can be reduced to immoral manipulative exercises. But we do not have to accept that passively.

Advocating and working for an "elections first" approach can counter this.

(Ian Liebenberg is the author of "Ideologie in Konflikt".)

Put rightwing on the agenda

The Conservative Party's declaration of war on the government to "rise up in struggle" is, by implication, a declaration to intensify the far-right wing's attacks against black people. The right wing should therefore be more closely monitored and measures devised to counteract, suggests Noel Bruyns:

304A

South 21/31-27/31/91

"WHITE-on-white" violence is set to increase dramatically, after the statement of Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht last week to "rise up to the struggle" to defend the "rights" of the Afrikaner volk.

"Our people are prepared to sacrifice their lives for these rights," he said.

The CP's "war cry" will undoubtedly fuel the fanaticism of radical right-wing organisations.

Elements in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) increasingly speak of it as a "liberation movement". In a statement, the AWB said it does not want, or does not plan, a revolution. "But we will not turn back and accept a black Communist government. That would be a fight till death ..."

Fanatical

But there are other fanatical right-wing groups that pose an even greater threat to peace in South Africa, such as the ominously-named Orde van die Dood (Order of Death) who have already been linked to murders and the Boerestaat Party, to which Piet "Skiet" Rudolf — who in some circles is being called South Africa's latest top terrorist — belongs.

Since the far-right gained momentum in the early 1970s, culminating in the founding of the AWB in July 1973, more than 80 right-wing organisations

have sprung up.

They are formed into cells based in small towns throughout the country, many of them hiding behind security guard firms as a cover to allow them to bear arms.

The activities of the right wing should be a cause of concern to black people and others working for a nonracial South Africa.

At present, press reports on rightwing violence appear almost weekly. Most recent reports include:

- Khaki-clad AWB members last Friday intimidated black people in "white" wards at Welkom's Provincial Hospital.

- On the same day, two men appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court in connection with the theft of arms, including AK47s and RPG2 rocket launchers from the Fort Klapperkop museum.

- The Supreme Court case against AWB member Eugene Marais who pleaded guilty to fatally shooting seven Putco bus passengers and injuring 27, continues in Durban. He had been "brainwashed to kill" blacks by a church called Israeli Vision which propounded people who were not white were animals, a clinical psychologist told the court.

- Khaki-clad right wingers poured foul-smelling chemicals in the Park Rynie tidal pool in Natal to keep "non-whites" from the beaches.

- The existence of the Boer Republican Army was revealed in a secret document recently. The organisation has a hit list of ANC and government leaders.

The threat of the white right to a peaceful South Africa without apartheid is highlighted by the fact that there is a firearm in almost every household of the approximately five million whites in the country. Almost three million firearms are registered.

Gun shops are reporting record sales since State President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech at the opening of parliament last year, when he intimated whites would have to shed their privileges and share their power with blacks.

Well-organised

Radical rightwing organisations do not boast large memberships, but they are not only well-armed but also well-organised, and pose a danger to the negotiations process.

A measure of how organised they are is seen in the uniforms of the AWB hierarchy which is divided into ranks as in the military.

They wear different insignia such as eagles and wagon wheels on their epaulettes.

However, the uniforms are not just for show and far-right activists and vigilantes are not just toy soldiers, as black victims have found.

Treurnicht's declaration of war on whoever stands in the way of the Afrikaner "volk" and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph having been given indemnity this week will be seen as a moral victory and incentive to the right, observers feel.

The rightwing phenomenon needs to be placed higher on the political agenda of the liberation movements and their anti-apartheid allies.

304A

South

21/3/-27/3/91



Who's who

More than 80 right-wing organisations and splinter groups have sprung up since the far-right gained momentum in the early 1970s. They exist as cells based in small towns throughout the country, many of them training in secret in the use of weapons and physical combat. Noel Bruyns highlights some of them:

South 21/3 - 27/3/91. (304A) (3009)

◆ Conservative Party (CP)

THE Conservative Party is the official Opposition in the white parliament. It received 31,5 percent votes (39 of 166 seats) in the 1989 general elections. Andries Treurnicht is the party leader.

The CP broke away from the National Party in 1982. It accuses the NP of "selling out whites" for a future black majority government and economic ruin.

◆ Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party broke away from the National Party in 1969. It has been forced out on to the political fringes by the CP.

Jaap Marais is its leader. The HNP advocates the "white homeland" concept.

◆ Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)

THE militant radical rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was founded by its leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, in 1973. It claims it has 200 000 members. The party emblem resembles the Nazi swastika.

It has a military wing, Aquila, which trains commandos in the use of arms. Terre'Blanche: "We do not want a million votes, but a million guns." Private pilots form the AWB airforce, the Goue Arende, who fly AWB leaders around. The AWB has a branch in the Western Cape called the "Committee of 10" which consists of members of various town councils in the Western Cape. The AWB also has a youth branch and a women's branch.

◆ Orde van die Dood (OVD)

THE Orde van die Dood was formed as a back-up, in case the AWB should be banned or cease to exist and has been connected to several murders and acts of violence. Its leader is Dawie de Beer.

◆ Wit Wolwe

BAREND Strydom, who went on a shooting spree killing 20 black people in Pretoria's Strydom Square in November 1988, claimed to belong to this group.

The Wit Wolwe has also claimed responsibility for the arson attack on the SA Council of Churches headquarters in Johannesburg, and for various other attacks.

◆ Afrikaner Volkswag

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff founded the Afrikaner Volkswag in 1984. He is the son-in-law of assassinated Prime Minister HF Verwoerd. The group was formed to counteract the secret Afrikaner Broederbond organisation of which he had previously been chairperson, but left because of the "liberal influences" it had succumbed to.

It fights for what it calls the peculiarity of whites in Africa and the "right" of Afrikaners to a white "volkstaat". It claims to have a membership of 10 000 families.

◆ The Oranjewerkers

THE director of the Oranjewerkers is Hendrik French Verwoerd, son of the former Prime Minister who was assassinated in 1966. Verwoerd wants to form mini-states exclusively for Afrikaners, but has had little success so far.

However, wealthy sympathisers finance a publishing house which has produced about 20 publications in the past two years.

◆ Blanke Bevydingsbeweging (BBB)

THE Blanke Bevydingsbeweging, founded in 1987, is based on "refined Nazism", according to its leader, Professor JC Schabert.

Jews and blacks would be "repatriated" if the BBB came to power.

◆ Blanke Nasionale Beweging (BNB)

THE Blanke Nasionale Beweging was formed in December 1988 as a direct result of the banning of the BBB. Mr Wynand der Beer is its leader.

The BNB wants total racial segregation and homelands not only for Afrikaners but also for "coloureds".

◆ Boerestaat Party

THE Boerestaat Party, founded in 1988, wants to resurrect the Boer republics of the Transvaal, Vrystaat and Vryheid.

Its leader is Robert van Tonder. Piet "Skiet" Rudolf is vice-leader.

◆ Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB)

THE Boere Vryheidsbeweging accepts as members only Protestant Afrikaners of Dutch, German or French descent. It was founded in January 1990 and is led by Professor Alkmaar Swart, a former AWB member.

◆ Boerenasie-organisasie (BNO)

THE Boerenasie-organisasie is an anti-semitic organisation, led by JL Erasmus.

◆ The Kappiekommando

THE Kappiekommando was formed out of the AWB for the "boervrou" to take up the fight beside her husband like the Voortrekker Afrikaner women. It is led by Dr SP van Zyl.

◆ Patriotic Forum Durban

THIS secret organisation is sympathetic to the BBB and has frequent house-meetings. The chairperson is Alan Harvey.

◆ Brandwag Sekerheid

BRANDWAG Sekerheid uses the Pretoria security service Chantelle, which patrols white residential areas, as a cover.

Members wear khaki fatigues and carry weapons. Its director is Francois Jooste.

◆ Wêreld Apartheid Beweging (WAB)

THE Wêreld Apartheid Beweging (WAB) is an international, ultra-right Nazi organisation who wish to protect the "purity" of whites and strive for a worldwide take-over by whites. Koos Vermeulen is its leader.

◆ Afrikaner Nasionaal Sosialiste (ANS)

AFRIKANER Nasionaal Sosialiste is another Nazi organisation which espouses Hitler's ideology. For ANS, blacks and Jews have no place in South Africa.

Dr Pohl Doussey, Koos Vermeulen and Walter Helm are its leaders.

◆ Boer Commando

THE Boer Commando is a new ultra-right wing breakaway from the AWB. It was formed in Pretoria last month after bitter behind-the-scenes attacks on AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Many in SA 'pitifully poor'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Gloomy but frank acknowledgement of the extreme levels of poverty in SA were made yesterday by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

In 1989, some 44% or about 16-million people of the population, including the independent homelands, were estimated to be on very low incomes.

He said: "One of the most daunting socio-economic issues is the great gap in development and income between people and communities."

"SA has one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world; but still more disturbing are the millions of South Africans who have to make do with pitifully low incomes. "And there are similar disparities in the ownership of assets," Du Plessis said.

Government's goal was a new SA with justice for all and political, social and economic equality.

"It is the considered judgment of this government that the means to securing justice for all lies in the process of purposeful even-handed treatment, alike in the political, the social and the economic fields."

The theme of the 1991/92 budget was therefore "equity through growth and stability", Du Plessis said.

The Budget Review, prepared by the Finance Department, stated that the extent of poverty in SA was "still extremely great."

"Poverty in SA has increased over the past decade and a half."

"This is reflected in the fact that the real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita has fallen since 1981 at an average annual rate of 1.5%."

Unemployment in SA had shown an upward trend since the mid-1970s. The decline in the labour absorp-

tion capacity of the economy had assumed daunting dimensions.

In 1965-1970, 73.6% of the increase in the labour force was absorbed by the formal sector, but this fell to 62.7% between 1970 and 1975, 35.4% between 1975 and 1980, 21.9% between 1980 and 1985, and "an exceptionally low level of 12.5%" between 1985 and 1990.

"The implication is that only about 125 out of every 1 000 new entrants to the labour market in 1985 to 1989 were accommodated as fulltime employees in the formal sector."

"Unemployment, therefore, has largely become entrenched in the South African economy as a structural problem."

The review said evidence submitted to Votcom showed some children younger than 12, the aged, social dependents, and certain categories of unemployed needed urgent direct aid.

He said some of the resources released by the state had to be rerouted to the maintenance of law and order and a total of R4,63bn was now provided — an increase of 53%.

Rising crime, the need for certain security steps and the mass action campaign required a larger visible police presence with the emphasis changing from "reactive" to "pro-active", he said.

The Minister said in the light of the high priority given to efficient policing and the need for emergency police stations, R20m of the R950m which had been set aside for urgent capital requirements was earmarked for this purpose.

MPs' salaries to rise by 27%

CAPE TOWN — Parliament's 308 MPs, who last year earned salaries worth R26.2m, will get a pay rise of 27.4% worth R5.6m.

The overall cost of parliamentary salaries, including pensions paid to MPs, administrators and members of the President's Council, will rise by 22.7% to R104.4m.

The latest pay increases for parliamentarians follow a double pay rise last year which increased MPs' salaries by 25% and Cabinet Ministers' by 17%.

While no details of MPs increase were provided Ministers are to get R187 000 a year, including a reimbursive allowance of R40 278, and deputy ministers R135 000 a year, including a reimbursive allowance of R30 930.

Deficit above IMF recommendation

ANDREW GILL

ANNOUNCING a generally expansionary Budget yesterday, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis forecast a deficit before borrowing above expected levels and the IMF's suggested ceiling. At 3.4% of GDP, the deficit exceeds the suggested IMF ceiling of 3% and 1990's 2.7%.

Du Plessis has drawn on a R950m bonanza "emerging from the diminishing need for strategic stockpiling" for financing the deficit and a R206m input from the 1990/91 surplus after borrowing.

The remainder, R8,962bn, constitutes 3% of GDP, "unfortunately above the level of capital spending", estimated at 1.8% of GDP. Moreover, loan redemptions will be about R5,4bn, bringing the net financing requirement to R14,4bn.

The plan is to finance it chiefly from

domestic stock sales to the amount of about R14bn, including investment by the Public Investment Commissioner (PIC). "In the light of the relatively modest loan programmes of other public sector institutions, the state's financing requirement this year should reinforce the slightly downward trend that long-term interest rates have begun to display."

The R10,12bn requirement, said Du Plessis, was the result of "all the fiscal commitments and tax reform in particular tight economic circumstances."

The tax concessions will result in a loss for government of R1,77bn in fiscal 1991/92, while supplementary spending proposals account for another R2,15bn of the R85bn budget.

Education's slice up 27% to R16bn

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has earmarked R16,1bn for education in the next financial year, with R6,833bn going to blacks — a 27% increase on last year.

The Labour Party's boycott action also bore fruit as they will receive a one-off R90m and the House of Delegates R75m to address pressing needs.

White education spending will total R5,950bn — an increase of 6% while the budget for coloureds totals R2,303bn (13.9%), and for Indians R977.3m (18.6%).

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said that for years education had been the largest single component in the Budget, and in the 1991/92 tax year it would account for 19.2%. This was before accounting for the contingency reserves and transfers to the TBVC states.

He said R1bn had been earmarked for capital projects last year in a special fund.

of which R750m had been set aside for black educational capital projects. Of this R188m had been spent and the balance would be used this year.

It was proposed an extra R250m be added to the rest of the R1bn fund — with R212m for capex in black education.

Special steps would be taken to ensure buildings would be erected with the support and co-operation of local communities, and if possible they would involve work-creation projects.

It was generally accepted that the massive backlogs in education demanded great cost effectiveness, with the emphasis on skills-orientated education, he added.

A direct contribution by parents and local communities was likely to play a larger role in future educational financing.

Devolution of power, the only course, says Viljoen

By CLIVE SAWYER, Municipal Reporter

THE government is committed to the maximum devolution of power to the lowest levels, said Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking at the opening of the 60th annual United Municipal Executive meeting, Dr Viljoen said devolution would accommodate diverse regional and community needs.

Devolution would bring meaningful political sharing closer to each citizen.

The government was giving urgent attention to the financial implications of interim changes to local government, as well as a completely changed system of local government.

Interim measures were only the first step in a more comprehensive process of restructuring at local level.

Devolution would also mean a new system of autonomous regional government.

But regional government structures were not a substitute for full political action in central government.

Defined by number of factors

Areas of jurisdiction of new regional government structures would be defined according to a number of factors.

These included geographical features, historical communities, economic factors and existing regional differences.

"I believe development regions can be a point of departure for new boundaries replacing and rationalising the diversity of overlapping regional territories like provincial, self-governing, development and regional services councils."

Exactly how a new regional dispensation would be structured was a matter for negotiation.

Commenting on the demand for a constituent assembly, Dr Viljoen said an immediate election, under the present conditions of political uncertainty and violence in the country, could only lead to an unjust, premature and essentially undemocratic result.

In his address, UME president Mr Zanus Immelman said municipal government had emerged from the shadows into the limelight in the last year.

He criticised organisations which had been unbanned and become opponents of "elected local government".

Alleged intimidation by these organisations against black and white councillors showed a lack of knowledge of the service these councillors had given.

"I cannot see how the disruption of services can be the foundation of a civilised new society," Mr Immelman said.

Commenting on urbanisation he said local authorities were expected to solve such problems, but were not given the political and financial powers to do so.

Thumbs-down for Assembly

304A
Sowetan
22/3/91

WHILE most political parties in South Africa agree that the time is ripe to begin negotiations for a new dispensation, there are differing views on the way to achieve this.

On the one hand, there is a call for a constituent assembly made initially by the Pan Africanist Congress, Cosatu, the South African Communist Party and the Azanian People's Organisation.

On the other, there are those who call for a multi-party conference.

One of the most vociferous in their rejection of the constituent assembly is the Inkatha Freedom Party which put forward four main arguments against it.

It is feared that there could be a "winner-takes-all" situation if a particular party dominates the constituent assembly numerically.

Such a party would be in a position to dominate the writing of a new constitution, minimising the scope for compromise and consensus.

Those calling for a constituent assembly also seem to miss a very important factor - the present balance of power within South African politics.

While it is true that the State is in no position to continue minority rule, the majority are also in no position to seize power.

Statements such as the one by ANC official Barbara Hogan, who said in February that the Government was in disarray and was vulnerable to a takeover, seem to be made mainly for the benefit of the ANC's militant constituency.

It seems unlikely that the pragmatic section of the organisation's leadership believes in such rhetoric.

The "Constituent Assembly

FOCUS

YESTERDAY saw the launch of the ANC's Constituent Assembly Campaign. Not all political parties, however, are in favour of the constituent assembly. In this article, PETER AUF DER HEYDE, of the Inkatha Institute, reflects Inkatha's viewpoint.

Day" protests on February 1, which coincided with President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament, attracted less mass support than the Defiance Campaign of 1989 and the rallies to welcome ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Cape Town march, which was led by ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, only attracted some 20 000 people.

The power struggle in South Africa cannot be resolved by force. There is also no automatic situation whereby opponents negotiate a settlement on the basis of numbers alone.

Numbers alone cannot be the basis of the parties agreeing on new rules of the game.

Instead, the conflicting parties should accord each other equal status and negotiate on those terms.

This is also the case in South Africa where the existence of several parties further complicates the negotiations process.

As the first post-apartheid Government will in all probability

consist of the party emerging the strongest from the constituent assembly, elections for such an assembly will be characterised by heightened political tension, and as a result, the negotiations process could shift away from reconciliation towards conflict.

This country has already seen such an escalation of violence between political opponents that an actual constituent assembly election could be catastrophically premature.

The stakes are simply so high that elections free from violence and intimidation are virtually impossible.

With current levels of euphoria, hatred and distrust, the result must be an explosive contest of power that threatens both negotiations and stability.

One of the arguments put forward by those calling for a constituent assembly is that it is "supremely democratic" in that it allows "people's participation" in the drawing up of a new constitution.

This argument, however, ignores the fact that "the people" would then have to vote for someone who might not be able to deliver what he or she promised during the elections. Leaders do not merely follow instructions from below, they lead.

Thus, it does not automatically follow that a constitution drawn up during the negotiation process by a constituent assembly will be accepted.

Political analyst Herbert Adam points out that "if a politicised constituency ultimately disagrees with negotiated compromises or worse, rejects its previously acclaimed leaders as undemocratic, the negotiated solutions are not worth the paper they are written on."

The IFP therefore calls for a multi-party conference at which all parties with recognisable constituencies will have a chance to participate in the drawing up of a new constitution, which could be ratified and legitimised by a referendum once it has been formulated.

This model, used during the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba, showed that 95 percent of the ideologically diverse participants were after nine months able to agree on a detailed constitutional model, acceptable to at least 80 percent of the adult population.

Should this Indaba format be followed in the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa, it would be to the benefit of all.

It will be particularly important to keep the people regularly and fully informed of the progress made, orientating and even educating them as the real issues are being debated and addressed.

This will help to replace euphoria-driven expectations with a more considered appreciation of what should or should not be done.

In this way, the vote of the people in a post-negotiations referendum will thus be more realistically based that it would otherwise be.

Finally, this would clear the way for the subsequent general election, contested on the basis of the political manifestos.

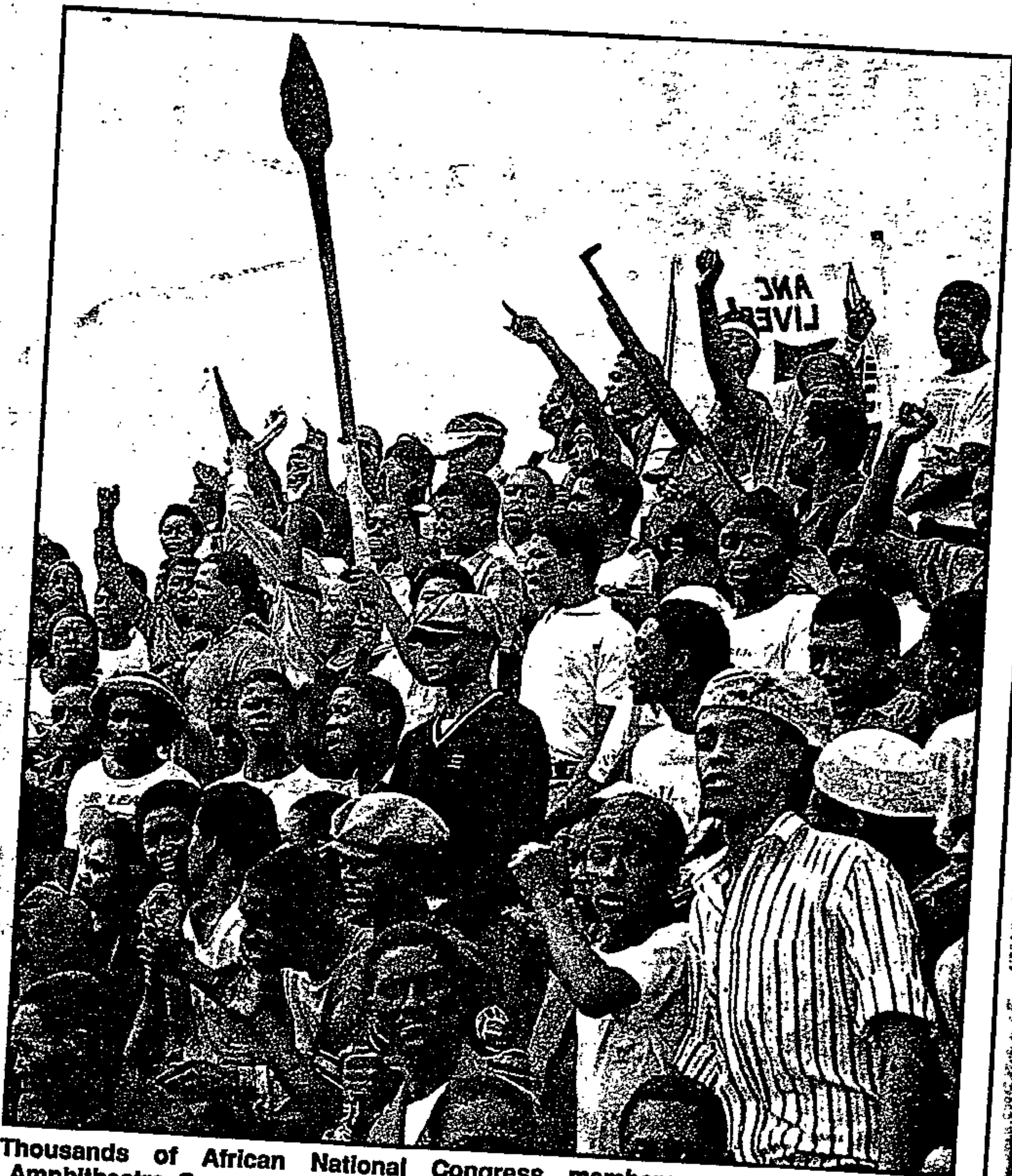
Most importantly, this political contest only takes place once inter-party reconciliation has taken place and once a minimal level of political understanding has been achieved by the electorate in a normalised rather than liberatory political environment.

The constituent assembly approach is likely to achieve the exact opposite.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Thousands of African National Congress members packed the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, yesterday to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Nats and ANC agree at top-secret meeting

PLANS for a multi-party conference received a major boost when the Government and the ANC agreed on a set of proposals in Cape Town on Wednesday.

The compromises were hammered out at a top-secret 11-hour meeting between the two parties at DF Malan Airport.

President FW De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela headed the respective delegations.

The ANC undertook to fulfil undertakings contained in the Pretoria Minute on the suspension of armed action.

There may also have been an undertaking on peaceful "mass" action, which has put the Government and the ANC at loggerheads.

The Government in turn undertook to speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and review security legislation. Announcements on these issues are expected soon.

The Cabinet will today formally consider and approve the agreement reached at the meeting and the national executive of the ANC will also consider its undertakings.

A short statement issued after the meeting said "problems experienced by the Working Group dealing with Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute were resolved and agreement was reached with regard to the most pertinent points".

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Sowetan 22/3/91

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The last white government sets its priorities

AR64 > 22/3/91 304A

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ONE of the less conspicuous suggestions in Budget documents this week was that it would not be unreasonable in future that a direct contribution by parents and local communities should play a larger role in educational finance.

BUDGET

This, says the Budget review, will "further contribute to a more effective utilisation of funds ..."

Government funds, the argument goes, should be for meeting high priority needs.

This tiny aspect of the Budget review is significant because it tends to sharpen the focus on the intent in the government's economic policy.

For all the attention given to the fact that 38,2 percent of expenditure is going on social services, the 1991 Budget has less to do with the direct government involvement in creating jobs, building houses and feeding and educating people, and more to do with concentrating on laying a foundation for businesses to grow, to give people jobs and, in turn, to empower them to feed, house, clothe and educate themselves.

In fact, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis openly acknowledges that his Budget is one for business and that his aim is to "stimulate a climate for growth".

He devoted a considerable portion of the introductory section of his speech to an explanation of the high-sounding Budget theme of "equity through growth and stability".

By equity, he said, "we mean that on the revenue side of the budget we take in the fairest possible manner and on the expenditure side we give those in real need a chance to survive".

Further spending on housing, health and education would contribute to stability.

It is the next passage, a "message" to entrepreneurs, manufacturers and businessmen, that is particularly revealing.

His message to this sector was that "this Budget, coupled with other policy measures, will increasingly enable them to grow and to create jobs and welfare in which all can share. It will also promote stability. Secondly, through the stabilising of the economic rules of the game, also via the Budget, the private sector is being increasingly drawn into the responsibility of accepting these great socio-economic challenges.

"In greater measure in the time ahead, they too will have to look consumers, the needy and unemployed straight in the face and give account of their part in economic growth, investment and job creation."

The Budget goodies for the business sector — the company tax rate cut, scaling down of the import surcharge, VAT credits for capital and intermediate goods, VAT exemption for small businesses and zero rating for exports — clearly come with an implicit directive that they are to be used in the service of higher, national goals, rather than mere profits.

While businessmen do their sums on whether the Budget measures will enable them to expand their operations, the government will get on with social spending on priority problems in housing, health and education.

Despite the seemingly impressive percentage to be spent on these areas — more than 38 percent of the Budget — critics were quick to say it was inadequate.

It is not hard to see why. Budget review highlights of the some of the major problems include the fact that about 16 million South Africans, or about 44 percent of

the population, were on very low incomes at the end of the 1980s, that unemployment has been growing since the mid-1970s and has now become an "entrenched structural problem" and that South Africa has one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world.

Even with the extra R6 billion-odd being taken from taxpayers this year, the government's ability to buy socio-economic solutions is limited.

So, while social spending will be deployed strategically to achieve as much stability as possible, much rests on the bid for economic growth and on the responsibility Mr Du Plessis has conferred on the private sector.

The capacity of the Budget to stimulate the growth it seeks is, arguably, not measurable now.

As an instrument of State policy, the Budget reflects what might be said to be the last white government's 11th hour pursuit of the goals which have been so elusive — and so effectively denied by apartheid — for so long ... growth, stability, equity.

Whether the cautious, balance-seeking approach that characterises the 1991 Budget will be given enough time to bear the promised fruits is imponderable.

What is as clear as rands and cents is that a growing, stable and equitable economy adequately serving the needs and aspirations of South Africa's 35 million people will be long in the making.

In a time of rapid political transition, one of the most portentous questions is how much longer will the theme "equity through growth and stability" be acceptable? Or how successful will the government be in drawing significant black leaders into serving such a goal?

These, surely, are the keys to whether Mr Du Plessis will succeed.

Treurnicht quotes from Bible to justify resistance

See 22/3/91

304A

In what he said was a "very serious" speech, Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht yesterday drew on the Bible to justify a people's resistance to a government that stole its land, but declined to spell out CP plans.

"What do we plan? ... that is for us to know and for you to find out," he told National Party members in debate on the own affairs budget.

"If we contravene any law then you arrest us. I ask the Justice Minister and Law and Order Minister to arrest me."

His speech followed a statement he made last week, after the release of the Government White Paper on Land Reform, that the white nation were prepared to lay down their lives in defence of their land and that people were justified in using "necessary means" to fight the Government's land proposals.

He said yesterday that the NP and the Government would determine, to a very important degree, what resistance there would be if they stole other people's land.

It was utter nonsense to regard all civil resistance as sinful rebellion.

"It is no crime to offer resistance if a nation's continued existence is threatened and its land is stolen."

People had asked him if the CP was in favour of violence.

"I have said only in absolutely exceptional circumstances. This is not the agenda of the Conservative Party."

There were many organisations and interest groups that had been adversely affected by the Government's reforms,

and the CP would help them to take a stand. This was part of the resistance.

A government could support itself by reference to biblical texts that said individuals were subject to governments and powers.

But if these subjects felt aggrieved, they would call on other texts, such as that describing how Saul's men had told him not to take an iota more or he would have to reckon with them, or on Naboth's resistance to Ahab, who wanted to steal his property.

"The Bible is not on the side of tyrants that destroy the protective laws and the freedoms of nations."

There was nothing wrong in saying that people were prepared to lay down their lives for their land. This had happened all over the world and in South Africa as well.

The question now was, not whether the Government was expropriating farmers' land, it was that the white man no longer had a political say in his own land. — Sapa.

DEVICES AND DESIRES

FM 22/3/91

Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais is back in favour but **Agriculture Minister** Jacob de Villiers is on his way out. In simple terms that's the message of last week's Cabinet reshuffle.

Marais, the second most senior deputy minister after Roelf Meyer takes over from Trade & Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr who is ambassador-designate to London. Marais' post will be filled by Durr's deputy, Theo Alant, once a firm favourite for Durr's job.

Marais, a former head of Unisa's business school, seemed to have reached the pinnacle of his political career as a deputy minister and was seldom tipped to go any further. He is regarded as a government workhorse, having chaired various commissions and investigations into technical aspects of financial and economic policy and has a suitable background for Trade & Industry.

Jacob de Villiers was brought into President F W de Klerk's first Cabinet as a specialist. He is indirectly elected by the Nat caucus and has not fought an election. A former "Farmer of the Year," he was apparently regarded as the right man to stem growing hostility in the financially squeezed and politically nervous farming community and to try to put agriculture back on to an economic footing.

However, it is understood that his autocratic management style severely undermined his standing among farmers and organisations marketing farm products. His replacement has been widely welcomed in the farming community. Though De Villiers retains his Development Aid portfolio, and has been given the added responsibility of Public Works & Land Affairs (previously with George Bartlett), it seems that his days in Cabinet are numbered.

Kraai van Niekerk, now "own affairs" Agriculture Minister, takes De Villiers' job. Though a Cape MP he is regarded as tough enough to handle the powerful rightwing farming lobby in the Transvaal.

His deputy will be Tobie Meyer, elder brother of Roelf Meyer — and also a former "Farmer of the Year." Meyer, the MP for Cradock, is regarded as a new-generation Nat keen to push on rapidly with reform.

The other new deputy minister is David Graaff, son of former United Party leader

Continue →

FM 22/3/91 304A

Sir De Villiers Graaff.

His appointment as Deputy Minister of Trade & Industry and Tourism is regarded uncharitably as simply a replacement for one of the two English-speakers in the executive following Durr's departure (the other is Bartlett.)

With Wim de Villiers' death (see box) De Klerk may decide to reallocate the Transport portfolio (previously with Bartlett) which was to have been given to De Villiers from April 1.

The post may go to Transport Deputy Minister Piet Welgemoed, a transport economist by training. ■

A tale of two revolutionaries

They are both religious Afrikaners, both were jailed for their political beliefs, both were freed this week. But the similarities end there.

GAVIN EVANS reports

EVERY evening Piet "Skiet" Rudolph would go to his prison window, bellow out for his two fellow right-wing detainees to come to their windows and then lead them in a prayer service.

The man telling the story is Carl Niehaus, the other political prisoner released from Pretoria Central this week.

Niehaus, who was held in the prison's D section, could see Rudolph's reflection in the central courtyard window, and hear his voice, as he went about his nightly ritual. It came to an end several weeks into the right-wingers' hunger strike, probably because they were too weak to continue.

The two Afrikaners shared more than just a prison. Both come from ultra-conservative families. Both have backgrounds in the Dutch Reformed Church and have retained their interests in religious affairs. Both are passionate about their political commitments and have no regrets about the activities which put them behind bars. Both have called for the release of their fellow prisoners. Both were betrayed by spies or informers but say they have forgiven them.

That's where the analogy ends, however. *W/Mail* 22/3-27/3/91

Niehaus, a 31-year-old African National Congress member, spent seven years and four months of a 15-year sentence in prison, after more than three months in detention. He was convicted of high treason after he was found to have "conspired with the ANC to overthrow the South African government", but none of his activities involved the possession or use of arms or explosives.

Rudolph, the 55-year-old Orde Boerevolk leader, a former policeman and Pretoria city councillor, was granted indemnity after six months in detention despite admitting a number



On the left ... Carl Niehaus

of crimes which included the theft of arms and ammunition from the SADF, and detonating five bombs on the property of political opponents.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* Niehaus stressed his commitment to negotiations.

"We are very clear that we are working for a peaceful settlement, which is why we suspended the armed struggle. Unlike Piet Rudolph, whose philosophy is racist and undemocratic, we are very clear we are working for conciliation and for a democratic and non-racial society.

"I believe the things De Klerk has done are very important, and he has to be given credit for having the courage to make changes. But he hasn't gone far enough. For example, it is a big problem that the repeal of the Land Act has not been accompanied by restitution of land the government removed from people.

"De Klerk has managed, with the ANC, to create the opening in South Africa for a negotiated settlement, but

things could still go wrong and I don't think the process is irreversible."

At a press conference after his release, Rudolph expressed a commitment to negotiate with blacks and the government for the restoration of the old Boer Republic land to the "white nation", but said if the government handed power to blacks he would consider resorting to violence again, adding that "violence works — the commitment of the ANC to violence is exactly why the government is talking to it now".

Niehaus stressed that the credibility of the negotiating process rested to a large extent on rapid progress in releasing the several hundred remaining ANC political prisoners.

Rudolph said he had "great sympathy" with political detainees of other colours after his own experience, and felt that the provisions of section 29 of the Internal Security Act were "diabolical and inhuman" and designed to "break down a person totally".

He said he would disband the Orde



And on the right ... Piet Rudolph

Boerevolk once his 60 fellow right-wing prisoners and detainees had been freed and added that suspected murderers Leonard Veenendal and Darryl Stopforth were members of the CCB who were detained "for what amounts to carrying out their job" — a claim denied by the SADF.

Niehaus, who is now staying with his wife, Jansie, in Emmarentia, completed a Unisa honours degree in theology, cum laude, while in prison, and is now completing a masters degree. Having been an ANC member for 11 years, he plans to stay active in the organisation and "make a contribution in working for negotiations".

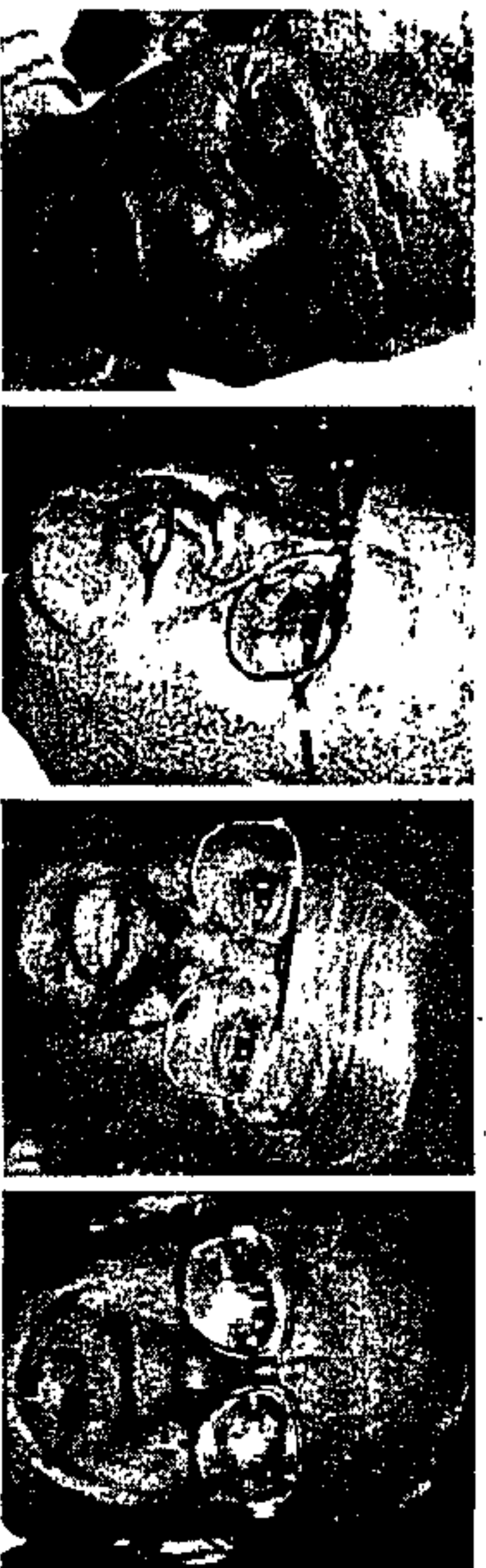
He said he is no longer bitter or angry with Lieutenant Rob Whitecross, the security police spy whose evidence led to his imprisonment.

Rudolph is currently resting at home with his wife and son, and is planning to write his autobiography.

He said he knew who had betrayed him to the police, but had forgiven the man.

If non-racial elections were held now, how would the parties fare? The results may surprise you ...

Nelson Mandela is less popular than the ANC; FW De Klerk is more popular than the NP



Also-rans: Neither Mangosuthu Buthelezi nor Andries Treurnicht are close to winning

What?

By GAVIN EVANS
IN the week Namibia celebrated the anniversary of independence, *The Weekly Mail* poses the question: if a similar non-racial election was held in South Africa today, who would win?

Can the African National Congress be as confident of securing a majority as Swapo was? (304A)

The surprising answer is no. A wide range of polling experts agree that if a non-racial general election were held today, the ANC would just pip 50 percent of the vote.

The National Party would get over 20 percent, while Inkatha and the Pan Africanist Congress would both struggle to get 10 percent and the Democratic Party and Conservative Party would both get around five percent.

This is the conclusion drawn by some of the country's leading political pollsters and some of the more recent national political opinion polls. (w/mcd 2243 - 274319)

The Weekly Mail examined the results of four polls on party political affiliation and leadership preferences, published over the past nine months, and then asked three leading authorities on the subject how they felt the vote would go if a non-racial, proportional representation election were held in a re-united South Africa. Surprisingly there was a unanimity in the conclusions of the polls and pollsters on several key questions.

The ANC would come first and the National Party second (possibly with smaller parties such as the Labour Party), while no other group would get near 15 percent of the total vote.

All of the opinion surveys put support for Inkatha and Buthelezi at well under 10 percent and only one of the political experts canvassed believed Inkatha could get more than 10 percent of the vote.

Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk were by far the most popular leaders, with no-one else getting close to five percent of the vote in the unlikely event of a presidential election. Significantly the preference for De Klerk seems to be far higher than that of his party, and Mandela's lower than that of the ANC.

There has been an increase in NP support and a decline in ANC

A GOOD, BAD AND HAPPY BIRTHDAY FOR NAMIBIA
PAGE 6

Star 22/3/91
**FW hasn't
done enough
— Niehaus**

Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC would subject itself to the democratic decision of the majority in a future election — even if the movement were not voted into office, Carl Niehaus told students at the University of Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Niehaus, released from prison this week ago after serving seven years of a 15-year sentence for high treason, received a rousing welcome — and, occasionally, vociferous opposition — from the audience.

While President de Klerk's reforms had been courageous and given the ANC new opportunities in its freedom struggle, he had not gone far enough.

"We have been given new options, new space. We always said armed struggle was not a principle, but merely a strategy, and we kept our word by suspending the armed struggle after the unbanning of the ANC.

"I came out of jail with the hope we will all work for peace, and with the knowledge that the ANC is committed to a peaceful settlement. But the Government also has to fulfil its side of the agreement, for instance on the release of political prisoners."

Schwarz, Bush 'to chat'

Stur 23/3/91

DAVID BRAUN

WASHINGTON — President Bush is likely to summon the new Ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, for a private chat soon.

And Mr Schwarz may be asked to present his credentials as the new South African ambassador to the US early next week, according to White House sources.

Mr Schwarz arrived to take up his post in Wash-

ington on March 1.

He has since presented his credentials to the State Department, but not to President Bush, as is customary.

Mr Bush is understood to be anxious to spend time in private conversation with Mr Schwarz about developments in South Africa and how he

sees the situation in Washington with regard to the suspension or modifying of sanctions.

Mr Schwarz is likely to tell Mr Bush SA remains firmly on the road to non-racial democracy.

Sources said Mr Bush's unusual request to have a lengthy private talk at a credentials ceremony is an indication of his concern about the South African issue.

304A



Smiles of happiness on the faces of graduands from the Heilbron College of Education tell a story of success. Pic by Pat Seboko

Assembly 'the only solution'

THE African National Congress would accept nothing less than one person one vote in a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa, the organisation's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing a graduation ceremony at the Medical University of Southern Africa on Saturday, Mandela said a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, was the most appropriate forum to draw up a new constitution.

The organisation which would get the most votes would have the dominant say in constitution-making.

That was normal democratic practice, Mandela said.

He said the ANC also wanted an interim government to oversee the transition period because the National Party Government was a negotiating partner and could not simultaneously act as referee.

Mandela said the problems and challenges faced by Medunsa mirrored those of the wider education system and South Africa as a whole.

He said the ANC noted with anger and concern that of the 1 300 students who qualified as doctors throughout the country every year, only 300 were black. Of these only 120 were African.

A similar neglect was

true in the general training of blacks as health workers, he said.

The distribution of professional skills in South Africa meant that knowledge and science remained the preserve of whites.

Although there was widespread recognition that apartheid must go, the problems faced by blacks continued because the Government was not willing to take steps remedy the situation.

White minority rule was doomed, but it had not yet been accepted that freedom and equality should replace it.

While vast wealth disparities were recognised, any talk of economic growth that included redistribution was dismissed "as beyond legitimate debate".

Inferior

He said although there was a recognition that black education was inferior, means were not provided to remedy it.

The de-racialising of land ownership without redressing existing land allocation was an unsophisticated way of ensuring that existing disparities remain permanently, he said.

It was not too late for Medunsa, however, to play a key role in transforming the South African health system into one that truly served all medical needs, not just South African society's elite.

There could be no peace while people lacked basic social facilities, including health care, or while the overwhelming number of doctors and medical facilities were concentrated in areas accessible only to a small section of the population.

Slovo warns of a terrible holocaust

So wefen 25/3/91

304A

THE African National Congress and its allies had every right to take South Africa by force if it did not reach an agreement with the ruling National Party on a new and democratic constitution.

This warning was given by Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, in an interview last week after the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Slovo said all indications pointed to the NP not being prepared to hand over "anything substantial" when it came to the country's future constitution.

"We don't expect them to hand over South Africa to us, but we feel we have every right to take it (by force) if we don't reach a settlement," Slovo said.

Question: In that case, what do you think the ruling NP is presently attempting to achieve politically?

Pressures

Slovo: "Well, I think they are in a dilemma. They realise that as a result of the massive pressures, both inside and outside the country, that there is no going back to pre-February 1990.

"And they realise that unless they do reach an accommodation with the black liberation movement, of which the ANC is the most important part, that this country is facing a holocaust of a terrible type.

"They know that, so they know they've got to negotiate. They're forced to negotiate by pressures.

"It's not that they've changed so radically in their political philosophies."

He said the Government did not want to negotiate with a powerful force.

"They don't want a powerful ANC. They want a weak ANC," Slovo said.

The National Party has no moral right to preside over the peace process, so says Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and executive member of the African National Congress. He talks to DAVID GREYBE of the South African Press Association.



Question: What about the NP leading the peace process in South Africa?

Slovo: "We don't accept the National Party must lead this process.

"We don't believe they have any right to preside over this process.

"We consider that, if there is going to be a peaceful outcome, there must be a consensus among all the forces in this country, including the National Party.

"But we are not prepared to accept that this white regime, which is still running an apartheid country at all levels of the socio-economic structure, has got the moral or any other right to preside over this process ... to be both the player and the referee."

Question: The ANC's December consultative conference set an April 30 deadline for the Government on a number of issues, including the return of all exiles and the release of all political prisoners. That is less than six weeks from now. At this stage, does it look to you that the Government will meet the ANC demands?

Slovo: "The Government has given an explicit and clear undertaking to remove all the obstacles by April 30.

"But it is only an undertaking. The onus is on them to carry out this agreement.

"We've said over and over again that if they do not carry out

their undertaking the consequences for the peace process are really extremely serious.

"And we will have to then consider what our response is going to be.

"There is no way we can embark upon any form of negotiations on the future of South Africa until the obstacles have been removed."

Question: Violence is still continuing in the townships. During the recent killings in Alexandra Township it was widely alleged that Inkatha had bussed in supporters, who then took part in the fighting. What is your thinking on this?

Peace

Slovo: "We've long maintained that these red headbanded thugs have become instruments of those who want to weaken and eventually destroy the ANC, and of those who want to destroy the whole peace process.

"When we met Vlok and (Defence Minister Magnus) Malan last Friday, we insisted that if the Government was serious in its quest for peace, it will have to take steps to ensure that these imps are not allowed to do what they've been doing up to now.

"As far as we are concerned, if the Government doesn't take measures to disarm these aggressive units which are bent on killing and destruction and burning and so on, we will have to consider our responses.

"We certainly cannot hold the people back from their desire to defend themselves with whatever they can."

By not acting the Government

was helping to create a situation of armed conflict in the country "because our supporters and our people cannot stand by and allow this to continue as it has".

Question: An article in the SACP journal *Umsebenzi* at the end of last year spoke about forming self-defence units in the townships. Is this the kind of response you have in mind?

Slovo: "Absolutely. People have a right to defend themselves.

"We as the leaders of the people have a duty to ensure that they can defend themselves."

Question: What specifically did you discuss with Vlok and Malan in Cape Town.

Slovo: "We went there to discuss the violence and we made two points:

"Firstly, that they must phase out the hostels, transform them into civilised accommodation for families because they are the seedbeds of violence.

"Secondly, they must take steps to prevent armed bands roaming the streets of townships and inciting violence and actually carrying out violence."

Question: And what was their response?

Slovo: "They said they were addressing the question of the phasing out of the hostels and that Health Minister (Dr Rina) Venter had been appointed by (President FW) De Klerk to investigate that aspect.

"On the question of armed groups carrying traditional weapons, they said the law made it difficult for them to act because of judgments that people can walk around with dangerous weapons, unless you can prove that there was an intention to assault.

"We told them they are the law and that it's no use blaming the law, (because) they have the power to make the law.

"And if they tell us that that is the law, then the law is just an ass."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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3044

Penniless Piet full of the 'peaceful' fight



Mr Piet Skier, Rudolph

JOHANNESBURG. — Orde Boeres- that leader Mr Piet Rudolph, given unconditional indemnity last Monday after seven months' detention without trial, is totally penniless.

He said he intended trying to sell interviews to the media — camped outside his son's home from morning to late at night — to earn some urgent-needed cash.

The volatile former Pretoria city councillor — who became known as Piet "Skier" (Piet Shoot) in 1990 because of his eight-month underground armed struggle during which he bombed several political targets without injuring anyone — is still as fiery as ever for the independent Boer republic cause.

However, this time he intends fighting for it peacefully, at public forums and around the negotiation table, he said at the weekend.

Meanwhile, facing reality outside prison is grim. The penniless Mr Rudolph and his wife Breggie, now living with one of their sons in a three-bed room duplex flat in Pretoria, have no immediate prospects of getting their own home, nor do they have a telephone or car.

Another embarrassment for the usually nattily dressed Mr Rudolph was his being interviewed all week wearing a T-shirt and shorts while his "better" clothes were being retailed after a 15kg weight loss from his two extensive hunger strikes in prison.

The former security policeman would meanwhile probably have to start fixing roofs again, which is the work he does during such times of dire hardship, he said.

Many OB members, meanwhile, gathered at their lawyer's office hearing Germiston at the weekend to put together a new information booklet on the various Boer state proposals.

Most right-wing Grassroots members, interviewed on Saturday, agreed that they had been greatly heartened by Mr Rudolph's release and indemnity. Most have already forgotten and forgiven him for unilaterally stopping his last hunger strike.

He showed Sapa his prisoner's property receipt; he had no cash when captured, only a briefcase, some clothes, personal documents, and a novel by Andrew MacDonald.

"I want to start organising more help for all those thousands of fellow Boers who have become impoverished and jobless, and whose families have to live off soup kitchens and backyard shanties, all because of the NP's disastrous policies," he said. — Sapa

NEWS

(304A)
Schwarz
delivers
Star 28/3/91
message
of change

By David Braun
Star Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — It was incorrect to say that because Nelson Mandela had no vote there had been no change in South Africa, Harry Schwarz told a group of American politicians.

Mr Schwarz, South Africa's new ambassador to the US, told a meeting in Washington it was significant that he was the first opposition politician in South Africa to be made an ambassador.

Equally significant was that he was a South African ambassador who did not carry the albatross of past adherence to apartheid around his neck.

"Perhaps I am more a message than an ambassador."

He said he had a message from President de Klerk that:

- South Africa had changed and would continue to change.

- The process was irreversible not only because the President wanted it to be, but because events and circumstances prevented its reversal.

- Apartheid was yesterday's debate, while today's debate was negotiation to establish a new constitution and tomorrow's debate was the reconstruction of South Africa.

- The interest and influence of the US and its people must be heard and seen to assist in



No albatross ... Harry Schwarz

bringing about a democratic political system and an acceptable economic structure.

"What needs to be understood from my part, is that I could not and would not have taken this position if I would have to sell apartheid or if there were tricks and hidden agendas whereby there would be a continuation of an unacceptable system."

Mr Schwarz said that while South Africa was making major changes in respect of legislation and discriminatory practices, there were two important matters which could not be overlooked.

Firstly, the major changes were not the obvious ones which received high profiles in the media, but the changes in the minds of the people.

The majority of whites accepted the inevitability of change and the majority of blacks were confident of change on the horizon and accepted the role which all, including whites, must play in the new South Africa.

Secondly, the US should not be under the impression that change was being effected because South Africa wanted sanctions lifted.

Change was being effected because it was necessary to the future of the country and because it was necessary to create a just society.

To say that there had been no change because Mr Mandela had no vote was incorrect.

There was visible evidence of change and parties were committed to producing a constitution and franchise by negotiation.

It was not practical for President de Klerk to unilaterally enact in Parliament a new constitution, even if it included the universal franchise to which he was already committed.

Mr Schwarz predicted negotiations in this regard would start by the second half of this year, although he said the process would not be easy or fast.

Multiculturalism poses new challenge for changing SA

Star 26/3/91

304A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Multiculturalism, although a reality in South African society, could prove divisive and detrimental to existing standards in the country if it were taken to extremes, says Michal Christie, Washington director of the South Africa Foundation.

Addressing the foundation's annual general meeting, Mr Christie said SA society would be particularly vulnerable during its transition to a new dispensation.

"We in South Africa are putting aside what we were in order to seek new structures and new relationships in our society. We are moving, at the same time, out of our isolation. We are rejecting the thinking of the past and looking elsewhere, more than we did before, for new techniques, new ideas and new structures of thought," he said.

"We hope to achieve and sustain a democracy in this country even though most South Africans, both black and white, are not accustomed to the habits and disciplines necessary in a democratic society.

"We therefore also hope that, in particular Europe and the United States will help us by linking their support and their aid to our adherence to basic democratic principles. We will welcome their involvement and absorption here of the core values upon which their societies are organised.

"We will therefore be open to their influence. But at the same time we will not easily

be able to choose which set of influences to absorb and which not.

"Most white South Africans have always had closer ties to Europe than elsewhere. This is not true to the same extent of black South Africans, many of whom have closer ties to the United States, having lived there and having been educated there.

"From the American side, the African-American community takes a direct interest in South Africa and Africa in general. A recent study showed that US aid to Africa had increased considerably over the past few years and attributed this to the efforts of such political groups as the congressional black caucus.

"For all these reasons, we can assume that we will absorb many influences from the US over the next few years."

Struggle

Mr Christie said for this reason it was important to consider a development in academic life in the US which could have a marked influence on South African society in the future — the issue of multiculturalism.

"In essence, multiculturalism arises from the struggle by minorities for equality. It has taken root on campuses in the US and is a basis for the organisation of curricula at several of the leading universities. It is defined by the administration of one of these, Duke University, as an 'equality of officially designated groups'."

Mr Christie said multiculturalism was best defined by looking at its opposite, uniculturalism, which represented, in essence, what was taught to most South Africans — the canon of so-called Western culture, in philosophy from Plato to Wittgenstein and in literature from Homer to Joyce.

To offer this canon as a core curriculum to black students or Hispanics or Asians or women was, he said, in the words of the multiculturalists, a denial of their humanity.

"Ethnic minorities reject it on the grounds that it is Eurocentric, feminists on the grounds that it is phallogocentric. After all, it comprises the writings of a succession of DWEMS (dead white European males).

"These writers and thinkers formed the basis of a culture of oppression — the oppression of their societies and of women. "It is a culture of European males and to hold all students to the same standards in their responses to the teachings of this canon is unfair to both ethnic minorities and women — it is both racist and sexist.

"It is an expression of the power of the traditionally dominant white male and the means by which this dominance is perpetuated."

Mr Christie emphasised that he was not making the case for any particular curriculum but was merely trying to explain multiculturalism and its consequences and relevance to our own concerns.

He said he was aware that in South Africa there were many diverse cultures and traditions that had a necessary place in what was taught in schools and universities.

"I wish to draw attention to a development in American academic life that, in its extreme

form, while not necessarily threatening to a society as strong and stable as the US, could have corrosive consequences in a society as fragile as we are likely to be for some time to come."

He said multiculturalism could be extremely divisive in a society.

"It emphasises group differences which are regarded by its adherents as irreducible. They counter the suggestion that they are engaging in reverse racism by arguing that racism is an expression of power and that since minorities are powerless, they cannot be racist."

He said multiculturalism could also lead to a decline in standards.

"Multiculturalism suggests too that only Hispanics can speak of the Hispanic experience, or only blacks of the black experience and so on.

"This stifles independent thought and independent criticism and ultimately reduces debate to a repetition of sterile slogans.

"Taken to the extreme, which appears to be the case on several US campuses, this whole trend has virtually eliminated the notion of failure — and therein lies its attraction.

"It is a quick path to equality for those previously denied proper opportunities. It will therefore find fertile ground in this country.

"Yet we cannot afford any more divisiveness in this already fractured society. To abandon standards now would be to repeat our failure to provide proper education for all as in the past."

Defining when apartheid dies

Star 26/3/91

304A

HARARE — Black Africa faces a dilemma: what constitutes the formal end of apartheid?

African states are coming under pressure to make a decision because South Africa's reforms have prompted some Western countries to start talking about easing international sanctions.

For years African leaders have displayed great unity in vigorously campaigning to isolate South Africa over its apartheid racial system, but divisions are now emerging.

Many African states stand to gain from opening up links with South Africa, which accounts for 75 percent of southern Africa's economic output and could be the powerhouse of the region.

"Africa is being pulled two ways at once at the moment," said one diplomat in the Zimbabwean capital Harare.

"Everyone wants to trade with South Africa. Everyone wants to play sport with South Africa. But no one wants to be seen to be aban-

doning their principles.

"So everyone is picking a definition of the end of apartheid which suits them."

In the realm of politics Africa is solidly behind the ANC and remains suspicious of the Pretoria Government.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, the current OAU chairman, said Mr de Klerk's reforms "are praiseworthy but not yet enough".

But in the economic sphere, however, new links are quietly being forged.

In Zambia — whose President Kenneth Kaunda is one of Africa's most outspoken opponents of apartheid — a building has been prepared as a new South African trade mission. Diplomats say they think it will be open by the end of 1991.

And participants from 15 African countries at a Swaziland meeting organised by three South African trade groups have discussed setting up a new trade bloc when sanctions end. — Sapa-
Reuter.

What constitutes the formal end of apartheid?

African states under pressure to decide

304A

South Africa
26/3/91

HARARE - Black Africa faces a dilemma: what constitutes the formal end of apartheid in South Africa?

African states are coming under pressure to make a decision because South Africa's reforms have prompted some Western countries to start talking about easing international sanctions against Pretoria.

For years African leaders have displayed great unity in vigorously campaigning to isolate South Africa over its apartheid racial system, but divisions are now emerging.

Gains

Many African states stand to gain from opening up links with South Africa, which accounts for 75 percent of Southern Africa's economic output and could be the powerhouse of the region.

"Africa is being pulled two ways at once at the moment," said one diplomat in the Zimbabwean capital Harare.

"Everyone wants to trade with South Africa. Everyone wants to play sport with South Africa. But no-one wants to be seen to be abandoning their principles."

"So everyone is picking a definition of the end of apartheid which suits them personally, and we're seeing some interesting differences emerge."

Two views

The reformist Government of rival interpretations of what will constitute the end of apartheid.

The reformist government of President FW de Klerk, which has promised to scrap all remaining race-based legislation by mid-1991, hopes sanctions will be lifted as soon as these changes are on the statute book.



The ANC, spearheading demands for an end to white minority rule, wants more reforms.

It is calling for votes for the country's disenfranchised black majority and a new interim government to replace De Klerk's National Party in power.

In the realm of politics Africa is solidly behind the ANC and remains suspicious of the Pretoria Government.

Meeting in Harare a few days after De Klerk made his February promise to scrap race laws this year, the Organisation of African Unity decided to stand firm on the sanctions question.

Not enough

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, the current OAU chairman, said De Klerk's reforms "are welcome, they are praiseworthy - but they are not enough."

"The idea is that we would like to see in place a clear mechanism that would result in the transfer of power to a democratic order. But up to now there is no mechanism ... just an expression of intentions," Museveni said.

In the economic sphere, however, new links are quietly being forged with South Africa by businesses across the continent.

In Zambia - whose President Kenneth Kaunda is one of Africa's most outspoken opponents of apartheid - a building has been prepared as a new South African trade mission. Diplomats say they think it will be open by the end of 1991.

Participants from 15 African countries attended a meeting organised by three South African trade groups in Swaziland this month to discuss the possibility of setting up a new trade bloc as soon as sanctions go.

Hennie Viljoen, president of the South African Chamber of Business, told delegates in a closing speech:

"The time has arrived where frontiers should be opened and where we could urge our governments...to start breaking down those divergent political barriers that could influence co-operative business efforts."

The biggest shift in African opinion has been in sport. It must be Africa that welcomes its southern neighbour back into world sport after a 20-year Olympic ban, the International Olympic Committee has said.

The Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa showed at a meeting in Botswana earlier this month that it was ready to do just that.

Anoca president Jean-Claude Ganga said he would not press for immediate universal suffrage in South Africa, but would count the mid-year scrapping of race laws as the end of apartheid.

Confident

"When apartheid is finished, we have confidence in the people of South Africa that they will get a one man, one vote system," Ganga said.

After the meeting, Anoca said rival "establishment" and anti-apartheid sports federations in South Africa had agreed to form a new, non-racial umbrella group.

"The sports people are easiest on South Africa because they haven't really got anything to

lose, but they do have a lot to gain in terms of more exciting sport if they let South Africa in," said a Harare-based Western diplomat.

"The business community is blowing hot and cold. They want to have access to the South African economy, but they're frightened that South Africa's going to swamp their own economies."

"Politicians have the most to lose in terms of credibility, and in terms of the fallout from anything that goes wrong economically which will ultimately land at their door."

Worried

Quill Hermans, governor of Botswana's central bank, said in an interview this month that his country was apprehensive about the consequences of reforms in neighbouring South Africa.

Botswana is part of South Africa's regional customs union, and pays no import duties on the goods it buys from next door. It therefore imports inflation from South Africa in the shape of goods pre-priced for South African consumption.

Hermans said Pretoria's likely transition to majority rule - and big new demands for health and education spending on black voters - would push up inflation and create economic and political problems for Botswana.

"If inflation rates in South Africa climb back to 25 or 30 percent from 15 percent now, per capita incomes halve in Botswana, and there's nothing we can do to protect ourselves from that."

"The economic implications for Botswana of reform in South Africa are pretty ominous, and we could go through a period probably of five, six or seven years of very turbulent times." - Sapa-
Reuter

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Now CP 'forms private army'

304H
26/3/91

THE Conservative Party wants to establish its own "volk army", according to newspaper reports in Cape Town.

Responding to, but not denying reports in yesterday's *Die Burger*, CP's spokesman Mr Andries Beyers said his party's supporters had no choice but to resist "with the necessary means to protect their living space and freedom."

"It is for us to know and for our opponents to find out," he said of the CP's preparation for their "struggle".

According to reports in *Die Burger* - the National Party organ in Cape Town - a meeting to launch the CP's private army was held in Pretoria on March 14.

"The party supports the attempts by whites to organise themselves into guard units or home-guards.

"The Government is allowing the African National Congress to keep and run a private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. They even have the right to keep their AK-47 rifles," Beyers said.

He said as the Government was going to negotiate with the African National Congress, President FW de Klerk and the Minister of Defence, Mr Magnus Malan, had declared themselves willing to serve under the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

This, he said, left the CP with no choice but to resist "with the necessary means to protect itself and its constituents."

Yo

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IN THE current fiscal year, which ends on September 30, SA's "disadvantaged" will theoretically receive more bilateral assistance from the US than all but three African countries, according to the Agency for International Development's (AID) latest budget presentation to Congress.

The 1991 allocation for apartheid's victims officially stands at \$50m. Only Mozambique (\$60m), Madagascar (\$51.5m) and Uganda (\$52.2m) are slated to receive more.

The figure, which includes \$10m set aside by Congress last year for such democracy-enhancing purposes as equipping the ANC with fax machines, is largely notional, a statement of intent rather than an indicator of actual cash flows. For one thing, the Transition to Democracy project is dead in the water with several congressmen exercising their informal veto power over the release of the \$10m.

It is also important to note that the remaining \$40m does not represent the amount that will really be spent on SA this year. Rather it is the amount by which the AID's existing kitty for SA may, if all goes well, be increased. The value of the cheques AID actually signs to the various contractors who run most of its SA projects is estimated in the budget document at slightly under \$22.4m.

Overall, AID has been "authorised" to spend more than \$258m on various worthy causes in SA over the past decade. This means Congress has given the agency either permission or instructions, but not necessarily the money. By last September, AID had disbursed only \$67.3m.

AID's intent is summarised in the budget document thus: "The assistance programme is aimed at demonstrating the American people's abhorrence of apartheid." This, at least, has the virtue of candour: we are dealing with largely symbolic gestures here. Subsidiary objectives are "to hasten the demise of apartheid and to help prepare black South Africans for positions of leadership in a post apartheid society".

US aid package is big in theory but a little short on cash

SIMON BARBER in Washington

The programme formally started in the '80s when, at Congress's request, AID began providing scholarships to "disadvantaged" South Africans lucky enough to have the right political connections and not to live in the homelands. Education is still the major thrust. Since 1982 the agency has spent \$41.6m on providing 1 275 scholarships. It expects to earmark \$21.7m of this year's total allocation for the same purpose.

"More than 600" students have been sponsored to study at undergraduate or graduate level in the US under the Training for Disadvantaged South Africans project. AID notes with pride that "virtually all participants have been successful in completing their degrees, and of the 97% who have returned to SA, 95% are employed and a majority are involved in some form of community service".

As of last year, another 650 scholarships had been awarded for students to attend SA universities and technical schools under the SA Bur-saries project. Under the Educational Support and Training project the US is helping underwrite "non-governmental initiatives in teacher training, alternative education, pre-schools, curriculum development and literacy".

A new \$10m-a-year Tertiary Education project was launched in 1989 to provide further scholarships in the US. The budget data indicate that it

will gradually supplant the other educational projects when their own accounts run dry.

The Labour Union Training project will get another \$3.5m this year, bringing to \$9m the amount AID has committed to spending on black unions since 1983. Most of the \$4m that has actually been spent thus far has gone to the AFL-CIO's African-American Labour Centre to "help black unions develop skills in organising, collective bargaining, health and occupational safety and grievance procedures".

The AALC "seeks to encourage black unions to remain politically independent and sensitive to the benefits of a market-oriented economy", AID notes. It does not, however, go on to explain that the principal purpose of the project is not to assist the SA labour movement but to keep the AFL-CIO happy by pumping taxpayer funds in its direction.

The Black Private Enterprise Development project gets no new money this year. AID was authorised to spend \$20.9m on this one between 1987 and 1993. Prior to this it had signed contracts with grantees worth \$8.5m but released only \$3.7m in real cash. It estimates it will turn over a further \$4.1m before September 30.

Activities AID says it is funding include "a national organisation which provides credit and other resources to micro- and other small-scale entrepreneurs; feasibility studies for the development and strengthening of strategic black business ventures and institutions; training for black women to become leaders in the accounting and financial services field; and bridging mechanisms which bring together black entrepreneurs and white business leaders".

The Building Democratic Institutions project also receives no new money and will apparently be retired when the last of the \$1.8m previously allocated to it is spent this year. Most of the money will presumably go to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the US quasi non-governmental entity for which the project was created.

NED has channelled the funds, through various US intermediaries, to the National Black Consumers Union, Idasa, Lamla (a grassroots mediation group in the Western Cape) and the Afro-Asian Institute of Histadrut, the Israeli labour federation. The latter arranged for "disadvantaged" South Africans to learn the joys of socialism on a kibbutz.

According to an unpublished report by the General Accounting Office, a congressional auditing bureau, NED made little attempt to see that AID's money was properly, let

alone usefully spent. Many thousands disappeared into dubious administrative expenses. These included rental fees for a car hired by an employee of one of the SA grantees who was caught using the vehicle to traffic in drugs.

Funding continues for the Community Outreach and Development project. AID expects to commit \$4m on top of \$14m that has flowed into the project's account since 1986. \$7.1m has been spent to counter the SA government's "attempts to crush community power... COLD has supported and strengthened community organisations, and trained women and community leaders in crisis mediation, youth leadership and career development".

Also continuing are the Human Rights and Self-help Support projects. These are basically slush funds from which the US embassy and AID mission dole out small grants to causes — legal assistance for detainees, for example — they deem worthy. Collectively, the coffers of the two projects will receive a \$2.5m replenishment this year. Since 1983, the Human Rights fund has made 550 grants, mostly of \$10 000 or less.

Finally, there are two new categories starting this year, AIDS prevention, which is down for \$300 000, and "programme development and support", budgeted at \$1m. The latter apparently involves a review of what the agency should be doing post-apartheid.

The AID programme, the budget document explains, "will increase its planning for development interventions in a post-apartheid society. This will include such development precepts as organisational effectiveness, technical feasibility and economic viability. In addition, assessments will be conducted in shelter, AIDS prevention, primary education, land tenure, youth, and local government. These assessments will provide guidance on possible new sectors of high impact value."

Obviously, AID has not reached the point in its review where it might feel comfortable enough to express itself in simple, declarative sentences.

CP starts its own armed struggle 304A

CAPE TOWN — CP supporters had no choice but to resist "with the necessary means" to protect their living space and freedom, CP chief secretary Andries Beyers said yesterday.

He was responding to, but not denying, reports of CP plans for its own "volk's army".

"It is for us to know and our opponents to find out," he said of the CP's preparations, repeating the words of Dr Andries Treurnicht in the House of Assembly on Thursday.

Newspaper reports said a secret pilot meeting to launch the new private army was held in Pretoria on March 14.

Mr Beyers said the CP was busily preparing for a white referendum and election and was focusing on the still remaining constitutional avenues.

"The party supports the attempts of whites to organise themselves into guard units or home-guards," he said. "Those actions are happening in the open." — Political Staff.

16/3/92 nys

WITH South Africa's racial laws and legislation rapidly becoming historical relics, the potential for the De Klerk government to regain the moral high ground in the battle for who rules the country seems increasingly likely.

The last obstacle to this conquest remains the mode of governance. The issue is critical because on the world stage, he who possesses the mantle of heaven will ultimately dictate the future political dispensation. Sabre-rattling on the extreme left and right notwithstanding, among logical contestants the struggle is now on for who stands with the angels. On the head of a pin, space is limited.

In understanding the moral polemics of the one man one vote issue, let's begin by observing certain truisms. White and Western-oriented South Africans overwhelmingly oppose one man one vote in a unitary state because they fear that it will result in the triumph of sheer numbers, if not by the party most adept at widescale voter intimidation.

A Marxist-Leninist people's republic would be our next destination; and thereby the destruction of the 101 reasons why life in SA remains attractive for the socially and economically enfranchised.

Moreover, even if there were only limited intimidation, it is widely felt that SA's black communities, in showing solidarity with representa-

Ruling from moral high ground

by Lawrence Haar

tive leaders, will confuse the cult of personality with the advancement of various policies.

There does exist, of course, a small coterie of white and Western-oriented peoples who imagine that one man one vote in a unitary state is a viable proposition provided there are adequate safeguards. But obviously they never familiarised themselves with the constitution of what was formally known as the East German Democratic Republic.

On the political left, the ANC, its fellow travellers and comrades in arms support one man one vote on a common roll because it portends absolute power. With this objective in mind, the "constituent assembly" approach is now being promoted. Indeed, only the other day Nelson Mandela declared that President F W de Klerk had no moral right to rule.

With power will come control over the economy's commanding heights... provided we still have any. Without a shot having been fired, the revolutionary overthrow will have succeeded.

Where Euro-socialists used confiscatory taxation to effectively nationalise labour and industry, the SACP would employ democracy's own device, the ballot box, to destroy it. One

man one vote... one time!

The strategy then must be to resist the moral speciousness of majority rule. But is it possible while still being fair and just?

The cornerstone of liberal political thought since the Enlightenment has been and remains the following: human beings have rights and there are things no persons or groups may do to them without violating these rights.

The legitimate functions of the state then are the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts etc. More extensive state functions are unjustified and will violate these rights. Coercive apparatus designed to assist one citizen at the expense of another or to prohibit activities of people for their own good (however defined) are not justified.

Given the above indisputable position, the "right" of, say, 51% to violate the rights of 49% is no more justified than the power of a dictator to violate the rights of 99%. No Western democracy has a simplistic "winner take all" format. From Nigeria to Belgium to the US, the rights

of individuals, be they members of groups or otherwise, are protected from domination by the majority.

In fairness, the ANC has called for a Bill of Rights in the New South Africa. When one sees, however, the way in which the organisation's leadership is attempting to tamper with justice and transform a criminal case into a "political trial" it is difficult to believe such principles as "the right to a fair trial" will be upheld.

The fact that historically the rights of black South Africans were systematically violated by a white minority does not imply that blacks may now violate the rights of whites with moral impunity.

Moreover, vengeance is not a basis for government. Violating fundamental rights and achieving "historical compensation" (read, revenge) through one man one vote is hardly a moral policy.

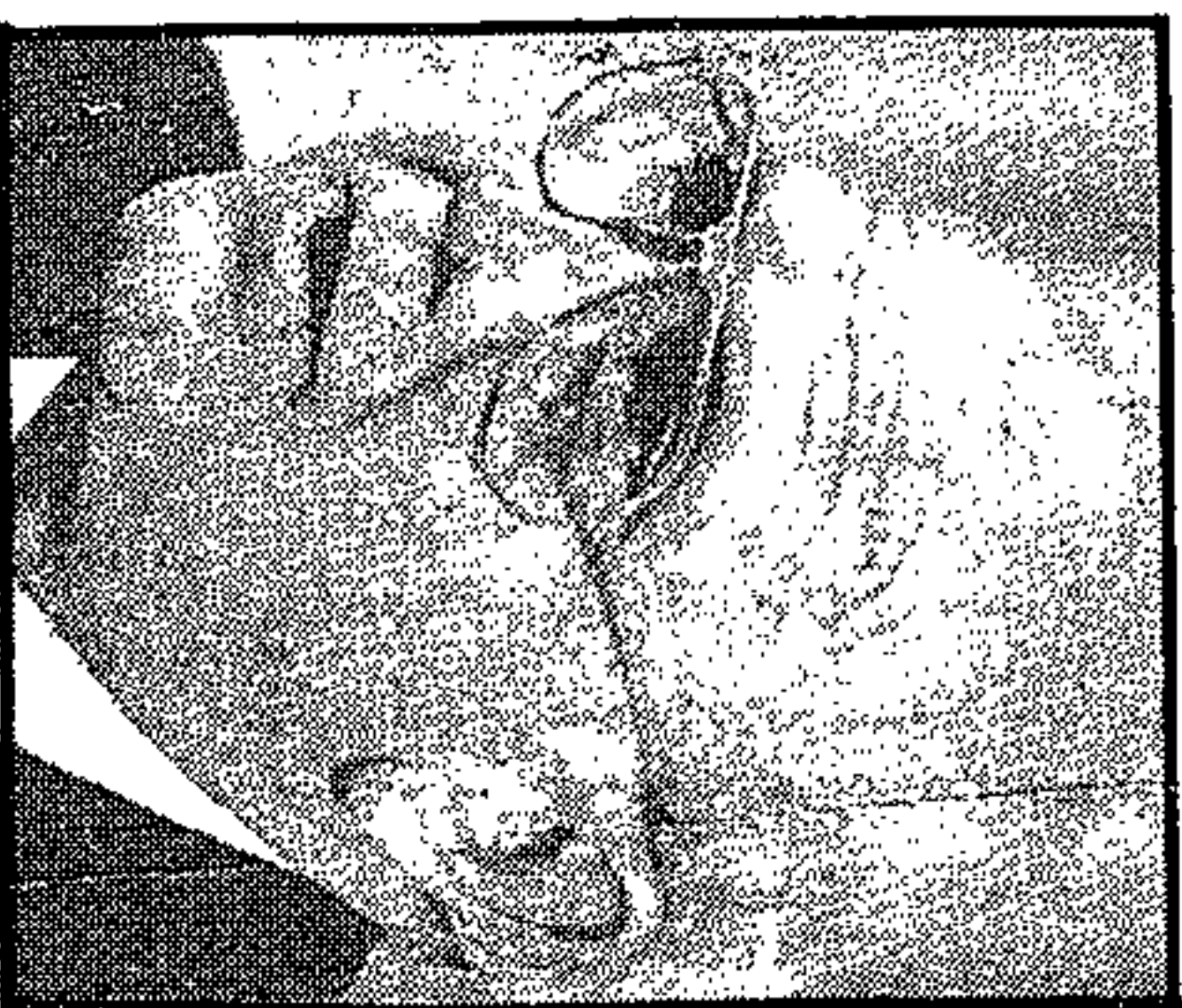
In contrast, a moral standpoint in the present negotiations would be to promote fair, responsive and equitable government. Preconditions such as majority rule and constituent assemblies are surely subordinate to the question of the nature and structure of a just government. This perspective is critical, because if all parties were to agree on the objec-

tive, the means will follow by necessity.

Thus it is possible to stand with the angels and oppose "majoritarianism", provided one concentrates on two elements: firstly, the rights of man and the just limits of the state. And secondly, the nature of such a state rather than shallow prescriptions on voting arrangements.

To repeat Mao's oft-quoted dictum: as long as the cat catches mice, it doesn't matter what colour it is. There lies a moral high ground.

Haar is deputy chief dealer at FNB treasury in Johannesburg. The views expressed here, however, are his own.



DE KLERK

LETTERS

Africa looks for tailor-made definition of end to apartheid

31/09 26/3/91
HARARE — Black Africa faces a dilemma: what constitutes the formal end of apartheid in SA?

African states are coming under pressure to make a decision because SA's reforms have prompted some Western countries to start talking about easing international sanctions against Pretoria.

For years African leaders have displayed great unity in vigorously campaigning to isolate SA over its apartheid racial system, but divisions are now emerging.

SA accounts for 75% of southern Africa's economic output.

"Africa is being pulled two ways at once at the moment," said one diplomat in Harare.

"Everyone wants to trade with SA. Everyone wants to play sports with SA. But no one wants to be seen to be abandoning principles.

"So everyone is picking a definition of the end of apartheid which suits them personally."

In SA, there are two rival interpretations of what will constitute the end of apartheid.

The SA government hopes sanctions will be lifted once all race-based legislation goes. However, the ANC, which Africa is solidly behind, wants more reforms.

Meeting in Harare a few days after President F W de Klerk made his February promise to scrap race laws this year, the OAU decided to stand firm on sanctions.

OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, said De Klerk's reforms "are welcome, they are praiseworthy — but they are not enough".

"The idea is that we would like to see in place a clear mechanism that would result in the transfer of power to a democratic order."

In the economic sphere, however, new links are quietly being forged with SA by businesses across the continent.

In Zambia, a building has been prepared as a new SA trade mission despite President Kenneth Kaunda's vigorous opposition to apartheid. Diplomats expect it to open

by the end of 1991.

Participants from 15 African countries attended a meeting organised by three SA trade groups in Swaziland this month to discuss setting up a new trade bloc as soon as sanctions go.

The biggest shift in African opinion has been in sport. It must be Africa that welcomes SA back into world sport after a 20-year Olympic ban, the International Olympic Committee has said.

The Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (Anoca) showed at a meeting in Botswana earlier this month that it was ready to do just that.

Anoca president Jean-Claude Ganga said he would not press for immediate universal suffrage in SA, but would count the mid-year scrapping of race laws as the end of apartheid.

After the meeting, Anoca said rival "establishment" and anti-apartheid sports federations in SA had agreed to form a new, non-racial umbrella group.

Credibility

A Harare-based diplomat said: "The sports people are easiest on SA because they haven't really got anything to lose, but they do have a lot to gain in terms of more exciting sport if they let SA in."

He said politicians had the most to lose in terms of credibility if anything went wrong economically.

"The business community is blowing hot and cold. They want to have access to the SA economy, but they're frightened that SA is going to swamp their own economies."

Botswana's central bank governor Quill Hermans said in an interview this month his country was apprehensive about the consequences of reforms in SA.

Botswana is part of SA's regional customs union, and pays no import duties on the goods it buys from next door. It therefore imports inflation from SA in the shape of goods pre-priced for SA consumption.

Hermans said Pretoria's likely transition to majority rule — and big new demands for health and education spending on black voters — would push up inflation and create economic and political problems for Botswana.

"If inflation rates in SA climb back to 25% or 30% from 15% now, per capita incomes halve in Botswana, and there's nothing we can do to protect ourselves from that.

He said the economic implications for Botswana of reform in SA were "pretty ominous". — Sapa-Reuter.

measures of Southern Africa

REPORTING

Winnie trial won't do any good - Schwarz

By David Braun
Star Bureau

stew
26/3/91

304A

WASHINGTON — The Winnie Mandela trial would not do South Africa any good whatever its outcome, the South African ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, has said on American television.

Mr Schwarz said in an interview on Fox Television last week he was particularly concerned about the trial's effect on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, with whom he had a friendship and for whom he had an affection.

The trial was rather unfortunate, and whatever its outcome it would not be good for South Africa, he said.

Mr Schwarz denied the South African Government was promoting violence in the country.

"This can be illustrated by pointing out that the African

National Congress has appointed liaison officers with the police and Inkatha.

"Whenever there is trouble we are called out. The police are called out to try to stop the violence.

"If you are called out to end the violence, that surely does not mean you are causing the violence."

Asked why he, a long-time opponent of the De Klerk Government, had accepted his appointment as ambassador, Mr Schwarz said South Africa had changed.

'New place'

"I think the policies of De Klerk have become the policies of my party and South Africa is a new place.

"It is no longer the same country it was a few years ago," he said.

Asked for his reaction to US anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson's accusation that his appointment was

even more dangerous for the ending of apartheid because he was a liberal, Mr Schwarz said: "He doesn't know me. If he knew me, he would know I couldn't possibly be a PR gesture.

"The truth is my appointment is not a token, but a message to the people of the US in terms of which we are indicating that the kind of policies my party wants in South Africa are, in fact, the policies of the Government.

"I hope Mr Robinson will understand that and accept the bona fides of what we are trying to do."

Mr Schwarz said South Africa was not reforming because of sanctions, but because it was necessary and just to do so.

This did not mean South Africa did not want sanctions lifted quickly, but this was a decision for the American people and the US president to make, he added.

UK talks on SA's future

SA's future was the topic of discussion at a major international conference in the UK last week.

The three-day conference, organised jointly by the University of Leicester's Centre for Federal Studies and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), dealt with a number of issues pertinent to SA's future, including political options open to the country.

SA academics attending the conference included: the University of Cape Town's Profes-

sor David Welsh; the University of Natal's Alexander Johnston; Professor Vincent Maphai of the University of Western Cape; Professor D Irvine of the University of Natal; Professor Anton du Plessis of the University of Pretoria.

Other speakers were: Doreen Atkinson, Khehla Shubane, B de Villiers, Professor Pierre Hugo, Gavin Bradshaw, Professor Alf Stadler, Professor John Barratt, Siphoshezi, Professor Peter Vale and Dr Andre du Pisani.

26/3/91

30417

'New SA' set for high UN profile

Special Correspondent

UNITED NATIONS — South Africa, which has never been elected to the United Nations Security Council, could be a logical candidate for a permanent seat if and when the current system is revised, according to the United States delegate, Thomas Pickering.

But he was referring specifically to a "new South Africa", evidently meaning a potential claim to council mem-

bership by a post-apartheid republic democratically constructed.

Mr Pickering and the former US ambassador, Dr Jeane Kirkpatrick, discussed the UN on a television programme produced by the Council on Foreign Relations in New York recently.

Nigeria and Brazil were also mentioned by Mr Pickering as possible candidates for permanent seats in the Security Council.

The idea of expanding

the council has been around for some time, with Germany, Japan and India all asserting that current global realities have outdated a system agreed when the UN was formed.

This system involves the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China having permanent seats and the power of veto.

Mr Pickering observed that it had become "increasingly less easy" for a permanent member to

cast its veto.

If the idea takes hold, additional permanent members probably would be in a new category, without veto power, diplomats say.

A permanent seat for South Africa would enhance the republic's prestige enormously and be in sharp contrast to its current UN status of semi-isolation, which followed the rejection of the SA delegation's General Assembly credentials.

Changes ... but blacks still on the sidelines

Sowetan 27/3/78
304A

PARLIAMENT next week comes to a standstill for about a week.

This mid-term Easter recess is usually "just a break", but there is a slim chance of the Cabinet meeting around a braai at somebody's home to toss about ideas on the coming negotiations.

The last two months in Parliament have however been particularly hectic, starting with the mighty speech by State President FW de Klerk in which he promised to repeal the Group Areas Act and the accompanying Black Communities Development Act as well as the Land Act.

The three Acts were tackled simultaneously in a White Paper - a basic game plan - wherein Government explained to a great degree, but not entirely, how it intended making amends for the institutionalised disenfranchisement of black people in South Africa, especially with regard to the distribution of (and access to) land.

Critics

The White Paper on Land Reform came under heavy fire from the extra-parliamentary left who saw the reforms as grossly inadequate, simple-minded and ineffectual.

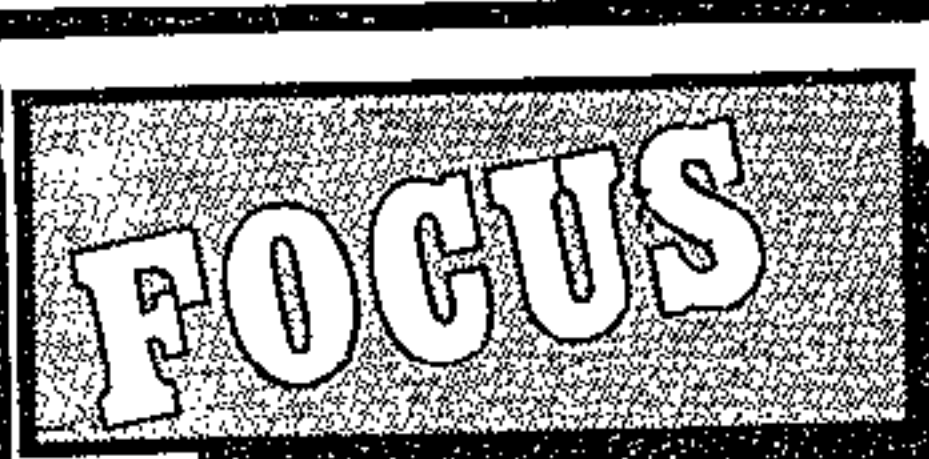
The PAC's secretary for information, Barney Desai, dismissed the proposals as worthless.

A single clause in the White Paper, that the legal ownership of existing title deeds would be respected, would keep the indigenous people off the land, Desai said.

"Effectively, 87 percent of the country is owned by whites and in terms of the White Paper, it will remain in their hands," he said.

De Klerk's bold speech on Friday, February 1 also galvanised the Conservative Party's "freedom struggle".

The CP stormed, like spoilt children, out of Parliament on the



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

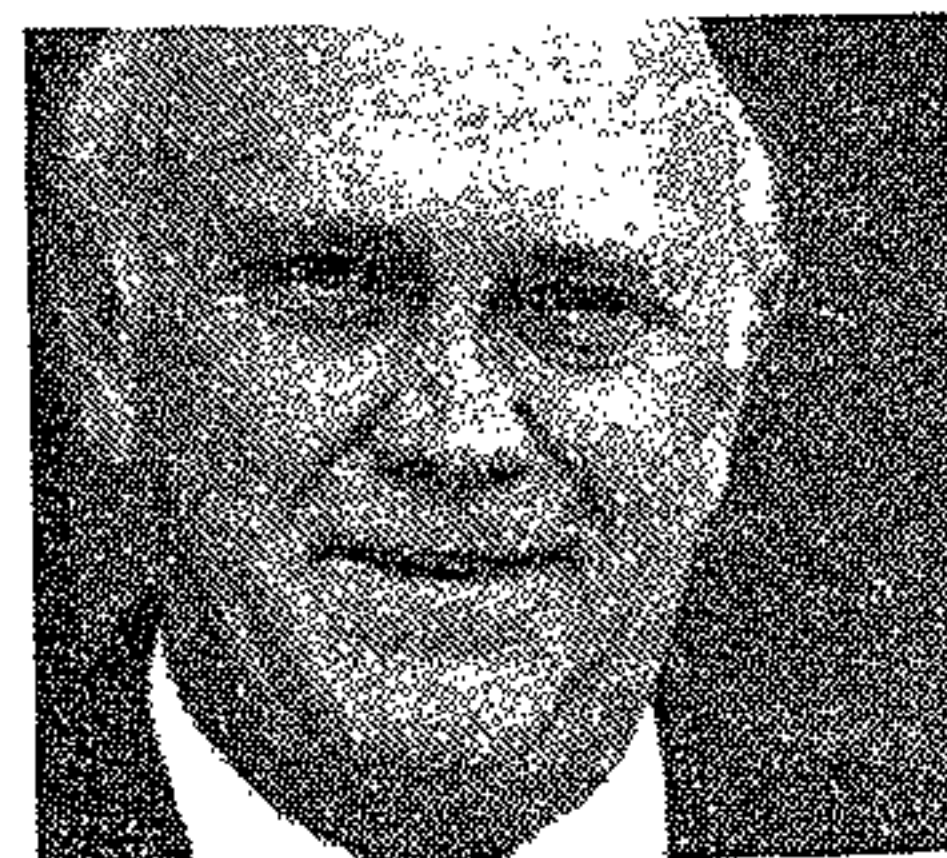
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT



day of the speech. And, it was announced this week that the CP was planning a "Volks Army".

The Budget, announced by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis on March 20, was another highlight and a kind of ersatz effort to correct the wrongs of apartheid while it simultaneously continued to perpetuate it.

Du Plessis' excuse for not being able to bring, for instance, black and white pensions to parity, has been likened to a rapist telling his victim: "I cannot actually stop raping you now, but I commit myself to do so in five years."



DE KLERK

Nevertheless, the Budget was hailed as the poor person's Budget and does in fact go a long way - considering the financial constraint upon the State - to the upliftment of the poor.

And then there was the never-say-die General Magnus Malan and part two of the Death Squads saga with its mantra: Nobody told me, but because nobody told me,

it does not mean that nobody told anybody, maybe somebody told somebody, but nobody told me.

There have been numerous reports about the Night of the General. Some say he will go, other say he won't. Some want him to go and there are few people who disagree. But the truth appears to be that Malan is going nowhere fast.

On the surface it seems as if Government cannot do with him, nor can they do without him.

Some say if he goes, the army will follow, others say never. Either way South Africa is not known for military takeovers.

South Africa leaves coups to its Frankenstein monsters: The TBVC.

Refusal

A personal best for the National Party in Parliament so far, has been the refusal of De Klerk to apologise for the wrongs of apartheid.

One of his junior ministers, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, promptly did him a bad public relations job and publicly apologised for being "so blind" to the suffering of black people in this country.

De Klerk's refusal came within days of a discussion between myself and a senior Cabinet Minister.

I said that De Klerk was not a humanitarian and was doing everything that he had been over the past year or so only to have

sanctions removed and because it makes financial sense.

The Cabinet Minister disagreed, saying that De Klerk truly believed in what he was doing.

The Democratic Party twitched its tail during the past two months. While all and sundry have suggested that NP supporters have become the "new Liberals" and that the DP was dead, a new role emerged for the old progressives - that of a kind of watchdog or bloodhound.

The NP can never claim that it is liberal - never. Not with a track record of some of the worst human rights abuses since World War 2.

DP's role

The DP, excluding perhaps a handful led by the Member of Parliament for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, would fit very well into the NP. Some would be comfortable with the ANC and others belong right where they are as a kind of protector of liberalism in this country.

And even if hardline African supremacists come to power, the DP could still have an important "watchdog" role to play. Nobody has yet taken the time to explain that African supremacy is as unacceptable as white supremacy.

When Parliament resumes on April 8, there may not be any (more) dramatic changes, but there will be interesting debates following in the wake of last week's Budget.

Each department must stand up in Parliament and explain how it proposes spending the money allocated to it and the other parties in Parliament traditionally disagree.

The reality is that while the future of black people will form a major part of the debates and discussions in Parliament over coming months - it will remain, for the time being at least, an all white affair.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn.
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De Klerk and Pik Botha for Europe

Sowetan 27/3/91

304A

THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is to visit the United Kingdom, Denmark and the Republic of Ireland at the end of April.

According to a statement issued yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who is to accompany the State President, De Klerk will meet British Prime Minister Mr John Major.

While in London, De Klerk will address various organisations, including the annual convention of

the Institute of Directors, and the Royal Institute for International Affairs. He



DE KLERK

will also meet chairmen of leading UK banks and financial institutions.

On April 24 De Klerk and Botha will pay a working visit to Denmark where they will have talks with Prime Minister Mr Poul Schluter and Foreign Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

The Danish visit will provide an opportunity to discuss developments in South Africa in the light of the events set in motion by De Klerk at the beginning of last year.

The working visit to Ireland will take place on April 25 when a meeting will take place with the

prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

De Klerk will also be



PIK BOTHA

guest of honour at a lunch to be hosted by the Irish prime minister. - Sapa

304/1

31 Day 27/3/91

Govt says no to assembly

CAPE TOWN — Government this week rejected the ANC and Cosatu's call for a constituent assembly elected on a simple majority basis despite the more than 200 000 signatures that have been collected demanding elections.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoit said: "Acceptance of this proposal simply means that certain negotiating parties would succeed in achieving their ideal constitutional outcome, namely an unqualified majoritarian system, before the constitutional conference has even begun."

He said once it was accepted that negotiations be conducted open-mindedly and in a spirit of goodwill and willingness to compromise, a constituent assembly disqualified itself because delegates would be representing particular models and mandates for which they had campaigned.

"This will leave no room for compromise: either the majority party will enforce its model . . . or a stalemate position will ensue," he said.

Government also believes the only way to maintain stability during the transitional stage would be through a strong government to monitor and guide the transition through "turbulent times".

Constituent assembly elections would

BILLY PADDOCK

weaken government's position by placing it in the hands of another body resulting in its ability to govern being in question.

"Such a situation could well lead to internal strife, to radical groups trying to seize power, and to economic collapse," Delpoit said.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said any elections now, with the prevailing conditions of political uncertainty and violence, could only lead to unjust, premature and essentially undemocratic results.

Delpoit said the idea of a multiparty conference enjoyed widespread support among the major players on the political scene.

However, organisations which publicly remain adamant they would not participate are the PAC, the CP and Azapo, although government sources indicate there have been approaches from some of them.

A highly-placed government source said that despite the agreement on the multiparty conference no movement towards even convening it would be made until after the ANC's June conference where elections for the national executive committee will be held.

SA flag landing puts FW over the moon 304A

Political Staff *Star*
24/3/11

CAPE TOWN — The tiny South African flag taken to the moon on Apollo 15 in 1971 has come home.

One of the astronauts, Colonel James Irwin, handed the framed flag

to President de Klerk yesterday, and said: "I am glad to have been able to take your flag to the moon."

Framed next to the flag is a photograph of the moon craft, in what Colonel Irwin described

as "a beautiful valley in the high mountains".

He also presented Mr de Klerk with a book of photographs of Earth taken from space.

Clearly thrilled to meet the astronaut, Mr de Klerk recalled: "When

my kids were small they knew your names off by heart."

He said: "The fact that our flag has been to the moon symbolises South Africa's commitment to what forward-looking countries should do."

FW reshuffles Cabinet and hives off state expenditure from Finance

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk announced last night he was creating a new State Expenditure Department and shuffled his Cabinet for the second time in three weeks. This follows the death of Econo-



● DE VILLIERS

mic Co-ordination Minister Wilm de Villiers last week.

De Klerk also said he intended appointing a special adviser from the private sector to assist Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, who takes over the Economic Co-ordination portfolio.

De Villiers, who shed Mineral and Energy Affairs in the previous change to lighten his workload, has in addition taken over the functions of the Competition Board, formerly with Administration, and the Central Economic Advisory Service.

BILLY PADDOCK

De Klerk split the Finance Department and said the new department, entrusted with planning and control of expenditure, would be given to Regional Development Minister Arnie Venter, who also assumes responsibility for the Office of the Commission for Administration.

De Klerk said the purpose of this was to achieve a better distribution of the workload, especially as far as finances were concerned, and to strengthen government's

capacity in respect of the implementation of economic policy.

It is understood that Finance Minister Barand du Plessis wanted to shed some of his workload.

Du Plessis retains the revenue side of the portfolio, including macro-fiscal policy and the ministerial functions of monetary policy and the SA Reserve Bank.

The distribution of the financial functions would be finalised after consultations with Du Plessis and Venter.

"Continuous and close consultation in

respect of budgetary and other financial and economic matters will take place between the Ministers concerned," De Klerk said in a statement.

Venter will be responsible in the main for the administration of the expenditure Act, the compilation of the broad, priority side of the Budget within broad, priority guidelines, the Secret Services Account and State Tender Board Acts, and the ministerial functions of the Office of the Auditor-General.

□ To Page 2

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BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, March 28 1991

Cabinet

One new Cabinet Minister was appointed, with Deputy Transport Minister Piet Weigemoed taking over the Transport portfolio given to Wilm de Villiers.

Venter sheds the Own Affairs portfolio in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, which is entrusted to Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Minister Hennis Kriel.

□ From Page 1

The Budget portfolio in the Ministers' Council (House of Assembly) is given to Own Affairs Welfare, Housing and Works Minister Sam de Beer.

Speculation is that De Klerk is slowly phasing out Own Affairs by cutting down the functions of the various departments and loading De Beer with portfolios. The changes will take effect on April 8.

FW in cabinet shake-up

CAPE TIMES 28/3/91

30/4/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night announced his second cabinet reshuffle in as many weeks.

The latest round of new appointments and changes in portfolios, which follows the death of Dr Wim de Villiers last week, sees a major shake-up in government thinking on financial management and economic planning.

The changes amount to a major vote of confidence in the Cape leader of the National Party and Minister of Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers, who takes on additional responsibility for the portfolio of Economic Co-ordination — as well as the Competition Board and Central Economic Advisory Service.

In another significant pointer, Mr De Klerk announced that he would appoint a still-to-be-named "special adviser" to Dr De Villiers from the private sector to assist him in his "important and comprehensive task".

In a bid to beef up the government's implementation of economic policy, Mr De Klerk announced the creation of a new Department of State Expenditure, to be filled by Mr Amie Venter.

The move will relieve some of Mr Barend du Plessis's load, as Mr Venter will in future be entrusted with the planning and control of expenditure currently under control of the present Department of Finance.

In addition to his portfolio of Regional Development and his new post, Mr Venter will also assume responsibility for the office of Commission for Administration — part of Dr Wim de Villiers's former job.

As Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Venter will be responsible mainly for the administration of the Exchequer Act, the compilation of the expenditure side of the budget within broad priority guidelines, the Secret Services Account and State Tender Board Acts, and the ministerial functions pertaining to the office of the auditor-general.

Mr Barend du Plessis retains the other functions of Finance and will continue to be responsible for presenting the budget to Parliament.

...saddam out ... Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein in Rawalpindi yesterday. Some 200 people took part in the demonstration to demand support for Kurds in their battle against President Saddam's rule. Picture: Reuter

Adding new hue to SA's diplomatic effort

LEUTENANT-commander L Vegan Moodley is more than just the Assistant South African Naval Attaché in Washington.

As the first black to be posted abroad at a military attaché, he is a symbol of the new South Africa.

The bearded, 31-year-old naval officer has been posted to the US since late last year, to a position he says he would have found personally difficult to hold had it not been for the sweeping political reforms of President de Klerk.

Commander Moodley, in America for three years with his wife Vanitha and their two-year-old son Sudarshan, was recently presented with a medal by the new ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz.

The Chief of the SA Defence Force Medal was awarded for the management skills he displayed in his previous position

as First Lieutenant/Operations Officer on a navy strike craft.

Presenting the medal in his capacity as Commander Moodley's current commanding officer, Mr Schwarz, himself a symbol of the changing South Africa, said the sailor was not only a credit to the navy but also to the embassy.

"He has demonstrated he has capabilities not only aboard ship but also in the diplomatic field," Mr Schwarz said.

In a separate interview, the ambassador described the commander (a rank equivalent to an army major) as a courageous, forceful protagonist of the new South Africa.

"He fully supports in every way the creation of a new society in which discrimination finds no place. At the same time, he shows no bitterness in respect of the past," he added.

The citation which came with Commander Moodley's medal,

A bearded, 31-year-old SA naval officer of Indian descent posted to the US since last year is a symbol of the hopes of the new South Africa. By DAVID BRAUN in Washington.

his third military decoration, said his innovative ideas and good management skills had always given his ship's company goals to attain.

"His personal interest in the efficiency of the men under his control has ensured that they were well-trained and well led," the citation said.

Commander Moodley attended Clairwood Secondary School in Durban, and Durban-Westville University.

He joined the navy in 1978, becoming the first person of colour to undergo the officer's course at the Naval College in Gordon's Bay.

He went on to become the first person of colour to be ad-

mitted to, and graduate from, the military faculty of the University of Stellenbosch.

He has served on various ships, including minesweepers, the supply ship Tafelberg and strike craft.

He was posted to his desk job in Washington on November 1 last year — a position he sees as a coveted "biggie".

His duties are to assist the Naval Attaché in representing the SA Navy and liaising with the US Navy.

As such, he attends numerous conferences, seminars and functions, rubbing shoulders with naval attaches from all parts of the world. In late April he will take part in a special tour of the

west coast, including Hawaii, which the US Navy has organised for the Washington naval attaché corps.

Commander Moodley says there is a lot for the SA Navy to learn from the US Navy.

He says it has been an exciting experience for him, not only because Washington is the capital of the world, but also because he has been able to monitor at close hand the war in the Persian Gulf.

Commander Moodley is wary of political questions, preferring to maintain the traditional soldier's position of professional disinterest in such subjects.

As the first military attaché of colour, however, he is conscious of his position as a person of Indian descent representing the South African Defence Force in Washington.

"I admit I was a bit nervous about the reaction of the Department of Foreign Affairs,

which is not as integrated as the SADF. But my fears were unfounded. From the ambassador downwards, my wife and I have been treated warmly and as full members of the family," he says.

Commander Moodley admits it would have been very difficult to represent South Africa as a person of colour in the era before President de Klerk.

"Mr de Klerk has taken the wind out of his opponents' sails. I certainly do not have personal difficulties in representing his policies. In fact, his reforms have vindicated my decision to join the navy, because I always believed South Africa was going to change in this way."

"I find they are fascinated by the South African Indian community. It is as if I am giving them a debriefing of South African Indian history of the past 100 years," Commander Moodley says. □

FW again reshuffles Cabinet

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has shuffled his Cabinet for the second time in a fortnight, creating a new portfolio of State Expenditure and sharing out the portfolios held by Dr Wim de Villiers who died last week.

Mr de Klerk announced changes last night which he said would strengthen the Government's economic arm and better distribute the Cabinet workload. They will come into effect on April 8.

He has also further downgraded the own affairs Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly which will now have only two Ministers who are not also in the Cabinet.

The most significant change is the creation of a new Department of State Expenditure — similar to the British Treasury — which will take over planning and control of State expenditure from the Department of Finance.

Portfolio

Rising star Amie Venter will become Minister of State Expenditure while retaining the Regional Development portfolio.

He will also take over the Office of the Commission for Administration, controlling the public service, which was one of Dr Wim de Villiers' portfolios.

As Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Venter will administer the Exchequer Act, compile the expenditure side of the budget within broad priority guidelines, and administer the Secret Services Account, the State Tender Board Act and the Office of the Auditor-General.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis will retain the other functions of finance, including macro fiscal policy, and the ministerial responsibilities for monetary policy and the SA Reserve Bank. He will continue to

● To Page 3

FW changes the Cabinet

● From Page 1

present the budget.

The other changes are:

● Dr Dawie de Villiers will get Dr Wim de Villiers' portfolio of Economic Co-ordination, while retaining Public Enterprises. (Mr de Klerk said he would also appoint a special adviser from the private sector to help Dr de Villiers.)

● Deputy Minister Dr Piet Welgemoed has been promoted to the Cabinet, taking over the portfolio of Transport which Dr Wim de Villiers was given two weeks

ago but never took up.

● Mr Venter loses both his portfolios in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

Local Government goes to Hernus Kriel — who retains his Cabinet portfolio of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

Budget goes to own affairs Minister Sam de Beer, also who retains Welfare, Housing and Works.

This leaves only two purely own affairs white Ministers, Mr de Beer and Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase.

The thin line between white and right

304A

W/maill 28/3 - 4/4/91

SOUTH Africa's top political pollsters are divided on whether whites would vote in favour of a non-racial constitution if a referendum were held today.

All agree, however, that State President FW de Klerk can tip the balance if he times it right and is able to provide whites with the assurance that their lifestyles will be protected.

Leading Potchefstroom University political statistician Donald Simpson believes there would be a 'yes' vote among whites of about 55 percent.

"But to achieve this," he notes, "the constitution would have to offer effective guarantees for white living standards.

"From 1993 onwards, things would not look good for a 'yes' vote, based on present projections on white voting patterns."

Simpson says recent polls suggest that support for the Conservative Party is around the 42 percent mark in the white community.

He notes that results from the Randburg, Umlazi and Maitland by-elections suggest that conservative English National Party voters are quicker to swing to the CP than conservative Afrikaans NP voters, and that the CP is hindered by the reactionary image of the Treurnicht leadership.

Figures cited by Simpson show a swing of at least 10,6 percent from the Democratic Party/NP to the CP between the 1989 general elections and the 1990 Randburg by-election, 36,6 percent in the Umlazi by-election and 30,6 percent in the 1991 Maitland by-election.

Professor Laurie Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, believes that if a referendum were held today De Klerk would be in danger of losing, but that he will win a year or so down the line.

"From recent by-election results, support for the CP appears to be between the 35 and 40 percent mark — up from the 31 percent they got in the general election. But what one gets from surveys and other indicators is that the level of anxiety among whites about future prospects exceeds the level of support for the CP.

"If a referendum were held cold, I think De Klerk would lose narrowly — a 50 to 53 percent no vote. But there is no way he will hold a referendum before some form of social contract is reached with the majority parties.

Would whites vote in favour of or against a non-racial constitution if a referendum were held today?

GAVIN EVANS poses the question to South Africa's top political pollsters



Andries Treurnicht ... The CP is hindered by his reactionary image

"He will wait to deliver economic growth, the end of sanctions and a couple of rugby tours, and the referendum will be held on the broad principles arising out of negotiations. The timing will be such that he probably wins it."

Schlemmer said that in a non-racial election, following the referendum, the NP would win 30 to 35 percent of the vote, the African National Congress 35 to 40 percent and the DP seven to eight percent. CP support would fall to between 20 and 25 percent of the total white vote (under four percent of the total vote).

University of Cape Town political statistician Dr Jannie Hofmeyr believes that if a referendum were held today the vote would be 65 to 35 percent in favour of a new constitution.

"But this would depend on the referendum question being framed in such a way that there would be an unequivocal 'yes' vote from DP supporters or those holding similar sentiments."

Hofmeyr believes that in the run-up to a referendum the government would probably go out of its way to reassure whites that their living standards will be protected.

"This in turn might put severe strains on the broader negotiating process. It's the approach they'll probably take, although I think they could win it without doing this, and by saying 'face the future with courage'."

Hofmeyr's opinion is backed up by a national telephonic poll of white adults by the Gallup subsidiary, Markinor, conducted four months ago with a sample of 850.

Asked "which one party/group or organisation's policy comes closest to the way you personally feel?", responses, in percentages, were as follows: NP: 51,1; CP: 18,4; DP/PFP: 8,5; ANC: 1,2; HNP: 0,4; Inkatha/Natal Indaba: 0,2; other: 1,0; none/no opinion/don't know: 19,4.

Markinor's poll of black urban opinion (excluding the homelands), conducted at the same time with a sample of 1 500, showed a very different response to the same question: ANC: 65,5; NP: 5,6; UDF/MDM/Cosatu: 1,9; Inkatha: 1,6; PAC: 1,6; DP: 1,1; SACP: 0,3; Azapo: 0,1; other: 0,2; don't know/none: 22,1.

Another poll of white political opinion was conducted by Mark en Meningsopnames and published in *Rapport* late last year.

It showed NP support had grown from 47,3 percent to 50 percent between June 1989 and September 1990, while the CP's had fallen from 28,7 percent to 25,5 percent and the DP's from 18,1 to 13,5 percent. Herstigte Nasionale Party support increased from 1,1 to 1,3 percent, and 8,6 percent of the 1 800 respondents said they would not vote compared with 3,9 percent in 1989.

However, in the past, polls by Mark en Meningsopnames and other organisations have consistently underestimated CP support, when compared with election and by-election results.

H I G H L Y -
TRAINED police-
men, military serv-
icemen, ex-service-
men and para-mili-
tary personnel are
allegedly among
thousands recruited
to join the Wen-
kommando (Victory
Commando) of the
Afrikaner Weer-
standbeweging
(AWB).

Since the unbanning
of the liberation or-
ganisations, the AWB
has been launching
military training camps
on an ongoing basis.
According to the Cape
leader of the organisa-
tion, the purpose of the
camps is to consolidate
rightwing military
power

Preparing

Stef Jacobson, who is
also commander of the
Western Cape's
Wenkommando, says the
camps are preparing "the
Boers for the coming
revolution".

Describing the ANC as the
hangers-on of the National
Party, Jacobson says the
"Boers must be militarily
prepared for the chaos" of a
system of one person, one
vote.

The Wenkommando was
launched in Ventersdorp, in
the Transvaal, in May 1990.
Since then, thousands of

AWB 'army' recruiting 'thousands'

men, women and children
have attended Wen-
kommando camps through-
out South Africa.

Highly-skilled instructors
lend their services at the
weekend camps. Trainees
are instructed in the use of
handguns, shotguns, auto-
matic rifles, batons and
knives.

The elderly receive guid-
ance in logistics, storage
methods and first-aid.

Recruitment takes place at
public meetings of the
AWB, but Jacobson says the
majority of trainees are re-
cruited by word of mouth.

Joined

English-speaking people
have also joined the AWB,
as have French, German,
Dutch and Hungarian citi-
zens.

Jacobson says one does not
have to be Afrikaans-
speaking to be a "Boer".

He describes a "Boer" as a
person of European descent



Eugene Terre'blanche

who subscribes to the pro-
gramme and constitution of
the AWB.

For example, the personal
bodyguard of AWB chief
Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche,
Mr Keith Conroy, is also
regarded as a "Boer" and an
Afrikaner, although he is an
Irish immigrant.

Jacobson says the AWB is
aware of infiltration of the

Wenkommando by gov-
ernment spies.

Some policemen joining
the Wenkommando could
be gathering information
for the government's intel-
ligence services.

Some spies are still being
monitored and will even-
tually be exposed, he says.

The camps are planned
and coordinated by the
Burgerraad (Council of
Burgers).

Administrative

The Burgerraad serves as
the administrative body for
a specific region. Such
councils exist in Fish Hoek,
Hermanus, Bredasdorp and
Beaufort West. Meetings
take place monthly.

Jacobson says the AWB
enjoys the "most loyal sup-
port" in the Cape Town area
and in the southern sub-
urbs.

Attempts to establish a
Burgerraad in the northern
suburbs have already failed
three times.

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South
28/2-3/4/91

WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman



Can the NP shape the new SA?

W/Mon 28/3-4/4/91

304A

DOES the National Party know what sort of new South Africa it wants? Does it know how to get it? The first answer is "yes". But, as the White Paper on Land Reform may show, the second one is far less clear.

Some resistance politicians insist that the major shifts in Nat policy are a smokescreen, that the government wants to preserve white privilege. Some add that it is determined to weaken movements such as the ANC so that it is free to retain control.

Both claims are, at most, half true.

The government knows that it and its supporters will lose many of the privileges they enjoy now. Politically, it has conceded that majority rule is inevitable.

But the Nats are still determined that some things will not change in the new order. They don't have a detailed vision of what they want to keep; but they have a clear idea of what they are not prepared to lose. They fear that change could mean a "descent into Third World standards" and it is this they are determined to prevent.

They will concede change as long as suburbs stay neat, the economy delivers the sorts of goods and services affluent people expect, and property rights are respected. Most importantly, "order" must be maintained.

This vision can be achieved in a society in which the majority rules and whites lose privileges.

The Nats also know that their vision can't simply be imposed; it must be negotiated with credible leaderships.

But, since "order" is one of their key aims, there is little point in negotiating anything (or with anyone) unless doing this creates more stability.

So the government wants to make deals with, and share power with, any leadership which takes middle class concerns seriously and can offer more stability once the deals have been made. It doesn't care whether these leaders are in the ANC, Inkatha or any other movement.

If sharing power with them offers more stability, it wants to strengthen them. If they are not interested in compromise and can't (or won't) defuse tension, it wants to weaken them.

There are key leaders who are available for deals with which the Nats and their supporters can live; sections of the ANC, for a start. But the Nats can't find bargaining partners who can offer stability. Their problem is that apartheid has ensured there aren't any leaders yet who can ensure that their supporters stick to compromises.

The problem won't go away until two obstacles are tackled. People at the grassroots will have to begin seeing real changes; as long as millions lack houses, schools and facilities, stability will be hard to come by. Change will also have to happen in ways which strengthen those willing to negotiate it. Leaders who are prepared to compromise will need something to show for it.

In theory, the Nats seem to know this. In practice, it is not clear that a party which is used to representing and protecting whites only can manage change in a way which will preserve "standards" and "order".

The Land White Paper may show this. The Nats know that many rural black people have been forced off their land over the past couple of decades by apartheid, and that they expect change to restore what they lost. They should know also that most of those who expect their land back are conservative people who may be the sort of allies the Nats will need if they are to achieve their vision.

They should also know that the White Paper was released at a time when sections of the ANC were questioning land nationalisation.

So there was potential for striking a deal on land reform. The government would not have moved closer to its vision had it agreed to take over all the disputed land and to hand it back.

But it might have moved closer if it had insisted on negotiating a compromise or if it had followed the advice of those who suggested a tribunal to decide on land claims.

Instead, it decided without negotiating to rule out compromise on the demands of those who want their land back. Why it did this is not clear. It may believe it has strengthened its bargaining position by making it clear that it is determined to protect property rights. Or it may not have understood that the concessions it made on land may not be enough to win it black allies in the countryside. But it may have lost a chance to move closer to the new South Africa it wants by alienating some rural communities and weakening those in the ANC who want a compromise on the land issue.

And the Nats have attempted to protect "standards" in the cities with an unworkable law which allows any 100 people to impose their values on the rest of the city.

It is not clear that the Nats understand the sort of changes they will have to make to achieve their goal. Or that they have the skills which would allow them to do that.

If they haven't, it will be far harder to achieve not only the sort of society they want but one which offers much chance of stability and progress for the rest of us.

■ NEXT WEEK: Ameen Akhaiwaya

De Klerk plans to woo British businessmen

W/Mail 28/3 - 4/4/91

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will meet Britain's top industrialists, bankers, businessmen and politicians in late April as part of a South African drive to line up investment funds, trade and credits after sanctions end.

Although the South African embassy is portraying his journey here as a "private visit", De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, can expect greater visibility than any South African leader has been accorded for decades. A rundown of his main engagements underlines the point:

- Arriving on or about April 21 he is due next day to address a meeting of the Confederation of British Industry and the United Kingdom, South African Trade Association. A session with Prime Minister John Major and possibly other key cabinet members also has been slated.

- He has arranged to deliver a keynote address on South Africa's political and economic needs and prospects at a meeting of the Institute of Directors at the Royal Albert Hall on April 23. Later that day he will appear at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. An address to the Royal Africa Society also has been scheduled.

British and South African authorities speaking privately agree that the president's talks in London could be of paramount importance because the outcome may well influence the attitudes of other key Western countries towards South Africa if and when the apartheid system finally gives way to a multi-racial democracy.

This flows from Britain's traditional involvement in the development of the entire subcontinental region of Africa. The book value alone of direct UK investments in the area was nearly £2.5-billion in 1987.

In South Africa, British private sector investment exceeded 50 percent of total foreign investment. The Republic is Britain's fifth biggest market outside West Europe and North America.

Timing of De Klerk's visit — about a week before the deadline for the release of political prisoners — seems to assume a special significance.

Informed British authorities do not disguise their belief that the prisoner problem, taken together with lingering uncertainties about the role of the police in recent outbreaks of violence, is unlikely to result in a stampede by British companies to invest in South Africa soon. Change in the country still strikes British businessmen and bankers as a slow, painful process.

Even in a more stable environment investment decisions are certain to be finely balanced. De Klerk will need to convince his listeners that conditions for investors will become more appropriate with credible assurances that earnings and profits can be repatriated under satisfactory terms.

Another factor likely to be drawn to De Klerk's attention is that the British economy is in the grip of a serious recession. Major industries have seen their profits dip. Bankruptcies among smaller businesses have soared to record levels. Unemployment is rising beyond the two million level. There has for months been a holddown on imports.



Lord Mayor of Bonn Hans Daniels.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Interest hinges on confidence — Bonn mayor

SA's political future, rather than sanctions, would determine whether German businessman would invest locally, the visiting Lord Mayor of Bonn Hans Daniels said yesterday.

Daniels is on his first visit to SA at the invitation of Johannesburg Mayor Elliot Kretzmer and the Johannesburg Publicity Association.

A trained economist and Bonn mayor for the past 16 years, Daniels is meeting political and business figures.

Daniels said German businessmen wanted to know what the country's political future would be.

Continuing high levels of violence could deter those

who looked to SA as the gateway to a huge and untapped African market.

"Generally there is confidence in the future of SA. But nobody is sure what will happen here."

"The flow of foreign investment depends mostly on confidence in the political stability in the future."

"Sanctions are not as important as the confidence."

Violence

Daniels said: "Foreign capital will wait until SA has a new constitution and the first elections give an impression of the sort of government SA will have."

He added violence was being perceived as a transitional phenomenon but if it continued beyond a new constitution it would deter investors.

Compared with Eastern Europe, SA had a sophisticated infrastructure and was in many ways more attractive to the European investor, than Eastern Europe, he said.

INTERIM REPORT

for the
six months ended 31 December 1990

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BIDAY 28/3/91

PATRICK BULGER

A SMILE AT LAST ^{FM} 29/3/91

The big thaw in relations between SA and its African neighbours is continuing. In the latest development, Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe and SA's Windhoek representative, Riaan Eksteen, exchanged pleasantries at an official function hosted by Namibia's Sam Nujoma.

Earlier, Mugabe delivered a speech which Eksteen describes as "his most moderate speech concerning SA yet." Says Eksteen: "In diplomatic language, one could hardly expect a better speech."

Eksteen congratulated Mugabe on his speech afterwards in the company of Nujoma and Namibian Premier Hage Geingob. "I used the opportunity to inform both presidents and Geingob of the latest release from Robben Island of 31 political prisoners," Eksteen tells the *FM*. "I said it was evidence of President F W de Klerk's commitment to do what he had undertaken to do."

Continued

FM 29/3/91

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FM 29/3/91

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Eksteen says Mugabe expressed his joy about the latest release and told him that he was impressed with what De Klerk has been doing.

In his speech at a rally in Windhoek, Mugabe said Zimbabwe is impressed by the progress so far made by the SA government in dismantling apartheid, especially the repeal of the Group Areas Act. This will remove one of the major hurdles in the way to the establishment of a free, democratic and nonracial SA, he said.

"We would like to believe that President De Klerk is irrevocably committed to this process," said Mugabe.

He issued a stern warning, however, about the killing among black factions in SA. "We are dismayed at the continuing killing between the black communities in SA. We call upon the leadership to continue to restrain their supporters ..."

Mugabe said that with a constitutional conference to be convened soon, "it would be



Mugabe ...
expressed joy

disastrous for the black majority to go into the conference in disarray."

Mugabe also referred to the Walvis Bay

issue and the calls by the Namibian government that SA hand the harbour town and surrounding islands over to Windhoek. Eksteen tells the *FM* that despite describing the Walvis negotiations as part of a "critical period" in Namibia's history, Mugabe did not make any demands on SA.

Instead, the Zimbabwean president said: "We are heartened by the fact that your country and the SA authorities have decided to sit down to resolve the existing differences. It is our sincere hope, not only in Zimbabwe, but in the subregion as a whole, that a mutually beneficial agreement will be reached on this thorny issue."

In a message to the Namibian youth (which could easily apply to SA as well), Mugabe urged children to work hard. The opening up of educational opportunities involved a lot of work, he said. "You, therefore, have to show patience and understanding when these facilities are not ready on time or not quite adequate."

Eddie Botha

A worrying trip Bek to

the future

Star 30/3/91

304A

ONE man in this country who is still not afraid to say what he thinks, no matter how much it may go against the common wisdom, is Jannie Momberg. Nationalist politicians call the gadfly DP MP "Jan Bek", and more often than not they say it with a snarl.

I relate all of this only because Jan's Bek has been wide open of late, and it has me worried.

He has spoken a profound heresy and one which, to my knowledge, no Parliamentarian to the Left of the Government has dared to air since February 2, 1990. He has suggested that President de Klerk may not after all be committed to true democracy in South Africa. Rather, according to Mr Momberg, Mr de Klerk could, in fact, be playing the greatest political confidence trick in our country's history.

Prosecution

This is an allegation of such gravity that Undercurrent Affairs feels obliged to adopt a serious tone this week.

Mr Momberg's case for the prosecution was put to Parliament, and went largely unreported. It is thus worth a detailed rerun. He said: "I want to ask (the National Party) where we stand today in respect of constitutional plans for the (future) Government."

"On the one hand, a one-person-one-vote democracy is promised, and it is said that all the votes will

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



carry the same weight. On the other hand, the State President says that all sorts of weights, counterweights must be built in to ensure that one form of domination is not replaced by another form of domination.

"Is it not just a plan to retain NP control?"

"The NP is apparently planning to reach a settlement on a new constitution only if it results in power-sharing without domination. Such a miraculous, mysterious balance is impossible.

"When the NP speaks of power sharing without domination ... it obviously means that no other group or party can ever be in a position where they will prescribe to the NP."

"I want to contend today that there remains the suspicion in my mind that we are dealing with a hidden agenda from the NP. The NP wants to retain its grip on the

levers of State power. It will only accept a constitution if it has the guaranteed certainty that a coalition of the NP and other groups will put the NP in a position still to hold the levers of State power in its hands.

"If this is true, we are busy with a dangerous game that can trigger off an enormous crisis of stability in our country. The NP must accept the full implications of a process of democratisation, or there will be serious problems.

"If the NP understands that democracy must actually be about an election and a winner, and that the next election will result in a single winner, it is true democracy. It is high time that that NP, in all honesty, shows all its cards ..."

Mr Momberg ended with this ringing challenge: "When an election takes place in this country after the negotiations, will the NP be prepared to give over power to groups of which it is not a part — yes or no?"

The question could not be more germane or weighty. President de Klerk's sincerity is, in the eyes of all reformists and of the international community, the key which unlocks the door to a successful settlement. It is South Africa's

modern-day sacred cow.

But it is also true that many whites still do assume that the Government will, at the last moment, "pull something out of the hat" to prevent majority rule — and it is this perception that Mr Momberg is addressing. Because of this belief, not many whites seem even to be thinking through the political options which await this country.

For example: how many whites are psychologically prepared for switching on the television news in the relatively near future and hearing: "Speaking in Parliament today, the State President, Mr Nelson Mandela, said ...?"

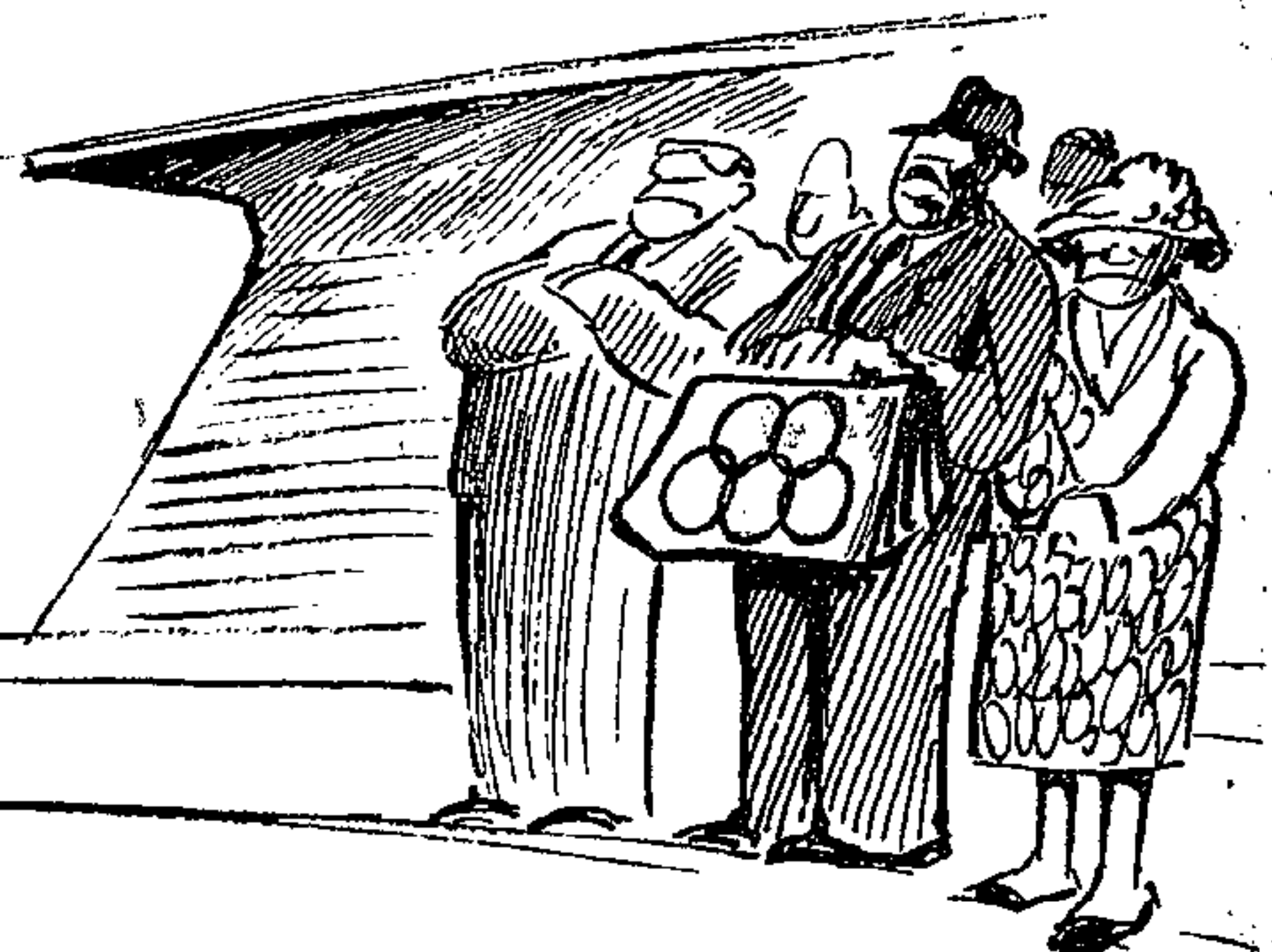
Anything possible

Logically, they should be, if Mr de Klerk means everything he has been saying since February last year.

I, for one, hope fervently that Jan Bek's hunch (if that is all the former Nationalist is basing his fears on), is way off the mark. Surely the NP cannot be hoping to pull a last-minute trick? It cannot work, and can only lead us back on the road to ruin.

But at the same time, we should remember that in this world of ours, anything is possible. Things are not always what they seem. After all, this was the week in which Manuel Noriega was ordained a priest in the United States.

THEY STILL DON'T
LOOK CONVINCED.



FIN

Ex-AWB member: We may kill leaders

LONDON — A former member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) warns in a soon-to-be screened television interview that the organisation may have to resort to political assassinations.

He mentions the names of President de Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

P J Meyer, formerly Eugene Terreblanche's person-

20/3/91
STANLEY UYS

al driver, is quoted in a television documentary, "The Leader, the Driver and the Driver's Wife", to be screened by Channel Four next Thursday. In it he says the organisation needs a martyr to carry out the assassinations.

Mr Meyer expressed disappointment in an interview after Piet "Skiet" Rudolph ended his fast-to-death.

In the documentary Mr TerreBlanche, speaking at a public meeting, is asked by a member of the audience in private conversation whether AWB supporters should surrender their weapons if instructed to do so by the Government.

Mr Terreblanche replies emphatically: "No, no, no." He then says there will be "bloody war" if whites are forced to surrender their arms.

The 100-minute film is a

portrait of Mr TerreBlanche and the AWB. Sharp exchanges between Mr TerreBlanche and producer Nick Broomfield are shown in the film.

● Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Rudolph has been appointed chief public relations officer of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, leader Mr TerreBlanche said this week. A joint statement from the two men said the OB would, however, continue to exist. — Sapa.

Negotiations on a democratic SA still on track, says expert

By BRIAN POTTINGER

A TOP American political scientist says he is optimistic about South Africa's future.

Professor Arend Lijphart — an international authority on power-sharing in divided societies — said this week that negotiations for a democratic South Africa were still on track.

"I have a sense of enormous optimism. Anybody looking at South Africa realistically would see many positive things happening," he said.

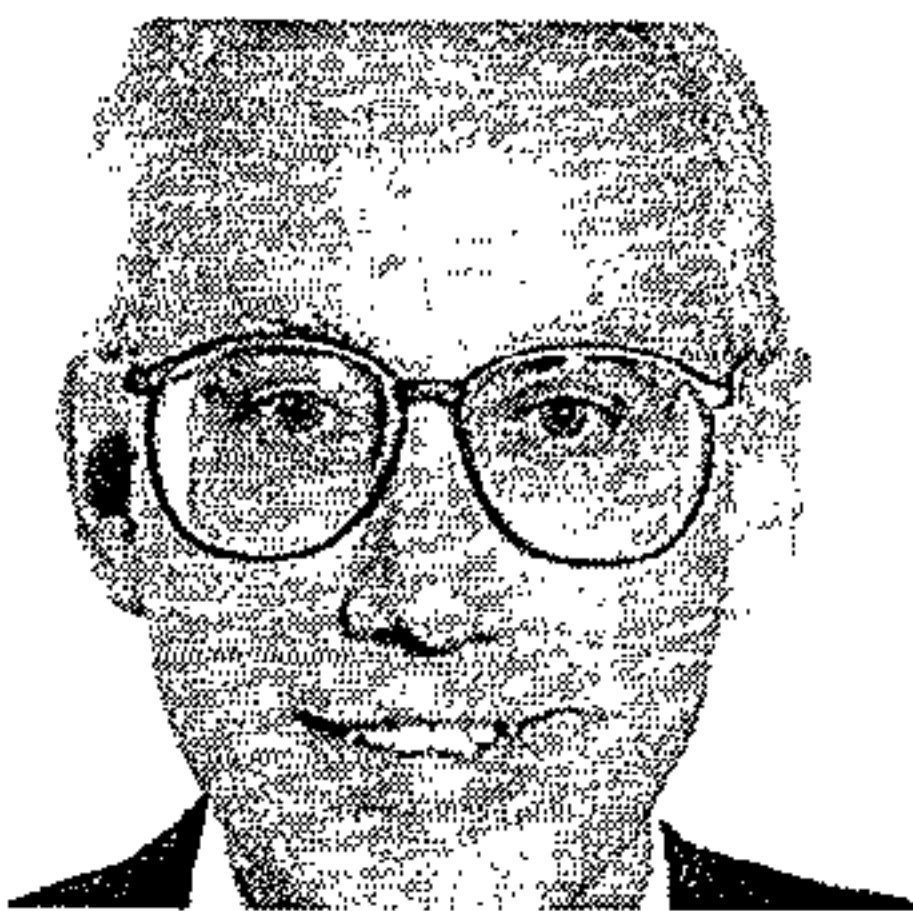
"I believe that in the final analysis people are rational and they do understand where their real interests lie. It seems that the major antagonists — the NP and the ANC — are not that far apart.

"There are many details they can still quarrel over. But neither side wants to torpedo the movement towards a democratic constitution and it seems the country is moving towards this.

Dutch-born Professor Lijphart's theory of "consociationalism" — power-sharing between all segments of a divided society — has been widely applied in constitution-making in many developing countries.

His thinking played a role in the formulation of the old Progressive Federal Party's policies, the tri-cameral parliament (although Professor Lijphart insists its architects distorted his thinking) and the Buthelezi Commission which led to the KwaNatal Indaba.

One of the factors which makes this University of California academic optimistic is the presence of a common nationalism without any serious secessionist moves in any part of South Africa. It also has a largely Christian population which contributes to unity.



AREND LIJPHART... optimistic

The four pillars of Lijphart's concept of consociation are: joint decision-making by representatives of all significant groups, autonomy for the different segments of a multi-ethnic or multi-cultural society, proportionality in the voting system in which each party gets seats in the legislature according to a percentage share of the popular vote, and a minority veto.

This week, back in South Africa after for the first time in six years, Professor Lijphart measured his theory against the reality of what was happening in South Africa.

"This is a divided society, but it is one with some interesting characteristics. There is not just conflict between groups, but conflict about the conflict. The challenge is to identify what the segments are."

Professor Lijphart said an ideal constitution was one in which groups were able to define themselves — and this was best done through proportional representation in the electoral system. It was encouraging that the ANC had opted for this.

"Any group can be formed in this situation. The test will be what sort of support they get.

"Leave it to the forces of free political competition to determine what the groups in a society are. There is no need to predetermine

proportional representation," he said.

Professor Lijphart said proportional representation had to filter through to the composition of the public service and the allocation of public money. There needed to be much affirmative action in this regard.

Segments within a society should be given autonomy over cultural, linguistic and religious issues. Education was particularly important.

The constitution could specify as a goal or rule that governing coalitions should be broad and inclusive — perhaps two-thirds of the legislature. This meant that the cabinet would also have to be based on this majority.

"It is not uncommon. In California, the budget has to be passed by two-thirds of both houses. It is a protracted business, but there is always agreement in the end.

"The ANC is understandably concerned about building too many of these extraordinary protections into the constitution. Perhaps a way out is to reach an informal agreement between the main negotiating parties that, for the first five years or so, they will govern as a coalition under a new constitution."

One of the important issues which South Africa had to address, however, was whether presidentialism or parliamentarianism was best, he said.

While presidentialism had its attractions, like a strong leader, its disadvantage was that it was difficult to sustain power-sharing on one hand and a concentration of power on the other.

A collegial system worked better and it was in South Africa's interests to explore the possibilities, he said.

FW in bold bid for united front

By NORMAN WEST
and MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has sent a personal invitation to the leaders of all parties in Parliament to join him in a united front on negotiations. *S/Times 31/3/91*

The move is seen as an attempt to counter-balance plans by major extra-parliamentary groupings to mobilise support for constituent assembly elections. It is also a bid to keep up the momentum for negotiations.

Mr De Klerk has invited the parliamentary leaders to Tuynhuys immediately after the Easter recess on April 8 to discuss the establishment of a "parliamentary forum".

In the invitations, he says he has been approached to establish the forum and the meeting would discuss what form it should take. (304A)

Stark

In interviews this week, senior government members said they were anxious that a multi-party conference be convened as soon as possible.

They predicted the government would meet the April 30 deadline set in the Pretoria Minute for the release of exiles and the return of political prisoners.

However, they added that they did not believe the ANC would be ready to attend a multi-party conference until after its own conference in June.

In the meantime, they said, the government would undertake "a number of initiatives" to inject new momentum into the

□ To Page 2

Bid for united front

□ From Page 1

negotiating process.

They said the proposed parliamentary forum would achieve this by drawing minority parties in Parliament into structured discussions on how negotiations should proceed for the first time.

At a recent Tuynhuys meeting, the majority parties in Parliament and homeland leaders agreed to set up working groups to discuss convening a multi-party conference. (304A)

Senior government members believe a meeting between the major players — the NP, the ANC, Inkatha, the CP and the PAC — would also be necessary to agree on who should attend.

The CP and PAC have to date rejected the idea of participating in a multi-party conference, but gov-

S/Times 31/3/91
ernment members are still confident that the first three command the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

A senior member of the ANC's negotiating team said he saw no reason why the organisation should oppose the establishment of a parliamentary forum as long as consultation with extra-parliamentary parties continued.

He said this was in keeping with the ANC's belief that there should be widespread consultation between all parties on a bilateral basis before the convening of the multi-party conference.

The ANC, he said, was engaged in a series of meetings with both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, as well as homeland leaders.

He agreed with govern-

ment members that the ANC would prefer the all-party conference (its chosen term for the multi-party conference) to be convened after its June conference. Prior to that it was necessary that "everybody" consult with everybody.

As part of this process, the entire ANC executive would meet the PAC executive in Harare in mid-April to exchange views about the all-party conference, he said.

In stark contrast to their public rejection of the call for an interim government, senior government members are now, in private, accepting the need for "transitional arrangements or a government of national unity". They stress, however, that such arrangements will have to be agreed on by the multi-party conference.

Budget will boost social spending

Barend set to give teeth to FW's reforms

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is expected to give teeth today to government's commitment to address disparities in social spending.

In today's Budget, building on President FW de Klerk's sweeping reform announcements, Du Plessis is likely to announce that about R35bn is to be allocated to social upliftment.

Expenditure on education, housing, health, welfare, poverty alleviation and pensions is expected to increase from 38% to about 42% of a total Budget of R85bn, and will include the R1bn contingency fund and R600m in food relief.

The past year's political developments have placed the focus squarely on social spending and how to address backlogs created by apartheid policy.

However, Du Plessis faces constraints in having to introduce a major new system of

Budget Special

BUSINESS Day will produce a Budget Special tomorrow, including a pull-out supplement with the full text of Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' speech. For all the news on the Budget, plus expert assessments and the handy supplement to keep for future reference, don't miss Business Day.

BILLY PADDOCK

indirect taxation, VAT, a depressed economy and an obligation to fulfil commitments to reduce tax burdens on individuals and companies in order to encourage supply-side growth.

Reducing import surcharges by about 30% will also result in a loss of revenue.

However, government is unlikely to offer real tax cuts.

A one percentage point reduction in the marginal rate from 44% to 43% would be illusory, as Du Plessis would, in effect, be handing back the bonus accrued to the Treasury as a result of fiscal drag.

Likewise, companies will end up paying more tax even if they are given relief. It has been estimated that companies pay only about 35% tax due to loopholes in the system. The last loophole was plugged by phasing out tax credits on debtor allowances, resulting in an estimated extra R2bn going to the Treasury each year.

Speculation has it that company tax will be reduced by about five percentage points from 50%.

Government has already announced that because of the changed political circumstances, there is no longer a need to build up stockpiles of strategic goods. Du Plessis used R319m from the National Supplies Procurement Fund to meet shortfalls in

□ To Page 2

Budget

20/3/91

revenue for social expenditure in the Additional Appropriation. This money was supposed to come from the proceeds of privatisation, which did not materialise.

Government is now in a position to reap the benefit of a once-off windfall by selling off oil and other stockpiles built up to counter sanctions.

These funds, plus redirected funds earmarked for building up stockpiles, and savings from defence and public works budget cuts, will be used to fund social spending.

The major unknown factor in the Budget is the introduction of VAT to replace GST. Government sources have indicated that expectations of a low rate are unrealistic and it is understood the rate will be pegged at about 12% and kept there for a number of years.

The IMF team that has been in SA to advise on VAT's implementation is understood to have suggested this figure — taking into account that government is phasing out tax on capital goods.

There is also a plan to introduce tax on interest of over R1m which would bring in an extra R500m a year to the Treasury. This, however, may not be announced during the Budget speech.

For the first time, government will be presenting a Budget for 35-million people — as opposed to the 5-million whites who have taken precedence over the past several decades.

On the expenditure side, it is expected

that about R1,8bn will be allocated for a job-creation scheme in which the unemployed will be given jobs building schools and clinics to overcome the severe backlogs in black education and primary health care.

Former Administration and Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers had apparently worked out a plan to create thousands of jobs at "reasonable pay rates" with on-the-job training to develop skills.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel also indicated government had identified 107 000ha of land for informal housing settlements in metropolitan areas. He also said provision was going to be made for a once-off capital grant scheme.

To offset the effects of VAT on food, government is understood to be considering food assistance schemes — in the form of subsidies for white maize products — and feeding schemes.

Government insists that the equalisation of pensions is impossible — but Du Plessis will announce a programme to narrow the gap.

The retention of tight fiscal and monetary policy is certain and it is expected that the deficit before borrowing will be higher than last year's but still within the IMF's recommended ceiling of 3% of gross domestic product.

● See Page 2

From Page 1

Biggest ever US team in SA for talks

STimes 31/3/91
(3041)

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

THE largest US congressional delegation to visit South Africa arrives today for a high-level international conference which is certain to influence relations between the two countries.

The four-day conference, which is being organised by the Aspen Foundation, will be attended by 16 US congressional members, representatives of the US administration and the Soviet government, parliamentarians from Britain and Germany and leaders of all the major political parties in SA.

Former US senator Dick Clark, who organises the Aspen conferences, said the aim was to allow US lawmakers to gain first-hand knowledge of the changing political climate in SA.

Tomorrow's meeting is the fourth Aspen conference on SA, but the first to take place inside the country.

Senior

Mr Clark said leaders of all major South African parties, as well as business and labour representatives, would have an opportunity to address the conference.

He declined to name the participants, but it is expected that President FW de Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer will be among them.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen will represent the US administration.

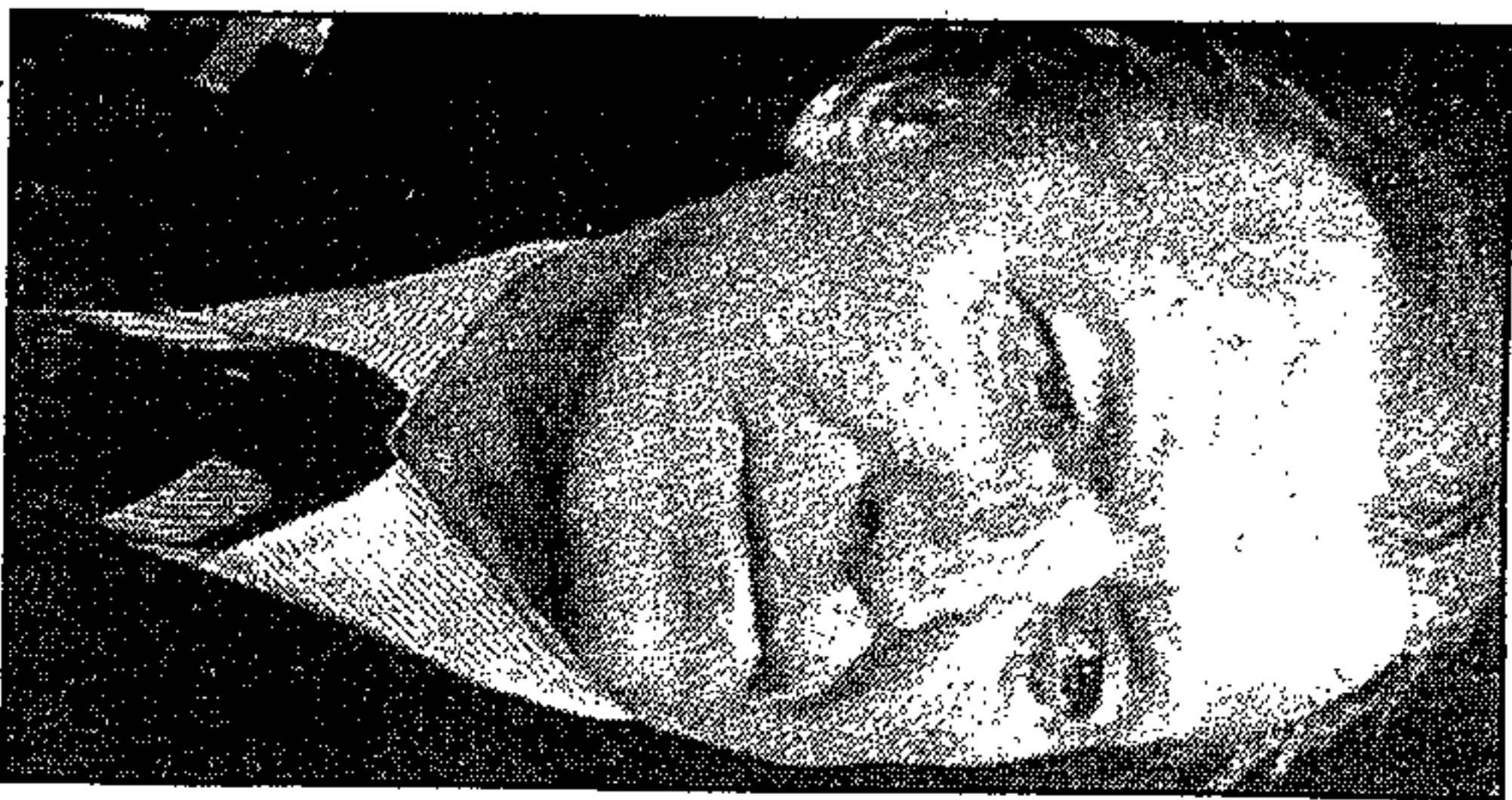
Among the senior members of Congress expected to attend the conference are: Mervyn Dymally, the new chairman of the House Africa sub-committee; his predecessor, Howard Wolpe; Democratic Party senators Charles Robb and Howard Metzenbaum; and Republican Party senator Alan Simpson.

Anthony Garvey, in Dublin, detects a change of mood as De Klerk's visit nears

Irish media play FW's tune

Star 11/4/91

Amos 2



Talks arranged ... Prime Minister Charles Haughey.

PRESIDENT de Klerk is a clear winner in the opening round of the propaganda battle over his visit to Ireland this month — the first by a South African leader — if the media reaction in Dublin can be taken as a guide.

Suddenly, the traditional roles in the Irish debate about South Africa have been reversed. In the past, it was the South African Embassy spokesman from London who was under pressure — now it is the representatives of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement who are being challenged for explanations and put on the defensive when they voice their opposition to the visit.

So too are the Irish national media. In an editorial, the pro-government daily, *The Irish Press*, asked pointedly: "If the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, after a lifetime in prison, can acknowledge the political courage and leadership shown by Mr de Klerk in removing apartheid, why is it not possible for the spokespersons of the Irish Anti-Apart-

heid Movement to do likewise?"

The highly respected *Irish Times*, an independent paper that pursues a liberal line, warned that several major sanctions might have to be maintained against South Africa until political negotiations were completed, possibly by the end of the year. It added: "This is not to condone, however, that it would be inappropriate for the Irish Government to meet President de Klerk at this stage of the process", and went on to praise his "courageous record in dismantling the legislative framework of apartheid".

During his visit on April 25, Mr de Klerk, who will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, will have talks with the Irish Prime Minister, Charles Haughey, and his Foreign Minister, Gerard Collins, one of the EEC team that visited South Africa last year to prepare a report on whether sanctions should be eased.

Representatives of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement have asked for a meeting with Mr Collins to protest about the visit. The

movement's honorary secretary, Louise Asmal, who recently returned from South Africa — her husband, Kadar Asmal, a Trinity College law lecturer, is hoping to draft a new constitution for the ANC — said she was "appalled by the news".

She added: "President de Klerk, in our view, is still president of white South Africa only." An Irish Labour Party spokesman, Michael Higgins, claimed that most Irish people believed sporting and EEC trade sanctions should continue "until it can truly be said that the apartheid system is dead".

In Dublin, the Department of Foreign Affairs said that the visits by the De Klerks — the President will be accompanied by his wife — had been suggested by the South African Government. "In view of the important developments there, the Irish government regards it as timely and appropriate".

The department said that since Ireland has no direct diplomatic relations with South Africa, the agenda for the planned talks had not yet been set. A spokesman

agreed that apartheid had been a major obstacle to the development of relations between the two countries, and added: "Now that far-reaching changes are taking place, it should be possible to develop bilateral relations which can serve the interests of both countries."

Ireland has been one of the sharpest critics of apartheid in the EEC, and one of those most reluctant to lift the sanctions imposed by the Community. Persuading the Irish to take a more conciliatory approach will be the top priority for the South African visitors. They won't be accorded the type of emotional welcome given to Mr Mandela when he visited Dublin last summer, and there are certain to be protest pickets.

But that should not disguise the fact that the attitude of the Irish public — and of the Irish government — has changed radically on South Africa, with both believing that the long battle against apartheid has finally been won. President de Klerk's mission is certain to benefit from the change in mood. — Star Foreign Service. □



Political courage hailed ... President de Klerk.

national conference since the ANC's formation

Govt covets wider role for proposed 'troika'

Monday 2/4/91 304A

THE ANC, Inkatha and government have all backed the proposed "three wise men" team of their top leaders to deal with township violence, while senior government ministers hope the team could eventually discuss wider constitutional issues.

The three-man team proposal came at a news conference following the weekend meeting in Durban between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Both leaders said they had discussed the idea.

Although they did so in the context of recurring violence, government sources have suggested this team might form the nucleus of a leaders' forum to tackle obsta-

cles to negotiations on an ad hoc basis.

Buthelezi suggested himself, Mandela and President F W de Klerk as a "troika" to set up communication on urgent issues.

Yesterday Inkatha and ANC spokesmen rejected widening the scope of the forum.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said Buthelezi commented in the context of bringing the violence under control.

Inkatha would be concerned that other political groupings should also be included.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said such a transformation would shift the forum's focus from the main issue of violence.

It would also make the body "politically questionable" which would be a disservice to the reduction of conflict, she said.

She confirmed Mandela had cancelled his two-week Senegal visit to get back into the day-to-day functioning of the ANC after a month-long holiday.

De Klerk invited parliamentary parties to a meeting on April 8 which is expected to take the form of a "parliamentary forum" to discuss constitutional issues.

Meanwhile, 24 people died in unrest-related incidents in Alexandra over the weekend, a police spokesman said, while six people had died in violence around the country since Sunday.

Idasa probes Bloem options

Star 24/9/77
BLOEMFONTEIN —
The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) is investigating the possibility of opening an office in Bloemfontein — hopefully by June. *(3048)*
National director David Screen, Eastern

Cape director Max Mamas and Northern Transvaal director Ivor Jenkins met business, community, political, educational and union leaders in Bloemfontein last week to discuss problems and possibilities. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, April 2 1991

3

High-powered talks begin on SA's future

304A 11/11

CAPE TOWN — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, top ANC officials and other influential politicians were involved in confidential discussions at the start of a high-powered international conference on the future of SA yesterday.

Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the ANC, and Thabo Mbeki, head of the international section of the ANC, were among delegates at the closed conference. Two other ANC delegates, Christmas Tinto and Amos Lingisi, said vice-president Nelson Mandela had been unable to attend the four-day conference sponsored by the American Aspen Foundation.

An ANC delegate from the organisation's international section, Yusuf Saloojee, said sanctions had been only one of the topics under discussion.

The conference is expected to have a significant impact on international policy-making towards Pretoria and is being attended by influential politicians from the US, the Soviet Union, Germany and Britain.

SA participants will include President F W de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and other politicians and representatives from business and labour.

The conference organiser, former US senator Dick Clark, said proceedings were likely to have an impact on sanctions legislation and other areas of US policy on SA.

Sixteen US congressmen and a number of overseas politicians have travelled to SA to attend the conference.

The Aspen Institute is an international organisation whose programmes are designed to enhance the ability of leaders in business, government, the non-profit sector, academia and the media to understand and act upon the issues that challenge the national and international community, according to a leaflet.

The institute's headquarters are based in Maryland, with other facilities and programmes in Aspen, Colorado, and in five countries overseas. It is an independent, non-profit organisation funded through foundation grants, tuition and individual and corporate contributions.

Own Correspondent

FW set to hold on to initiative

304A
Soweto
2/4/91

THE first step towards aligning parliamentary parties for possible participation in a representative interim government may be taken by President FW de Klerk when Parliament reconvenes after the Easter recess.

He has summoned parliamentary party leaders and one caucus member from each party to a meeting next Monday to discuss the possible formation of a parliamentary forum.

The move appears to anticipate the shift of the political focus away from Parliament once it has repealed the last apartheid laws at the end of the current session in June.

Politics will then tend to gravitate towards an all-party conference and the start of real constitutional negotiations.

Although the Govern-

ment rejects the principle of an interim government, it is understood the National Party does allow for some form of representative overseer administration.

What is uncertain is the precise form such an interim government should take and Monday's meeting may be an opportunity for De Klerk to canvass views from his fellow parliamentary leaders.

Although the NP's rejection of an elected constituent assembly seems to be unbending, the issue of an interim government with co-opted members of all the main extra-parliamentary parties participating is not a major departure from the Government's already established policy positions.

With Parliament still being the final arbiter in having to pass a new constitution, such a step would hold little danger for the Government.

It is already accepted that most of the senior members of the Cabinet, including Mr Pik Botha and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, may leave their posts to take up the negotiation task once a suitable forum and procedure has been agreed upon.

A major Cabinet reshuffle in which the main parliamentary parties and the main extra-parliamentary players are represented could then be expected to create a team which may act as a generally recognised caretaker government to oversee the negotiations phase.

Although the ANC's first full congress in June leaves a question mark over who will lead the organisation and represent it at the negotiating table, De Klerk is certain to be well prepared to keep the initiative.

He will go into the June recess with powerful options designed to break

through any further obstacles to negotiations.

It is not far-fetched to assume that contingency planning has even gone into some form of a proportionately elected constituent assembly which may function alongside Parliament or even as a lower chamber to a combined parliamentary upper house made up of the current three chambers.

In this manner negotiations could even move in the direction of an evolutionary legislative process with the present Parliament, as an upper house, acting as the counterbalance which will preserve minority interests.

Whatever paradigm finally emerges, De Klerk is certain to want to play a major and anticipatory role in arriving at a structure which not only includes the broadest possible constituency, but assures that he keeps the initiative. - Sapa.

Ex-MP says no to all-white election

MR SAM Bloomberg, who was to stand as an independent in the parliamentary by-election in Yeoville, has decided not to contest the seat. (304A)

The former National Party MP said in a statement that he would not run for office although he was confident that he could win the seat.

"My conscience will only allow me to run in an all-white election in a new, integrated South Africa," he said. Sowetan 2/4/91.

Bloomberg said an MP should represent all his constituents. He said this was not the case as "black, coloured and Indian Yeovillites do not yet have the vote".

Big Three

CAP. 1/11/91 2/4/91

3044

Coalition?

Political Staff

THERE are increasing indications that the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC are moving towards a loose coalition designed to oil the wheels of the negotiation process.

Details have yet to be finalised, but it is understood that tentative, behind-the-scenes discussions have been held.

The clearest public signal yet of moves in this direction came at the weekend when Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ANC, the IFP and the NP were the major political forces needed for the establishment of a new democratic South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking after his meeting on Saturday with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela. He had suggested the two men should get together with President F W de Klerk in a bid to stop the violence sweeping the country.

Mr Mandela described Chief Buthelezi's proposals as "reasonable".

The main attraction of a coalition is that it would promote stability in the country at a

time when the potential for conflict would be high — during the negotiations that follow a multi-party conference.

Exactly how the coalition would arise will be the subject of considerable debate in future weeks, but there have been clear signs of Inkatha establishing closer relationships with both the NP and ANC in recent months.

It could emerge after the multi-party conference as a sort of interim government, although the sensitivities about such a structure mean it is bound to be called something else.

Parliamentary forum

The coalition would also have other problems from an early stage. Mr Mandela, in particular, would have trouble getting support for any arrangement with two bitter enemies of the ANC from his grassroots support.

Inkatha does not have anything like the numbers following the ANC, but the conflict in Natal and the Transvaal has shown that it cannot simply be wished away. The fact that Mr Mandela has already met Chief Buthelezi twice this year is an indication that the ANC has begun to come to terms with this.

On the parliamentary front, meanwhile, Mr De Klerk has invited other tricameral

leaders to attend a Tuynhuys meeting on April 8 with a view to establishing a "parliamentary forum".

The move is seen as an attempt to galvanise opposition to the demand by extra-parliamentary parties for constituent assembly elections and give fresh momentum to the negotiating process.

Inkatha spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos said Chief Buthelezi's "troika" comments were made in the context of bringing the recent upsurge in violence under control.

The idea was not discussed during the meeting with Mr Mandela, she said.

Inkatha would be concerned that other political groupings should also be included, she said.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the transformation of the "three-wise-men" concept into a body tackling wider constitutional issues would shift its focus from the main issue of violence.

It would also make the body "politically questionable", which would be a disservice to the process of reducing conflict, she said.

She confirmed that Mr Mandela had cancelled his two-week Senegal visit in order to involve himself in the day-to-day functioning of the ANC after a month-long holiday.

Former MP may join black party

FORMER National Party MP Sam Bloomberg might consider working with a black political organisation.

The man who once said he admired former President PW Botha for being the first NP leader to tackle apartheid, told *Sowetan* yesterday that only two political parties mattered today.

He said these were the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

Bloomberg said he had been asked to consider joining the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, which is led by former Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Asked whether he would join the organisation, Bloomberg said he had not yet started considering the suggestion.

Sowetan 3/4/91.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

If he had to, he could work with a black party, he said.

Bloomberg this week upset the political applecart with the announcement that he would not stand in the Yeoville by-election as it would be an all-white poll.

Vote

The seat became vacant when Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz took up a post as South Africa's ambassador to the United States.

In his statement, Bloomberg said an MP should represent all his constituents.

"This is not the case as black, coloured and Indian Yeovillites do not

yet have the vote," he said.

Bloomberg said when he campaigned for Parliament under the NP ticket in 1987, he was aware he was joining a party regarded by most blacks as representing white oppressors.

"You either joined an organisation fighting the NP and go to jail, emigrate or get inside and work from within. I chose to get inside.

"You either die for your country or live for the country. I chose to live for my country," he said.

He could have joined the DP "but who listens to the opposition? Poor Helen Suzman stood there for 30 years and in the end the DP is forming alliances with the NP."

DP's unopposed Gibson is the new MP for Yeoville



NEWLY elected DP MP for Yeoville Douglas Gibson, right, in discussion with Federal Independent Democratic Alliance candidate Colin Vale and alliance leader John Gogarty. Vale's nomination for the by-election was rejected yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

DP MEMBER Douglas Gibson became the new Yeoville MP yesterday after an election official rejected the only other nomination in the Johannesburg constituency. There will be no by-election in the seat vacated by Harry Schwarz, and Gibson is elected unopposed.

Yeoville electoral officer Dirk Bouver refused to allow the nomination of Colin Vale, a member of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), because most of his nomination forms were invalid in terms of the Electoral Act.

The Act requires that candidates who do not belong to a registered political party show that more than 300 people in the constituency support their nomination.

Bouver said he was forced to reject Vale's nomination because 174 of the required 300 forms did not include addresses.

Vale said he was disappointed that his nomination was rejected, but said Fida — a little known, largely black organisation — had made its point and would contest future by-elections.

TIM COHEN

He ascribed the rejection of his nomination to inexperience on the part of Fida.

Gibson challenged the validity of Vale's nomination at the outset of proceedings at the nomination court in Johannesburg yesterday, stating that many of the nomination forms were signed by people who were not on the voters' roll and many were not signed.

He said he was disappointed that there would be no proper election, but added that after 10 election campaigns, being unopposed was "an experience I could get used to".

Gibson succeeds Schwarz, who was recently appointed SA ambassador to Washington. The NP did not oppose Gibson after the DP decided not to fight a by-election in Randburg.

Gibson, 48, is an attorney and a former PFP MPC. He lost the 1987 Beaufort West parliamentary election to the NP's Sam Bloomberg.

Harry Schwarz learns his new job

By David Braun
Star Bureau
3/14/71

WASHINGTON — One month after taking up his position as South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Harry Schwarz is taking Washington by storm. The veteran opposition parliamentarian and one of South Africa's most eminent advocates says he has never worked so hard in his life.

"I am still finding it difficult to get used to being addressed as Ambassador rather than Harry, but gradually I am getting into the swing of it," he said in a recent interview.

Yet it is apparent to all around him that he is having a ball, and although he finds some of the trappings of ambassadorial office strange and difficult to get used to, he is settling down remarkably well.

When he arrived in Washington on March 1, Mr. Schwarz told the waiting contingent of South Africa correspondents outside his official residence he would take his time to study the situation and learn how to be a diplomat.

The new ambassador has certainly been plunged in the deep end. At a recent US government briefing for the diplomatic corps he found himself in a room with 150 other ambassadors, and he did not know a sin-

gle person.

In an interview shortly before leaving for South Africa to attend a conference in Cape Town, Mr. Schwarz said his work day started at 7.30 am and seldom ended before midnight.

"My day consists of addresses, meetings, television and radio interviews, and discussions with senators, congressmen and State Department officials."

Paperwork

He said he plans his schedule so that he spends as much of his day as possible out of his office, up on Capitol Hill or elsewhere around Washington, meeting and talking to people.

The result is he must work at night to do his paperwork, read reports, answer correspondence and draw up memoranda. He uses a tape recorder, generating each night a huge pile of work for the embassy's secretariat to tackle the following day.

His two main goals are to normalise the relations between South Africa and the US in every respect, and to encourage the US to be fully engaged in post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr. Schwarz has also been the subject of intense media interest, particularly from Washington's publishers and media personalities. He was invited by a prominent US journalist to attend the annual Gridiron dinner,



Winning friends and influencing people . . . Harry Schwarz is burning the midnight oil.

at which the US President and Congressional leadership were the guests of Washington's most influential media personalities. He has also already given numerous interviews, appearing on television several times.

In his first month in office, Mr. Schwarz has had to contend with a few problems, however.

A member of the Congressional Black Caucus approached him to intervene on behalf of a black woman about to be expelled from Bophuthatswana because of her husband's political activities.

The ongoing violence in South Africa, particularly the incident in Daveyton, prompted him to release his own statement publicly condemning the violence. He has also had to present a

diplomatic note from the South African Government to the State Department.

"The formalities of that surprised me. We had to formally sit down, hand over the note to Hank Cohen (US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) and he gave us a formal response. However, afterwards, I asked if I could talk to him informally and we had a very interesting and rewarding conversation," he said.

Mr. Schwarz also finds it difficult to being driven around Washington in a limousine, with a bodyguard to open and close doors and make him move in certain ways.

Ambassadors leaving the Capitol after President Bush recently addressed the Congress waited in line for their limousines to pick them up at a special entrance. Not used to this procedure, Mr. Schwarz wandered down the line of cars looking for his driver.

Impatient

He is also making an effort to reach out to a broad cross-section of Washington. In his first month in office he has addressed a service in a synagogue, a lunch for businessmen and a function hosted by the Aspen Institute for senators and congressmen.

Mr. Schwarz says he still speaks his mind, and has found

that this does not clash with his job as an ambassador.

"Take, for example, the issue of violence in South Africa. I expressed my views, but they are no different to those of the State President. The President is trying to create an impartial, neutral police force which uses a minimum degree of force."

Mr. Schwarz says he has become impatient to have the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act scrapped.

"I know this is unfair to my former colleagues, because there must be full opportunity for debate. As a parliamentarian, I always supported the principle of unrestricted debate."

"But now, I wish we could just scrap those laws without any further debate because that would be so important to what we are trying to do here," he said.

The day after Mr. Schwarz returns from South Africa he will address a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Later in the week, on April 11, he is to present formally his credentials to President Bush, and the US leader has already made it known he wants to see Mr. Schwarz privately for at least half an hour.

On April 12, Mr. Schwarz has scheduled a "Morning Newsmaker" press conference at Washington's National Press Club.

Patrick Laurence reflects on the continuing De Klerk-Mandela duel

Gladiaitors in a political arena

PRESIDENT de Klerk and the man who may well succeed him, Nelson Mandela, share at least one factor in common: both occupy a central position — on the ideological continuum as well as on the political stage.

The two leaders are committed to a political settlement and the birth of a new South Africa based on racial reconciliation and co-operation. In that sense they are guardians of the centre, protecting it against the destructive, centrifugal forces whirling through a society in conflict and transition.

But that does not mean that the relationship between Mr de Klerk, a belated convert to non-racialism, and Mr Mandela, who has fought racism for decades, is cosy. There is ample room for disagreement on a range of issues within their concurrence on the need for settlement.

Sanctions is one issue on which the two men have fought an intense political duel.

Mr Mandela has sought either to maintain sanctions or, at least, to slow down and control their withdrawal. Mr de Klerk, whatever his public utterances about not seeking the end of sanctions, has campaigned discreetly but tirelessly for their end. The stakes were high for both men.

For Mr Mandela and the African National Congress, international support has been a vital weapon in an array of forces which forced Mr de Klerk to change tack and seek a settlement. International support, financial and moral, however, remains critical in the coming struggle at the negotiating table and in pending post-settlement elections.

Symbolise

For Mr de Klerk, success in rolling back the tide of international hostility is equally critical. It will signal that his change of direction is bringing tangible rewards and not merely new dangers. Nothing will symbolise his success more to Afrikaners than an international rugby tour.

Mr de Klerk's inclusion of Ireland and Denmark on the itinerary of his trip to Europe towards the end of the month reflects his growing confidence that he is winning, if he has not already won, the contest with Mr Mandela.

Ireland and Denmark, of course, represent the hard face of the European Community on sanctions. Their posture is seen from Pretoria as pro-ANC. They therefore represent a challenge to Mr de Klerk.

If they are successfully weaned from their pro-sanctions stance by Mr de Klerk's low-key but intellectually persistent diplomacy, it will be a blow to the ANC.

Looking back, it is possible to detect two phases in the political encounter between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela: in the first phase, between Mr Mandela's release in February last year and the ANC's suspension of armed struggle in August, Mr Mandela was a clear points winner; in the second, from August onwards, however, Mr de Klerk, a younger man with vastly more resources at his disposal, seems to have moved ahead as the excitement of Mr Mandela's legendary status waned.

One sign that the contest was beginning to swing Mr de Klerk's way was the EC's decision to lift the ban on new investment in South Africa.

The ANC leadership, anticipating the change, tried to get ahead of the political game by persuading delegates to its consultative conference that the time had come to modify its hardline stance and to initiate removal of some sanctions to prevent the Government claiming victory.

The leadership proposal was, however, rejected by rank-and-file delegates, many of whom experienced the sharp and bloody edge

Spv 3/4/91.

of Mr de Klerk's reformism: the security forces and their alleged vigilante allies. It was a victory for democracy within the ANC, but a tactical defeat for the ANC at another level.

The more recent announcement by the EC that it will lift the ban on importation of South African iron and steel and gold coins when apartheid laws are finally removed was another indication that Mr de Klerk was forging ahead. Mr de Klerk, of course, promised in his speech to Parliament on February 1 to scrap all discriminatory legislation "within months". He has since been more definite, promising to repeal it by the end of June.

Interpreted

These victories for Mr de Klerk in Western Europe must be seen in the context of South Africa's successful drive to forge closer ties with Eastern European countries which have jettisoned communism. His envoys have visited a string of these countries and opened trade missions there.

An embassy has been opened in Hungary. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has identified the following countries as ones in which diplomatic missions would be established before the end of the year: Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland.

South Africa and the Soviet Union have established "interest

sections" in the Austrian Embassies in Moscow and in Pretoria respectively. It is a first step towards restoring the diplomatic ties broken off by South Africa in the mid-1950s.

The recent visit to South Africa of a special delegation from the International Olympic Committee ended on a high note for South Africa. The delegation, headed by Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal, agreed to extend conditional recognition to the newly formed Interim National Olympic Committee of South Africa.

The move was widely interpreted as giving South Africa an opportunity to scrap statutory apartheid and exorcise the spirit of apartheid from sport, on the field and among its administrative officials, and thus to qualify for participation in next year's Olympic Games at Barcelona.

But here the ANC appears to have got ahead of the game. Mr Mandela has reportedly told the IOC that he is satisfied with the position taken by South Africa's new interim committee, which is headed by a arch foe of apartheid — and a firm friend of the ANC's — Sam Ramsamy.

The pro-ANC National and Olympic Sports Congress has been

a prime force in setting the stage for South Africa's return to international sport. It persuaded sportsmen and women to accept a moratorium on covert or defiant links with "pirates" — international sportsmen willing to visit South Africa in return for lucrative contracts.

Steve Tshwete, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, has played a key role in nudging Danie Craven, the head of the SA Rugby Board, towards acceptance of the moratorium.

Thus, when international sporting ties are re-forged, the ANC will be able to claim its share of the credit.

In the meantime, however, South Africa's townships experience one savage massacre after another. The ANC sees the massacres as part of a sinister plan by a State-linked "third force", of which Mr de Klerk, in its view, remains conveniently ignorant.

The purpose, the ANC avers, is to destabilise the ANC and its progressive allies and prevent them from effectively challenging

the Government and its "reactionary" allies at the negotiating table or in the future one-man, one-vote election. It is against that background that the ANC views Mr de Klerk's visit to Ireland and Denmark with anxiety, if not alarm. □

Govt, ANC, Inkatha deny moves to form exclusive alliance

3/4/91 304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government, the ANC and Inkatha have denied that they have officially discussed the formation of a "troika" alliance among themselves that would exclude other political parties.

But some Government leaders are believed to have informally discussed the idea of a National Party/ANC/Inkatha interim coalition which they believe could command 90 percent of the country's support.

Violence

The three parties responded to mounting speculation since the weekend, after a reported call by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a troika leadership — comprising himself, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — to "guide" the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have described the suggestion as reasonable.

The exchange happened when the two leaders met in Durban to discuss the continuing violence between their supporters.

But yesterday leading spokesmen of all three parties hastened to give the reassurance that no secret deal had been struck or even discussed.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said informal discussions were taking place concerning a multi-party conference.

Senior ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said any interim government would have to be "inclusive not exclusive".

He said the ANC believed one of the possibilities of an all-party conference was that it

could be transformed into an interim government.

There would have to be many bilateral discussions about who should attend the all-party conference. The Government was holding such discussions and so was the ANC. However, Mr Pahad was not aware of any discussions between the ANC and Inkatha on this point.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, denied that his party was holding discussions about an alliance with the ANC and the NP "to the exclusion of anyone else".

But the IFP was prepared to speak to everyone, including the ANC and the NP.

Government sources have also played down the meeting of parliamentary leaders which President de Klerk has called in his office for next Monday.

They said the meeting should be seen as an attempt to create a parliamentary forum rather than a "united front", as had been speculated.

Support

The sources said Mr de Klerk has already established two forums of parties within the system — a forum of ministers' councils in the three Houses of Parliament which had been meeting three or four times a year, and a forum of regional leaders (the self-governing territories and the provincial administrations) which had met a few times.

Monday's gathering would be the start of a third forum, they said.

Weekend press speculation gives the meeting a much larger importance, presenting it as an effort to counter plans by the ANC and others to unite support for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Multiparty indaba gets nod

Political Reporter

30477

The need for a multiparty conference, to determine the principles on which a new democratic constitution should be based, was yesterday endorsed by the country's main political parties.

Azapo and the PAC rejected the concept. *Star 3/4/77*

The conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, was attended by the NP, ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the South African Communist Party.

The NP's Dr Frik van Heerden said the Govern-

ment should accept the responsibility of convening a multiparty conference after preliminary discussions with the leaders of the major political parties to determine the agenda.

The ANC's Penuell Maduna said the Government first had to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

If this were not done before April 30 — the deadline agreed upon by the ANC and the Government for the removal of the obstacles to negotiations — the ANC might "return to the era of bombs" by resuming the armed struggle, he said.

Gibson wins the Yeoville seat for DP

THE Democratic Party's Mr. Douglas Gibson was yesterday elected unopposed as Yeoville's new MP after the nomination of another candidate was turned down when a large number of his signatures were found invalid.

Efforts by the Federation of Independent Democratic Alliance to be the first new non-racial party with a representative in Parliament were thwarted when presiding officer Mr Dirk Bouwer said he could not accept Mr Colin Vale's nomination.

According to Gibson, 242 of the required 310 signatures were invalid.

Vale asked for a postponement of the nomination court and said they had been forced to hand

in their signatures a day too early.

However, Gibson said the request was 'nonsense' as the Electoral Act was clear on the procedure to be followed.

The DP candidate said the signatures should be referred to police for alleged contraventions of the Electoral Act.

Signatures

Several people who signed were not registered on the voters roll or were not South African citizens, Gibson said.

There were also reports of people collecting the signatures being paid R1,50 a signature. Full names and addresses of some witnesses were also

not furnished.

A disappointed Vale said Fida intended to place candidates in future elections. They would not challenge yesterday's decision.

"Our intention was to enable a multi-racial party to be represented in Parliament," Vale said. "We did not expect to win this election but we made an in-road to establish a principle of blacks being involved in the democratic process in future."

He believed that given more time they would have collected more signatures.

Vale said Fida was inexperienced in elections as opposed to the DP, which also did not need

signatures in order to nominate a candidate.

Fida president Mr John Gogoya said they had to scale obstacles the DP did not have to consider.

Gibson expressed his delight at becoming Yeoville MP uncontested.

Anxious

"I certainly was not anxious about fighting. If we had been contested it would have proved Yeoville to be the strongest DP constituency in South Africa. My opponent would have lost his deposit," he said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

'It's time to put our own house in order'

South 4/4 - 10/4/91

IT seems as if the culture of violence is taking root in our society. We are becoming brutalised and almost anaesthetised to what is totally unacceptable.

If this kind of violence continues, then the new South Africa may dawn — and that is doubtful — but it may dawn, and there will be very few around to enjoy it. Those who survive will do so only because they are tough, on the basis of the law of the jungle: Survival of the fittest, eat or be eaten, devil take the hindmost.

My friends, there are many reasons why there is violence.

In periods of transition there is the violence due to the instability of transition, as we have seen in parts of Eastern Europe.

South Africa has never really had a culture of tolerance. The government and its supporters have used despatch and nefarious methods to deal with its opponents, ranging from their vilification, as on SABC TV and radio and government supporting media, to the physical elimination of people through the death squads.

Frustration

People have learned that those who differ with them are enemies and the only way to deal with enemies is to liquidate them.

Some of the violence is due to socio-political and economic deprivation and sociologists will tell you that when you think your life will end in a cul-de-sac, that you won't make it in the rat-race, your level of frustration rises and you break out violently.

In Britain, in those riots against the poll tax, a great deal of the violence was at the hands of whites who felt that they were going to be the left-behinds in the rat-race.

It is true also that we are reaping the horrible harvest of apartheid through the migratory labour system and its

South Africans could not forever continue blaming apartheid for what had gone "desperately wrong" in the black community in South Africa. Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at a Mass for Justice and Peace in St George's Cathedral last week. There was much to admire in black political organisations, he said, "but there is much also which is not right". An edited extract from his homily follows:

2049

ghastly single-sex hostels. It was an explosion waiting to happen, placing white men in single-sex hostels cheek-by-jowl with townships where they saw their men leading normal lives with their families.

And these hostel-dwellers were alienated from those township communities. It is true that the police and the security forces have, on the whole, behaved disgracefully, accused on all sides of a lack of professionalism as a peace-keeping force. Sometimes it might be true that some of them have sought to foment the violence. That has added fuel to the fire.

That is all true, but it is not all the truth. A lot of the violence is due to political rivalry. Political groups in the black community are fighting for turf and they do not seem to know, or certainly some of their followers don't seem to know, that a cardinal tenet of democracy is that people must be free to choose whom they want to support.

To coerce, to intimidate, is to admit that your policy can't persuade on its own merits. People must be free to choose freely whether they want to participate or not in boycotts, in mass action. That is an irreducible, an incontestable aspect of democracy.

Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community. We black people must, of course, point to all the causes of violence I have pointed out and to others that I have not referred

to. But ultimately we must turn the spotlight on ourselves. We can't go on forever blaming apartheid.

Of course it is responsible for a great deal of evil, but ultimately, we are human beings and we have proved it in the resilience we have shown in the struggle for justice.

We did not allow ourselves to be demoralised, dehumanised. We could laugh, we could forgive. We refused to be embittered during some of the worst moments in the struggle.

Reverence

We seem to have lost our reverence for life when children can dance around someone dying the gruesome death of necklacing. Something has gone desperately wrong when our leaders are not listened to by their followers.

There is much to admire in our political organisations, but there is much also which is not right. Some of those who belong to these organisations are totally undisciplined. You can't wage a struggle unless you are dedicated and disciplined.

Our organisations need to go back to the grassroots and instil discipline from the lowest ranks up.

It seems to me that we in the black community have lost our sense of humanity — our humanness, ability to care, hospitality, our sense of connectedness, our sense that my humanity is bound up in your humanity. We are losing our self-respect, demonstrated graphically by the dumping and littering in our

townships. Of course we live in squalor and in slum ghettos. But we are not rubbish. That is what we seem to say when you see how we treat our already poor environment?

There are some things that I want to suggest.

● Firstly, all of us must help to develop the culture of tolerance. Live and let live. Let us practise the motto: I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it. Let us learn to agree to disagree. Those who disagree with us are not necessarily our enemies, otherwise there would be very few husbands and wives around.

● Secondly, our political organisations need to put their houses in order: instil discipline in their members and adopt at least a minimum code of conduct, parameters beyond which we will not stray in our political activity.

● Thirdly, the authorities must disown all groups. It is nonsense, utterly unacceptable to speak about traditional weapons. Traditional weapons kill. And it is quite wrong to allow certain groups to move around blatantly armed.

● Fourthly, let the police become a truly professional peace-keeping force that upholds law and order without fear or favour. One hopes that they can begin to be flexible — for what happened in Daveyton was due to their insisting on a law that many of our people refuse to obey.

● Fifthly, I urge all political leaders to stop their killing talk, stop their bellying

erent, bellicose utterances that incite others to violence, whatever the intention of the speaker might have been.

Why do they allow people like Dr Andries Treurnicht (Conservative Party leader) to get away with the kind of language that he is using? Can you imagine what would have happened to blacks if they said the kind of things that he has been allowed to say?

Vilifying

There is legislation to stop organisations such as the AWP making vilifying, denigratory, insulting utterances, racist remarks that hurt people. The government ought to stamp on such action, firmly and quickly.

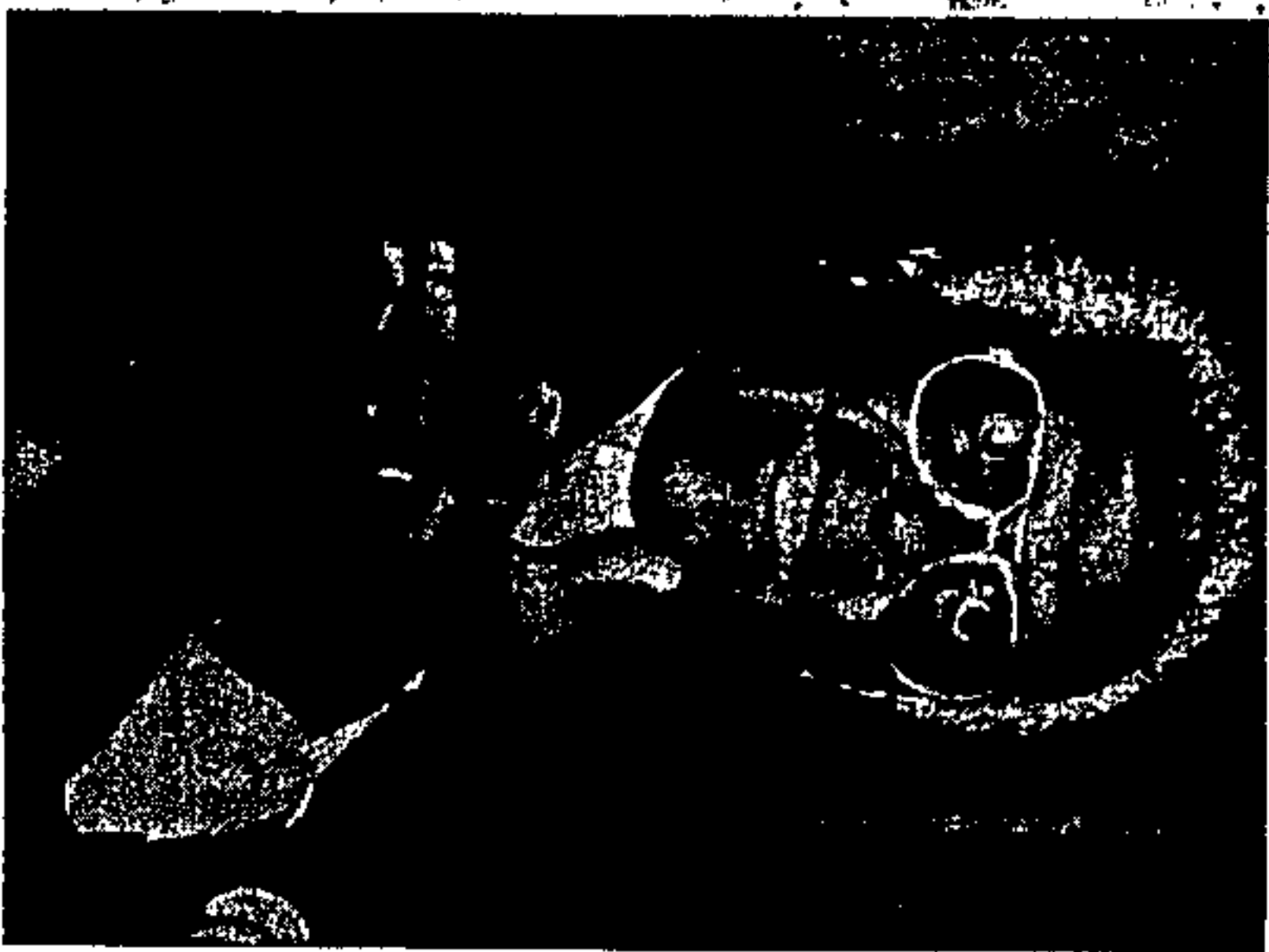
● Sixthly, I want to suggest that the municipalities, city councils, local councils, churches, community organisations and political groupings participate in a campaign with the people in the townships to clean up those townships.

Perhaps our people may then begin to regain the self-esteem, self-respect and pride that they are losing.

● And, with others, finally I suggest that all of us — perhaps at midday — pause to pray, not just for our country, but for all of Africa. There is a simple prayer that many of us use, and I would suggest that it is a prayer that ought to be learned by people everywhere.

It is a straightforward prayer, composed by Trevor Huddleston:

"God bless Africa, guard her children, guide her rulers and give her peace."



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

UK group makes bid to speed up SA negotiations

LONDON — The British Anti-Apartheid Movement has launched what it calls "a major campaign" running throughout April to help get negotiations off the ground in South Africa before the April 30 deadline agreed between the Government and the African National Congress.

In an Easter statement, the AAM said the campaign would focus on the need for effective British government action to pressure President de Klerk to remove internationally agreed obstacles to negotiations, such as the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Noticeable by its absence from details of the AAM's campaign was any direct call for economic sanctions disinvestment to be continued.

AAM chairman and Labour Party MP Bob Hughes said in a letter to British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd that "it would be a tragedy for all the peoples of Southern Africa if this unique opportunity for a peaceful political settlement is lost.

"Yet this could be the direct result of further intransigence by Mr de Klerk. If he fails to honour his undertakings ... this will endanger the

'peace process' and create an atmosphere of lack of trust and confidence."

Mr Hughes said there could be no doubt of the considerable influence which Britain could bring to bear on developments in South Africa.

"This is an occasion for the (British) government to act with determination both by direct representations to the South African regime and in concert with our European and Commonwealth partners."

As part of the campaign, the AAM would be holding a nationwide day of action on April 6, in preparation for the meeting later in the month between British premier John Major and Mr de Klerk, the AAM said.

AAM groups across Britain would be collecting signatures on a petition to Mr Major, urging him to take up the issues of obstacles to negotiation with the South African president.

"The April 6 Day of Action is part of an international initiative designed to complement protest action taking place inside South Africa on that day."

The AAM added that it was writing to the United Nations, Commonwealth and European Community leaders, urging them to make further urgent representations to Pretoria. — Sapa.

Liberty needs careful watching

This is an abbreviated version of a speech by **JOHN KANE-BERMAN** made to the South African Institute of Race Relations last night.

SINCE Mr de Klerk's famous speech in February 1990, people have asked whether the institute was about to fold along with the apartheid system. My answer has been: "No such luck!" Indeed, our future may prove to be more important than our past.

The repeal of statutory racial discrimination has been relatively easy. The hard change lies ahead. It involves moving from a democracy for whites plus a dictatorship for blacks to a multiparty democratic system based on liberal economic and political principles, and able to ensure rising living standards for all.

Liberalisation can be risky — it went wrong in France in 1789 and in Russia in 1917. Our first challenge is to ensure that our own transition does not similarly go wrong.

Last year saw a massive upsurge in violence, most of it in the black community. Violence has reached the point where some of the churches are worried enough to begin to blame it, at least in part, on liberatory organisations. But they must understand that they helped legitimate it by endorsing the use of force against the Government in 1987.

The institute has always upheld the view that peaceful protest is a democratic right which must be constitutionally guaranteed. However, when political action is so frequently carried out by coercive means, such as in consumer, rent and service-charge boycotts, we have a responsibility to point out that certain strategies lead to abuses and violence — just as we have pointed out that police power to detain people without trial will lead to abuse.

The second major challenge to this country, then, is to reduce the level of political violence. One component of doing so is to introduce proper policing. Too often the police act in



John Kane-Berman . . . executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

such a way that they stoke things up rather than cooling them down.

The third challenge is to reduce backlogs of classrooms, skills, housing and so on. It is not a question of money only, but also one of appropriate policies: in dealing with the housing backlog it is as important to deregulate the market to make more money available.

The fourth challenge is that of reducing inequality. If one looks at the resources of this country, the only way of doing this is to equalise downwards. This means blacks are going to have to accept less than they aspire to and whites are going to have to accept less than they have become accustomed to.

Although many groups argue for a new economic system to address this, SAIRR research has shown that in fact this country has already begun to deal with the problem through the more traditional methods such as using the tax system as a redistributive mechanism, and free trade-unionism. Although parity has not yet been reached, long-term trends in education, spending and wages illustrate this clearly.

Notwithstanding this progress, we need to guard against a new danger. This is the fifth great challenge: to minimise the risk that a new divide will open up to replace the old apartheid divide. There are already signs that this is happen-

ing between whites plus urbanised, housed, educated black people on the one hand and excluded black communities on the other — unemployed rural, malnourished, poor people living on the platteland and in the homelands.

To cope with this we need more rapid economic growth while being cautious of an urban-biased, union-biased centralised political system which discriminates against the rural poor. The strongest of all arguments for a federal political system, therefore, is that it could help ensure representation for such groups in the structure of government.

Whither then the Institute of Race Relations? We are an organisation that has always been driven by certain values — equality, liberty, the rule of law and human rights. In the past this has meant opposition to discriminatory laws and detention without trial. Today there are new challenges.

One could be termed the politics of scarce resources. Without getting involved in the ideological debate on the issue, the institute can continue to use its mechanisms to monitor progress in reducing material backlogs and inequalities, regardless of whoever happens to be exercising political power.

The second issue to which we will pay attention is the politics of coercion. This includes issues such as coercion against black

local authorities, the intimidation of black journalists and coercion in mass-mobilisation strategies. The institute cannot prematurely relax its vigilance on these kinds of issues, but I hope we can soon abandon such monitoring and concentrate on the third area of special focus, which I call the culture of democracy.

Democracy is not simply a voting system. It requires a vibrant civil society, represented by a wide diversity of independent social and economic interest groups such as trade unions, cultural clubs and so on. In totalitarian societies, such groups are adjuncts of the ruling party; in liberal democracies they are independent. To secure a proper democracy in a wider sense, we must promote the independence of civil society.

The second aspect of the culture of democracy on which we will focus is the multiparty aspect. White opinion has always been split into a number of parties, and the same is true of black opinion. The main beneficiary of this is the voter who, provided there are regular elections, is in a position to choose between different policies on offer.

There is a horrendous lack of tolerance in black politics. What one needs to deal with this intolerance is not a united front, but something less. One needs recognition by different organisations of the right of the others to exist independently and to pursue opposing policies and strategies.

The collapse of the communist monopolies in central and Eastern Europe could not have happened at a more fortuitous time for this country. But undoubtedly there are still pretensions to a one-party system in South Africa because the coercion in the townships is born not simply out of bad behaviour, but also of the assumption that all black people will think and act alike, and if they do not they must be forced to.

The most important short-term job for the institute is to monitor and expose coercion and, in doing so, help to make sure this country does not make a wrong turning and end up on a detour on the road from the old system to the new. □

Star 4/11/93 304A
MP Gibson

sees light at end of tunnel

By Shirley Woodgate

Success in political negotiations would unleash South Africa's enormous potential, but failure would be disastrous, warns the country's newest MP, Douglas Gibson.

Returned unopposed yesterday as the Democratic Party representative for Yeoville after Harry Schwarz's resignation earlier this year, Mr Gibson (48) is a political veteran, having fought his first election at the age of 21 as the United Party provincial council candidate for Brakpan.

He was sworn in as an MP on Monday.

He says his aim is "to play a positive role in helping to shape a decent, secure new South Africa. South Africans need to be proud of the country which they will leave to their children.

"The only way this can be achieved is if the rule of law is observed, if we have a democratic constitution and if we have economic freedom and prosperity," he said.

Having occupied virtually every top position in the opposition hierarchy, Mr Gibson takes with him to Parliament a wealth of political knowhow.

As a senior attorney, he will be backed by an in-depth knowledge of legal affairs.

Asked about the future, he said: "Without being a Pollyanna, I am reasonably optimistic that after traversing a rocky road, we will reach a settlement acceptable to the broad mass of the people."

He predicted constitutional agreement within three years followed by an election.

Govt slams Piet Skiet's 'war talk' 304A

(Pret) Political Staff

ORDE Boerevolk leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph's fiery rhetoric in his Durban City Hall speech has been slammed by the Law and Order Ministry.

A spokesman for Minister Adriaan Vlok's office said the reported comments by Rudolph were "highly unfortunate" because such "war talk" from political leaders had contributed to the high conflict potential in the country.

The department urged all leaders to refrain from talk which could "sweep up emotions and which could possibly result in bloodshed". 6/24/91

Rudolph told more than 1500 right-wingers at the Tuesday meeting that the French and Russian revolutions would both look like "Sunday school" compared with the future that awaited SA if government pursued its present policies.

Rudolph was released from prison last month after being given unconditional indemnity. He had been charged with theft of arms and ammunition from SA Air Force headquarters and five counts of detonating explosives.

It was reported at the time that Rudolph had committed himself to searching for peaceful solutions to SA's problems. His indemnity was unconditional and his latest comments do not amount to infringement of any agreement.

Viljoen lists transition options

TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT is prepared to consider a number of ways of involving extra-parliamentary groups in decision-making during the transition to a new constitution, but will not accept the ANC model of "interim government", says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Viljoen told the Bureau for Information's magazine RSA Policy Review government was prepared to convene the proposed multiparty conference on negotiations next week, but hoped it would take place by the middle of the year.

Viljoen said he could not provide details of what form extra-parliamentary participation in government would take, because this would be one of the issues to be discussed at the conference.

But he gave the assurance that government would consider all contributions very thoroughly and seriously and that this would undoubtedly exercise an influence on its decision-making.

"At the same time, it cannot be expected that all inputs will be accepted out of hand.

"These inputs will be meticulously scrutinised and considered by government, because in the final analysis it has to assume responsibility for orderly and lawful conduct in the country until such time as a new constitution has been implemented," he said.

He said government's "interim participation" differed from the ANC's demand for an "interim government" because the ANC's concept implied a total surrender of power and authority by the present legal government, which was rejected.

He provided three possibilities of how "interim participation" could take place:

The multiparty conference could opt for an informal summit of the most important leaders to voice needs, criticisms and wishes regarding legislative and executive procedures for the various

political parties.

"Another possibility is that a negotiation forum or even the multiparty conference as such may serve as a channel to convey to government advice, submissions and requests concerning interim government action.

"A third possibility is to convene specialised working groups where representatives of the various parties can get together to make representations to the government during the transitional period.

Viljoen said setting the multiparty conference date was complicated by a variety of issues, including the fact that the ANC would only elect its new leadership in June and was apparently not keen to enter into serious negotiations before then.

Government's approach was that all parties with proven support which committed themselves to the process of peaceful negotiation would be entitled to take part.

Who the most important parties were would be determined during the preliminary phases of the conference.

Viljoen said the conference could not be delayed until all organisations agreed to talks.

The conference could last a few weeks or even some months.

It would discuss the composition, functioning and decision-making process of the actual constitutional negotiation conference.

It could also, by way of preparation, start deliberating on principles and important issues to be embedded in a new constitution and on which general consensus existed among all participants.

Issues on which consensus could not be reached would be left for the negotiation process.

In reaction to a question about the ANC's demand that political prisoners be freed by the end of this month and that exiles be allowed to return, Viljoen said the ANC was "recalcitrant".

"Some of its leaders demand that government should grant unqualified amnesty to all members of the ANC. This possibility was never even raised during the talks between government and the ANC."



Mandela pays surprise visit to conference

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has made a surprise appearance at the high-powered Aspen Institute conference on South Africa in Cape Town.

Mr Mandela flew from Johannesburg yesterday to speak to the 17 top United States Congressmen at the conference, and flew back immediately afterwards.

He had been scheduled to address the conference earlier this week but cancelled because of other engagements.

National Union of Mineworkers leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also addressed the conference yesterday and President De Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer will speak today, the last day of the conference.

The Aspen conference is focusing on the issue of when to lift United States sanctions. To encourage the frank exchange of views, it is closed to the media.

Members of the black Democratic Party caucus in Congress have made it clear that they do not believe sanctions should be lifted when South Africa has met the five conditions for lifting sanctions specified in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

Political prisoners

They believe that, in effect, the United States should wait for the ANC and other "pro-democracy" parties to give the go-ahead when they believe that majority rule is inevitable.

President George Bush has promised, however, that he will not "shift the goalposts" if South Africa meets the CAAA conditions, which it is aiming to do by the end of June.

One problem area is race classification which will remain in place after the Population Registration Act has been repealed.

Members of the black caucus attending the Aspen conference believe that the Bush government has already decided to lift sanctions once the remaining apartheid laws have been scrapped and political prisoners released.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen told the conference yesterday that if the five CAAA conditions were met, sanctions would automatically fall away without further debate with Congress.

But he apparently did not disclose whether or not the US Administration believed that President De Klerk's announced reform moves would meet the conditions adequately.

A decision on talks is likely soon

304A

Sowetan

4/4/91

Political Correspondent

THE proposed multi-party conference should have decided by the end of the year the content and form of a negotiating forum, according to Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

In an interview with *RSA Policy Review*, a Bureau for Information publication, Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the Government had also not dismissed entirely the idea of a constituent assembly.

He said the Government would have started preparing invitations for the conference had it not been for the ANC's national congress which is scheduled for June.

Forum

He said the ANC had indicated it was "not keen" to enter into serious negotiations before then.

Viljoen anticipated that the MPC would have reached a conclusion before the end of the year.

"This implies that an agreement on the constitution of a negotiation forum will have been reached by then and that the real negotiation process can start," Viljoen said.

He indicated that the Government would convene the conference. The Government would at the same time open channels,

as an interim measure for extra-parliamentary political formations, to participate in central Government.

The interim period was "between the present and the achievement and implementation of the ultimate result of the negotiating process, namely a new constitution".

He did not disclose details of the extent of the influence the extra-

parliamentary groups would have, but said a way would be worked out whereby "those that do not form part of the present system" could voice their needs, criticism and wishes regarding legislative and executive procedures.

Viljoen said a constituent assembly was an option to be considered.

He said should an overwhelming demand for this emerge at the proposed multiparty conference, it "will have to receive attention".

WORLD



NATIONAL

Right-wingers on view

UK to see AWB telecast tonight *3084* *4/4/91*

The Argus Foreign Service LONDON. — The collective mind of South Africa's right wing will be exposed to millions of British television viewers tonight when Channel Four screens a documentary on Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

The documentary, *The Leader, His Driver and The Driver's Wife*, was initially to comprise an interview with Mr TerreBlanche, but reporter Nick Broomfield had to abandon the idea after being repeatedly fobbed off by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader.



Mr TerreBlanche

Broomfield fell back on interviews with Mr TerreBlanche's closest associates. And viewers will see him through the eyes of those around him, rather than his own.

Doomsday

The film gives an unusual insight into the thinking of those who are entranced by Mr TerreBlanche's demagoguery, those taken in by his doomsday warnings of the inevitability of the apocalyptic showdown between the *volk* and its enemies.

At one stage, Mr TerreBlanche, in a military-style khaki uniform, is shown whipping up the emotions of the party faithful at a meeting, saying:

"All Nelson Mandela can offer is Winnie's wig for (President) De Klerk's bald head."

Asked in one of his brief, confrontational, exchanges with Broomfield when the boere war would start, Mr TerreBlanche is cagey: "The war will start when I choose. We will never accept an ANC government".

But who precisely would be at the receiving end of the AWB crusade to protect the *volk*?

The answer is provided by Mr TerreBlanche's former driver, Mr J P Meyer, who tells Broomfield: "I'm not sure but if you have to name names, maybe people like (Minister of Law and Order Adriaan) Vlok,

(Mr) De Klerk and (Mr) Mandela will all be (considered) the enemies of the *volk*."

Mr Meyer then adds chillingly: "I feel the climate is beginning to be right for human life to be taken."

Asked to explain the AWB's swastika-like symbol, Mr Meyer said it represented the sign of the anti-Christ, which, in his view, included "the Rothschilds, the Rockefellerers and the Oppenheimers of the world".

And the right-wing's solution to the Aids problem is left to a man identified by Broomfield only as "Johan, the town councillor" of Ventersdorp, to explain.

'Very dominant'

Racial separation, says Johan, is the solution to the Aids crisis. "Only when we stay separate from the blacks will we (as whites) survive. But the blacks is (sic) going for the white women," he laments.

But it is to Anita Meyer, Mr Meyer's wife, that Broomfield assigns the task of giving a character analysis of the AWB leader.

Asked how she feels about Mr TerreBlanche, Mrs Meyer, who owns a black cat called "Kafir", answers: "In a sense I like him. But he is also very dominant. When he tells you to get up you must get up. It's no use going against him. Rather please him and you will have a more comfortable man."

4/4/91 304A
2 Cape Times, Thur

Piet Skiet slammed

Political Staff

ORDE Boerevolk leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph's fiery rhetoric in his Durban City Hall speech has been criticised by the Law and Order Ministry.

Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's office, said the reported comments by Mr Rudolph were "highly unfortunate" because such "war talk" from political leaders had contributed to the high conflict potential in the country.

The department urged all leaders to refrain from talk which could "sweep up emotions and which could possibly result in bloodshed".

Mr Rudolph made his controversial speech to more than 1 500 right-wingers at a meeting on Tuesday night.

Viljoen hints at joint authority

Capl Times 4/4/91 304A

Political Staff

THE government is prepared to allow a form of joint government during the transition to a new constitution, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen has said in an interview.

Dr Viljoen said the government would consider ways of involving extra-parliamentary groups in decision-making.

Although he stopped short of accepting the ANC's model of "interim government", his remarks were obviously aimed at the ANC and Inkatha.

Dr Viljoen's remarks were made in an interview with the Bureau for Information magazine RSA Policy Review.

Asked if this meant that the election of a constituent assembly was being considered, Dr Viljoen said it was, because all recommendations laid before a multi-party conference would have to be considered.

The government still rejected a constituent assembly elected by simple majority, as advocated by the ANC.

Dr Viljoen said he could not provide details of what form extra-parliamentary participation in government would take, because this would be one of the issues to be discussed at the

multi-party conference.

He said government's "interim participation" idea differed from the ANC's demand for an "interim government", because the government rejected the implied total surrender of power by the present government.

He provided three possibilities for "interim participation":

- The multiparty conference could opt for an informal summit of the most important leaders, which would express the views of various parties on the governing process.

- "Another possibility is that a negotiation forum, or even the multiparty conference as such, may serve as a channel to convey to government advice, submissions and requests concerning interim government action.

- "A third possibility is to convene specialised working groups, where representatives of the various parties can get together to make representations to the government during the transitional period."

Dr Viljoen said a variety of issues complicated the scheduling of the multiparty conference, including the fact that the ANC would elect its new leadership only in June, and was apparently not keen to begin serious negotiations before then.

The post-apartheid war is already underway

3044

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/91

In recent weeks, South African diplomats have been making subliminal comparisons between the plight of President FW de Klerk and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev by warning foreign audiences of the threat of a rightist coup d'état.

It is a good way of rallying support overseas, but collides with reality on the ground. The rightwing might boast that the day the flag comes down, the war begins, but in the black townships there is a war already.

The target is not FW de Klerk but the African National Congress, which is being destabilised and undermined and — unable to defend its people from violent attacks — losing the confidence of its supporters.

Few analysts would agree that a coup against the National Party is likely.

Democratic Party chairman Tiaan van der Merwe believes the psychological moment for that type of action passed when De Klerk legalised the very resistance movements PW Botha's national security state had attempted for a decade to exterminate.

Yet there is some form of coup taking place — not against the present government, but against a future one. It is an attempt to derail history — to deny the ANC its place in the Union Buildings before it even possesses the instruments of state power to hit back. The ANC is paying a bloody price in the townships for being projected as the likely winner of a one man, one vote election.

One does not require the discovery of a smoking gun — though there are plenty of those — to know that there is substance to the notion of a "third force" handing out AK-47s and manipulating the divisions in black society. It is enough to note the similarities of the random terror and destabilisation that brought Frelimo to its knees in Mozambique. The agenda is simple: cripple the ANC. Prevent it from building up "organs of people's power".

Analysts believe the guilty parties are those past and present members of the security forces reared on the doctrines of total onslaught and total strategy, fighting the same old enemy in a new environment.

In such circumstances, the "total onslaughters" do not need to run the country. To do anything that overt would be to invite disaster — mass internal protest and international isolation.

In fact, even the new South Africa and the reality of black rule can be faced — and it might be just what they are busily preparing for. While the ANC reels, Inkatha — wittingly or unwittingly — moves in and starts

Talk of rightist coups against President De Klerk is misdirected, writes **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**. The coup that is taking place has as its target not the present government, but a future one



Defence Minister Magnus Malan

organising. Perhaps there is a hope that, at the end of the day, non-racial elections in South Africa will produce a combined anti-ANC majority.

The question that has been asked is whether this is De Klerk's agenda. The short answer, as Idasa director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has pointed out, has to be that De Klerk has invested too much internationally and nationally to operate with a sleazy hidden agenda. He needs stability for the negotiating process that his own political life depends on to go ahead.

The violence scares off investors and erodes the economy — arguably the primary status quo interest that De Klerk is defending. Finally, the whole thrust of De Klerk's politics is one of reconciliation, and that is not possible while people are being massacred in their homes.

Yet De Klerk's biggest shortcoming since coming to office has been his inability to deal effectively with the whole death squads issue, symptomatic of his broader discomfort with the securocrats. Not a single major figure from the discredited PW Botha administration has been sacked. Even those most deeply implicated in the old regime, such as Defence Minister Magnus Malan, retain their posts.

Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok are now said to be two of De Klerk's most fervent backers in the cabinet.

De Klerk's tentativeness in dealing with

the security forces can be explained by the fact that he entered office an outsider from the security establishment.

While he has quite effectively neutralised the extreme rightwing, he fears alienating the security forces. Most of all he needs them to maintain stability during the negotiations and, in trying to reform them, he has to tread warily.

According to reliable sources, the breakdown of support for the Conservative Party and National Party is 50-50 at the level of senior military officers and 60-40 to the Conservatives at junior officer level. Amongst the police, almost 90 percent of the generals are NP, thanks to some hard work by Vlok, while among junior officers it's about the same as the army.

The best way of maintaining their loyalty is by appealing to their sense of professionalism over their political sentiments, and by placating their fears about the future. De Klerk has allowed Malan consistently to lambast Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, whose militant rhetoric is viewed within the security forces as particularly threatening.

There are signs of re-education in the police. "There are sincere efforts in the police force to change the culture of the situation," says Van der Merwe. "But it's going to take a long time before you change everyone's minds — you can only do that over time."

At the same time the role of the military in government has been substantially downgraded and a number of the killers during the township unrest have been tracked down. But the police continue to embarrass De Klerk's political agenda — yet again they were in the firing line of township criticism after the massacres in Daveyton and Alexandra last week.

The crucial question is not how De Klerk tolerates the old national security types, but how they tolerate De Klerk. An entire administration that was devoted to the PW Botha total strategy and onslaught theories remains in place after having undergone a 180 degree shift in policy.

There are forces quite prepared to ride the present political wind, people who pretend to be De Klerk's political allies and who believe he is doing a good job, for instance with the erosion of international sanctions.

They are not committed to a new order or a genuine democracy for all. And the havoc that is being wreaked on the ANC by the violence is the flip side of their support for reform. Their capacity to sabotage the new South Africa is, as we have seen already, substantial.

An historic foreign policy breakthrough

UN gets involved with SA refugees

Sowetan 5/4/91 (3049)

THE Conservative Party calls it a "cancer", and a "viper in South Africa's bosom". The National Party Government has its doubts about it, but gives the go-ahead anyway.

The British Embassy and the ANC applaud its arrival. For better or worse, the United Nations is again to have a presence on South African soil, after a 30-year absence.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's principled acceptance that the UN High Commission for Refugees should "assist in the process ... of the return of expatriates" to South Africa is shrouded in technicality, qualification, and even obfuscation.

But it marks, in the view of Professor Peter Vale of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, no less than "one of the most important developments in South African foreign policy since the NP came to power in 1948".

Sure sign

It is also the surest sign thus far of this country's gradual reabsorption into the international community, contingent upon progress towards a negotiated settlement.

The specific agreement on co-operation regarding returnees is therefore of symbolic importance beyond the details of its clauses.

According to Vale: "The formal engagement of the UNHCR, with the dual agreement of the Government and the ANC is a fundamental change - it is a common foreign policy position for the first time.

"It is a tacit agreement, with the ANC, on the importance of the UN. Here they are together engaging fully, for the first time in three decades, with the major interna-



tional organisation."

In his statement at the end of last month, Pik Botha grudgingly conceded the Government's acceptance of the importance of the previously-detested UN - although, tellingly, he could not bring himself to mention the organisation itself, referring only to "the High Commissioner for Refugees".

"The Government," he said, "realises that in spite of all the planning that has been done to ensure that the return of expatriates proceeds smoothly, problems may nevertheless arise because the Government does not have representatives in all countries of Africa.

"Unforeseen contingencies may also arise where the co-operation of neutral experts may help to solve possible problems ...

"Thus, in order to prevent delay in the return of returnees in countries where South Africa has no representation and also in the light of representations received from various quarters, the Government has decided to invite the High Commissioner for Refugees to assist in the process.

"An agreement will be drawn up in such a way as to ensure that South Africa's sovereignty is in no way prejudiced."

Vale argues that this constitutes "an admission by the Government of their own international isolation and their own impotence to deal with it.

"The Government's opponents have also had to think through and concede the UN's importance. Originally the ANC was quite un-

comfortable itself about the idea of formal UN involvement, but it came sooner to the recognition of its necessity."

The agreement - hailed as a "breakthrough" by British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick - was exceptionally hard-won.

It is known that embassies pushed the Government hard to concede on the UN issue (even Botha referred to "representations from various quarters"), and that there was fierce disagreement within the Cabinet on the issue.

Dilemma

"The major dilemma for the Government," says Vale, "was that of sovereignty - would UN involvement violate it? - and it is good that the Cabinet had to go through the painful process of realising it had to pay to regain access to the international scene."

Diplomats in Cape Town say the agreement was achieved for both political and "technical" reasons.

The Government has gained international credit, and also now faces the April 30 "deadline" for returnees with the help of the UNHCR.

It is believed that the success of the agency's operations in Namibia - and the even-handedness there displayed - tipped the scales in favour of Foreign Affairs officials arguing in Government for the agreement.

In addition, the agreement has brought a flood of offers of international financial assistance.

The British Government offered aid within minutes of the Botha announcement, and Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jansen has signalled that his government will consider applications for aid favourably.

According to one diplomatic source: "Foreign governments are

now likely to respond positively, whereas they would have been uncomfortable with applications from either the Government or the ANC."

The sources also point out, however, that the presence of a representative of the UNHCR as a specific agency should not be confused with a full-blown UN mission in South Africa.

Vale agrees that "it is premature to think that South Africa will now be fully reintegrated into the UN, in the sense of getting its seat back.

"But it is a recognition of the importance of the UN as a player."

The details of the agreement with the UNHCR, still in the process of being negotiated, could throw up some stumbling blocks due to the Government's hypersensitivity about "sovereignty".

This likelihood is heightened by the furious reaction of the Conservative Party, which has pilloried the Government for allowing the UN to get "a foot in the door" in South Africa.

(The latest edition of the CP organ *Die Patriot* argues that "to allow the UN any say in any matter in South Africa is to allow the viper into SA's bosom. But the Government has little choice. Once it conceded to black majority rule, the UN cancer was not far behind".)

But the Government is unlikely to abort the agreement because of rightwing objections. The UN die has been cast in South Africa in 1991. It is a modest first step in the form of the UNHCR, but could be recorded by future historians as marking the true beginning of the end of South Africa's pariah status within international organisations. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ANC nets most votes, but racial divide remains

By JO-ANNE COLLINGS

Star 5/4/91

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3044

THE AFRICAN National Congress — with a little help from its political allies — commands the allegiance of three out of every four black urban residents, but might be pressed to win a simple majority in a national election.

The South African results of the internationally conducted World Social Value Study indicate that the ANC has the support of 44 percent of South Africans — of all races — in the city, countryside and within and without the homelands.

Its nearest rival, the National Party, can command only 14 percent of the vote.

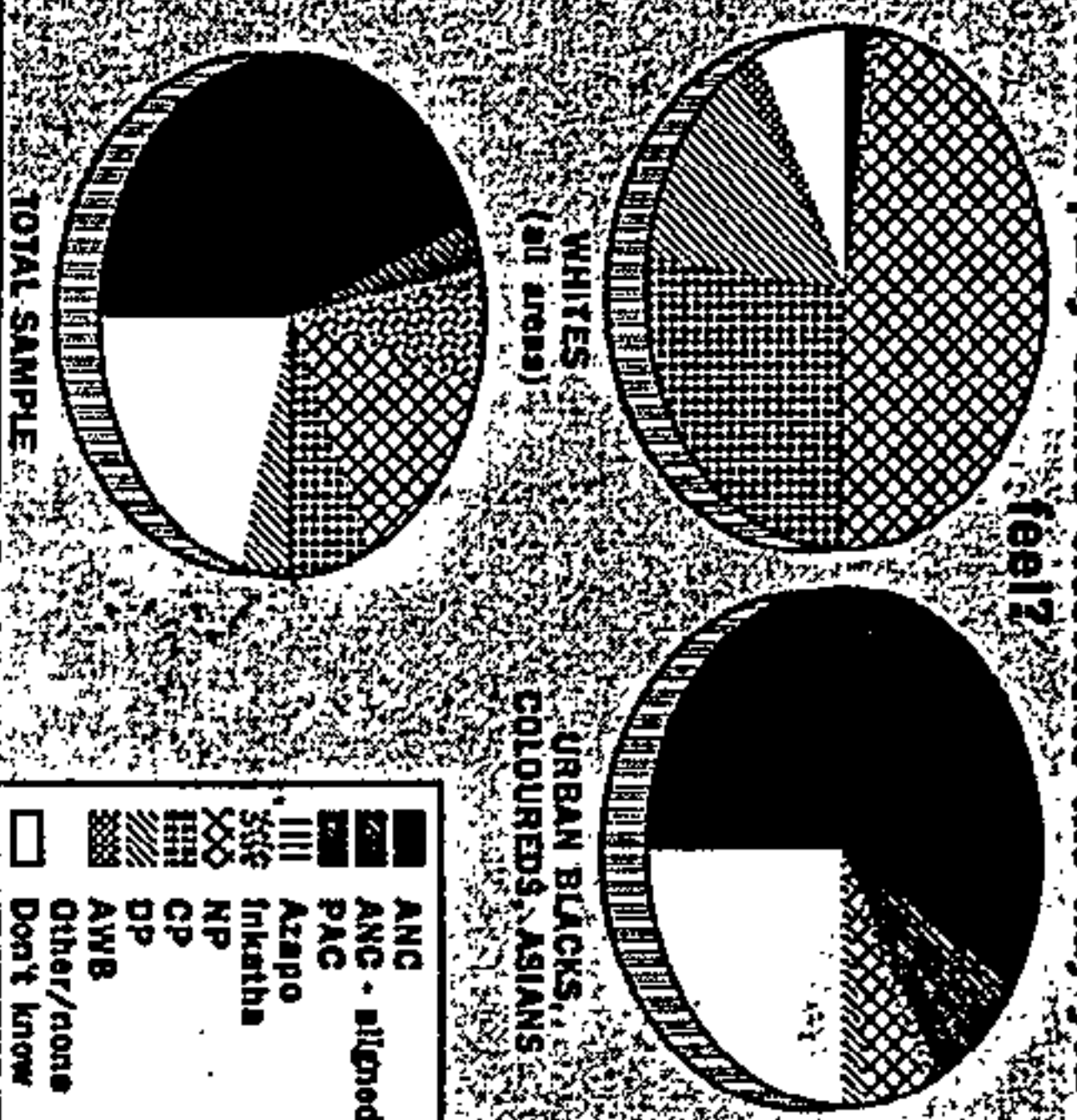
But there is plenty of room for manoeuvre by all parties. The survey found that nearly a year after the lifting of bans on political/resistance organisations, one in five prospective black, coloured and Asian voters still had not decided which party to support.

Political alienation was particularly striking in minority groups, where 48 percent of Asian respondents and 44 percent of coloureds declared they did not know what party represented their views.

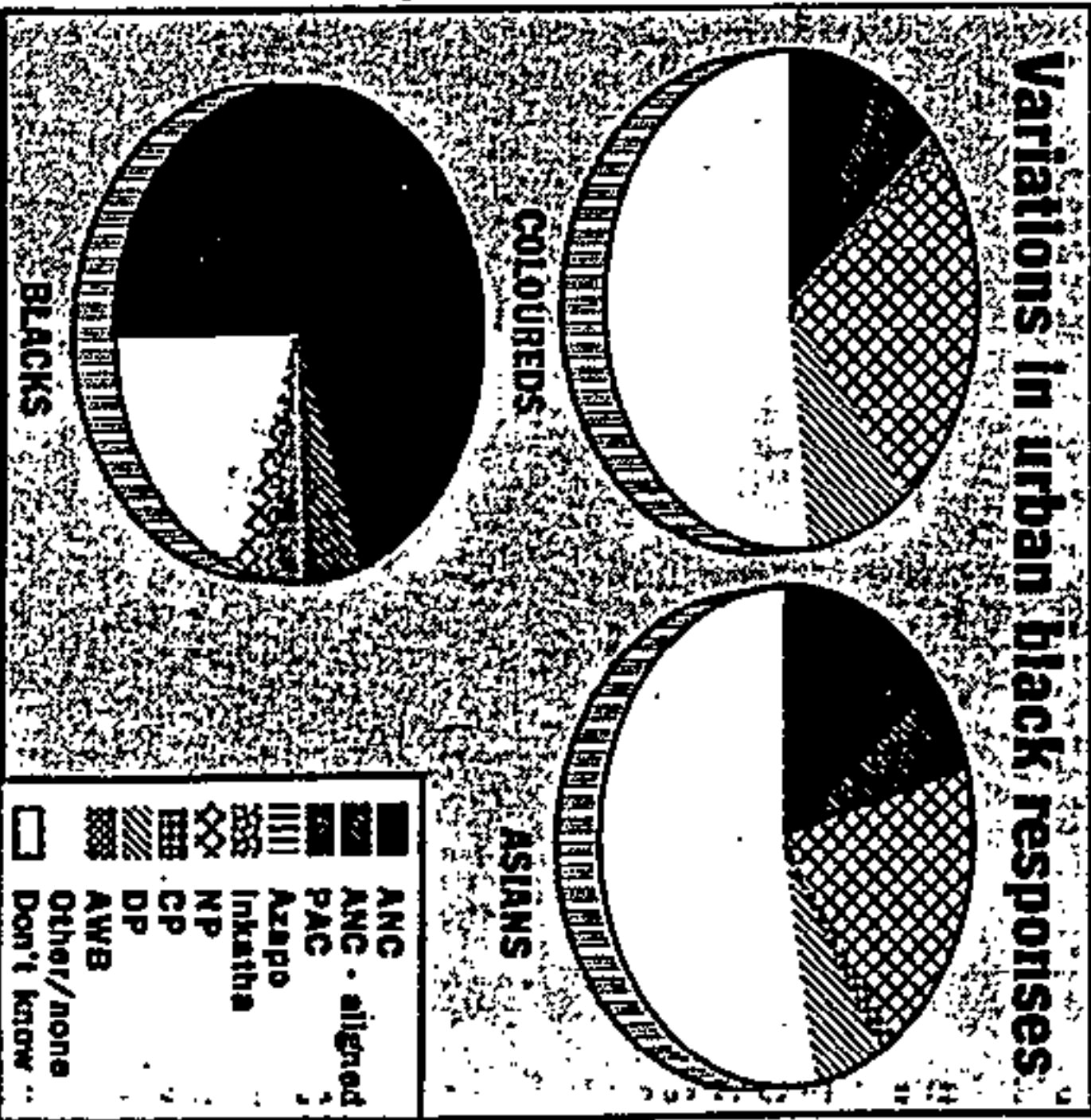
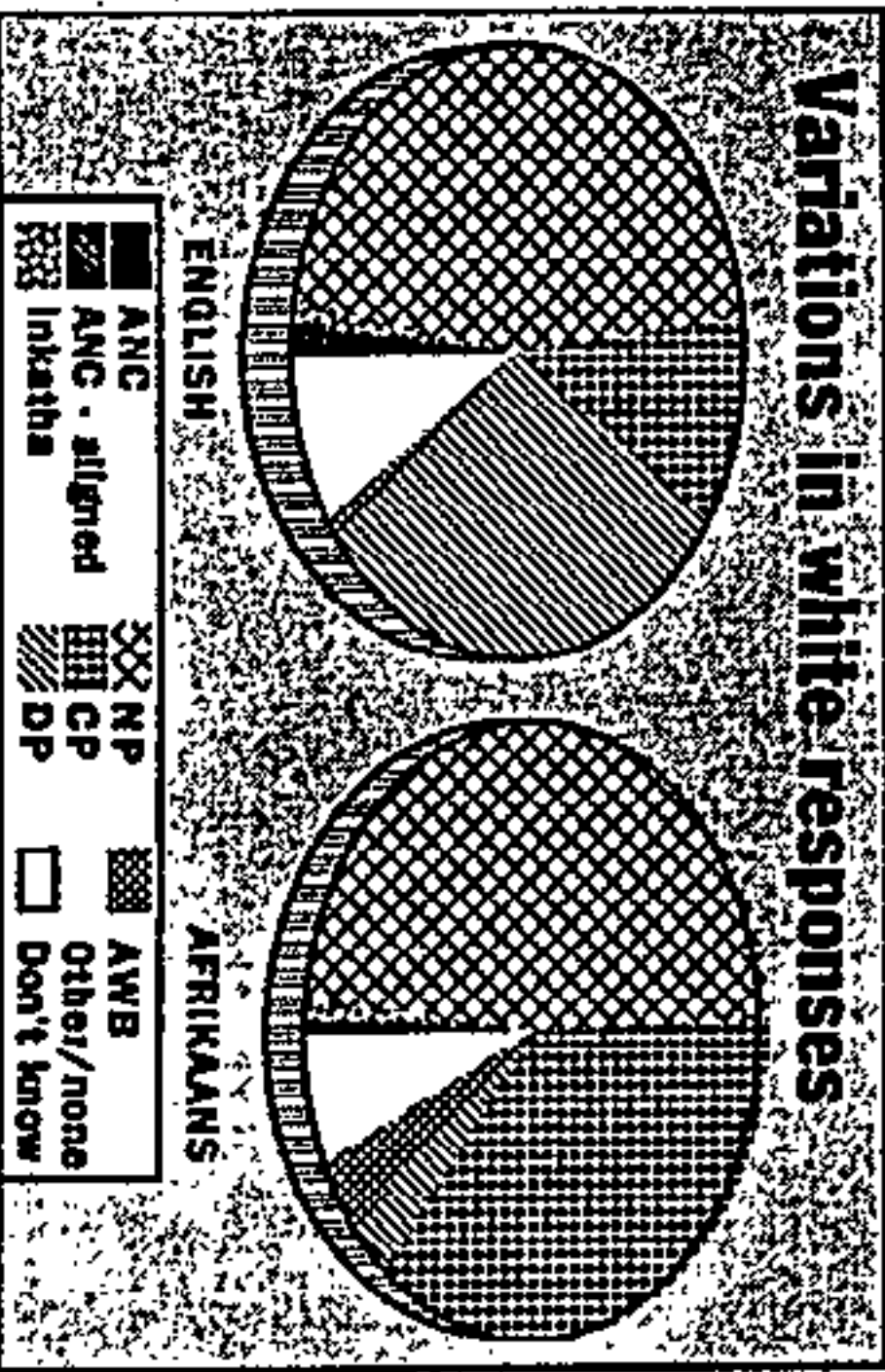
The survey shows clearly that race remains the most important determinant of political affiliation. No party has uniformly appealed across the racial divide or shown significant movement in that direction.

The poll found that 69 percent of urban blacks identify with the ANC and a further 5 percent with its declared allies: the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South

Which party comes closest to the way you feel?



The World Social Value Study, initiated by Michigan University's Institute for Social Research, spans 42 countries. The SA study by Markhor used a locally adapted questionnaire. The sample comprised 1 236 whites (rural and urban), 200 Cape Town coloured residents, 200 Durban Asian residents and 600 urban blacks. In black, coloured and Asian areas the random sample was stratified by city and township. The white sample used Nasionale Tydskrif's national panel. Limited information, based on a rural sample of 500 drawn from various homelands, is included.



African Communist Party, United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

But the ANC scarcely registers a percentage point among whites. Here the dominant force is the NP, which has 47 percent of support spread equally over the English and Afrikaans-speaking sections. In turn, the NP has little support among black respondents.

Ironically, though, the NP — which voted only weeks before the survey was conducted to admit members other than whites — has been more successful than the avowedly non-racial ANC in persuading people to step across the race bar-

rier in supporting it.

While white respondents accorded the ANC no more than 1 percent of support, 24 percent of coloured respondents associated themselves with the NP, as did 19 percent of Asians. In both these groups support for the NP exceeded that for the ANC, which weighed in at 15 percent for Asians and 8 percent for coloureds.

Urban black respondents were markedly more reluctant to turn to the NP, doing so only in 2 percent of cases. Separate figures for blacks in rural areas were not available.

Within the group of urban black respondents, attitudes to

the ANC and the NP are not entirely uniform, the data suggests. For instance, if the sample is stratified into high, middle and low-income earners, there is some evidence that

● Support for the ANC increases in the lower-income groups. Among those earning upwards of R2 000 a month, the proportion of ANC support was 60 percent, but among those earning less than R1 200 the ratio rose to 77 percent.

● Support for the NP, tiny as it is, is higher in the upper-income bracket among blacks. It tops 7 percent among those earning more than R2 000 but registers a mere 0.4 percent

among the low-income category.

Although the relatively small numbers involved, and possible regional influences, advise caution in interpreting this, the data seems to support the thesis that economic and political considerations are beginning to cut across the crude racial palette of South Africa.

Generally, there is a suggestion that those who perceive themselves as a minority in any sense — economically, racially, ethnically or culturally — might join parties with policies which take special account of minority interests. The sub-

stantial NP support in the coloured and Indian communities suggests this trend.

In addition, white respondents show a real interest in Inkatha as their second choice — 8 percent selected it. In contrast, urban blacks are no more likely to see Inkatha as a second option than as their first choice.

The survey results make it clear that although Inkatha has 6 percent of the vote, this is based in the rural areas. Support among urban blacks is 1 percent, rising to 5 percent in the Durban area.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer recently de-

scribed his party and Inkatha as representing the "true centre" of South African politics. If the DP, Inkatha and NP — all advocates of a federal system of government — were to form an alliance, they could muster 24 percent of the vote. They would also have as good a chance as any of winning over the vacillating 20 percent and closing the gap on the ANC.

In the liberation ranks, the Pan Africanist Congress scores 1 percent overall and 3 percent in black urban areas, and the Azanian People's Organisation registers less than 1 percent all round.

The white Right continues to

be accommodated mainly within the CP (27 percent of white respondents). The more militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging wins 2 percent of white support. Total right-wing support is diluted to 7 percent of the national sample.

The cross-race dynamics of transitional politics may yet prove important. Elections are not around the corner and alliance-shaking events are bound to precede them. But at present, South Africans are undertaking the task of demolishing apartheid society largely within political institutions shaped by race rule. □

An African columnist points a finger at self-righteous accusers

Forget SA, what about Ghana?

Star 5/4/71

AFRICAN leaders have been called on by a widely read African columnist to match the challenge from reformist South Africa and put their own houses in order.

Referring to the demands for universal suffrage in South Africa, Baffour Ankamah notes that he does not have a vote in his own country of Ghana.

Ankomah writes a regular column, "Baffour's Beefs", in the news magazine *New African*, which is published in London and has probably the largest circulation in Africa of any English-language magazine of this kind.

In the latest issue he says an important lesson of the Gulf War is that any people who cannot stand up and question the acts of their political leaders do not have a future.

Africans, like the Iraqis, "have allowed our leaders to do whatever

they please, so much so that President Museveni of Uganda, the current Organisation of African Unity chairman, can attend the summit of the OAU ad hoc committee on southern Africa in Harare this February and say without remorse that President de Klerk's promises to abolish the last pillars of apartheid in June are not enough."

Abolished

Ankomah recalls that Mr Museveni said Mr de Klerk's reforms did not amount to "profound and irreversible" change and that he must appoint a constituent assembly before sanctions could be lifted.

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, on the other hand, had found the changes deserving of support, but said they had still not given the majority of South Africans a vote. Ankamah says apartheid is un-

doubtedly an insult to civilisation and must be abolished, but this cannot be done in a day. There must first be negotiations leading to a legal framework.

"And, despite the oppression that has gone on, the fears of South Africa's five million whites will have to be addressed. All of this will take some time to accomplish."

Meanwhile, it should be asked whether black South Africans are the only ones who do not have the vote, says Ankamah.

"Does Africa need to sweep the other ills afflicting the continent under the carpet simply because we want justice for black South Africans?"

Pointing out that as a Ghanaian he has not had a vote for the past 10 years, Mr Ankamah says: "Would someone please tell me whether I also need a vote like my oppressed brothers in South Africa, or even whether my head of state has the moral right to de-

mand of De Klerk a vote for black South Africans?"

Ugandans at present have no vote, says Ankamah. He asks why Mr Museveni does not do the same for his own country as he is demanding from Mr de Klerk.

"De Klerk was elected to power in 1989, Museveni shot his way to power in 1986 — which of the two men today should point an accusing finger at the other?"

Ankomah asks why Mr Mugabe does not demand of Mr Museveni a vote for the Ugandans as he is demanding of Mr de Klerk a vote for black South Africans.

He accuses African countries of hypocrisy in overtly supporting sanctions against South Africa while covertly breaching them.

"If African governments have no qualms in busting sanctions against Pretoria," he asks, "do we have the moral right to ask the rest of the world to maintain sanctions?" — *Star Africa* Service □

Govt capturing talks high ground — ANC

(304A)

TIM COHEN

(116)

GOVERNMENT has used negotiations more effectively to its strategic benefit than the ANC, which is losing the "tactical initiative" to government, says a document on strategy being distributed within the organisation.

The 26-page document, Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, is one of several being produced by the ANC for discussion at its June national conference.

The warning that it has lost the "strategic initiative" constitutes a major departure from the ANC's position at its consultative conference in December when ANC members were told they held the initiative.

The document says: "Subjectively, our movement has not been fast enough in establishing its organisational machinery and adapting to the new terrain of struggle".

But it asserts that the ANC "set the stage and defined the agenda of the current phase of struggle".

The ANC had also ensured that its approach enjoyed the unanimous formal support of the international community, as demonstrated by OAU and UN declarations, the document says.

The document also specifies a change in the ANC's tactics.

"While in the past we pursued the objective of seizure of power and pledged to enter negotiations if the situation arose, the approach today has definitely changed.

"We have entered negotiations as a viable mechanism for the transition to a new order, under the new situation, and we pledge to pursue the perspective of seizure of power — armed and/or otherwise — if the situation changes." The document says that the situation is still fluid.

ANC riding high

Three out of four urban blacks back party

304A

5/4/91

Argus

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress — with a little help from its political allies — commands the allegiance of three of every four black urban residents, but might be pressed to win a simple majority in an all-race national election.

The South African results of the internationally conducted World Social Value Study indicate that the ANC has the support of 44 percent of South Africans — of all races, in the city and countryside, inside and outside the homelands. Its nearest rival, the National Party, has 14 percent of the vote.

But there is plenty of room for manoeuvre by all parties. The survey found that nearly a year after the lifting of bans on political/resistance organisations, one in five prospective voters in the black, coloured and Asian communities still had not decided which party to support.

Race important determinant

Political alienation was particularly striking in the black minority groups, where a full 48 percent of Asian respondents and 44 percent of coloureds declared that they did not know what party represented their views.

The survey shows clearly that race remains the most important determinant of political affiliation. No party has uniform appeal across the racial divide which apartheid has bequeathed. None even shows significant movement in that direction.

The poll found that 69 percent of urban blacks identify with the ANC and 5 percent with its declared allies, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South African Communist Party, United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

But the ANC scarcely registers a percentage point among whites. Here the dominant force is the NP, which has 47 percent of support spread equally over the English- and Afrikaans-speaking sectors. In turn, the NP has a lean time among black respondents.

NP more success on racial divide

Ironically, the NP — which voted only weeks before the survey was conducted, to admit members other than whites — has been more successful than the avowedly non-racial ANC in persuading people to step across the race-barrier in supporting it.

While white respondents accorded the ANC no more than 1 percent of support, 24 percent of coloured respondents associated themselves with the NP, as did 19 percent of Asians.

In both these groups, support for the NP exceeded that for the ANC, which weighed in at 15 percent for Asians and 8 percent for coloureds.

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Within the group of urban black respondents, attitudes to the ANC and the NP are not entirely uniform, the data suggests. For instance, if the sample is stratified into high, middle and low income earners there is some evidence that:

- Support for the ANC increases in the lower income groups. Among those earning upwards of R2 000 a month the proportion of ANC support was 60 percent, while among those earning under R1 200 the ratio rose to 77 percent.

- Support for the NP, tiny though as it is, is higher in the upper income bracket among blacks. It tops 7 percent among those earning more than R2 000 while it registers a mere 0,4 percent among the low income category.

Although the relatively small numbers involved and possible regional influences advise caution in interpreting this, the data seems to support the thesis that economic and political considerations are beginning to cut across the crudely racial patterns of organisation so characteristic of South Africa.

For instance, there is the suggestion that those who possess wealth, expertise and property will increasingly band together — across race differences — to defend these elements of privilege.

TRI-CAMERAL STAFF

(3048)

DESPITE government attempts to overcome fragmentation in government structures, the tri-cameral parliament had seen a net increase of 1 709 posts in 1990 - 1 041 for the House of Assembly, 761 for the House of Representatives and a decrease of 53 for the House of Delegates, the Minister of State Expenditure, Amie Venter, said in parliament.

He also said the public service as a whole had seen a net growth of 5 615 posts last year. The service grew from having 241 692 posts at the beginning of last year to 247 307 at the end of the year. And 8 553 posts were abolished in 29 departments, but 14 168 were created.

19/11/91
S/14/91
J. M. M.

Aspen meeting was 'all-party conference'

By GLYNIS UNDERHILL

THE elite Aspen Institute conference in Cape Town resembled an all-party conference with all major political groupings — except the Conservative Party — present throughout the four-day discussion, a delegate from the ANC's international department, Mr Yusuf Saloojee, disclosed yesterday.

The Conservative Party snubbed an invitation to attend the confidential conference, because it refused to talk to the ANC.

CP information chief Mr Koos Van der Merwe said that Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Opposition, had declined the invitation when he heard that the "radical parties", including the ANC, were to be present.

"Dr Treurnicht decided that because of the presence of the ANC, we will not attend. We did not find it possible to enter into discussion on the same platform as the ANC," said Mr Van Der Merwe.

The Cape Times is able — for the first time since the conference began four days ago — to reveal details of proceedings at the closely guarded event.

Mr Saloojee said the following points were made at the discussions:

- The ANC, PAC and Azapo were united in demanding that sanctions be maintained until there was an agreement in constitutional negotiations. Inkatha and the government pressed for sanctions to be lifted.

- Significant conditions would have to be met before the US would consider removing sanctions. "The Americans are in no great hurry to lift sanctions," said Mr Saloojee.

- The violence in this country has become the main source of tension between Mr Nelson Mandela and the government, according to the ANC. Mr Mandela said that the government had not taken sufficient measures to curb violence — and cited examples to illustrate his point.

- President F W de Klerk "absolved" himself of responsibility for the violence in his presentation yesterday.

- The government is "flexible" on the idea of a constituent assembly and is beginning to

show "some degree of flexibility" toward the call for an interim government.

The ANC, Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC, the NP and the Democratic Party all made contributions at the conference.

The US was represented by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, and senior senators and congressmen from both the Republican and Democratic parties.

A senior Soviet foreign affairs official and British and German parliamentarians also attended the conference.

Mr Saloojee said the American representatives were "powerful decision-makers", and would have a significant influence on decisions about sanctions and aid to South Africa.

LONDON. — Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and the AWB were so completely "done" in a television documentary screened here last night, that one commentator said he hoped the film would put other journalists off the subject for a long time to come.

Nick Broomfield's documentary on Channel 4, entitled "The Leader, the Driver and the Driver's Wife", received massive pre-publicity in the national press yesterday.

Unable initially to get an interview with Mr Terre'Blanche, Broomfield befriends his driver, Mr J P Meyer, and his wife, Anita, a social worker who distributes condoms to black farming communities. "You know they do it six times a day," she confides.

Mr Meyer, who had just been released from detention for alleged involvement in a right-wing conspiracy, is asked if the experience made him feel any sympathy for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. He replies: "I'm a bloody racist. How do you expect me to feel sorry for a bloody kaffir?"

Britons given "insight" into ET and AWB

The Independent's Mark Wareham said in his preview that Broomfield "pieces together a cruel and humiliating portrait of the odious extremist. The film's killer climax comes at a farcical open-air rally. Terre'Blanche had vowed to spend the previous night with his horse in true eve-of-battle style, but ends up sleeping at the Holiday Inn. On the day the rally's feeble turn-out gets his goat and he turns on Broomfield and his cameraman with a torrent of abuse. Pure pantomime."

The Daily Mail, which struggles to unscramble the AWB anagram — it becomes the "Afrikaner Werstard Bwering Party" — described Broomfield's pursuit of the "ranting red-neck" as "unmissable".

IN the most serious threat yet to the peace process, the African National Congress yesterday said it would suspend all constitutional talks with the Government if certain steps were not taken by May 9 to stop the township violence.

The ANC's national executive listed seven security-related demands to be met within a month — including the sacking of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

And in a stinging attack on the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC said perpetrators of violence aimed to "inflate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena".

Reaction — See Page 2

The ANC also dismissed IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's suggestion of a "troika" — consisting of the KwaZulu leader, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk — to deal with the violence.

Yesterday's demands, formulated at a two-day extraordinary meeting of the ANC's leadership, were that:

- Ministers Malan and Vlok be dismissed, and all SADF and SAP officers who bear direct responsibility for the setting up and management of the Civil Co-operation Bureau

Meet our demands or talks are off, Mandela tells FW

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

(CCB) and other hit squads be "rusticated" (isolated and penalised).

- All special counter-insurgency units be publicly dismantled and disarmed, including the CCB, Koevoet and the Askaris. A multi-party commission should be set up to oversee this process.

- All police officers implicated in the Sebokeng massacre in March last year be immediately suspended and charged, and all officers implicated in last month's Daveyton and Benoni shootings on March 24 be suspended pending the findings of a commission of inquiry.

- Satisfactory assurances be given that security forces will use civilised methods of crowd control, and the use of live ammunition be prohibited on such occasions.

- Laws be introduced in the current session of Parliament to outlaw the carrying of all weapons, including traditional weapons, at

public gatherings and processions.

- Effective steps be taken to begin the process of phasing out hostels and other labour compounds and transform these dwellings into family housing units and single occupancy flats.

- An independent commission of inquiry be set up to investigate all complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

Yesterday's ultimatum was contained in an open letter to President de Klerk and his Cabinet, released at a press conference at the ANC's Johannesburg head office.

Addressing the press conference, Mr Mandela hinted that the ANC might reconsider the ultimatum "if the Government responds in a satisfactory way".

This is the second ANC deadline presented to the Government recently. In December, the ANC warned that it would review the suspension of the armed struggle if all political prisoners were not freed and all exiles not allowed to return by April 30.

● TO PAGE 2.

Talks



The letter puts the blame for the protracted violence squarely at the Government's door.

It is "inconceivable" that the Government lacks the capacity to curb the violence which first broke out in September 1984, it says.

"The ANC is of the view that the Government's equivocal attitude to the cycle of violence reflects either an attitude of cynical irresponsibility or is evidence of connivance at acts of organised terror in the hope that they will succeed in destroying or seriously crippling the ANC."

Mr Mandela, flanked by information head Pallo Jordan and SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, told a press conference that the departments headed by General Malan and Mr Vlok had been responsible for the deaths of close to 8 000 people.

He attributed these deaths to faction fighting, unacceptable methods of crowd control, "the connivance of the Government" and the activities of a government "third force".

A grave-looking Mr Mandela said this ultimatum was the most serious threat yet to negotiations.

"This is a very seri-

ous matter. I sincerely hope that the Government will treat it in this light," he warned.

The letter contained a detailed evaluation of recent incidents of violence, singling out groups wearing "red headbands", government agents, the KwaZulu police, well-organised groups of armed men using automatic weapons, and gangs of hoodlums and vigilantes.

The ANC launched a surprising attack on the IFP, after months of sensitive negotiations between the two parties.

Asked if the ANC's dismissal of the IFP would not fuel tension between supporters of the two groups, Mr Mandela said Inkatha was a minor political grouping and the ANC had no hesitation in saying so.

Dismissing the "troika" concept, Mr Mandela said he had earlier suggested that he, Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi visit strife-torn areas. However, this should only be a single mission.

Minutes after the conclusion of the press conference, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's office faxed a full response to the ANC's statement, saying any loss of confidence in the pre-negotiation talks between the ANC and the Government should be laid squarely at Mr de Klerk's doorstep for "failing to control" Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi.

Fire Vlok, Malan - ANC

Major parties support rapid reform, US group finds

CAPE TOWN — All the major political groups in South Africa were surprisingly in agreement and eager to move rapidly towards a negotiated constitutional settlement for South Africa.

This was the general view gained by a group of US congressmen after a week-long confidential debate with representatives of the Government, Democratic Party, ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo, US Senator Dick Clark said at a news conference here yesterday.

Perspective

Senator Clark tried to give journalists a perspective of the wide-ranging talks by the Aspen Institute group at the end of their stay.

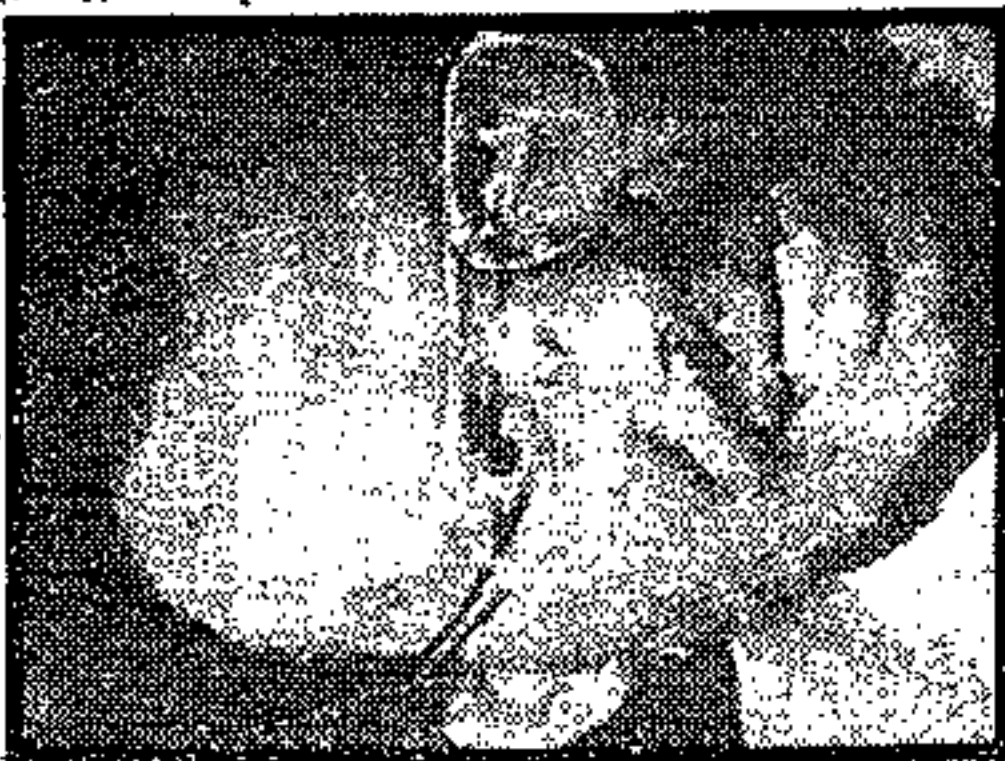
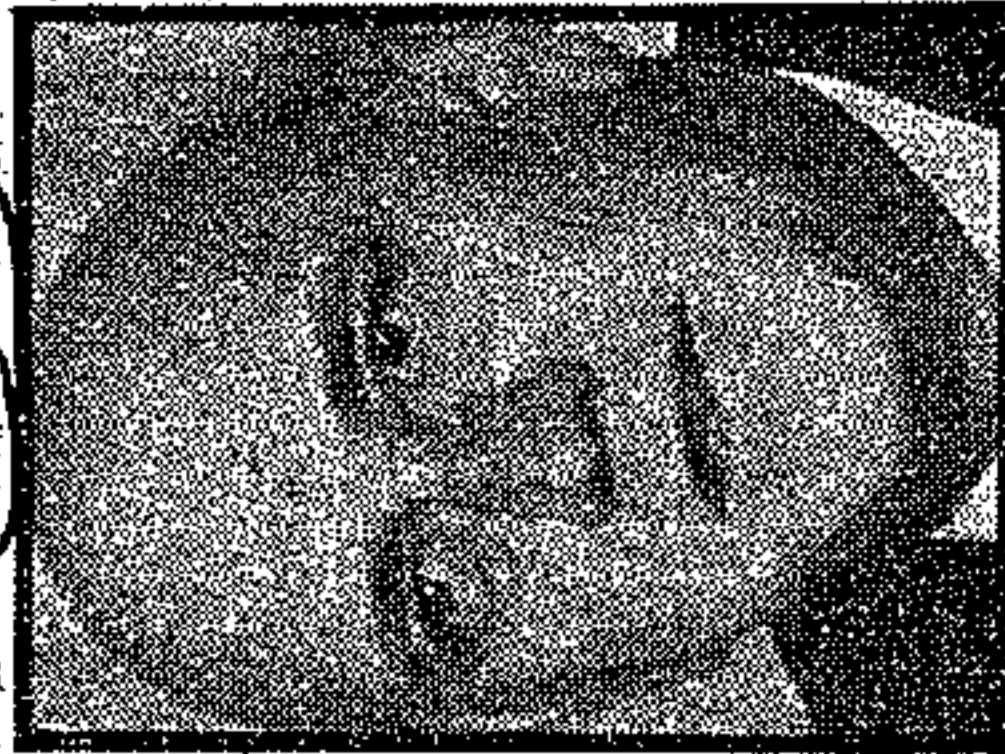
The group, apart from the South African participants, included 17 congressmen, two European

PIERRE CLAASSEN

parliamentarians (one British, one German) and representatives of both the US and USSR foreign affairs departments dealing with Africa.

Although the identities of the participants and the content of the discussions are traditionally confidential, it is known that among those present were the State President, F W de Klerk, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Hank Cohen, the ANC's Deputy President, Nelson Mandela, and Inkatha Freedom Party President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Senator Clark, an African specialist and frequent visitor to South Africa, said the US congressmen were leaving South Africa with a positive attitude and optimism about the general



KEY PLAYERS: Spokesman Senator Dick Clark (left) and four men said to have been involved in the debate (from left) — President F W de Klerk, Assistant Secretary of State Hank Cohen, the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

direction the country was taking.

"We cannot help but be impressed by their (the participating political groups) willingness to move towards a negotiated settlement.

"All the groups said they wanted to move very rapidly. Without exception, they said that... but there are so many variables that nobody

The series of meetings on South Africa would continue. The American participants felt an urgent need to know more about the South African situation.

"They leave here with a greater personal interest and understanding and a feeling that they ought to know more," he said.

The discussions were

primarily in the form of questions from the Americans, who did not submit many contributions.

Each participant was asked to give his party's view of the status of the negotiation process, where they stood and why. They were then asked for their perspective of the obstacles and the issues to be resolved

in attaining a democratic South Africa.

As a result, Senator Clark said, every conceivable topic had been discussed, although the participants concentrated on six central themes:

- The modalities of developing a constitution with the elements of an all-party conference, interim government and constituent assembly

fully canvassed.

- The violence and security situation with views expressed on the possible causes and cures.
- The economy, focusing on social needs, particularly in post-apartheid RSA.
- Land reform and particularly the aspects of restitution and Government intervention.
- Sanctions, their effects and the timing of their lifting.

CP stayed away

- The US role after the lifting of sanctions and a democratic constitution.

The latter was an issue not anticipated by the congressmen, but which introduced a new debate for them.

The Conservative Party, also considered a major player by the Institute, had been invited, but had decided not to attend. — Sapa.

Nats, ANC must close this gap

Sf-ar 6/14/91. 304A

WHEN one comes to think of it, there does not appear to be an unbridgeable difference between the National Party and the ANC standpoints on the structuring of the negotiation process. Perhaps the most obvious difference is that the ANC's position is far clearer and complete than that of the NParty. It is, of course, another story whether the ANC's position would yield a desirable democratic result under the socio-political conditions in present-day South Africa.

In short, the ANC is calling for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person one vote, which would then draw up a constitution for post-apartheid South Africa.

It also calls for the installation of an interim government (presumably dominated by the party that would have won the constituent assembly election) that would govern the country and preside over the process of political transition.

Well-reasoned

The proposal seems to be silent on the question of the election of a post-apartheid government after the constitution has been finalised. In other words, it leaves unanswered the question of whether there will actually be two elections: one to elect the constituent assembly and another to elect the new government.

The National Party's position is even more obscure on these issues. While the Nats seem to have a well-reasoned "assault plank" against the constituent assembly à la ANC, it does not appear able or willing to propose a credible alternative to the ANC plan.

On some occasions, the National Party rejects the ANC's constituent assembly out of hand and proposes instead that parties "with proven support"

Through My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



should form the negotiating forum. I am afraid this position will soon become increasingly untenable, unless the NP hastens to tell us exactly how this support of parties will be "proven" if not through an electoral or sifting process of sorts.

Yet, on other occasions, the National Party opposes only the electoral system (ie simple majoritarianism) that the ANC proposes, and not necessarily the notion of an elected constituent assembly or negotiating forum. In this context, the National Party appears to be saying it could seriously consider an elected negotiating forum, provided the electoral system used was, for example, proportional representation, or any other system that takes minority parties into consideration.

In both cases the difference between the two positions is clearly not unbridgeable. The problem is that no one seems to be bothering about bridging it.

So far, I have not heard any ANC spokespersons who say they would be against this arrangement in principle.

On the question of the interim government, there appears to be more common ground. The National Party is not against the idea of an interim government, provided it will have a meaningful piece of the action in this government and will not be forced to abdicate prematurely before there is a post-apartheid constitution.

All told, the only coherent plan of structuring the negotiation process that is on the table at the moment belongs to the ANC.

FW rejects ANC threat

POLITICAL leaders expressed shock, dismay, confusion and deep suspicion last night at the ANC's threat to pull out of negotiations.

The organisation's open letter to President de Klerk — threatening to withdraw from constitutional talks unless he meets several tough conditions by May 9, including firing Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok — has largely taken the political world by surprise.

President de Klerk last night firmly rejected the ANC's threat to pull out of negotiations. He said in a midnight statement that the ANC's accusations against the Government were "obviously one-sided and incomplete".

He said it seemed that now that obstacles to negotiations were about to be re-

moved, the ANC was setting new conditions and shifting the goal posts to try to gloss over serious problems within its own ranks.

Mr de Klerk revealed that he was busy trying to arrange joint discussions between the Government and the ANC and Inkatha over the issue of violence. The aim would have been to create the appropriate forum to discuss in depth precisely those problems to which the ANC had referred in its statement.

Steps

Mr de Klerk "decisively" rejected the "insinuations" in the letter that the Government was either insensitive over the violence issue or negligent in taking action.

He said that special steps had been taken with great manpower and cost implications to try to bring the current violence under control.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said late last night that he was "astounded and disappointed" by the ANC

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

statement. "How can I deal with people like this," he said.

Dr Buthelezi said that Mr Mandela had spoken to him three times over the last few weeks about setting up discussions with the Government on violence and that precisely the issues raised in the ANC letter would have been discussed.

Mr de Klerk said he found it strange that the ANC had launched a strong attack on Inkatha in the letter while the two organisations were involved in high-level discussions about the conflict between them.

General Malan's spokesman, Dr Das Herbst, said the ANC's demand for the Minister's dismissal was "laughable and ludicrous". He asked: "Who are they to make such demands?"

He said the ANC's demand for action against the Civil Co-operation Bureau was

"behind the times" because the CCB was already "non-existent".

Mr Vlok said he would be in a position to comment only after studying the ANC's statement.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen also said he would first like to study the statement before commenting.

Conservative Party defence spokesman Koos van der Merwe said there were unconfirmed rumours that most of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were already in the country.

'Empty'

"That may be why the ANC is flexing its muscles. The position is very serious and anything can happen."

Democratic Party Zach de Beer said the threat to break off negotiations was "empty and unconstructive".

"If negotiations are broken off at this time, it means we have to go back to the status quo ante — unrepresentative white government

trying unsuccessfully to run South Africa in very difficult circumstances which can only get worse.

"It is a threat not against the National Party but against South Africans as a whole, except the CP, which would think it good news and which would be very much strengthened by it."

He said the ANC threat was "very sad" and hoped it would be headed off by negotiations.

Dr de Beer said some of the ANC demands were more sensible than others. The DP had already demanded the resignation of General Malan but he did not think SA would be better off with a replacement for Mr Vlok.

He agreed that the townships should be "de-weaponised" but that this would have to be total.

Policemen and soldiers could only be fired after due process of law.

Conservative Party Dr Andries Treurnicht said the ANC statement was "totally

laughable and unacceptable".

"No Government with self-respect will be blackmailed by such organisations with such demands, even ultimatums. It is unimaginable that the Government will yield to such demands."

"The Government is being ground between millstones, the unacceptable demands of the ANC and concessions to the ANC."

"The Government has no option but to keep General Malan. It has not responded to CP demands, the demands of white people, so how can it now respond to the demands of terrorist organisations? If it does it will place itself in a very, very controversial position."

Takeover

Mr van der Merwe said it looked as if the moment of truth had arrived for the Government.

"This is the moment we've been warning about. The ANC is interested only in completely taking over this country."

All at Aspen talks 'seek democracy soon'

30 4/1 2357 CAP Trip 6/4/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ALL six South African political parties attending the high-powered Aspen Institute conference in Cape Town this week said they wanted a new democratic government "very rapidly", conference organiser Mr Dick Clark said yesterday.

The SA parties represented at the four-day seminar were the government/National Party, the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party. Business and labour representatives also attended.

Mr Clark was speaking at the end of what he called a "very successful" meeting during which the largest US congressional delegation ever to visit SA — 17 members in all — gained a "much clearer view" on the complexities of the country.

"We do not have anyone saying they do not want a negotiated settlement — the variations are in how and when to do that."

Mr Clark noted that after days of intensive discussions it had emerged that disagreements



ORGANISER ...
Mr Dick Clark

among the parties were not on whether there should be a negotiated settlement but on "the modalities" of the issue.

He said the participants left the conference yesterday "with optimism" despite the significant obstacles ahead.

"I was impressed by the willingness of groups to find solutions and work towards a democratic constitution and elections."

Mr Clark said the Conservative Party, which had sent a repre-

sentative to previous Aspen Institute seminars, decided about a week before the Cape Town conference not to attend.

"The CP is an important political group in SA, so we are disappointed that they did not attend," he said.

Mr Clark told a press conference that the seminar — the fourth in a series on the future of SA — had covered "every imaginable topic".

He said the US lawmakers who had attended the conference were going away better informed, with a greater understanding, "and with the knowledge that they need to know more and that this is just the beginning of their education" on South Africa.

Asked whether the seminar had advanced the process of lifting sanctions against South Africa, Mr Clark responded: "I would not characterise it in that way."

"We dealt with sanctions ... but I am not in a position to characterise whether the process (of lifting them) has been speeded up or slowed down — but we are better informed on SA thinking."

THE BATTLE

OF THE GANTS

Clips 7/4/91

By SEKOLA SELLO, SBU MNGADI and Sapa

THE ANC and the government are locked in combat for the political high ground as pre-negotiation talks between these two major players enter a decisive phase.

The ANC landed the first punches on Friday when it gave the government an ultimatum to meet several demands, including the dismissal of ministers Adrian Vlok and Magnus Malan, or risk aborting the multi-party conference and the constitutional discussions.

In what is seen as a hardening of attitudes by the ANC, the movement has given the government until May 9 to fire Malan and Vlok and meet six other tough conditions - demands which observers say the government will reject out of hand.

To underline its resolve, the ANC took the unusual step of sending State President F.W. de Klerk and his Cabinet an open letter listing its grievances and demands. Copies of the letter were also sent to the press.

The ANC also lashed out at Inkatha, accusing it of complicity in the killings

FW in a fury

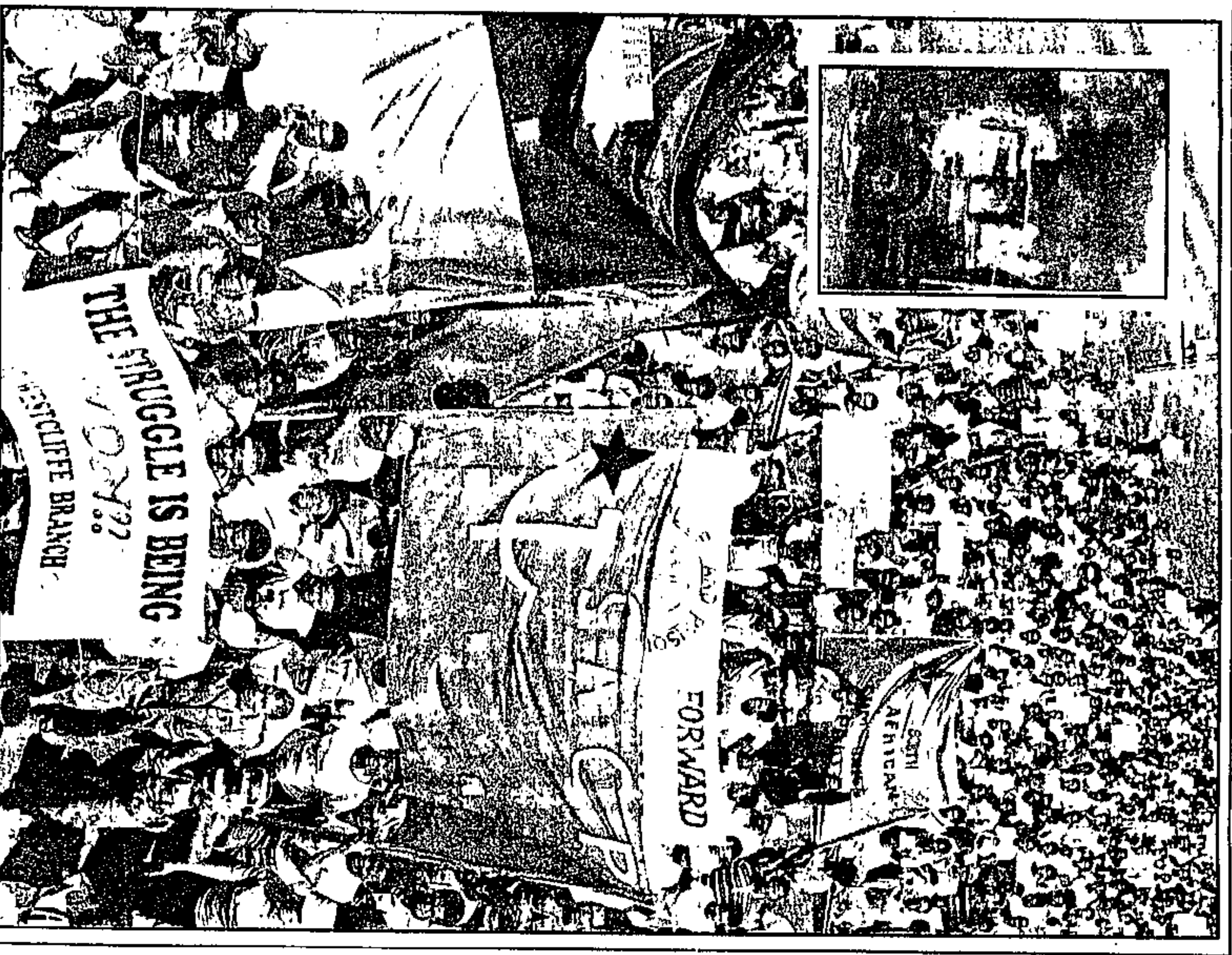
as ANC takes

a hard line on negotiations

taking place in black townships. The accusations come in the wake of fears that criticism could worsen relations between the two organisations and increase bloodletting, particularly on the Reef.

The letter to the government has drawn a harsh response from De Klerk who accused the ANC of making new demands and moving goalposts in "order to cover up serious problems within its own (ANC) ranks".

Apart from denying the government was to blame for the violence and that it was also not keen to solve the problems



Thousands marched to Johannesburg Prison yesterday to demand the release of political prisoners. (Inset) A truck was petrolbombed by irate marchers in Krugersdorp. See Page 5

What the ANC

Big prizes in L

WATCH your Learning Press next week for a great new competition. Each week for the next 17 weeks wonderful prizes can be won.

A portable radio worth R250, men's or ladies digital watch worth R150 and a pocket calculator worth R50 will be awarded to the first three correct entries drawn in the Learning Press/Via Afrika Bonaanza.

Five dictionaries will also be given away each week.

In October, a final bumper draw

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Apart from denying the government

was to blame for the violence and that it was also not keen to solve the problem, De Klerk did not say whether he will accede to the demands.

He said the letter was "being studied and if necessary a full response would follow".

The ANC has dismissed De Klerk's allegations that there are problems within the organisation. Instead, the ANC said De Klerk's "petty response ... confirms the impression that the loss of black people's lives has made no impact on him or his government".

According to Stellenbosch University academic Jannie Gagiano, the latest moves indicate that both sides are trying to take up "strategic positions".

Gagiano said that since the two parties started the negotiations process last year, the ANC has gradually lost its image of a revolutionary movement.

"The ANC has lost too much ground to the government and must start refurbishing its image as a liberation movement."

"This latest move gives it the chance to re-establish its image, particularly among the constituency which was critical of the leadership at the December 16 conference."

The Maties lecturer said that while the ANC is trying to seize the political initiative, the government is unlikely to yield much. In a stand-off between the two parties, De Klerk is likely to have the backing of the international community while

From Page 1

the ANC may be seen as "demanding too much".

Observers believe the ANC's attitude signifies a new approach to negotiations. This follows an admission, revealed in a 26-page discussion document, that it had lost the initiative to the government.

The document, entitled *Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*, has been published for discussion at the ANC's congress in June and admits openly that its decision to opt for negotiations has resulted in the organisation losing the initiative.

De Klerk's initiatives led to the easing of sanctions and the opening of international — and African — diplomatic links despite opposition from the ANC.

In response to the ANC's criticism that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is a "minor player", IFP leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed". He promised to reply in full during tomorrow's sitting of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly.

A statement released yesterday by Vlok's office rejected the ANC's ultimatum and said the personal attacks were "blatant political propaganda".

A spokesman for Vlok, Captain Craig Kotze, said: "We wish to point out that Minister Vlok's personal involvement in attempts to prevent and curb the violence are well known. His record speaks for itself."

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League has decided to call on the ANC to suspend negotiations with the government.

In its place the Youth League has called for a programme of action involving the ANC, Cosatu, PAC, Azapo, SACP, Nactu and other anti-apartheid movements to teach the "De Klerk regime a historical lesson".

What the ANC is demanding

THE ANC demands include:

- The dismissal of ministers Vlok and Malan and all SADF and SAP officers responsible for "crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads".
- A ban on the carrying of weapons "traditional or otherwise" at public assemblies, processions and rallies.
- The dismantling and disarming of all counter-insurgency units and the establishment of a multi-party commission to oversee this process.
- The immediate suspension from duty of all policemen implicated in last year's Sebokeng massacre and the shooting in Daveyton on March 24 this year.
- Assurances that in future the SAP, the SADF and other security organs will employ "acceptable and civilised methods" of crowd control and that police are not issued with live ammunition at mass meetings.
- Steps be taken to phase out single-sex hostels.
- The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security forces.

Taverner shot dead

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

A WELL-KNOWN East Rand taverner was shot dead during a fight with a senior member of the Daveyton City Council this week.

Ummeli Zachariah Mlambo, 47, of Daveyton, died in the township of a bullet wound.

He was president of the Daveyton Taverners' Association and Friendship Club — a co-operative of mohodisano and burial societies.

East Rand police liaison officer Finnie Slab-

bert said the council official was in a serious condition in the Far East Rand Hospital after he was allegedly stabbed by Mlambo.

No arrests have been made and a murder docket has been opened.

Charges relating to possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition are also being investigated.

Mlambo — who owned a tavern and several shops in Daveyton and nearby Etwatwa — leaves four children.

He will be buried on Saturday.

7/04/91 (304A)

STIMES

SUNDAY TIMES METRO April 7 1991 21



‘You are not doomed to succeed. Your success at home must be built: it cannot be granted by anyone or seized from anyone’

WHAT KIND OF ATTENTION DO YOU WANT?

THE question that only South Africans can answer is, What kind of “attention”, if any, do you want from the global system? Surely, you do not want, like Ethiopia and Sudan, to become the object of charity balls and rock concerts? Another way to get “attention” is to scare, subvert or attack your neighbours.

Pretoria tried some of this during the 80s. Theoretically, the “purpose” was to demonstrate that cross-border violence was a two-way street; but this legitimate argument unhappily gave way to a strange inversion: the neighbours were tormented to show who was boss, to “retaliate” for South Africa’s own internal trauma by redefining it as an externally-inspired plot.

My point is that regional powers which become hegemonies or bullies often outsmart themselves. They unify and alienate those they would persuade and influence.

Usually, their behaviour creates a counterweight as their hubris overwhelms rational behaviour. This has happened to Gaddafi in the past, and it just happened to Saddam Hussein — men who combined the tactics of the outlaw and the bully.

WHAT TO DO WITH YOUR POWER?

A POST-APARTHEID South Africa will possess many of the same assets of actual or latent power to support foreign policy as the current government. You will have clout in the field of transportation politics. Your labour and consumer markets will remain a powerful magnet.

Your demands for power, energy, water, transport and profitable investment prospects will enable you to shape an entire regional economy. Your diversified and creative industrial, commercial and financial base — and your scientific research establishment — will remain second to none in sub-Saharan Africa.

Your rich diversity of cultural, religious and educational institutions and the extraordinary panoply of non-governmental organi-

and beyond. With the demise of apartheid and the emergence of a system based on consent of the governed, that potential will mushroom.

Existing relationships between South Africa and other lands will come out of the closet as, indeed, they are already starting to do. New relationships will now be formed without all the penalties, discounts and taboos of pariahdom.

Above all, you will have the possibility of using your power to create confidence instead of fear, and to attract the world to your side instead of driving it away. These tools, if used correctly, will help you mobilise support for the enormous tasks you face at home.

South Africa’s natural and physical weight in the regional scheme of things will no longer be undercut by its political isolation. You will, at last, have a chance to live up to your vast potential as the world’s gateway to a community of over 150-million people.

Instead of a polecat, you can become a pole of growth, political tolerance and openness, and — yes — a source of security for an entire sub-region.

Equally important, you will offer to southern Africa (and perhaps beyond) its best chance to strengthen linkages to the advanced industrial nations of the “North” — especially in Europe. And, at the same time you will offer the Europeans their most attractive and interesting African opportunities.

That puts South Africa in an almost unique role to become a pivot between the two great regions of the “old world” — regions that have known each other historically as metropole and colony but also as core and periphery.

Europe, for reasons I hardly need mention, remains Africa’s partner of choice, its best hope to prevent marginalisation, and its most caring neighbour. Who would be better placed than South Africans to help strengthen this broader European-African relationship once your own house is in order?

But wait a minute, I can hear the sceptic say. This scenario is full of implicit assumptions. Who

defined strength in numbers. It also served as a device for deflecting attention and responsibility away from one’s own problems and shortcomings toward external devils and scapegoats.

But, even back then, it was an artificial and negative ideology based on the lowest common denominator: the rejection of a previous foreign (in practice, Western) domination.

The world is tiring of professional victims and their ideologies. Today, there is not much to be non-aligned about. The Russians are trying to leave the Soviet bloc and would be happy to join the “West” if we would have them.

Does being non-aligned mean dealing with Yemen and Cuba in

Such strategies have consistently failed to generate serious economic relationships. I have seen officials from country after country in Africa (including the National Party government of South Africa) approach the US political leadership with their hands out.

I have seen them do it in the Oval Office, running down their “wish lists” from the most naive requests (“Mr President, build us a bridge and we’ll name it after you”) to the more involved (“Please tell your treasury to tell your banks that we are a good risk and they should extend more credit”) to the blatantly manipulative (“How can I explain to my people that you give five times more money to X than you give to

fare and permanent struggle between systems have been jettisoned, it becomes possible for Washington and Moscow (and their allies) to bury the hatchet in the developing nations of the South.

Global bipolarity is replaced by a structure of multiple balances, new geographic and functional blocs and (hopefully) strengthened organs of regional and international security. This pattern has profound consequences.

It changes the basis for global competition. As we have just seen in the Gulf, it does not eliminate the role of "hard power" (resources, territory, manpower, military might) as a determinant of international hierarchies and influence relationships. But systemic change also highlights the vital role of "soft power" — the power of ideas, communications technology, integrated markets and the principle of public accountability.

Successful nations will be those which possess the necessary basis for physical security, economic growth and prosperity, and legitimate institutions based on consent and open access to participation.

These will be the places that attract the interest and the resources of the external world by creating open societies and a rich panoply of free institutions.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBAL CHANGE

WHAT are the implications for a post-apartheid South Africa? It is fashionable in certain intellectual circles to bemoan the Soviet collapse and the demise of the Cold War as factors that "betray" the cause of liberation and that lead inexorably to Africa's "marginalisation". But that is "old thinking".

Africa is beyond the point at which guns can accomplish any-

thing; there are already too many guns — and too many people living off guns — in your region. Besides, it is hard to see how the Soviets could betray a cause that is further advanced in South Africa than it is within the USSR.

As for the threat of "marginalisation", it is real but misperceived. Yes, one can already see a progressive disengagement by external powers from some African countries and regimes.

Yes, the old Third World seller's market is gone: no longer is it possible for nations of the South (including those of southern Africa) to model their foreign policy on the dress code of a singles bar.

The margin of manoeuvre, in the sense of threatening to "shift sides" or at least to flirt, is rapidly declining. Being "available" is no longer good enough if the buyers have left the market. A strong case can be made that "marginalisation" as a result of the ending of the Cold War is not a bad thing.

But there is another, more ominous meaning to the term: the loss of interest in Africa that may be occurring as the continent's traditional friends and partners lose hope in its future, despair of seeing the emergence of success stories and competent, accountable governments.

That sort of "marginalisation" is driven negatively (by disquiet) and positively by the attraction of other places that are perceived to have more compelling needs, opportunities and challenges.

I worry about this trend, and have argued strenuously that my country and other Western nations must remain globally engaged for reasons of both national interest and human solidarity.

It would be foolish and wrong

for the successful nations to contribute to the failures and turmoil of the "South" by writing it off. But nations of the "South" must know that it is a tough and demanding world out there, a world that is full of exciting opportunity. Capital and human energy and attention are finite. They will go somewhere else if you blow your chances.

What are the implications of global de-ideologisation for a post-apartheid South Africa? First, we should clarify that "de-ideologisation" is a Soviet buzzword used to explain and rationalise the foreign policy innovations of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze.

It does not signify that everyone else has stopped believing in things. In fact, the movement for human freedom and empowerment — in both political and economic forms — is a dynamic form of civil religion.

This victorious faith is rooted in a Western historical experience (ie. democracy and capitalism), but it has broken away from its geographic and cultural bonds to become a creed that is working for people everywhere.

Its essence is the "expanding pie" school of economics and politics and the power of positive sum games — as contrasted with the zero sum politics of hate and fear and envy.

THE IDEOLOGY OF A NEW SA FOREIGN POLICY

A POST-APARTHEID South Africa will, of course, be free to base its foreign policy on any ideological alignments it wishes.

It could apply to join the worldwide Islamic Conference. It could join the Socialist International or the Christian International. If it moves fast enough, there might still be some remnant of Com-

econ or the Warsaw Pact that has a vacancy for new members.

My hope is to see South Africa join the league of nations espousing and practising the liberating and enriching belief in human freedom. But who knows?

I have always had a problem with the term "post-apartheid". It implies that the termination of evil is the only interesting question, and that what comes next is already known. Building the good society is the new imperative.

I believe that you will succeed in doing it. If I am right, that success will carry over into your foreign policy.

The biggest foreign policy challenge in the early years of the post-apartheid period will be to define a strategy for the establishment (and re-establishment) of your linkages to the changing world.

This is the way to destroy the demon "marginalisation". This is how to induce the wider world to share your dreams and visions, to transfer skills and technology that will save you time and scarce capital, and to make available its experience in the battle for liberty and quality.

Do not cut yourselves off from that wider world. You will need it desperately. Geography and history have already conspired in a strange way to cut South Africa off and make it "peripheral". But with modern technology, sane economics and a civil political order you can rejoin the world.

One ideological club that is not worth the price of admission is the non-aligned movement.

The old notion of "non-alignment" has become irrelevant to African and other states of what used to be called the Third World.

In earlier times, it provided a stage and a certain very loosely-

their failed attempt to thwart the UN Security Council from adopting enforcement measures against Iraq? Can one be non-aligned about being an independent member of the world economic order?

Remember the "new international economic order"? It never made much sense: neither the "North" (really the West) nor the "South" were very meaningful concepts.

In neither place were governments the key actors, and pretending that they were only served to politicise the discussion. Governments have less and less control over the things at issue in the modern world economy — exchange rates, interest rates, investment decisions, financial flows, manufacturing and marketing choices, technological innovation and environmental pressures.

Yet, up to now, the foreign policy of far too many African (and other) states has consisted of an effort to circumvent these realities: to politicise the discussion of economics and to mount a strategy consisting essentially of posturing, pleading, begging and threatening to "switch".

me when I have been your friend much longer?")

There is no reason why African governments should travel around the world as mendicants, asking other governments to do precisely those things which the market tells them not to do. Look what has been achieved in Indonesia. Closer to home, look at Mauritius and, recently, Nigeria.

No one is impressed by people who really believe in dependency theory, as if the colonial era had permanently damaged the gene pool. The foreign economic policy of a post-apartheid South Africa will be a flop if its future masters believe otherwise.

sations (many born in the struggle against apartheid) are an important part of the "wealth" people talk about.

They are as important as your military-industrial complex and standing defence forces which make you a world-class regional power.

I have no reason to suppose that South Africans of any description want to use the power to lord it over your neighbours in SADCC and beyond, in Central Africa and the PTA region.

By the same token, it is axiomatic that South Africa will remain one of a handful of African powers with the potential to make a difference in the region

says that a post-apartheid South Africa will become a viable, constitutional democracy; shun the ideological follies of the past; sustain a vibrant economy while transforming it into an equal opportunity marketplace; and engage constructively with the region and the world beyond Africa; I can only refer to my opening comments. There are some things you have to take on faith.

□ Today Dr Crocker is a distinguished research professor of diplomacy at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, in Washington. He serves as a consultant on strategy and negotiation to US and European firms.

6 Africa is beyond the point at which guns can accomplish anything; there are already too many guns — and too many people living off guns — in your region 9

I HAVE always been an optimist about South Africa. Even during the darkest days of the 80s when a destructive test of wills brought South Africans to the edge of an abyss, I did not believe that you were doomed to destroy each other in a loser's game of violence and winner-take-all authoritarianism.

At the height of the gloom, I remained convinced that your country could become Africa's first real showcase of democratic pluralism. In a continent starved for economic success stories, South Africa had the chance to escape from failure and to help others to do so as well.

Why the optimism? Perhaps, it was just my disgust for a conventional wisdom shaped by racist stereotypes on the one hand and Leninist dogmatism on the other.

But another reason may have been my seat-of-the-pants judgment that you are too practical, too God-fearing, too close to the land and too creative to do to yourselves what the Germans, Lebanese, Russians, Ugandans, Salvadorans, Iraqis and Cambodians have done to themselves during this century.

Having said this, there is no guardian angel looking out for South Africans as you enter the post-apartheid era. You are not doomed to succeed. Your success at home must be built: it cannot be granted by anyone or seized from anyone.

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT OF SA's TRANSITION

THE "new South Africa" is being built at a time of extraordinary change in the structure of the international system.

Take, for example, the phenomenon known to Soviet experts as "de-ideologisation". This concept is a central element in Moscow's "new thinking" that has permitted such dramatic progress in US-Soviet relations.

TOWARDS THE FUTURE SA



ESCAPE FROM FAILURE

304A

8/11/91
7/4/91

by **CHESTER CROCKER**

MORE than a decade ago he authored America's policy of constructive engagement towards South Africa. Now, in an important and incisive analysis, the former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa writes about the dangers, and the opportunities, facing us in the post-apartheid years

Opposing parties agree on ideal of democracy

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE four-day confidential conference of the Aspen Institute ended in Cape Town with "unofficial consensus" among the divergent South African participants on the ideal of a negotiated settlement leading to a democratically elected government in South Africa.

US Senator Dick Clark, chief organiser of the Aspen conferences, held annually in different parts of the world and sponsored by the Carnegie and Ford Foundations, said delegates' contributions were kept confidential.

However, he said that it was heartening that all local participants, in their addresses and debates, had agreed that SA should move towards a negotiated, democratic constitu-

tional settlement.

The Conservative Party, because of its policy not to talk to the ANC, refused an invitation to attend the high-powered conference — making it the only significant South African political party not to attend.

The four-day conference included 17 foreign delegates, including Republican and Democratic US congressmen and a Russian from the Soviet Union's Department of African Affairs.

Local participants included the NP, DP, ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo.

President FW de Klerk and Gerrit Viljoen, the Constitutional Develop-

ment Minister, addressed the conference on the last day.

Harry Schwarz, South Africa's ambassador to Washington, attended the conference discussions as an observer and briefed Foreign Minister Pik Botha on US-SA relations, which Mr Botha later described as "excellent".

The lifting or retention of sanctions by the US in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act dominated the conference.

The ANC, Azapo and PAC representatives put the case for the retention of sanctions. They did not doubt Mr De Klerk's sincerity, but argued that lifting sanctions now would be premature.

Inkatha sided with the NP and DP in arguing for them to be lifted.

Belief

The chairman of the American House Foreign Affairs sub-committee on Africa, Mervyn Dymally, said he had been impressed by the "cool, calm and deliberate" manner in which Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, had "held steadfast" in his view against the lifting of sanctions despite tough questioning by delegates.

He had also remained steadfast in his belief that Mr De Klerk's reform programme "was reversible despite Mr De Klerk's declarations to the contrary."

One of the most prominent proponents of sanctions, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town, stunned the world on the last day of the conference by contradicting Mr Mandela, Azapo and the PAC and calling for a review of sanctions.

THE true shape of South African society is slowly emerging from the mists of Nationalist propaganda, and from the shadows of anti-apartheid conspiracy. We cannot yet discern the real South Africa, but already it is obvious that this is not the country we thought we knew.

Among the myths that have fallen away since the unbanning of the proscribed political movements is, for example, the old notion — so beloved of the more bigoted English "liberals" — that the Afrikaners were uniquely shaped by their history and their church for the role of racial oppressor, and that they were therefore incapable of change.

A companion myth, that the future will be settled in a titanic last struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism, is rapidly yielding to the ruthless struggle for power between black people, in which whites have become marginal.

Indeed, white South Africans look like being reduced, as they have been in Zimbabwe, to mere onlookers, or technocrats (like the police) who are expected to keep the place functioning while more important people devote themselves to the demanding tasks and burdens of power politics.

Meanwhile the ANC, which loomed so formidably a year ago, has quickly acquired a reputation for monumental incompetence. It is run, to a very large degree, by members of the SA Communist Party: Ahmed Kathrada, Joe Slovo, Essop Pahad, Raymond Suttner, Jeremy Cronin, and others who are still coy about their communist affiliations.

A year ago the ANC seemed a strong horse under a communist rider; since then it has been reduced to a pony, led by the nose. Not even its supporters claim for it the competence to run a railroad, much less a

KEIN OWEN ON SUNDAY

5 Times

7/4/91



country.

Nor does the old ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance look nearly as solid as it did.

The UDF, whose members bore the brunt of the anti-apartheid struggle in the 80s, has disintegrated. Some of its most prominent leaders have been shipped abroad on scholarships for the duration of the power struggle; others, especially union leaders, have turned out to be SACP "sleepers", quietly planted in strategic positions long ago.

Cosatu's vice-presidents Chris Dhlamini and John Gomo and assistant general secretary Sidney Matimadi are members of the SACP interim leadership group; other Cosatu officials are almost surely covert SACP members.

NEVERTHELESS, Cosatu has begun to develop its own agenda, separate from the ANC agenda. It is too early for outsiders to tell what Cosatu is trying to achieve, but it seems to me that once again its overt and covert communist leaders are applying to South Africa the lessons of Russian history.

The lesson which Western liberals draw from recent Soviet experience is that free societies, which are able to discover their true nature and to fashion appropriate definitions of total problems, succeed better than total-

itarian states that, like apartheid South Africa or Soviet Russia, hide the truth from themselves.

The lesson that communists draw from the same evidence is that the Russians erred in their execution of the communist programme, in particular by letting the party establish domination (and ultimately control) of "the workers". Hence the recent efforts of Cosatu to ensure the survival and independence of the trade unions as a separate power base.

That's progress. When a communist party insists on entrenching in a constitution, beyond the reach of a mere legislature, such rights as freedom of the media, it risks becoming an ally in a liberal cause. It is also, ironically, playing with powerful forces which it does not understand.

Trade unions, by their nature, depend upon conformity, and they traditionally deal very harshly with dissidents in their own ranks. This may be the only country where unions have actually set their dissidents on fire, or publicly executed them before 2 000 terrorised on-lookers, but it is not the only country where union discipline has been upheld by murder.

Conformity, however, is a trap. Nonsensical slogans, such as "an injury to one is an injury to all" have spawned greater nonsense, such as

"pass one, pass all". At the same time, the demand for discipline has spawned an impatience with dissent, and a growing lust for power among union leaders.

When a union movement, therefore, demands independence for itself and freedom of expression for everybody else, it is feeding the forces which tend to undermine conformity, and to expose its own contradictions. A trade union in which each member is free to act as he thinks best is a contradiction in terms.

THIS brings up another contradiction which is emerging. The unionised workers already constitute a privileged elite, to whom all the good things of life (up to university education for the children) are available. They are most threatened not by capital, nor by Afrikaners or whites, but by the unemployed masses who peddle tomatoes or hijack cars simply to survive.

The gulf between this country's unionised elite and the unemployed under-class grows wider by the day. In organisational terms, the natural haven of the workers is the trade union, and the natural haven of the jobless is the political party. When Cosatu draws a line between itself and the ANC, it may also be drawing a line between the worker elite and the

masses.

We are so accustomed to thinking of ourselves in terms of apartheid terminology — rich whites, poor blacks, four "race groups", and so forth — that it remains difficult to grasp the central fact of South African society: diversity.

We are a nation divided racially across the entire spectrum from Scandinavian blonde to Ethiopian black. We are as divided by religion as India or Ireland. We are divided by language, history, habits, values, prejudices and hatreds. We cannot agree on the simplest of common values, such as the right to life, or, at the inane level, Sunday observance.

In such a country, anything less than freedom must be oppression, and freedom itself must be an atomising force that makes the individual supreme.

SOME people, thinking still in the terms of the past, suspect that President De Klerk has a hidden agenda to retain power for the Afrikaners, or for the whites as a whole.

The suspicion is irrational: the reason he abandoned the attempt to suppress political opponents was that the white community had exhausted both the will and the resources to maintain oppression.

Moreover, President De Klerk has unleashed on the nation forces of free inquiry and political dispute which are destroying not only the old sustaining myths of white hegemony, but also the revolutionary myths of the anti-apartheid movement. The oppressor in South Africa is no longer necessarily white, and the victim is not necessarily black.

Cosatu's bid for freedom from the ANC suggests that, from the present confusion, we may yet fashion a set of principles to make this country safe for diversity. To do anything less will be to fail.

Big thumbs-up for democracy

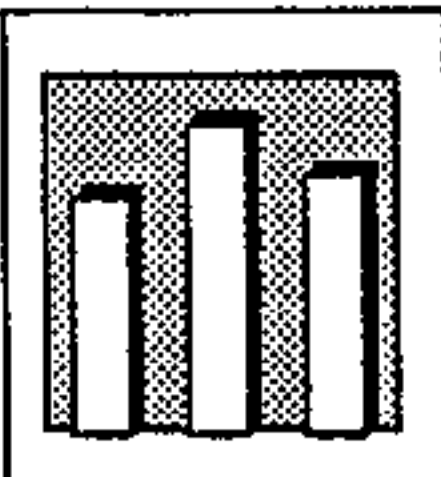
304A

Star 8/4/91

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The World Social Value Study, initiated by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, spans some 42 countries. The South African component used a locally adapted questionnaire. The sample comprised 1 236 whites (rural and urban), 200 coloured residents of Cape Town, 200 Asian residents of Durban and 600 black

**SA
social
value
study**



people in major urban centres. The black, coloured and Asian sample was stratified by city and township.

● More details: contact Marketing and Media Research.

IN THE present climate, to express distaste for democracy seems almost as unacceptable as spurning mother's milk.

This impression is borne out by Markinor's local results for the World Social Value Study, in which nearly half the sample expresses strong — and not just moderate — support for the notion that "democracy is preferable to any other form of government".

Nearly 48 percent of a sample drawn from urban and rural areas, inside and outside the

homelands and spanning all races, strongly agreed with this point of view.

Only 5 percent could muster equally strong feeling for the proposition that "in some circumstances a non-democratic government is preferable to a democratic one".

Predictably, there are racial variations in the pattern, with 56 percent of urban blacks prepared to express the strongest possible support for democratic government and whites weighing in more modestly with 36 percent, alongside coloured and Asian respondents, where 30 and 32 percent respectively took this stance.

Even among whites, however, no more than 8 percent would strongly support the notion that non-democratic government might sometimes be preferable.

What is equally strongly suggested by the Markinor poll is that democracy means decidedly different things to different people.

● For all black groups — including the coloured and Asian minorities — it is substantially more important that equality be achievable than that personal freedom be accommodated. More than half of respondents in all three black groups opted for equality, while about one in three valued individual freedom more highly. Whites continue to place great emphasis on individual freedom — seven out of 10 choosing it over creating equality in society.

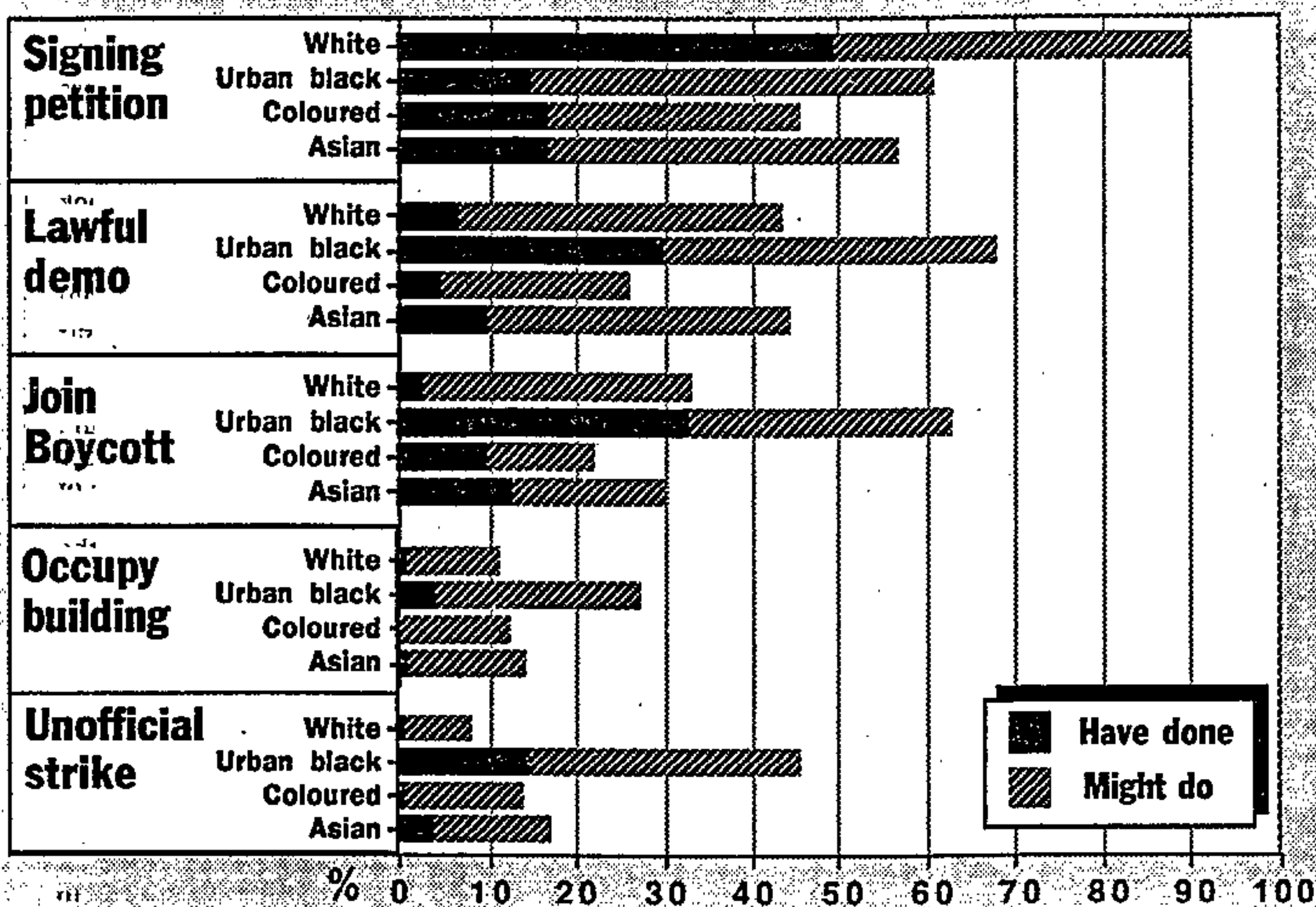
● Urban blacks have a particularly high expectation that government should be open to popular influence. A full 53 percent of black urban respondents agreed strongly with this proposition, as did 40 percent of the Asian sample. The concept has considerably lower currency among whites — only one in five deems it really important. However, there were relatively few in any racial group who felt strongly supportive of the directly opposed view: that government should be directed with a firm official hand.

Significantly, Markinor observes, in the decade since a similar poll was conducted, the tendency towards accepting extra-parliamentary political pressure has increased substantially across all race categories.

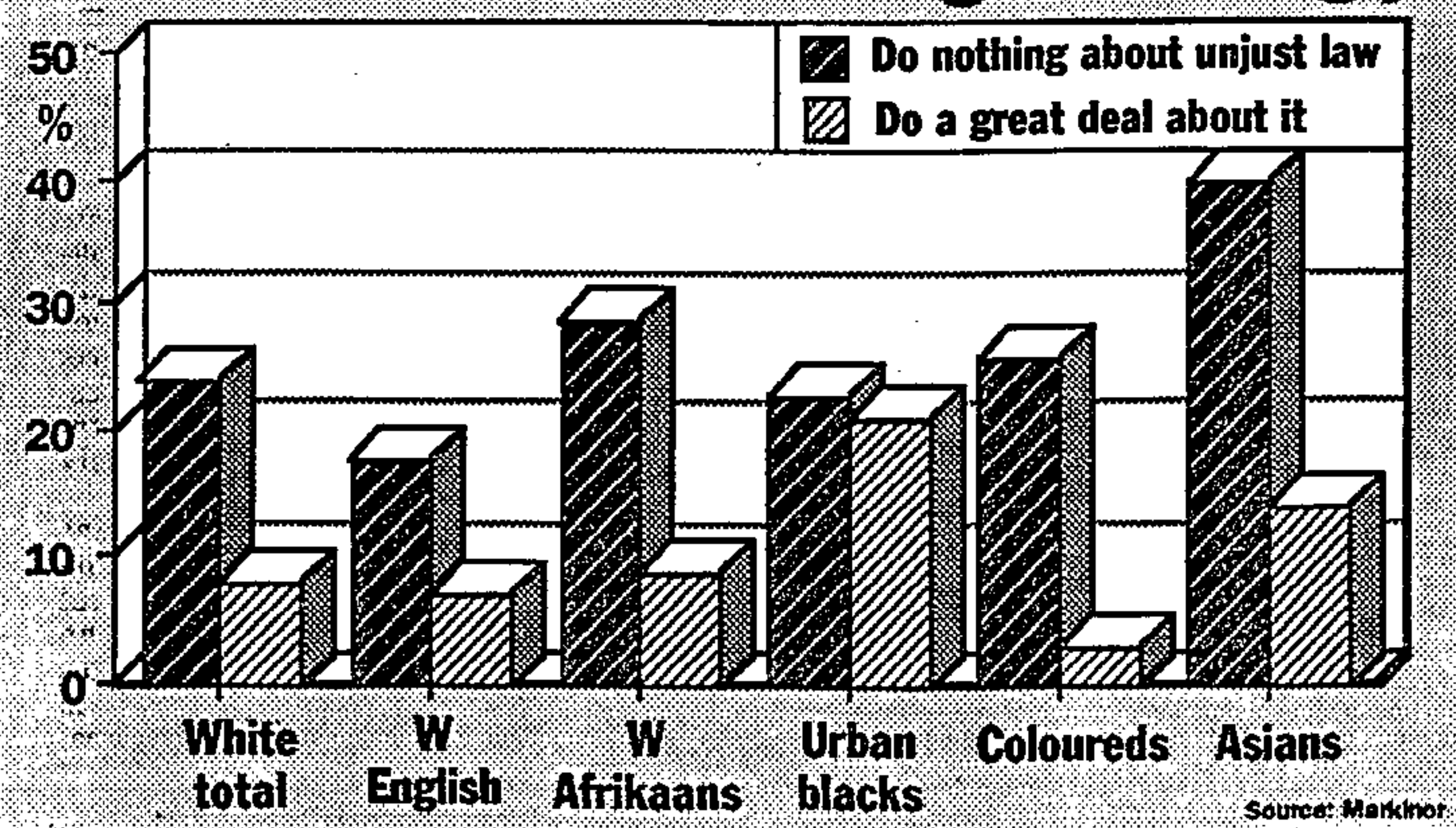
This suggests that it is likely to become an ever greater component of what South Africans accept as democratic practice under a democratic government.

● Tomorrow: South Africa's working class: left-wing or just militant? □

Levels of political activism



Power of individual - agree strongly



By NORMAN WEST
and DAWN BARKHUIZEN

HARDLINERS in the ANC have won Round Three in the struggle between hawks and doves to control strategy for negotiations for a new South Africa.

This is the conclusion of top government negotiators who studied the ANC ultimatum issued by Nelson Mandela as an "open letter" and which brought negotiations to the brink of disaster this week.

The ultimatum, delivered on Friday at a news conference by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, sets May 9 as a deadline for President De Klerk to dismiss both Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and to take other steps to curb violence. If Mr De Klerk fails to comply, the ANC will withdraw from all negotiations.

ROUND ONE came on December



NELSON MANDELA
Courting disaster

16 when a three-day consultative conference forced the adoption of a set of hawkish demands after condemning the ANC leadership for suspending the armed struggle.

ROUND TWO came on January 8 and was won by the doves: the ANC's 79th anniversary document broke a looming deadlock in negotiations by calling for a multi-party congress in advance of a constituent assembly.

An attempt, reportedly led by ANC information chief Pallo Jordan, to restore the hardline position in talks with the government later that month failed.

Now ROUND THREE seeks, more strongly than before, to reassert the hardline strategy of using negotiations to prepare the way for a resumption of armed struggle.

Despite the hardline demands, both ANC and government sources insisted yesterday that the negotiation process was "still on track" — although at great risk.

An ANC source said that working groups and liaison committees would continue to meet, pending the outcome of the demands.

Government sources said last night the ANC was so deeply divided that it was not ready to begin negotiations by April 30. The ultimatum, setting a later deadline, was a ploy to play for time.

They said the ANC was beginning to realise that the April 30 target date for the return of exiles might well be met because of the good progress Minister of Justice Koble Coetzee was making to comply with the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC wanted another excuse for a delay because it was not ready to begin talks, sources said.

Attack

Government officials said it was significant that the ultimatum, coming less than a week after an ostensibly friendly meeting between Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, included a diatribe against Inkatha Freedom Party.

This attack was seen as an attempt to undo the partial agreement of the previous week and to reduce Inkatha to the status of a minor party in the constitutional talks.

President De Klerk, responding to the ultimatum, said that it appeared to be an attempt to draw political gain from the township violence. The

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

ANC THREATENS TO GO TO THE BRINK

S/Times - 7/4/91

(304A)

Peace buses in trouble

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IN RECENT months it had become fashionable to visualise South Africa's negotiations process as a temperamental vehicle, requiring jump-starts and occasional services, but generally sound and with fairly good roadholding.

In the wake of Friday's ANC ultimatum to the Government, the metaphor has to be extended: the peace bus has had its first major accident.

The bodywork is in a terrible mess, and the engine itself could be damaged. It is too early to pronounce it a write-off but, for the first time, that terrifying possibility exists.

Basic confidence in the process itself has been shaken as never before, and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society. It will take yet another high-profile, face-to-face meeting between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela (complete with carefully worded face-saving statement) to rescue it again, but this will not be as easy as before.

Belief, especially among whites, in the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and ability to deliver it will be difficult to sustain, and international investors who have been sniffing around the South African market will run off yelping in horror.

The horrific township violence — the point of the ultimatum — will continue as the leaders lock horns in politicking, instead of linking arms in peacemaking. One could go on with the sorry list: in all, the ef-

It's the ANC deadline — not its demands — that has brought negotiations to the precipice, writes
SHAUN JOHNSON.



From trust to psychosis . . . Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk must now work through a shattered private accord.

fect of the accident is catastrophic.

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks — just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible — seem to be only one part of a much bigger and more complicated picture.

There is no doubt that the township carnage is a matter of the deepest concern to the or-

The ultimatum shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the national psyche. There has developed a vague but crucial belief that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are, somehow, working things out between them. The ultimatum has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis.

Unless the ANC leadership (and this seems unthinkable) was unaware that the announcement would have this effect, there are surely other powerful dynamics at play. Certainly, the Government's negotiators believe that the ultimatum is a stalling and diversionary tactic. It will not be implemented to the letter, they say, but will buy time for the ANC to get its organisational house in order as well as placating the increasingly restless hardliners within the movement.

According to this scenario, militancy has been simmering ever since Mr Mandela gave delegates a dressing-down at the ANC's consultative conference in December. It was compounded by his moderate and accommodating statement of January 8, and again after the ANC made further concessions to the Government in the "D F Malan Accord" of February 12.

Militants were angry about the substance of these policy decisions and also by the fact that they were not consulted on them. In general — and not

without some justification — it was believed that the Government, with its immense resources, was leading the ANC negotiating teams by the nose.

This mood has been heightened by the relentless violence and the broader political implications thereof. In particular, there is panic in ANC circles at the attempted elevation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a status equal to that of Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. This is not justified by his support levels, it is argued, and is a ruse to reduce ANC influence in negotiations.

Coupled with a woeful lack of ANC organisation around the country — it is even possible that the ANC's June conference will have to be postponed — this has caused ANC militants to try to put on the brakes, and the pressure has become too much for Mr Mandela to withstand. The ANC's priority now is to regroup internally (the planned expansion of its national executive committee forms part of this), whether or not this throws the negotiating schedule out of kilter.

It is therefore a comprehensible strategy for internal damage-limitation, but is implemented at the risk of the entire peace process. To return to the motoring metaphor: it is likely that the vehicle can be patched together this time around, and that it will be on the road again. But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again. □

The era when apartheid wrote the script

Star 8/4/91

304A

As the lights go down on anti-apartheid protest drama — what a local critic once memorably called “asinalibongokoff-marxist” theatre — the resulting hiatus offers analysts space to take stock of this controversial moment in South African art.

Wits University English professor Martin Orkin uses the juncture decisively to sum up theatre’s apartheid era and to suggest a closely woven parallel history of politics and theatre over the last 40 years. He traces (in decades, roughly) the politicisation of the stage and its importance in contesting the South African Government’s social control and, more importantly, thought control.

Ridicules

Like many of the actors, directors and plays he discusses, Orkin ridicules any trite distinction between politics and art — a political distinction which, he points

out, has often had the effect of marginalising opinions distasteful to the hegemonic ideology.

The book is, in many ways, a post-facto honouring of the struggle to reverse the marginalisation to which, Orkin contends, South African protest theatre has been systematically subjected.

The physical suppression of “the voice” — censorship, bannings, police breaking up plays... is familiar ground. Orkin’s polemical really begins when he deals with more subtle silencing — how educational institutions, the media and established cultural and social institutions (such as the performing arts councils) “colluded in the process of suppression”.

He singles out South African universities’ English departments: the refusal to include indigenous work within the academic curriculum and “the almost complete suppression of any study of South African drama as literary objects worth either their own or their

BOOK OF THE WEEK

Drama and the South African State by Martin Orkin
(Wits University Press and Manchester University Press, R40)

Reviewed by ADAM GORDON

students’ concern... complemented nicely the Government banning of numbers of plays over the decades”.

Orkin’s position rests on discourse-revised materialist theory of the 1980s, a framework which he consciously assumes and carefully defines in his introduction. He shoots down the liberal holy trinity — humanism, essentialism (the assumption that humanity has a pre-social, transcendent essence) and empiricism — in favour of current materialist theory, a sort of turbo-marxism, where class struggle is not seen just as a struggle over material goods, but also over representa-

tions, interpretations and, ultimately, truth itself.

This “politics of the signifier” certainly applies to the idiosyncratic political history of truth in the apartheid era, and the Government’s history of rather transparent attempts to represent its politics as “natural”. Orkin persuasively and ingeniously analyses the emergence of protest theatre as a struggle for the right to offer contestable representations of living experiences under apartheid.

While “Drama and the South African State” politicises drama, it also, mercifully, finds the passion that lies within the rhetoric. The book has a warm, anecdotal style, telling stories of heroes,

pain, joy, sorrow and overcoming — connecting playwrights, actors and directors to the bigger South African drama in which they have all been acting for years. It is certainly never the dry taxonomy of events that so often seems synonymous with political exegesis.

Often the book carries a flavour of oral history, the unearthing and recording of cultural treasures that were never scripted or filmed. This is the heart of the project — analytically piecing together the bits that have survived and, in doing so, explaining what we have lost.

It is also a historiography lesson for the type of historian who only reads Hansards and law reports.

The book, which forms part of Manchester University Press’s “cultural politics” series, is obviously partly geared for the non-South African. That is no problem, except now and then Orkin is inclined to pander excruciatingly to

the overseas market and drop in holier-than-thou phrases like “the ruling classes” when he means whites, and “the oppressed” when he means blacks. Surely not even left-wing academics are impressed by this rhetoric any more?

Escapes

At times it seems, his post-structuralist critique of essentialism notwithstanding, that Orkin never quite escapes the “goodies and baddies” mentality and flirts dangerously with rigid class essentialism and other Marxist orthodoxies that he so convincingly dispatches in his introduction.

Also, in the same way that Orkin systematically pops the myths of the Eurocentric cultural canon, it wouldn’t hurt if he turned his attention to the myths of representation that abound in liberation theatre and pan-Africanism. □

After visiting East Europe, Harvey Tyson, in the first of two articles, compares nations in transition

Reservations about revolution

Star 4/4/91.

FEAR of change, and fear of missing out on the benefits of change, are causing friction today in all the nations which are moving towards democracy. From East Europe to South Africa, the effects are the same.

If one looks at the newly emerging democracies, from Pretoria to Pretoria, the similarities are such that it is almost possible to create a general model for transition and the effect on each society.

In most places, change has been so sudden, so radical, that it is damaging basic individual security.

Yet, while political change has been fundamental, the majority of citizens believe that almost nothing has changed — except for increasing instability and a rising cost of living.

"I could exist, but not live, under the communists," a Czech

plumber told me. "Now I can live! But, in this chaos, how long will I be able to exist?"

The emotional as well as the socio-political experience is the same wherever drastic reform has been implemented. People are restless and, even when optimistic about the future, almost all are unhappy about today. High hope has changed into disappointment. Disappointment is turning into frustration. Frustration into rage. There are flashes of it in South Africa. Frustration and rage are prevalent in Hungary; in Russia and in Czechoslovakia; in Poland and in Romania; in Bulgaria and in Yugoslavia.

"Everyone talks of the bloodless revolution ... but what has changed? They say reform is irreversible, but the same bureaucrats are doing the same things they used to do under the old regime.

"Everything has changed ... yet nothing has changed."

It could have been a member of the ANC or PAC talking. It could also have been a Hungarian, a Pole, a Slav. It was, in this case, a Czech businessman. The irony was that, while he saw little change, he was in himself an example of huge change. But, like any ANC or PAC former guerrilla venting his grievances at home, his disappointment ended his perspective.

The man in Prague temporarily forgot that he was legally engaged in two activities which were totally forbidden a year ago: he was conducting his own private business, and he was speaking his mind, openly, to a foreign pressman.

A Czech newspaper editor told me: "Yes, we are able now to criticise the government openly, but very little has changed in our actual lifestyles. Yes, we are free

now to travel, but as ordinary citizens we have no foreign currency. I can stroll across the border into west Germany, of course, but all that tells me is that the Czech economy is getting worse."

In Budapest, change has been more gentle, and introduced over a number of years. But the more gradual pace has not prevented disillusion. A Hungarian businessman said of the first democratic government elected in 42 years:

"This so-called liberal government is worse than the last communist one. It's bureaucratic, autocratic and out of touch with the people. If we had an election tomorrow the government would be thrown out."

Said a supporter of the Hungarian ruling party: "Maybe so, but I believe the people want to give the government a chance. If democracy is to work we must not be so immature as to reject our first democratic government after

electing it only a few months ago."

New-found freedom creates disunity and division. Every group wishes to do its own thing, sometimes with amusing results.

Czechoslovakians seem slightly embarrassed at the number of political parties which are seeking office in the new democracy. Most commentators will recognise no more than 16 "realistic contenders" among the innumerable political movements.

The Beer Drinkers' Party was right up there in the top ten for a while, with more than enough official support for parliamentary representation, but lately its representatives are seen to have taken themselves too seriously and the party is losing support.

The Civic Forum, which propelled Vaclav Havel into the presidency, is seen as a "liberation movement" rather than a party, and is experiencing its own rapid

shrinkage as the Forum moves the right under Vaclav Klaus.

The once powerful left-wing Social Democrats at present cite only 4 percent of the vote — 4 percent support makes them the fourth biggest party, with the potential to become an alternative government.

As in most East European states, the Czech communist party remains the largest party, and newspapers remain the biggest and best produced. This is partly because they still control most sources and, as one opposition newspaper expresses it, the communists also control "the Main in the State-run distribution

tem. Old regimes do not easily disappear, societies seldom alter overnight.

● Tomorrow: The real sons from political transition. □

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Bid to save peace talks

Mandela and FW crisis meeting on the cards

Sowetan 9/4/91 304A

AN emergency meeting between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela to rescue the negotiation process "should and could" take place within days.

This is the feeling among senior Government sources in Cape Town following the bombshell ultimatum to De Klerk by the ANC last Friday.

However, a tough attitude persists within the ANC. Sentiment is that things cannot be resolved that simply.

An extra-parliamentary political source said yesterday that "for too long the negotiation process has depended on the friendship between Mandela and De Klerk".

"This, too, must change," the source said.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The ANC has stressed that it is serious about Friday's ultimatum.

If the Government does not meet the demands, the ANC will have no choice but to

Is the prospect of negotiations with the Government worth saving? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise and air your opinion to the nation. Phone him today between 4.30 and 5pm. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the Sowetan Talkback programme on Radio Metro on mediumwave 576 KHz.

withdraw from negotiations, the movement says. The ANC's demands include a call for the dis-

● To Page 2

FW in bid to rescue peace talks

From Page 1

dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order by May 9.

It is significant that on every other occasion when the negotiation process was threatened, it has been from a maverick or so-called hawk in either party.

This time, however, the bombshell was dropped by the deputy president of the ANC himself.

Mandela said the ANC may reconsider the ultimatum "if the Government responds in a satisfactory way".

He said the ultimatum was the gravest threat yet to negotiations.

Previous disputes and rumblings between the negotiators were between Malan and his ANC counterpart, Mr Chris Hani, head of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Another altercation reportedly erupted between Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and the ANC head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, when the two parties met at DF Malan Airport in Cape Town.

According to De Klerk's remarks, he is disappointed by Mandela's ultimatum.

De Klerk last night met members of the parliamentary political parties to discuss a "parliamentary forum". This grouping is expected to discuss the ANC ultimatum.

FW will be torn Left and Right

Sowetan 9/4/91
THE last pillars of the National Party's apartheid policy will crumble during the second half of the 1991 session of Parliament which began yesterday.

The repeal of the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and aspects of security legislation - and a new Bill to allow multiracial local government - will dominate debate over the next two to three months.

A short Bill to repeal the Population Registration Act while enabling existing race classifications to continue pending the negotiation of a new constitution is likely to be tabled in Parliament this week.

The Government's White Paper on land reform - accompanied by five critical Bills - is expected to come up for debate on April 18.

Land reform

Parliament's joint committee on land reform legislation has held several meetings on the Bills during the Easter recess and will meet again everyday this week and most of next week to process the legislation.

The land reform measures and the scrapping of all future race classifications are sure to spark fiery debate with the Conservative Party.

The announcement of the measures has already pushed the CP to the edge of parliamentary politics with its recent declaration of "war" on the Government because it will be anxious to see how the Government conducts itself during the debate in the months ahead.

The CP had already decided to boycott yesterday's

meeting called by President De Klerk to discuss the formation of a negotiation forum of parliamentary parties.

The five Bills repealed the Group Areas and Land Acts, upgraded thousands of black leasehold titles to full ownership and laid the foundation for a programme of positive measures to give land to black farmers.

Security legislation

Another significant anti-apartheid Bill enabling multiracial local governments to be formed will also be tabled within weeks.

Although Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee is playing his cards close to his chest, measures to reform aspects of security legislation may also be tabled during the remainder of the session.

These could include moves to soften the effects of detention without trial to bring it more in line with similar measures in Western countries such as the anti-terrorist legislation of the United Kingdom.

Ferocious debate

But despite the expected ferocious debate between the NP and the CP it is highly probable that Parliament proceedings would be overshadowed by the crisis in negotiations sparked by the ANC's threat to pull out of discussions with the Government.

De Klerk will be hard-pressed to find the skill and energy both to keep the ANC in the negotiation process and the CP in the parliamentary process. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

TALKS BUS HALTS

ANC ultimatum poses the real danger to the future talks

IN recent months it had become fashionable to visualise South Africa's negotiations process as a temperamental vehicle, requiring jump starts and occasional services, but generally sound and with fairly good roadholding.

In the wake of Friday's ANC ultimatum to the Government, the metaphor has to be extended: the peace bus has had its first major accident.

The bodywork is in a terrible mess, and the engine itself could be damaged. It is too early to pronounce it a write-off but, for the first time, that terrifying possibility exists.

Basic confidence in the process itself has been shaken as never before, and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society.

Rescue

It will take yet another high-profile, face-to-face meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela (complete with carefully-worded face-saving statement) to rescue it again, but this will not be as easy as before.

Belief, especially among whites, in the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and ability to deliver it, will be difficult to sustain. The Government cannot and will not meet all of the ANC's demands (ironically, the ANC has now made it politically impossible for De Klerk to get rid of General Magnus Malan), and international investors who have been sniffing around the South African market will run off yelping in horror. South Africa, they will say, is best left to its bickering fate.

Horrific

The horrific township violence, the point of the ultimatum, will continue as the leaders lock horns in politicking, instead of linking arms in peace-making. One could go on with the sorry list: in all, the effect of the accident is catastrophic.

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks - just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible - seem to be only one part of a much bigger

It's the ANC deadline, not its demands, that has brought negotiations to the precipice, writes *Sowetan* Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON

and more complicated picture.

There is no doubt that the township carnage is a matter of the deepest concern to the organisation, and that fingers can be pointed at the performance of the security forces in this regard.

The ANC has a strong case when it charges that black lives are treated far more cheaply in this country.

Similarly, it is fair to put a case for the dismissal of ministers who are perceived to be bedevilling the peace process.



MR MANDELA

tional psyche. There has developed a vague but crucial belief that De Klerk and Mandela are, somehow, working things out between them. The ultimatum has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis.

Unless the ANC leadership (and this seems unthinkable) was unaware that the NEC announcement would have this effect, there are surely other powerful dynamics at play.

Certainly, the Government's negotiators believe that the ultimatum is a stalling and a diversionary tactic. It will not be implemented to the letter, they say, but will buy time for the ANC to get its organisational house in order as well as placating the increasingly restless



MR MALAN

'Basic confidence in the peace process has been shaken as never before and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society'

and it is perfectly justifiable to push for the suspension of security officers who have been linked to criminal activities.

Further, a call for a blanket ban on the carrying of weapons in public, and a proposal for a multi-party commission to oversee the dismantling of state "dirty tricks" departments are interventions which the ANC has every right to make.

The problem is the cumulative effect of these demands, and their association with a deadline which, unless met, threatens apocalypse.

The ultimatum shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the na-

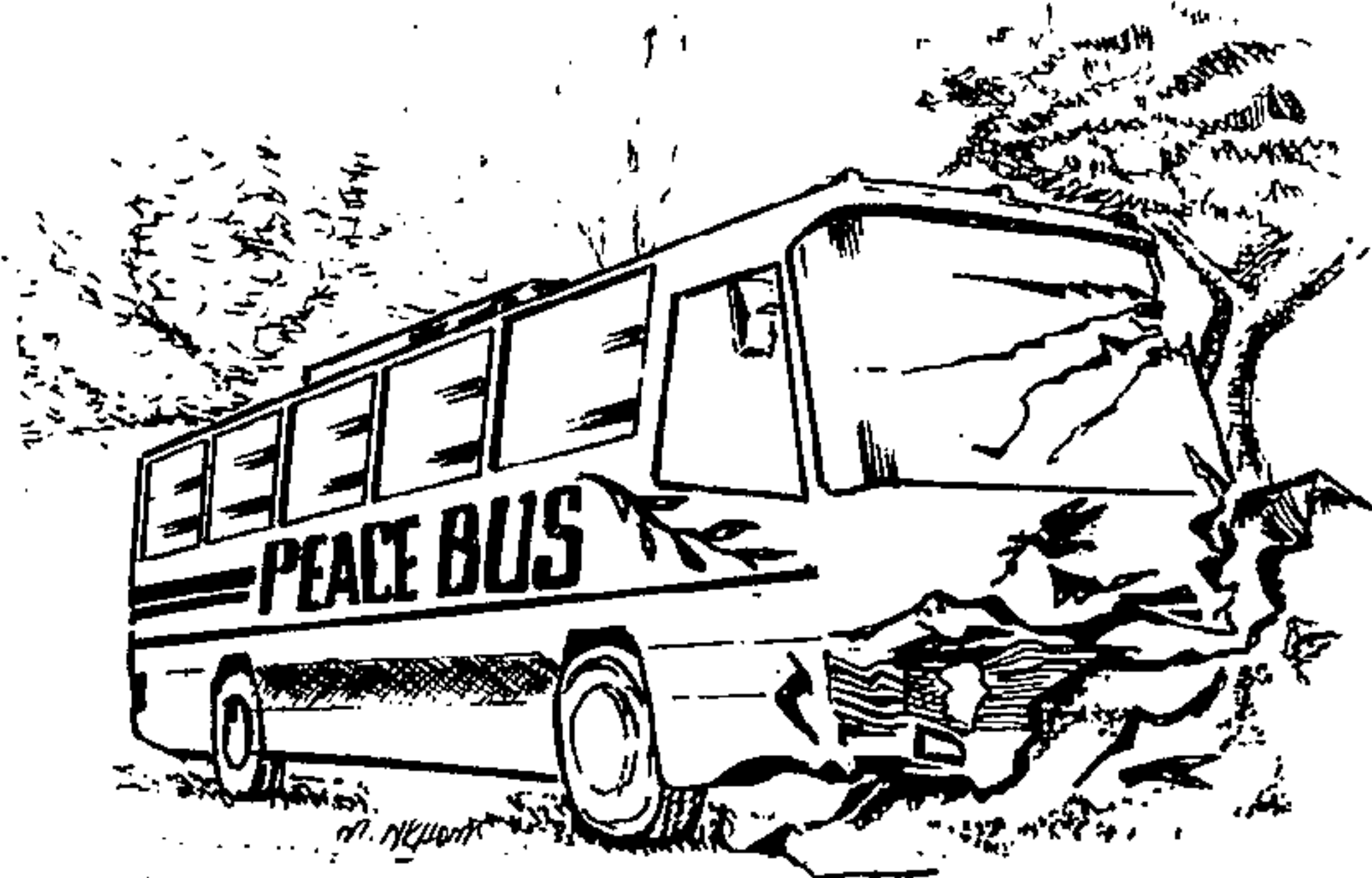
hardliners within the movement.

According to this scenario, militancy has been simmering ever since Mandela gave delegates a dressing-down at the ANC's Consultative Conference in December.

It was compounded by his moderate and accommodating statement of January 8, and again after the ANC made further concessions to the Government in the "DF Malan Accord" of February 12.

Militants were angry about the substance of these policy decisions, and also by the fact that they were not consulted on them.

In general - and not without some justification



'The ANC has now made it politically impossible for De Klerk to get rid of General Magnus Malan and the international investors will run off yelping in horror'

- it was believed that the Government, with its immense resources, was leading the ANC negotiating teams by the nose.

This mood has been heightened by the relentless violence, and the broader political implications thereof. In particular, there is panic in ANC circles at the attempted elevation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a status equal to that of Mandela and De Klerk.

Ruse

This is not justified by his support-levels, it is argued, and is a ruse to reduce ANC influence in negotiations.

Coupled with a woeful lack of ANC organisation around the country - it is even possible that the ANC's June Conference will have to be postponed - this has caused ANC militants to try to put on the brakes, and the pressure has become too much for Mandela to withstand.

Schedule

The ANC's priority now is to regroup internally (the planned expansion of the NEC forms part of this), whether or not this throws the negotiating schedule out of kilter.

It is therefore a comprehensible strategy for internal damage-limitation, but is implemented at the risk of the entire peace process. To return to the motoring metaphor: it is likely that the vehicle can be panel-beaten this time around, and that it will be on the road again.

But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again.

*Mr C B SCHOEMAN: Mr Speaker, the whole matter which we are discussing here today relates to the inability of the Government to control squatting in South Africa in an orderly way, particularly in sensitive areas such as the Dukuduku natural forest area, despite the fact that the legislation needed to act against squatting already exists.

Management and control of the environment have become very controversial in South Africa—the previous Minister of Environment Affairs can attest to that—especially when sensitive matters are not dealt with correctly. According to the information which I have received, 13 areas, some of which were identified by the Wildlife Society, were investigated as sites to which the approximately 400 squatter families in the Dukuduku area could have been moved. They were not acceptable to the squatters, the Mtubatuba community, the municipality or the Monzi farmers' association in that area.

The CP wholeheartedly agrees with the farmers' reluctance to see any more agricultural land destroyed, and that security may become a serious problem in future. That has already been proved at squatters' camps in South Africa. This Government's obsession with its new South Africa, in which everyone in South Africa all of a sudden lays claim to every area and occupies it by creeping annexation, as is happening now in the Dukuduku forest area, changes such areas virtually overnight into Third World settlements, as has already happened in some areas of Natal, in particular around Durban. This is all thanks to a spineless Government which does not mind seeing the purity of the Dukuduku natural forest destroyed.

We ask the Government please to transfer this area from the Natal Provincial Administration to the Natal Parks Board, which can then declare it a nature area and then manage it as such.

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, it is true that the Dukuduku situation provides a most telling example of man's never-ending struggle to live in harmony with his environment. In the Dukuduku forest—hon members who have been there will agree with me—we have one of the most precious possessions there is to be had in this country. [Interjections.] It is one of the gems which we must treasure. [Interjections.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

At the moment, however, there are also people living in the Dukuduku forest, and we must make an effort, not roughly but compassionately, to find these people a home somewhere. [Interjections.] I am not prepared to use bulldozers to remove people from that forest before we are able to settle them elsewhere in an orderly and proper way. [Interjections.] It is the task of this Government as far as possible to be accommodating to the people of this country, to keep them happy and to influence them to be positive citizens of the country. It is therefore not as easy as merely identifying some small spot and establishing a little residential area.

Mr C D DE JAGER: [Inaudible.] [Interjections.]

*The DEPUTY MINISTER: The hon member should rather take better care of his horse, which looked so ugly on TV at the great rally, otherwise I will set the SPCA on him. [Interjections.] The hon member should rather not say anything about nature, because he does not even know how to treat his horse. [Interjections.]

We are looking for a sensible place where we can settle these people, who also have possessions in the form of livestock, so that they can make a living as small farmers.

Mr R F HASWELL: Mr Speaker, it would not surprise me at all if many, if not most, of the hon members of this House do not know how to spell Dukuduku, let alone know where it is. There are therefore not many who will in fact appreciate just how significant the ecological area is. [Interjections.] I would like to compliment my colleague the hon member for Bryanston on bringing this to the attention of the hon the Minister.

The hon the Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs did not address the ecological situation at all. He has attempted this afternoon to convince the House that proper and widespread consultation is taking place with the people of Dukuduku on a regular basis. I want to assure the House that the people of Dukuduku are growing exceedingly tired of waiting for proper consultation. In January they were told that it was a matter of weeks. In March they were told the same. The situation continues to exist. I am beginning to think there is a fly in the ointment. I am not saying it is the hon the Deputy Minister. Perhaps it is the hon MEC in charge, or the hon member for Umfolozi, but someone is certainly

holding up proper consultations and the effective resettlement of these people.

The hon member for Bryanston pointed out that it was not only a question of resettlement. If we allow the continued denudation of this forest, it will be transformed into a veritable desert. That is actually what will happen. I think the hon the Deputy Minister must realise that these people must be resettled well away from the forest. However, what seems to be happening is that whenever a site is identified, white farmers and white local authorities object and then the Government goes into full retreat. Then the rumours of leaving the squatters in the forest are started. The Government will have to face the problem. The people of Dukuduku need access to land and housing. At the same time we have to save this very valuable asset. We need some straight answers on this matter, and not the continued stuff about consultation. There has been more than enough time to consult. The hon member for Bryanston was well on his way to solving this problem when it became a party-political issue. [Time expired.]

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Speaker, what distresses me about this matter is the contempt for any consultation with other parties apart from the Government and some of the squatters. I may tell the hon the Deputy Minister that I spoke to the squatters' legal representative about 10 days ago. He told me there had been promises to come back to them which had not been fulfilled. The squatters have not heard anything.

The Deputy Minister must realise that as time goes by, the forest is steadily being destroyed. The local and international repercussions are going to be considerable.

I also want him to note that this is a landmark case. It is beginning to happen elsewhere. Dukuduku is the forerunner. It is happening in the Sordwana State Forest right now where there is a large area of forest which has been cleared and we have to have compassion. We have to find something for these squatters as soon as possible otherwise it is going to be too late. So far these people in this arrogant Government department seem to think that they are the only people with the right to solve problems, and they appear to be inefficient and incompetent as well as insulting.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I find it very strange that the hon member, as far as I know, has not approached me or the hon the Minister offering his services in this regard. We can only succeed in resettling people, and doing it in an orderly way, if we have the support of everyone. I could have had them resettled already or have been in the process of doing so. It is not a matter of dragging one's feet. I am trying to accommodate them in a better way. My personal opinion was that there might be other alternatives that we must investigate first. I have been there, I have sat with the so-called squatters—people living for 30, 40 or even 50 years in the forest—under a tree discussing the situation. I cannot stand up and go back to my office and make decisions without taking into account the people concerned.

*There is no question of our dragging our feet. Thirteen different sites have been investigated. We cannot simply examine sites at random. We must see which of those sites is best suited to the special purpose which we want to achieve with these people.

I want to make another point. If we had removed those people and settled them somewhere else, that would not have been the end of the problem. Action would still have to be taken, because a natural forest like the beautiful Dukuduku forest is obviously an open invitation to people who cannot be settled properly elsewhere. They would go and settle there. So we are not going to solve the problem today or tomorrow. It is a continuing problem against which we will always have to act in future. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

General Affairs:

State President:

Political organisations: support

*1. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the State President: *Heusackel* 7/4/91 (3044)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Certain person resident in RSA

*32. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, is in the Republic at present; if so, (a) in what capacity is he resident in the Republic, (b) (i) how and (ii) by whom was he authorised to be here and (c) what is his name;
- (2) whether this person entered the Republic on a passport; if so, what are the relevant details of his entry?

B713E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes, according to available records in the Department of Home Affairs;
 - (a) as a holder of a permit for permanent residence in the Republic of South Africa;
 - (b) (i) in terms of an application as contemplated in section 4 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937);
 - (ii) the Immigrants Selection Board established under section 3 of the aforesaid Act;
- (c) Robert Von Palace Kolbatschenko (also known as Vito Roberto Palaz-zolo);

- (2) Yes, after a visa had been approved by the Department of Home Affairs during September 1989. He was in possession of passport No A752401 issued in Italy when he entered the RSA at Jan Smuts Airport on 1 October 1989. It can be mentioned that reports of recent court proceedings in which Mr Palazzolo was involved as witness, are presently being studied by the Department.

Joint Committee on Parliamentary Privilege:

report

(304A)

*33. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Leader of the House:† *Hansard 9/4/91*
Whether he envisages the report of the Joint Committee on Parliamentary Privilege, dated 25 May 1989, being discussed by Parliament; if not, why not; if so, when? B727E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: (304A)

- (1) The Joint Committee on Parliamentary Privilege [c1-89] was appointed during March 1988 and it submitted its report on 25 May 1989. It is an important report and the most comprehensive investigation into privilege in the Parliamentary history of South Africa. The Committee's report contains proposals for legislative amendments, amendments of the Standing Rules and the preparation of a publication on Parliamentary privilege.
- (2) The recommendations affect the internal business of Parliament and the recommendations of the Joint Committee must consequently be considered by the Rules Committee. Steps are being taken to place the matter on the agenda of the Rules Committee. *Hansard 9/4/91*
- (3) Concerning the recommendation that suitable steps should be taken to make a publication on Parliamentary privilege possible [paragraph 9.1.7 of the report], the Minister of Justice has, in line with this undertaking to the Committee, requested an official of his Department to compile such a publication. The task commenced during July 1990 and it is almost completed. The final manuscript is presently being typed and edited.

Olifants River: dam

*34. Mr E K MOORCROFT asked the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry:

- (1) Whether it is the intention of his Department to build a dam on the Olifants River, in the Western Cape, in the vicinity of the gorge; if so, what are the relevant particulars;
- (2) whether any rare or endangered fish species will be threatened by this development; if so, (a) how many species and (b) to what extent will this affect his decision on whether or not to allow the dam to be built?

B730E

The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY:

- (1) A severe shortage of water for irrigation purposes exists in the Citrusdal Irrigation District upstream of the Clanwilliam

Dam. The Citrusdal Irrigation Board is considering a dam on the farm Rosendal in the upper reaches of the Olifants River to augment the available water supply. To ensure that such a dam is in accordance with the long term development plan of the river, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry is undertaking a study of alternative storage possibilities at present, which includes possible storage dams in the vicinity of the gorge.

- (2) (a) Ten fish species, of which eight are endemic, occur in the gorge area. These eight species are all listed in the South African National Scientific Programmes Report No 173 (South African Red Data Book—Fishes). The area upstream of the proposed dam sites (the so-called Visgat area) serves as primary breeding area for seven of this eight endemic species.
- (b) According to the process of Integrated Environmental Management the Department is co-ordinating studies so that the environmental factors of each possible alternative site can be considered in the decision-making process.

Supreme Court building in Durban: maintenance

*35. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:†

- (1) Whether his Department is responsible for the maintenance of the Supreme Court building in Durban; if so, what is the present condition of this building;
- (2) whether any estimate has been made of what the cost of renovating this building will be; if so, what will the cost be;
- (3) whether it is the intention to renovate the building; if not, why not; if so, when?

B732E

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes, the condition of the building whilst not entirely satisfactory is nevertheless still reasonable.
- (2) The estimate for the current phase of renovations to the building as well as the

provision of security measures amounts to R1 024 300.

- (3) Yes, it is intended to invite tenders in the second half of 1991 for the current phase of renovation and the provision of security measures. The overall restoration of the building does not appear on the Department's five-year building programme, consequently the estimated cost thereof cannot be provided at this stage.

Whites murdered/raped/robbed

*36. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

How many Whites were (a) murdered, (b) raped and (c) robbed by (i) Blacks and (ii) Coloureds during the period 1 January to 31 December in 1988, 1989 and 1990, respectively? *Hansard 9/4/91*

B757E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	1988	1989	1990
(a) (i)	26	20	34
(ii)	114	126	196
(b) (i)	84	96	118
(ii)	202	252	276
(c)	4 248	4 958	8 244

Note: In respect of robbery, statistically there is no differentiation between coloureds and blacks and they are consolidated as non-white persons.

In order to put this serious and sensitive issue in perspective, the following information of the total number of, inter alia murders and rapes in the RSA is furnished to hon members of the House:

Murder:	1988	1989	1990
Whites	302	305	453
Non-Whites	10 329	11 445	14 656
TOTAL	10 631	11 750	15 109

The total number of cases for 1990 in respect of paragraph (a) are 230—that is to say murders committed on Whites by non-Whites. This represents a percentage point of 1,52 of the total figure of murders committed in the Republic in 1990. The percentage point for 1988 is 1,32 and 1,24 in 1989.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Whether it is Government policy at present not to give any direct or indirect financial or other support to any political organisation or party; if not, what policy is currently being followed in this regard?

B678E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

I refer the hon member to my answer to his question on 5 March 1991 as well as my answer to Question No 1 on 12 March 1991 in Parliament. I reiterate once again the point of principle, namely that denials in related instances may lead to later refusals to supply information in other instances, because it would not be in the public interest, being construed as admissions.

Inasmuch as the question may relate to matters other than those envisaged in the Protection of Information Act, 1982 and other related legislation, I am prepared to say that it is not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation, except government aid made available for a specific purpose on an equal basis, such as the payment of constituency allowances and the cheaper provision of voters' rolls in terms of section 25 of the Electoral Act, 1979.

†Adv J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, are we to understand from the last part of his reply that he will now allow for example the CP and the DP the same space on an equal footing in the *RSA Policy Review* to put forward their policies as what that entire publication is doing for the NP image at present at cost to the State?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the one problem of Parliament is that it is so predictable. The hon member knows as well as I do that the *RSA Policy Review* does not put forward the NP policy as party policy but that it puts forward the policy of the Government of the day. [Interjections.] If the CP wants to have anything like their policy put in it in full, they must win an election. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply that the Government does not make money available to political parties, I would just like to ask whether the NP is still the Government or not. [Interjections.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, as the hon member finds out daily in dismay, the NP is still firmly in the driving seat. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the the hon the State President's reply, I would like to ask him whether the Government, in making money available for propounding Government policy is not in fact propounding NP policy in the Review.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, it is an argument as old as the hills in this House. The Government has a mandate and a responsibility to be accountable because its policy is carried out. Therefore the Government has a responsibility to keep the public informed of how the mandate that was entrusted to it is being carried out. That is what is done in Government publications.

The hon member will perhaps do better if he spends his energy constructively as he has done in the past, ie by rather negotiating, even if it would be against the instructions of his party. [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I would like to know from him whether it is his standpoint that the Government provided no money to the DTA during the election process in South West Africa.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, my reply now for the third time on how funds are spent, appears clearly in the noted replies.

We cannot give details by way of denial of particular matters, ie how we spend funds that are administered in a special way in terms of an order of this Parliament, because if it is not denied on a following occasion a conclusion may be reached. Therefore it is clearly on record that we do not make known any details of such matters. [Interjections.]

†Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I wish to say that the important issue here is not that old stories be raked up. [Interjections.] We furnished certain information to the hon the Minister of Law and Order. However, now I would like to say to the hon the State President that the important thing is that we believe that the political playing field should be equal for all

political parties and extra-parliamentary organisations. *Hansard 9/4/91*

†The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! What is the hon member's question? (11A) *Hansard 9/4/91*

†Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, my question is whether the hon the State President can give us the assurance that it is also the Government's approach.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, we do not only try to make the playing field equal for all political parties; we also give a helping hand—different to the way in which it is referred to in the question—to the smaller parties who cannot utilise an equal playing field themselves, like the DPI. [Interjections.]

Harms Commission: SADF co-operation

*2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:

(1) Whether he instructed certain persons who are or were employed by the South African Defence Force to co-operate with the investigations of the Harms Commission and the Auditor-General; if so,

(2) whether he intends taking any disciplinary or other action against those who disregarded his instructions; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *Hansard 9/4/91* B707E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) I did not give any specific instructions to certain people in the South African Defence Force to give their co-operation in respect of the investigations by the Harms Commission and the Auditor-General.

It is expected of all officials and other persons in the service of State to give their full co-operation at all times in respect of all matters concerning the administration of the country. This includes matters such as investigations by judicial commissions of inquiry and the Auditor-General.

(2) and (3) Where proper, action is taken in terms of departmental prescriptions, regulations and conditions of service against any employee of the State who makes him or herself guilty of a refusal to render

service or of a disregarding of instructions.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, is he aware of the fact that there have been complaints that in both the report of the Harms Commission and the report of the Auditor-General the specific instructions of amongst others the State President—also of the Minister of Defence—have been ignored by some of the officials, and can he tell us if steps have been taken specifically, in respect of those complaints against individuals in or outside the Defence Force? We would like a specific reply as to whether steps in this connection are intended.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, if the hon member wants details about specific persons, it would be better to direct the question to the line function Minister concerned. In general, I can say that I am aware that the persons who were involved in the matter dealt with by the Harms Commission had their services terminated, that steps were taken and that action was definitely taken within the framework set up by me, also in respect of refusal to serve. [Interjections.] *Hansard 9/4/91*

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, does he know, in his capacity as State President, that is as chairman of the Cabinet, whether the hon the Minister of Defence gave any such instructions to members of the CCB?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, if the hon member wants information about the hon the Minister of Defence, and what he had done, he ought to ask him himself. I have confidence in the hon the Minister of Defence and he can speak for himself. [Interjections.]

Ministerial financial involvement

*3. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the State President: *Hansard 9/4/91* *Hansard 9/4/91*

Whether he will furnish information on whether any Minister or Deputy Minister has at any stage had any financial involvement, including involvement by way of loans or shareholdings, with a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if not, why no; if so, what are the relevant details? B714E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1.0 Since the outbreak of violence that began in Natal, the country has witnessed a scale of bloodletting hitherto unknown. Estimates provided by agencies who have been monitoring the situation place the numbers of those who have lost their lives in excess of 5 000.

Since the signing of the accord between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party on January 29 1991, the scale of violence has not diminished. On the contrary, it has assumed a more organised and systematic character. In many parts of Natal the violence has taken on a random character, to an extent that it can be regarded as directed against the community itself.

Death and the destruction of homes and property on such a scale would be considered a national disaster in any sane society. The scale of the human tragedy alone provides sufficient motivation for us to address you with our grave concerns.

1.1 Throughout the period in question there have been clearly discernible patterns in this unfolding violence that indicates disturbing features which by now should have been noted and be preoccupying the attentions of the authorities. We are, like many others, alarmed at the degree of inaction on the part of the authorities.

1.2 In almost every instance of violence that has erupted on the Reef, for example, the following patterns have emerged. A group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific political party, have established control over a migrant labourers' hostel through acts of intimidation.

Those who would not submit to such pressure are subsequently driven out of the hostel. These individuals constitute themselves into a group, with insignia for common identification (usually a red head band). Supported by others of like purpose, bussed in from other areas, they then stage a provocative armed demonstration through the township, escorted by the police.

1.3 Without exception, the townships that have suffered armed demonstration did not previously have any visible presence of the Inkatha Freedom Party. In all the cases in question the majority of participants in such demonstrations have been bussed in from other localities. Instances when the police have averted attacks or deterred the perpetrators of such attacks are extremely rare. Even among cases where the assailants have been identified, the number of

Open letter to State President de Klerk and his Cabinet from the National Executive Committee of the ANC

them who have been arrested or charged is derisory.

1.4 In at least five separate incidents, all of which occurred on the Reef during the past nine months, armed gangs of men have launched well organised and co-ordinated attacks against commuters on the trains between the townships and Johannesburg city centre; on the homes of bereaved families during funeral vigils; and on selected hostels. Those responsible for these actions are distinguished by their remarkable capacity to evade detection by the police and other security services. In each of these instances the authorities were advised well in advance to take precautionary measures but they failed to do so.

1.5 Since July 22 1990, on at least three separate occasions when the authorities were summoned to assist or to avert violence, they have themselves committed acts of violence that have re-

sulted in an unprovoked attack, causing the deaths of at least 12 persons.

1.6 Every effort had been made by the local civic association to gain the co-operation of the police. An agreement had even been reached that no armed demonstration will be permitted and that those bearing any weapons would be disarmed. The police did not honour this agreement and permitted an armed demonstration. And rather than building on the spirit of trust, established through previous negotiations, fired on an unoffending crowd. A number of those injured in this incident have subsequently been arrested, some taken from their hospital beds, and are in detention.

The police have made counter-claims to the effect that they were under attack. Based on previous experience, we have no reason to place confidence in these

these waves of violence coincide uncannily with ANC-launched campaigns and with mass campaigns launched by other elements of the democratic movement.

Recent pronouncements by a political figure serving in the anti-democratic and unpopular structures foisted on the African urban population by Government indicate that it is their intention to resist expressions of opposition to these bodies by a resort to armed intimidation and violence. Direct links between such expressed intentions and the acts of violence that have occurred have been drawn by this same individual. The concerted effort to draw councillors into the ranks of the Inkatha Freedom Party with the promise that it will protect them against mass pressure also suggests the intention of using violence to ward off demands that councillors resign.

It is the considered

from the root causes of poverty, hunger, deprivation and want in our country; and have rendered it more difficult to achieve united action among the African people for generally accepted and commendable goals.

Those responsible for fomenting this violence have the clear intention of sowing divisions and stoking up a psychosis of fear, insecurity and mutual distrust among the African people. At the same time, they hope to prey on the worst fears and prejudices of our white compatriots and thus make them more apprehensive about a democratic transformation.

We are persuaded that the Government's evident reluctance to act with expedition and vigour against the instigators of this violence betrays a hope that their actions will rebound to the Government's favour in the short and interme-

The ANC demands the dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads.

sulted in death. A case in point is that of Sebokeng on September 3 1990.

Thirty-eight people had been killed in a pre-dawn attack on a hostel in Sebokeng. A judicial inquiry subsequently found that members of the South African Defence Force, who had been called to the scene to contain a potentially explosive situation, opened fire on a crowd, killing four persons and inflicting grave injuries on several others.

An equally disturbing case is that which occurred in Daveyton, Benoni, on March 24 1991. The known facts indicate that after a large number of persons were bussed into Daveyton, a provocative armed demonstration was staged from the hostels to a nearby stadium to hold a rally. The police had been advised of the probability of violence by township residents and were patrolling the streets. A group of residents, concerned because of the armed demonstration, assembled on an open space to discuss their response. The police opened fire on this

claims.

An alarming feature of the violence is the role being played by the KwaZulu police in support of armed groups in launching attacks on specific areas. In January 1991 a large contingent of armed men, reinforced by the KwaZulu police, invaded the Ndwendwe area of Oshindweni and made off with 30 head of cattle.

1.7 There has been a startling increase in the use of automatic weapons, assault rifles and other firearms on the Reef since September 1990. Despite repeated efforts on the part of ANC, civics and other democratic bodies to assist the police and other Government intelligence services with information pertaining to these arms and the trade in arms, not a single arrest has been made and not a single arms-cache uncovered, nor has the supply line been interrupted. The apparent incapacity of the South African authorities in this regard beggars description.

2.0 It is evident from our observation and that of others that the peaks in

opinion of the ANC that it is inconceivable that the authorities lack the capacity or the skill to prevent the violent deeds we have enumerated. We suspect that, at best, the feeble response on the part of the State betrays an absence of will to take measures to avert violence, detect and bring the guilty parties to justice, because the perpetrators of this violence are providing a line of defence for Government institutions that would otherwise have been rendered dysfunctional.

2.1 Since the outbreak of this current cycle of violence there has been an avalanche of charges of police partiality, connivance and complicity in acts of violence. Apart from shrill denials from the relevant ministry, no adequate explanation has been forthcoming regarding the acts or omissions of the authorities.

It is evident that the killings, maimings and beating that have occurred have greatly inflamed feelings of ethnic antagonism among various sections of the African people; have distracted public attention

date term.

2.2 The impact of this cycle of violence is that it has raised the costs/risks entailed in being a member of or of being identified with the ANC and its allies. In certain cities and rural areas it has resulted in "no go areas" from which ANC members, activities and symbols are excluded, not by the law, but by gangs of hoodlums and vigilantes. This is designed to weaken the credibility of the ANC, limit its scope for growth and disintegrate its new legal structures.

This has proved a far more effective means of political repression than the legal measures previously employed by the State to crush the democratic opposition. Its aim is to inflate the image of the Inkatha Freedom Party from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player on the political arena.

2.3 The ANC is of the view that the Government's equivocal attitude to the cycle of violence reflects either an attitude of cynical irresponsibility or is evidence of connivance at acts of or-

ganised terror in the hope that they will succeed in destroying or seriously crippling the ANC.

The Government's inaction calls into serious question its true intentions and sincerity regarding the entire peace process and the democratisation of South Africa. In view of this the ANC demands:

● That the Government take legislative measures during the current session of Parliament to outlaw the carrying of weapons, traditional or otherwise, at public assemblies.

● The dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads.

● The visible, public dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, Battalion 32, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z Squad etc and the establishment of a multiparty commission to oversee this process.

● The immediate suspension from duty of all police officers and constables who were implicated in the massacres at Sebokeng on March 22 1990 and the commencement of legal proceedings against them; the immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shootings in Daveyton, Benoni, on March 24 1991, pending a commission of inquiry into that incident.

● Satisfactory assurance that in future the SAP, SADF and other security organs will employ acceptable and civilised methods of crowd control; and that the issuance of live ammunition to the police on such occasions be disallowed.

● Effective steps are taken to begin the process of phasing out the hostels and other labour compounds and transforming them into family units and single-occupancy flats.

● The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security services.

2.4 If by May 4 1991 these demands have not been made the ANC shall:

(a) Suspend any further discussions with the Government on the All Party Congress; and

(b) Suspend all exchanges with the Government on the future constitution of our country.

April 5 1991

Annexure: Roster of Significant Incidents of Police Inaction. □

Remaining pillars of apartheid set to fall

Stew 9/4/91 304A

By Peter Fabricius

The last pillars of the National Party's apartheid policy will crumble during the second half of the 1991 session of Parliament which began yesterday.

The repeal of the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and aspects of security legislation, and a new Bill to allow multiracial local government, will dominate debate over the next two to three months.

A short Bill to repeal the Population Registration Act while enabling existing race classifications to continue, pending the negotiation of a new constitution, is likely to be tabled in Parliament this week.

The Government's White Paper on Land Reform, accompanied by five critical Bills, will come up for debate during this session.

The first Bill, which repeals the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and other laws restricting black land ownership, is expect-

ed to be debated soon after April 18.

The Government apparently wishes this Bill to go before Parliament when Mr de Klerk visits Europe on April 22 to meet British, Danish and Irish leaders. The remaining land Bills are expected to be debated from next month.

The five Bills repeal the Group Areas and Land Acts, upgrade thousands of black leasehold titles to full ownership and lay the foundation for a programme of positive measures to put black farmers on the land.

The land reform measures and the scrapping of all future race classifications are sure to spark fiery debate with the Conservative Party after its recent declaration of "war" against the Government.

The CP has already decided to boycott today's meeting called by President de Klerk to discuss the formation of a negotiation forum of parliamentary parties.

US

Mandela firm on ultimatum over Ministers

LONDON — The ANC will definitely suspend peace talks with the government next month if Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok are not removed from office, Nelson Mandela said on British television last night.

The grim-faced ANC deputy president said on Channel Four TV News that government was responsible for the continuing crisis of bloodshed. Government had the capacity to end the violence and "they are not using that capacity".

There could be "no question" of negotiations continuing after May 9 if Malan and Vlok remained in the Cabinet, he said.

He refused to use the media to answer

8/10 am 9/4/91
IAN HOBBS
Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning that the ANC action would spark civil war, or reports claiming the ANC leadership was split, saying the issue was between the ANC and government.

"We are discussing with Inkatha and we intend to continue discussions with them."

Asked if part of the problem was not that he believed that "certain people" in government were in league with Inkatha and behind the violence, Mandela said:

"Whether it is in the form of faction fighting amongst black organisations or

because of the activities of a third force, or because of the complicity of the security services of the state, or the connivance of the government — the issue is between the ANC and the government."

Claims that the violence was the consequence of the inability of himself and Buthelezi to bring about control were a "misconception".

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan was asked on the SABC programme Agenda last night how the ANC would react if government met four or five of its demands. Jordan said the ANC had "always displayed flexibility when it was necessary to move the negotiation process forward".

You take a step to the left . . .

What urban black workers want

From JO-ANNE COLLINGE,
The Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

THE frequency — and intensity — of strike action and the substantial gains made by trade unions in the past two decades tell us that South Africa has an organised and militant urban working class.

POLL

Is it also a working class that sees economic issues in terms of the left or Marxism?

Markinor's recent South African survey, undertaken as part of the international World Social Value Study, offers some tentative insights on the question.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the sub-sample on which these are based is small — 600 black residents of Durban, the PWV and the coastal Cape cities — and that it contains a small proportion who are not workers.

Although there is no "working class" sample as such, information about the "black urban" sample suggests that it is composed overwhelmingly of workers or members of their families.

For instance, 30 percent of the sample were unemployed, 15 percent were students and 5 percent housewives. But three out of four respondents who had jobs declared that they were artisans or skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

Household incomes confirmed this. The average household income for this sample was R850, dropping to R616 in the Cape. And fully 35 percent of households — with an average size of 5,6 members — had an income of under R700.

Further, only 16,4 percent had completed school, while 43 percent had some high school education and 42 percent had varying degrees of primary school education or no formal schooling.

Asked to place themselves on a left-right ideological continuum, 40 percent of respondents came up with a "don't know" answer. Those with little formal education, women and old people were particularly reluctant to commit themselves on this question.

Among those who did answer, there was a strong preference for the left. On a 10-point scale, 22 percent of the black urban sample placed

themselves on the far left while a total of 42 percent claimed they were somewhere to the left of centre. Only 20 percent claimed to be right of centre.

Does this mean that the majority of workers in South Africa's cities want to see the means of production placed under their control, that they believe that only owners of capital fatten on the efforts of workers, and that the State should carry the burden of economic planning and management?

No, says the Markinor survey.

According to the poll, South African workers certainly want fundamental reform of the economy and a greater share of the pie. They believe that the State should play a more assertive role in directing the economy. But they do not look to nationalisation of industry nor to worker self-management of factories.

These are some of the findings of the survey:

Workers, as represented by urban black sample, were far more likely to explain poverty in terms of injustice than the more affluent white group. Fully 64 percent of the urban black sample blamed

poverty on social injustice and only 14 percent felt it was due to the laziness and lack of will of the individual.

Among whites, there was a strong tendency to blame the individual for lack of effort (43 percent of respondents), while only 30 percent felt injustice played major role.

Despite the prevalence of the notion of injustice, only 10 percent of black urban residents associated themselves strongly with the statement that "people can accumulate wealth only at the expense of others". A substantially greater 61 percent agreed strongly with the proposition that "wealth can grow so that there is more for everybody".

It is unlikely, by expressing this view, that respondents were looking to the "hidden hand" of the free market to ensure that all got a better deal from a growing economy. Fully 53 percent felt strongly that government regulation of the economy should increase, while only 10 percent would speak forcefully for decreased government regulation.

In addition, 61 percent expressed strong agreement with the notion that salaries should be made more equal. Only 16 percent felt strongly

that increased incentives were a better idea than more equal pay.

But relatively few envisaged State ownership of trade and manufacturing. Only one in five respondents agreed strongly that government should increase its share of trade and industry. Twice as many felt strongly that private ownership of commerce and manufacturing should be increased.

Considering jointly the questions of ownership and management, only 10 percent chose the arrangement where the State owned enterprises and appointed managers. Minimal support (8 percent) was forthcoming for the notion that workers themselves should own businesses/factories and choose their own management.

By far the most popular notion was that "owners and employees" should take part in selecting management — the idea was approved by 49 percent of respondents. In addition, 30 percent were prepared to leave the running of the show, including choice of managers, to the owners.

Despite its nominally left character, this sample showed almost equal levels in confidence in the trade union movement and big business. The rating of a "great deal of confidence" was accorded the trade unions by 42 percent of the sample, while 40 percent gave the same rating to major companies.

"Quite a lot" of confidence was granted the trade unions by 34 percent of respondents and major companies won similar support from 35 percent.

The existing social security system enjoys a much lesser degree of confidence in the townships. This must be seen in a context where 50 percent are emphatic — and not just mildly in agreement — that the State should take the initiative to provide for all.

The survey suggests that urban workers have a keen appreciation that economic growth is vital to their well-being and is a key national goal. In addition, while nationalisation of industry/trade does not emerge as a policy commanding major grassroots support, redistribution is quite another matter. Clearly a large number of township workers expect a future government to intervene to ensure that wealth generated is more equally spread.

Civics to stall key chamber?

JOHANNESBURG. — Today's planned formation of the non-racial Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber hung in the balance last night as civic associations weighed up whether to participate or not.

The six members of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) appeared likely to refuse to take part alongside black councillors they have accused of involvement in the continuing township violence.

Meanwhile, the names of Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and former Inkatha chairman Mr Oscar Dhlomo have been punted by councillors as possible chairmen. The civics will take a joint decision this morning

on whether to take part.

However, Cast general secretary Mr Sam Ntuli said yesterday their refusal to sign the agreement formally constituting the chamber was "highly likely in the light of the recent Cast resolution that member civics not be allowed to sit on forums with black councillors".

Their decision hinged on their assessment of the role played by black councillors and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) in allegedly fuelling township violence in the region.

Without the civics the chamber will consist only of existing, racially defined local authorities and the TPA.

VLOK: I'LL QUIT

But not agree to ANC ultimatum

CAPE TIMES 31/4/91
9/4/91

By BARRY STREEK and
ANTHONY JOHNSON

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said last night he would quit if he stood in the way of negotiations.

His statement came after he attacked the ANC as the common factor in violence in the country.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had warned that "civil war" could erupt as a result of the ANC's hardline stance.

Mr Vlok's statement was in response to questioning about the ANC's ultimatum to the government which included a demand that he and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should resign by May 9.

'Consider position'

"I am not prepared to stand in the way of the future of this country," Mr Vlok, who has been Law and Order Minister since 1986, said at a press conference.

"If I am personally in the way of this, then I will consider my position," Mr Vlok said.

But he said he would not resign, and it was in the hands of President F W de Klerk.

"I am prepared to abide by his ruling and his decision," he said.

In an angry statement Mr Vlok accused the ANC of fomenting the fighting now sweeping the country and acting as a "dictatorial liberation movement".

"They realise that they are losing their power base, have a divided leadership and are uncertain about their future role in the new South Africa," said Mr Vlok.

Earlier Mr Buthelezi charged that the ANC was making the kind of demands that could precipitate "nothing less than a civil war in South Africa".

He said that he had told Mr Nelson Mandela that he and King Zwelithini would never abandon traditional weapons.

The ANC had scuttled political negotiations for the moment in issuing Friday's ultimatum to President De Klerk and in destroying the newly established accord between the IFP and the ANC.

Mr Buthelezi, speaking to the KwaZulu legislative assembly, said that as far as he



ON RECORD ... Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and his spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet at last night's briefing.

AWB offer to support Vlok

PRETORIA. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday assured ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan of his commandos' support if they ever needed it.

Mr Terre'Blanche spoke after appearing court with Mr Piet Rudolph and 12 other AWB members on a charge of obstructing the police. They had been arrested at the weekend during an ANC march in the city.

He said the two ministers should have known they could not negotiate with communists and then expect them to become friendly.

If President F W de Klerk dismissed his ministers he would have to yield if the ANC insisted that its members fill their portfolios.

Mr Rudolph said he would assist the AWB in creating a "fighting machine" which whites could join "if total chaos and anarchy break out".

"We are on the eve of this, whatever Mr De Klerk and the government says," he warned. — Sapa

was concerned the negotiating process — which included the government, the ANC and the IFP — was no longer on track.

At his press conference Mr Vlok said that although the government considered the latest setback "in a very serious light", he did not think it was an insurmountable problem and thought it could be resolved by further talks.

He noted that the government was still

talking to the ANC and that the joint ANC-government liaison forum had met yesterday.

● Fighting flared up again yesterday in Kattlehong on the Rand, with fleeing residents saying more than 100 shacks were set on fire during a raid launched from a rival camp.

Police said the body of a man with hack wounds had been found, but residents said the toll was probably higher.

● The South African Communist Party internal leadership expressed support for the ANC ultimatum.

The party reiterated its belief in a negotiated political settlement, but said the escalating violence was jeopardising negotiations.

● The ANC-aligned Civic Association of Southern Transvaal grouping (Cast), called for an urgent meeting with Mr De Klerk to discuss violence, and for township residents to arm themselves and form defence units.

A proposed meeting with Mr De Klerk on Thursday will discuss the disbanding of existing community councils, the resignation of councillors and their replacement with interim local authority structures and the destruction of hostels.

'Alarming' response

Meanwhile, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he found both the ANC's ultimatum to the government and Mr Buthelezi's response "alarming" for the delicate negotiation process.

He added that all the progress that appeared to have been made between the ANC and the IFP towards a peaceful relationship seemed to have been lost.

He said he took some comfort from Mr Buthelezi's conclusion that negotiations could not be allowed to come to a "full stop".

Dr De Beer said the DP would continue as "bridge-builders" and that setbacks would only increase the party's determination to bring parties together.

Labour Party spokesman, Mr Les Abrahams said that it was understandable that the ANC should react to township violence under pressure from its bleeding constituency.

● Meanwhile, on British television last night, Mr Mandela reiterated his threat to suspend talks if Mr Vlok and General Malan are not removed from office.

CP boycotts F.W.'s talks

Cart Times 9/4/91 304A

By BARRY STREEK

THE Conservative Party last night boycotted talks initiated by President F W de Klerk to involve parliamentary political parties in the negotiation process.

In doing so, the CP continued its hard-line approach against negotiations, reflected in its decision to boycott the Aspen Institute conference in Cape Town despite participating in previous Aspen Institute discussions.

Mr De Klerk said in a statement

last night that the leaders of all parliamentary parties, except CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, had accepted an invitation to participate in informal discussions with him.

At the discussions, which lasted 90 minutes, it had been decided to activate the Joint Committee of Parliament on Constitutional Affairs as a discussion forum on the negotiation process, with the aim of assisting the development of a new constitution.

This would provide Parliament with a vehicle to involve all parliamentary parties in the current preparatory phase for real negotiations.

Mr De Klerk said the initiative would allow all parliamentary parties to participate.

"There is a clear understanding among the parties involved that this arrangement in no way stands in the way of any of them to liaise or negotiate with whomever they choose," Mr De Klerk said.

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



Talks will not free us - callers

By MOKGADI PELA

NEGOTIATIONS between the African National Congress and the Government were not worth saving, callers to the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talk-back Show* said yesterday.

The callers were responding to the ANC's open letter to State President FW de Klerk in which it gave the Government until May 9 to meet its demands. *Sowetan 16/4/91*

Mphikeleli of KwaThema told Metro's Tim Modise that blacks could not achieve at the negotiation table what they had lost in the battlefield.

"There can be no negotiations between a wolf and a lamb. Black people want one man, one vote. Negotiations should not have started in the first place," he said.

Mxolisi, also of KwaThema, said the ANC should have negotiated with black liberation movements before talking to the Government.

He said negotiations would not free blacks.

Stanley from Soweto said the ANC's national executive committee would end up negotiating for itself if blacks continued to die.

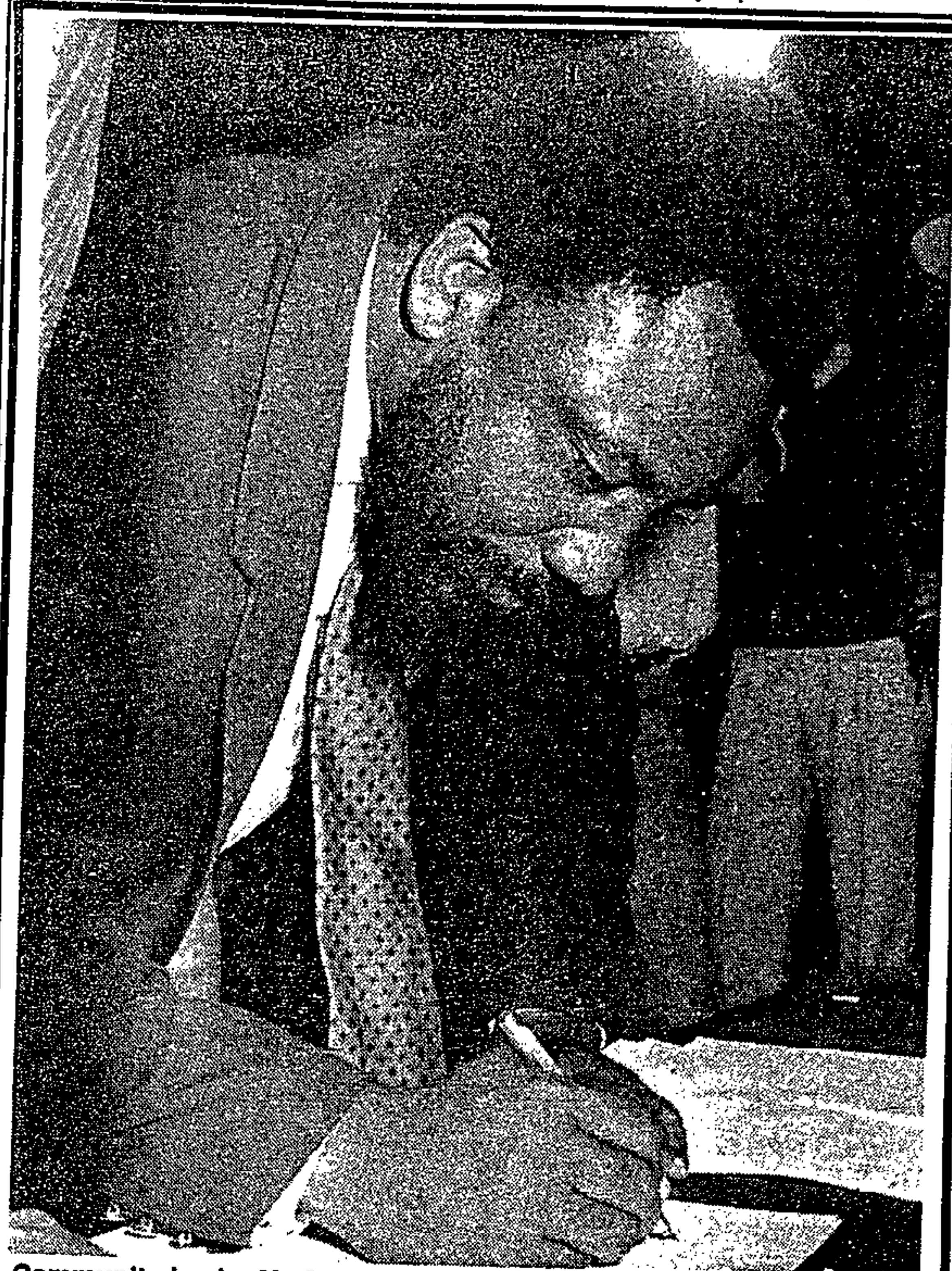
Titus Leroke of Mohlakeng said: "Who are we negotiating for when black people continue to die like flies?" *(3049)*

He said the Government had to create the right climate for negotiations.

Wonga from Soweto said blacks could not be expected to negotiate on the one hand while dying on the other.

He said current events showed that black unity was a priority in the struggle.

Stanley Gumede from Maritzburg said negotiations were not worth saving as they did not address the fundamental issues affecting blacks.



Community leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa signs the draft constitution at the launch of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber yesterday. The local bodies who signed the constitution included the councils of Soweto, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville, Johannesburg, Randburg, Sandton and Alexandra as well the Soweto Peoples Delegation.

Pic: SEAN WOODS

Repeal of race Act is tabled

Sowetan 10/4/91
Political

Correspondent

A BILL to repeal South Africa's notorious Population Registration Act was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

If the Bill is passed, babies born after it becomes law will no longer be classified by race.

However, current race classifications will remain on the statute book.

In introducing the Bill, which would scrap all or part of 14 Acts, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw said the measure was an interim one which would allow for the continued working of the present Constitution.

The effect of the law in the past has been to classify all people born in South African in terms of their race: African, white, "coloured", Indian and Chinese. The present Parliament is made up of three houses in which only "coloureds", Indians and whites are represented.

Louw announced last month that parents were no longer obliged to state the race of their newborns, a move which made the Act defunct for all practical purposes.

Mangope and De Klerk hold talks

Sowetan 10/4/91

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday met a Bophuthatswana government delegation led by Chief Lucas Mangope.

The meeting, which took place at Tuynhuys in Cape Town, was a sequel to a series of talks De Klerk had with homeland leaders on issues surrounding the constitutional reform process as

well as the future role of these territories.

Mangope said before the talks his delegation had come to the meeting with an open mind and would take relevant decisions based on proposals coming from the talks.

Asked if he was in favour of reincorporation into South Africa, Mangope said Bophutha-

swana's independent status was precious to its citizens.

The delegation would, however, look at the global situation and weigh all the relevant factors.

The meeting was also expected to focus on bilateral relations between South Africa and the homeland. - *Sapa*.

Not 'My Lord': Woman judge

DUBLIN - Ireland's only woman High Court judge has told lawyers to stop calling her "My Lord", the usual courtesy phrase for male judges in court proceedings.

Justice Mella Carroll, who is tipped for promotion to the Supreme Court, said lawyers should simply call her "judge".

Mandela camp
BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government took another step towards dismantling apartheid and bringing sanctions to an end yesterday when it tabled legislation to repeal the Population Registration Act.

The brief three-clause Bill moves government closer to satisfying the terms of the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) and the conditions set by the EC for sanctions to be lifted.

The CAAA requires that the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts be repealed, the state of emergency lifted and all political prisoners released before sanctions can be lifted.

The 11-line Bill does away with the original Act of 1950 — which classifies people

Govt step to topple apartheid pillar 304A

by their skin colour — eight amendments and five other laws.

It also contains a transitional measure to ensure the interim continuance of the race-based tricameral constitution. The transitional clause stipulates that anything already done in terms of the Act will remain in force until the passing of a new constitution. However, from the time the Bill passes into legislation, no further racial classification will take place.

Government officials said the measure was necessary for by-elections and retaining voters' rolls for a future referendum.

Differences, but much in common

Star 10/4/91.

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

A PARTHEID may be in retreat but it leaves telling traces — white and black South Africans are still leading lives which are materially unequal and light-years apart experientially. Racial polarisation of political loyalties and approaches to the economy is hardly surprising.

All of this is borne out by the Marknor World Social Value Study.

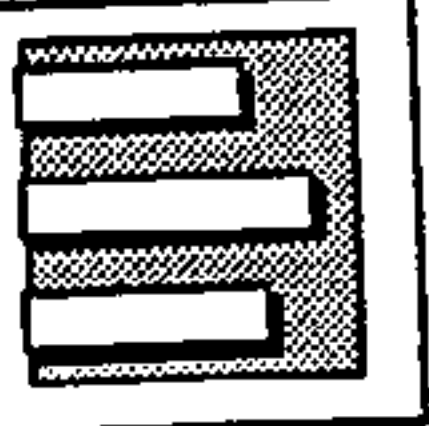
What the study also suggests is that if you look beyond the questions of power and wealth, to those lesser social issues (which are often the stuff of politics in more democratic and egalitarian societies than SA), South Africans of all colours have much in common.

The racially linked material differences remain striking. For the white sample, the average household income was R3930 a month, 75 percent owned their homes, 35 percent had some post-matric education and only 2 percent had no more than primary schooling. Just one in a hundred was unemployed.

In the black urban sample the average household income was R350 a month, only 25 percent had bought their homes, 30 percent were unemployed and 42 percent had not been educated beyond prima

The World Social Value Study, initiated by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, spans some 42 countries. The South African component used a locally adapted questionnaire. The sample comprised 1 236

SA social value study



whites (rural and urban), 200 coloured residents of Cape Town, 200 Asian

port, and yes again.

Ask any South African about his or her family, religion, views on abortion, sexual freedom and air pollution and the odds are more than even that there will be broad agreement.

The odds are also that the answer will fall well to the conservative side of the spectrum of views. Here are some examples:

● The overwhelming majority of South Africans sampled describe their upbringing as religious (ranging from 84 percent of whites, at the bottom of the scale, to 95 percent of Asians) and about half attended a religious service at least once a week. In both the white and black samples, eight out of 10 people declared that they drew comfort and support from religion. The frequency rose to nine out of 10 in the coloured and Asian groups.

residents of Durban and 600 black people in major urban centres. The black, coloured and Asian sample was stratified by city and township.

● More details: contact Marketing and Media Research.

(304/1)

● In relation to sexual freedom, black respondents showed a relatively more liberal approach than others. But still the majority position was conservative. Asked whether they agreed with no restrictions whatever on sexual freedom, 33 percent of black people "tended" to agree and 38 percent tended to disagree. Among whites, only 11 percent felt amenable to the idea and 71 percent opposed it.

Unsurprisingly, single mothers would probably have an easier time in the black community, where a relatively low 46 percent expressed disapproval. In other communities, censure ranged from 62 percent among coloureds to 79 percent among Asians.

Across the board, there is a majority who will make absolutely no concession to homosexuality. This is how the proportion of respondents who de-

clared it unjustifiable in any circumstances lined up: coloureds 82 percent, whites 72 percent, Asians 63 percent and blacks 61 percent. There is a marked disparity of attitude between English and Afrikaans-speaking whites in relation to homosexuality.

On another issue, despite years of resistance to Bantu education, black people expressed more confidence in the education system than whites did.

Since all black respondents were interviewed by a field worker, the chances are that the "compliance" factor on moral issues — the desire to give the "right" answer — is greater in this sample than among whites who filled out the questionnaire themselves.

But a telling response was that 53 percent of black people saw change as a new beginning while only 15 percent of whites viewed it this way.

Throughout the survey, it was not always clear whether respondents were evaluating present circumstances or a new social system that they anticipated just around the corner. This may explain the fact that 68 percent of black respondents aged between 16 and 24 said they would be prepared to defend South Africa in a future war.

● Tomorrow: How near is the non-sexist South Africa? □

WILL HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE...
Mandela says stance 'overblown'

ANC may do a deal over its ultimatum

304A
b/day 10/4/91

CAPE TOWN — Signs that the ANC and government might reach a compromise over the organisation's controversial seven-point ultimatum emerged yesterday after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela met foreign diplomats in Cape Town.

Sources at the meeting said Mandela indicated that the ANC's demands had been "overblown" by the media.

What the ANC was looking for, they said, was an act of good faith by government. This emerged from the growing perception in the ANC that government was dragging its heels on township violence.

One source indicated that the ANC was apparently prepared to meet government halfway, given a substantial move by government to indicate it was genuinely committed to moving on the issue.

Earlier, in Parliament, Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach said a "single golden thread" ran through all the violence in SA: the ANC.

TIM COHEN reports that Mandela earlier met 180 representatives of organisations in Johannesburg as part of a major drive to explain the ANC ultimatum.

Mandela addressed representatives from a wide variety of unions, church and political organisations, among them the PAC and Azapo, in Johannesburg.

Others present were SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and representatives of the Consultative Business Movement, Nactu, the Five Freedoms Forum, the National Union of SA Students and the UDF.

Political Staff

People at the meeting said Mandela did not back down on the ANC's demands, which include the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

He appeared to lay greater emphasis on the need to control violence than on the ANC's threat to suspend negotiations.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said the UDF supported the demands.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander confirmed the PAC had attended the meeting and supported the demands.

The ANC's new position would assist in developing guidelines for unity between the two organisations at the PAC/ANC conference in Harare this month.

Azar Cachalia, representing the executive committee of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), said Mandela emphasised the ANC had had "the utmost patience" with government's approach to the township violence.

Cachalia was not sure about the tactical advantage of linking the dismissal demand to the negotiation process, but would recommend that Nadel support the ANC's demands.

Comment from diplomatic representatives was not available at the time of going to Press yesterday, but it is known that most are critical of the ANC's ultimatum.

One said yesterday that it was vitally important to press ahead with the negotiations process, which ought not to be "held hostage" by township unrest.

Separate lives

But broad agreement on lesser social issues

From JO-ANNE COLLINGE,
The Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

A PARTHEID may be in retreat but it leaves telling traces — white and black South Africans are still leading lives which are materially unequal and light years apart experientially. Racial polarisation of political loyalties and approaches to the economy is hardly surprising.

All of this is borne out by the Markinor World Social Value Study.

What the study also suggests is that if you look beyond the questions of power and wealth, to those lesser social issues (which are often the stuff of politics in more democratic and egalitarian societies than South Africa), South Africans of all hues have much in common.

The racially linked material differences remain striking. For the white sample the average household income was R3 930 a month, 75 percent owned their homes, 35 percent had some post-matric education and only 2 percent had no more than primary schooling. Just one in a hundred was unemployed.

In the black urban sample the average household income was R850 a month, only 25 percent had bought their homes, 30 percent were unemployed and 42 percent had not been educated beyond primary school.

The coloured and Asian groups occupied an intermediate position. For instance, average monthly household incomes for these groups, respectively, were R1 718 and R1 965, and about 8 percent in both groups were jobless.

The extreme material differences translate into a contrasting sense of life, the survey suggests. While only 7 percent of white respondents said they felt unhappy with life, 48 percent of black people chose this answer. Nearly one in five black respondents felt strongly that they had no personal freedom, while in the other

How the survey was carried out

THE World Social Value Study, initiated by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, spans 42 countries.

The South African component was conducted by Markinor, as an affiliate of Gallup International, using a questionnaire adapted for local conditions.

The sample comprised: 1 236 whites (rural and urban); 200 coloured residents of Cape Town; 200 Asian residents of Durban; and 600 black people in major urban centres. All respondents were aged 16 or over.

In black, coloured and Asian areas the sample was stratified by city and township, with plots and households selected randomly. The white sample was randomly drawn using the national panel of Nasionale Tydskrif.

A supplementary sample of young people was drawn. The field work was done in October and November 1990. Limited information, based on a rural sample of 500 drawn from various homelands, is also included.

groups the proportion did not exceed 4 percent.

About half the black sample felt they had been unfairly treated in life, while only 14 percent of whites made this charge.

Looking at life from such different objective and subjective vantage points, can South Africans of different races see ANYTHING in the same light? Yes, suggests the Markinor report, and yes again.

Ask any South African about his or her family, religion, views on abortion, sexual freedom and air pollution and the odds are more than even that there will be broad agreement.

The odds are also that the answer will fall well to the conservative side of the spectrum of views. Here are some examples:

- The overwhelming majority of South Africans sampled describe their upbringing as religious (ranging from 84 percent of whites, at the bottom of the scale, to 95 percent of Asians) and about half attended a religious service at least once a week.

- In both the white and black samples, eight out of 10 people declared that they drew comfort and support from religion. The frequency rose to nine out of 10 in the coloured and Asian groups.

- Four out of 10 whites and five out of 10 blacks polled felt strongly that divorce

should be made more difficult to obtain. In fact, fully half of the black, coloured and Asian respondents declared that they believed that divorce was "never justified".

Among whites 25 percent were as emphatic about the permanence of the marriage bond.

- As for the woman's right to choose abortion, it might be a make-or-break issue for United States politicians, but South African vote seekers are unlikely to make much mileage out of it in any constituency.

The upper limit of approval for single women or couples seeking abortions simply because they do not want or cannot afford the child is 15 percent. This is the figure in the white group. It drops as low as 3 percent in the coloured community. A majority in all groups would sanction abortion where the mother's life was at risk.

- In relation to sexual freedom, black respondents showed a relatively more liberal approach than others. But still the majority position was conservative. Asked whether they agreed with no restrictions whatever on sexual freedom, 33 percent of black people "tended" to agree and 38 percent tended to disagree. Among whites, only 11 percent felt amenable to the idea, while 71 percent opposed it.

Unsurprisingly, single

mothers would probably have an easier time in the black community, where a relatively low 46 percent expressed disapproval. In other communities censure ranged from 62 percent among coloured people to 79 among Asians.

Across the board, there is a majority who will make absolutely no concession to homosexuality. This is how the proportion of respondents who declared it unjustifiable in any circumstances lined up: coloureds 82 percent; whites 72 percent; Asians 63 percent; blacks 61 percent. There is a marked disparity of attitude between English-speaking whites and Afrikaans-speaking whites in relation to homosexuality.

With the exception of the armed forces and the police — about which about one in two black people said they had little or no confidence — the cross-racial rating for various social institutions, such as the church, the press, the legal system, parliament and the civil service, shows remarkably small variation and tends to be positive.

In spite of years of resistance to Bantu education, black people expressed more confidence in the education system than whites did.

Since all black respondents were interviewed by a field worker, the chances are that the "compliance" factor on moral issues — the desire to give the "right" answer — is greater in this sample than among whites who filled out the questionnaire themselves.

But a telling response was that 53 percent of black people saw change as a new beginning, while only 15 percent of whites viewed it this way.

Throughout the survey, it was not always clear whether respondents were evaluating present circumstances or a new social system that they anticipated just round the corner. This may explain the fact that 66 percent of black respondents in the age range 16 to 24 said they would be prepared to defend South Africa in a future war.

TOMORROW: How near is the non-sexist South Africa?

MB48
10/4/91
(304A)

A session of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC met in Johannesburg on Thursday and Friday last week to address the grave crisis into which our country has been plunged because of the violence in the townships of the Reef and practically all of Natal.

The plenum received a comprehensive report on the scourge of silence that is once again raising its head, and came to the unanimous view that the waves of violence which consistently peak when the ANC and its allies embark on a mass campaign, are neither spontaneous nor of an ethnic character. It was the consensus view that the country is witnessing the unfolding of a well-coordinated counter-revolutionary strategy, whose objective is to derail the transition from apartheid to democracy and postpone indefinitely the inauguration of a democratic constitution.

The NEC's attention was drawn to the well established facts that during the past two decades the SA government has been the principal organising centre and headquarters of counter-revolution in the region. To deal with opposition inside the country, an elaborate Security Management System, built up by the government, penetrated regional structures, town and city councils and involved the business community and farmers in the tasks of counter-insurgency.

The NEC concluded that wanton acts of terror, mass murder and mayhem that SA has witnessed over the past six years have one aim: to bludgeon the African communities into submission and prevent the growth and development of autonomous institutions of popular expression, such as civics, street committees and other organisations of a popular character that enjoy the confidence of the townships or villages' inhabitants.

It has become clear from the responses our open letter has evoked that the ANC has either not been properly heard or its words are being completely misunderstood.

We find it quite remarkable that after a year which ended with something in the order of 2 900 African citizens killed, and with almost 600 deaths already reported since January 1991, that most of our fellow

ANC demands are designed to jolt SA out of complacency

ANC information secretary PALLO JORDAN explains the background to the organisation's open letter to President De Klerk.

als and features in our daily newspapers, do not seem to realise that what we face is a deep crisis.

Quite the contrary! To them what constitutes a crisis is the ANC placing perfectly reasonable demands before the government, reminding it that it has a solemn duty to protect all South Africans, whether they approve of their political views or not. What the ANC has sought to do is to shake the government, and many of our compatriots, who appear to have become desensitised to this violence, out of their apparent complacency.

The ANC's open letter was quite explicitly addressed to Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet yet, with a few notable exceptions, every commentator has shifted the focus from the government to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party. I leave it to the reader to speculate on the reasons for this odd diversion.

The ANC shall, however, continue to explore every possible route of bringing about peace with the IFP and every party, group or movement that shares its commitment to peace, and shall seize each opportunity to enhance the search for peace.

There is nothing new about calls for the resignation of General Magnus Malan. Members of Parliament have done so, more than once. Newspapers have done so. Other public

the ANC was merely adding its voice, belatedly one might add, to what had become a veritable chorus. But only ours merited the riposte, bloody cheek, from one newspaper. While that particular newspaper's response was perhaps the most extreme, there appeared to be a con-

sensus among the editors that this was an unreasonable demand. Yet others suggested that by making it we had in fact secured these two men in their posts.

Let us address the issue of reasonableness.

We have the case of two men, who have been charged with the duty of securing the defence of the country and law and order respectively. In the instance of General Malan, he has been caught either deliberately deceiving the public in his accounts about the CCB, or confessing to signing away public funds without bothering to ascertain the purpose they were being put to. Either way, a shocking dereliction of duty!

What is more, the general cannot explain how it came about that a body his ministry claimed to have dissolved was still consuming large amounts of money.

His colleague, Mr Adriaan Vlok, heads a ministry whose personnel have been guilty of a number of gross violations of their own standing orders. He is not in a position to explain why they are incapable of apprehending killers who have committed some of the most gruesome murders. He is at a loss to explain the wholly inadequate policing that has repeatedly resulted in loss of life and property on a massive scale.

Not a few editorials have also



told, have won the day. The ANC, so the oracles proclaim, is under stress because of internal dissension between hard- and soft-liners. What is amusing is that the scribblers who opine in this fashion cannot seem to decide which image of the ANC they prefer. At times it is a monolithic, dogma-ridden organisation when that will serve some perverse threat-perception. Today it is a cluster of competing factions.

The truth, of course, is that the ANC is neither. That there is no total unanimity among all on all subjects, is to be expected. But to imagine that this implies factions is to mistake the healthy debate, differences of opinion and emphasis one must find in any vibrant, living organisation, for internal conflict.

We are dismayed at the studied evasion of the serious issues our open letter has raised in the SA media, with few exceptions.

To recapitulate:

□ The rate of death and destruction being experienced by the African communities of Natal and Transvaal is a national disaster, which requires vigorous and determined responses by all sectors of our society, not least by government. The carrying of arms, traditional or otherwise, does not contribute to public peace, and should be disallowed.

□ The police force, maintained by the taxes of all and not a section of society, should serve all South Africans without fear or favour. When it fails to live up to its obligations, it should be called to account.

□ The police have a duty not to place the lives of citizens in jeopardy when citizens exercise their inalienable rights to demonstrate, meet and assemble. Those police who violate the rights of citizens should be suspended from duty and put on trial.

□ The government should not be permitted to create, train and maintain units of the security services that are above the law and have carte blanche to do as they please; and

□ Ministers of the state can and must be called to account by the people when they are found wanting.

And, like others who do not competently perform their duties, they should be subject to dismissal.

If SA is ever going to have a culture of democracy, these "unreasonable" notions we are propagating and attempting to put into practice had better be learnt by all, and soon.

ANC threat 'poses danger to market'

A BREAKDOWN in the negotiations would pose a serious danger for business sentiment inside and outside the country.

The South African Chamber of Business said this at a Press conference yesterday and urged the ANC not to suspend talks with the Government.

Sacob also questioned the ANC's tax proposals and the ultimatum to State President FW de Klerk to respond to certain political demands by May 9.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

The ANC's threat to withdraw from the negotiating process would not be conducive to the creation of a positive investment climate in South Africa.

Economy

Sacob appealed to all the parties concerned to make every effort to keep political negotiations on track as there was a great deal at stake for the economy.

The reaction follows the weekend pronouncements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that the organisation would suspend talks if the Government had not taken steps, including the dismissals of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, by May 9.

Mandela warned of an increase in "mass action" because of the Government's "failure to honour agreements with the ANC".

Sacob said while it did not wish to become involved in party politics, nor did it want to discourage debate on major economic issues, it was deeply concerned about the combined effect which these twin developments could have on business confidence.

As pointed out, in the latest Business Confidence Index, although business confidence appeared to have stabilised in March it remained vulnerable to political uncertainty and continued violence.

Major parties to square up

Sevfan 11/4/91 3049

SOME of the country's major political organisations and parties will be quizzed on political tolerance at a public meeting in Johannesburg tonight.

The meeting, to be addressed by representatives of both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties and organisations will be held at the University of the Witwatersrand's Senate House at 7.30pm.

Former newspaper editor and co-presenter of the programme *Agenda* on SABC-TV Harald

Pakendorf will chair the meeting, which has been arranged by the Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum.

Participating in the discussions will be National Party MP for Randburg Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon, ANC PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan and representatives from the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Conservative

Party, according to Cecily Singer of the FFF, was invited but refused to attend.

FFF publicity secretary Ms Hanlie van Dyk said her organisation decided on having the meeting because of its concern "about the implications of the prevailing political intolerance between people of different political convictions on the fragile peace process".

She said: "The public is offered the opportunity to take issue with spokespeople of the major political players in this country."

Major visits to Britain for De Klerk, Mandela

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will meet British Prime Minister John Major a few days after Major meets President F W de Klerk in London later this month.

The two will miss each other by a matter of days.

De Klerk's trip to Ireland and Denmark is due to take place from April 22 to 26 and Mandela will leave for London on April 26.

Mandela is also due to make a follow-up trip to Tokyo later this month, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

A senior British diplomatic spokesman said yesterday Major would use the opportunity to encourage the leaders to enter into negotiations and resolve differences between them.

The trip will take place shortly before the ANC's May 9 deadline for the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order

TIM COHEN

Minister Adriaan Vlok.

De Klerk will stop over in London on his way to Ireland and Denmark — the only two EC countries which he did not visit during his trip last year.

De Klerk, who will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, is scheduled to meet Major on April 22.

De Klerk will arrive in Denmark on April 24 for talks with Prime Minister Poul Schluter and Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

He will then travel to Ireland on April 25 to meet Prime Minister Charles Haughey.

Sapa reports that Whitehall officials yesterday dismissed the possibility of De Klerk and Mandela holding a unique joint meeting with Major to discuss latest developments towards constitutional negotiations.

Govt 'prepared to discuss ultimatum'

Step 12/4/91

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is prepared to discuss the ANC's demands for action to combat violence and is continuing with plans for negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen said yesterday at a briefing in Cape Town that the Government was going ahead "with all activities on the negotiation terrain".

He disclosed that, since last week's ultimatum, there had been continuing contact between the Cabinet and the ANC national executive on matters other than violence.

The ultimatum had strained the "special chemistry" between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

But Dr Viljoen added he was convinced the relationship was strong enough to survive the strain.

Dr Viljoen dodged all questions about whether the Government considered any of the ANC's seven demands as reasonable and whether it would meet any of them.

"We would be prepared to discuss several of the items

Dr Viljoen said it was still possible, but unlikely, that the multiparty congress (MPC) could take place be-

fore the ANC's planned national congress in June.

He accepted that the ANC was genuinely concerned about the violence, but so were other parties such as the PAC and Azapo, which had been the subject of ANC "wrath" in the past.

The Government rejected the ANC's diagnosis of the causes of the violence, especially its continuous shifting of the blame on to others.

Dr Viljoen said the Government had not expected the "drastic" ultimatum, which had come just when Mr de Klerk had been trying to arrange a meeting with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

He asked whether Mr Mandela was a free agent or was the subject of pressure from radicals in the ANC leadership corps.

A confidential ANC document, "Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics", had shown that the ANC acknowledged it was losing the tactical initiative to the Government.

The ultimatum seemed to be an effort to "regain hold of the driver's seat, to improve the ANC's image and sort out internal tensions".

But it was a serious matter for the ANC to risk the entire peace process to strengthen its own position.

US willing to help 'new SA', Bush tells Schwarz

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bush yesterday reiterated that the time had come to encourage and assist the emerging new South Africa.

He said he was immensely impressed with the dramatic progress achieved in South Africa in the past year and he was confident that the process of profound change now underway would be fully realised.

He said this in remarks released by the White House in response to the comments of South

African ambassador Harry Schwarz, who yesterday presented his credentials to the President.

Mr Schwarz said afterwards he had told the President that he hoped South Africa would have complied with all five conditions of the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) for the lifting of sanctions by the third week of June. Mr Bush received this news favourably.

Mr Schwarz handed Mr Bush a personal letter from Mr de Klerk.

Mr Schwarz told Mr Bush South Africa was on a course of irreversible progress to full democracy. The US had a

role to play in this process.

Mr Bush said South Africa was indeed on an irreversible course of change.

"As I said when President de Klerk was in Washington last September, the time has come to encourage and assist the emerging new South Africa. The US strongly endorses the principle of nonracial, democratic government in South Africa," he said.

"I welcome you to your important diplomatic mission. I encourage you to expose the possibilities of the emerging new South Africa to the widest range of the people of

the US," Mr Bush said.

In a speech to about 120 people invited to his official residence to celebrate the handing over of his credentials, Mr Schwarz warned that his embassy could not at present convey a message of stability in South Africa if it did not exist.

"We can convey our confidence in the future, but such a message will be more convincing when our people put down their guns and pangas, and pick up tools and turn their minds to reconstruction.

"South Africans must remember that the US will see our country as it is and we are going to tell it as it is".

FW stays cool in face of setbacks

3047
Someten
12/4/91

FOCUS

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has shown that he is patient and even long-suffering. Events in the past week have again shown that these are qualities he will in future often have to draw on.

While he was trying to take a short break at Plettenberg Bay during Parliament's Easter recess the ANC issued an ultimatum in which it made a number of demands and threatened to suspend all contact on constitutional reform with the Government unless they were met by May 9.

Holiday

Although he was on holiday, he moved quickly to get his answer to his Tuynhuys officials.

De Klerk made it clear that he especially resented the insinuation that the Government was insensitive or lax about violence.

He pointed out that special and at times expensive steps had been taken to get the violence under control and that he had repeatedly given the undertaking that, if substantive facts about certain allegations were provided, there would be swift action.

The Government has been willing to appoint judicial committees of inquiries in the case of some of the violent incidences and some security force actions have been criticised in this way.

He also disclosed that he had been trying to organise joint talks between Government, ANC and Inkatha leaders to discuss violence.



FW DE KLERK

According to one Government source, efforts to have such meetings are continuing.

De Klerk has also accused the ANC of trying to shift the goalposts in an attempt to hide serious problems in its own ranks.

Other Government spokesmen such as Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok also hit back. It was in its demand for the sacking of Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that the ANC over-reached itself.

However justified some of the criticism of the two Ministers may be, De Klerk could hardly be expected to fire them at the behest of the ANC.

In spite of sharp reaction from the Government side, there is more understanding for the problems of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and what De Klerk and some of his advisers regard as the moderate ANC leaders than any Government leader would say in public at present.

There is in fact considerable concern in Government circles at the way in which the ANC has not

been able to get its act together.

One of their interpretations is Mandela is having problems with radicals who have misgivings about the ANC's earlier acceptance of an all-party conference.

Good relations have developed between Ministers and ANC leaders.

This relationship has now soured considerably.

There has also been a remarkably good relationship between De Klerk and Mandela and meetings between them have on several occasions in the past managed to iron out problems.

There has in fact been the impression in the past that many of the things that have been said in public were meant to appeal to particular ANC and Government constituencies while the reasonable approach prevails when the leaders meet.

There has in fact been some resentment among ANC elements about the meetings between Mandela and De Klerk.

There has also been the tendency to have less high-profile meetings as was the case when the two sides secretly met at DF Malan airport on February 16.

Ultimatum

In spite of the latest clash, it is significant that an additional liaison committee of the two sides created then is still operating.

The ANC also appears to be backing down somewhat on its original tough seven-point ultimatum.

Mandela has now been saying that the Government need not meet all the conditions but that there must be some substantial gesture from the Government.

While De Klerk has indicated that he is keen to have an all-party conference soon to start exploring arrangements for negotiations, the Government is increasingly resigned to the fact that

this will now not happen as early as had been hoped for.

One of the reasons for this is that the ANC is clearly not ready yet for negotiations although it expressed interest in the conference.

The movement's planned June conference will have a say in this.

Meanwhile De Klerk is continuing efforts to explore the possibility of constitutional consultations in other areas.

This week he met leaders of the parliamentary parties for informal discussions. The Conservative Party declined to attend.

De Klerk hopes the CP will change its mind because he believes the potentially dangerous frustrations of the rightwing could be contained if they agreed to state their case at negotiations.

A parliamentary joint committee on constitutional affairs has been activated to serve as a discussion forum.

Setbacks

At the same time, this parliamentary forum will not prevent any of the parties from going ahead with contacts or negotiations with other parties. It is not meant to be an alliance.

Such alliance arrangements are likely to be made nearer to a referendum or election.

As De Klerk's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, put it this week: the Government is determined to "stay cool" about negotiations in spite of setbacks.

Eventual negotiations are regarded as inevitable as "mass action" or violent alternatives such as a return to the armed struggle - which never amounted to all that much - could not work.

Viljoen said now was not the time to be emotional. It was a time to be as rational as possible and to consider what was in the interests of the country.

This was confirmation of De Klerk's style.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn.
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Dr Viljoen's staying cool, but the ANC's given him a jolt, writes Shaun Johnson

Stretched, but not to the limit

3044

Sfor 12/4/91

Dr Gerrit Viljoen is using his capacity for being philosophical to the full as he tries to still fears that the negotiations process could be on the brink of collapse following the ANC "ultimatum".

"In this kind of matter you mustn't get too emotional," the Constitutional Development Minister said in Cape Town yesterday. "You mustn't be angered or hurt. You must be cool, consider what is best for everybody, and for South Africa."

It has been a topsy-turvy fortnight for the Government's chief negotiations strategist. Little more than a week ago he chose to deliver his most upbeat assessment of progress towards a multi-party conference and beyond — then the ANC served notice that it would slam on the brakes unless the Government gave a clear signal that it would address the township violence once and for all.

Yesterday, he frankly conceded that the ANC move had come "out of the blue", and that the Government regarded it as a "real somersault" in terms of the ANC's methods... This wasn't foreseen,

and was more drastic than can be justified by the circumstances."

"There have been ongoing (bilateral) discussions on most of the issues (contained in the ANC's open letter)," he said, "and it was quite a shock to suddenly be faced with an ultimatum."

Dr Viljoen will be the first to admit that he could not have chosen a more unfortunate time to speak out on how marvellously negotiations were progressing: far from barrelling along to an early conclusion — as he suggested earlier this month — the momentum of the negotiations process has been slowed considerably. There can be little doubt that the Government underestimated the extent of dissatisfaction within the ANC about the security forces' performance.

But Dr Viljoen, on behalf of the Government, is adamant that what is under threat is the rate of progress, not the process itself.

This is the most telling proof yet that the extraordinary volatility of the peace process is matched only by its elasticity. It has been stretched sharply, but shows no signs of snapping.

Dr Viljoen indicated that the Government was disappointed by

the ANC National Executive Committee's decision to provoke a confrontation and, significantly, even spoke of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as "not being the same Mr Mandela we have come to know". The "special relationship" between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk had been "placed under strain", he said.

But, he added quickly, "I am confident that the relationship and the interpersonal chemistry is such that it is strong enough to survive this."

"Negotiation is (still) the only way to find a lasting and workable solution... If we have left the trail, we will just have to come back to it again..."

"It is a fact that there isn't a workable alternative for either party."

It is worth contrasting Dr Viljoen's earlier conclusions about progress with his latest assessment, in order to estimate just how far off track the process now is.

Immediately before the ANC announcement he had said:

"All political organisations in South Africa, with the exception

of the ultra-Right and certain leftist organisations that are opposed to negotiations, are ready to participate in the multiparty conference."

"The Government is ready to call a multiparty conference as early as next week. I sincerely hope that it will be before the middle of next year."

"I hope the conference will be able to conclude its business during the second half of the year. This implies that an agreement on the constitution of a negotiation forum will have been reached by then and that the real negotiation process can start."

"The actual negotiation process could get started with more confidence and in a more favourable psychological climate in the knowledge that there are not only differences, but also a significant degree of consensus."

"South Africa has a tradition of separateness which was enforced by statute and which cannot be changed overnight. To establish more contact between people, all leaders at the local level... should make a deliberate effort to meet leaders of other population groups and exchange ideas with them about needs and view-

points in their respective communities..."

"I have a positive expectation of the future of South Africa, provided the various parties display reasonableness and arrive at a solution by a process of give and take which is acceptable to all."

To varying degrees, all of these assessments have had to be revised in the light of the ANC initiative, and the Ministers' huddle this week has sought to limit the damage. Unusually enough, therefore, it is the Government which has spent this week fashioning tactical responses to an ANC initiative, rather than vice versa as has been more common. In this respect at least, the ANC's ultimatum has had the desired effect of wresting the initiative back from the Government, and applying pressure for concessions on its demands.

Dr Viljoen was evasive when asked repeatedly whether the Cabinet accepted that the content — if not the presentation — of the ANC demands was justified, but it is clear that the Government is taking the matter very seriously.

"I have no doubt they (the ANC) are worried about the violence. We are all worried. We all con-

"bringing about meaningful multiparty negotiations"

With the experience of hindsight, he was much more circumspect about the prospects for quick progress, however. "Next week is not practical, of course," he said in a reference to his earlier statements. But he took encouragement from the fact that

"working group" contact had not been broken off, and that attempts continued to convene a meeting on the violence with Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He would not be drawn on how the Government planned to respond to the detail of the ANC's

demands, but it is clear that the matter is concentrating the minds of Cabinet members with an energy that might have been lacking were it not for the ultimatum. □

turn. □

turn. □

Damage had been done to white confidence in the process, he said, and this could be rectified only by



GERRIT VILJOEN

Still on track - Viljoen

THE Government is prepared to discuss the ANC's seven demands for action to combat violence in its ultimatum last week and is continuing with plans for negotiations. *Sowetan 12/4/91*

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday the Government was going ahead "with all activities on the negotiation terrain".

"We do not plan to bedevil or jeopardise them. Negotiations are inevitable

and are the only way to find lasting solutions." *(304A)*

He said there had been continuing contact between the Cabinet and the ANC national executive committee since the Friday ultimatum, on matters other than violence.

Viljoen evaded questions on whether the Government considered any of the ANC's seven demands as reasonable and whether it would meet any of them. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

as ordered, a local authority may do so and recover all costs involved from the owner. It can also compel the Registrar of Deeds to endorse title deeds to a property or stop the transfer of title — except to the local authority — if an owner does not comply with an order to remove or repair a nuisance.

As a last resort, the local authority can recover its cost by taking the property owner to court or, if the amount owed is more than R10 000, seize and sell the property to cover its costs and transfer title to the purchaser even if the property is mortgaged.

Local authorities may also make by-laws stipulating the "norms and standards" appli-

cable to a particular area and will also be compelled to make further by-laws (unless they conflict with its own by-laws) if residents of a particular area vote by a two-thirds majority in a referendum for such measures.

The Bill also provides for provincial administrators to designate as many "mediation officers" as they deem necessary. Their function will be to settle neighbourhood disputes, eliminate conditions which may harm neighbourhood relations, report alleged nuisances to a local authority and "do anything which is necessary or which he may deem expedient in order to ensure that the residen-

tial environment may provide a peaceful home to its residents."

A mediator is compelled to investigate any "conduct or condition" brought to his notice which will disturb neighbourhood relations and also to investigate any complaint.

Punishment for resisting a mediator includes a fine of up to R2 500 or six months in prison.

The Bill also provides for the Director-General of Justice to designate panels of JPs who will also have wide powers to investigate reports by mediators or complaints from residents regarding the disturbing of neighbourhood relations or other actions. ■

NORMS AND STANDARDS 304A

BRAVE NEW WORLD FM 12/4/91

If government has its way, the maintenance of "norms and standards" in an apartheid-free SA will herald an era of unprecedented control and interference in the private lives

of individuals.

The Orwellian-toned Residential Environment Bill provides for a complex network of boards, committees, ad hoc judges and inspectors with almost unchecked powers to probe and regulate nearly every aspect of residential life.

Its terms and definitions are so vague that initial fears that the real intention is to entrench residential patterns in existing white areas is difficult to dispute.

The Bill is part of government's much heralded land reform package. But, while the package as a whole is overwhelmingly positive, the Bill can be seen only as a massive step backwards — even though Cabinet ministers have stressed repeatedly at briefings that the measures will be applied on a nonracial basis.

In essence, the Bill provides for an Urban Environment Board, comprising not more than seven members appointed by the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing (now Hernus Kriel) on the grounds of their skill or proven ability in the planning, development, management, protection or conservation of the urban environment.

The board's task will be to give advice and guidance on the "prevention, cleaning up or repair of physical decay in the urban environment and nuisances" and the management of the urban environment. It will also be empowered to "do anything necessary or which it may deem expedient for the achievement of its objects." These are "to strive for an urban environment free from physical decay in which communities may develop in a respectable and orderly manner and good quality of life may be realised."

The board will have wide powers of investigation. It will be able to:

- ☐ Order or summon people to appear before it to give evidence or information;
- ☐ Appoint consultants to investigate or research any matter;
- ☐ Authorise any person to enter and inspect land or premises "at any reasonable time";
- ☐ Declare "renewal areas" where there is, or a tendency towards, physical decay; and
- ☐ Approve and order upgrading schemes.

Local authorities will be compelled to investigate complaints of "any nuisance" and, if found to be justified, could order the owner of the premises where the nuisance is occurring to repair or clean it up.

Nuisance is defined in the Bill as "any deviation from the use for which the land concerned has been zoned, or any physical condition comprising a health or safety risk; or decay that conflicts with the perceptible norms or standards in the environment concerned; or, which measured against the norms and standards of the environment concerned, is offensive."

Failure to repair or remove a nuisance can be punished by a fine of R10 000 or two years in prison and a further fine of R100 a day or five days in prison for each day that the notice to remove or repair the nuisance is ignored.

If a property owner still fails to take action

DE KLERK'S RESPONSE ^{FM 12/4/91}
WAITING GAME ^{304A}

Is government playing along with what could be radical posturing by the ANC before its crucial national conference in June?

President F W de Klerk's uncharacteristic decision to let Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok join public battle with the organisation suggests that it is.

Significantly, De Klerk used Vlok —

FM 12/4/91 ^{304A}

— whose sacking along with that of Defence Minister Magnus Malan has been demanded by the ANC — to respond in person to the ANC's seven-point ultimatum. Malan, on the other hand, has kept an unusually low profile, more than likely on De Klerk's instructions.

Vlok's attack on the organisation at a press conference in Cape Town this week was the most vitriolic by a Cabinet Minister (apart from Malan's regular outbursts against ANC military chief Chris Hani) since the De Klerk reforms were initiated. Up to now government has kept its cool, preferring to settle differences through private talks.

Softer tone

Vlok's formal statement at the conference smacked of old-style Nat rhetoric. In essence he said the ANC was primarily responsible for starting the violence now sweeping the land while the State was doing all it could to end it.

It was significant that the tone and content of Vlok's replies to questions after his statement were far softer than his statement. He repeatedly stressed government's commitment to negotiations and to ending violence, and even declined to defend his place in Cabinet, saying it was De Klerk's prerogative to decide his fate as a minister.

Vlok gave the impression that government understands the problems ANC moderates face due to internal struggles, and is prepared to be reasonably patient and tolerant



Malan



Vlok

while they are resolved. There is apparently an overriding belief in Cabinet that the ANC accepts the inevitability of a negotiated settlement but needs more time to position itself for full-blown talks.

But, just as the ANC needed to posture for the benefit of its constituency, so government had to respond publicly with a hardline statement.

□ De Klerk has gone ahead with his plan to draw parliamentary party leaders into the broader negotiating strategy. With the exception of the CP's Andries Treurnicht, they all attended a meeting with De Klerk at Tuynhuys on Monday; it was agreed to use parliament's constitutional committee as a forum for further discussion.

It is clear that De Klerk considers preparation for negotiations as a key to success and is apparently hoping to draw in as many like-minded parties as possible before sitting down with the ANC.

Vlok, Viljoen optimistic of solution to deadlock

By ARTHUR MAIMANE: Cape Town

Two senior cabinet ministers have at separate media briefings this week blasted the African National Congress for its ultimatum but also expressed optimism that there will be an accommodation before May 9 when the ultimatum expires.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said at their briefings there will be "a considered response" to the ultimatum from President FW de Klerk; but neither would say when that would be issued: before or after De Klerk's trip to Europe and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's to Japan and London.

The two leaders will have separate talks in London with Prime Minister John Major — who observers believe may help to resolve the deadlock.

Viljoen told the media on Thursday that the government was "shocked" by the ultimatum because the demands were a complete turn around by the ANC. Apart from its demand that Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan be sacked, the other issues — such as random township violence — were already being discussed by their joint working groups.

The ultimatum, he said, did not sound like "the real Mandela" who was a "sophisticated and well-informed leader". Confusion within the ANC had led Mandela to deny that the demands were an ultimatum — and then have to explain it all to 14 ambassadors.

De Klerk was doing all he could to resolve difficulties, but there has not been "the positive response we expected" to his attempt to arrange a meeting with Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He wanted the three of them to discuss the "troika" proposed by the kwaZulu chief minister after his meeting with Mandela in Durban a fortnight ago. Viljoen would not say which of them had failed to respond, but it's known that when Mandela briefed the ambassadors he indicated that he was not interested in a "troika".

The ultimatum, he said, had strained the personal relationship between De Klerk and Mandela, but Viljoen was confident it would survive the present crisis.

After a lengthy attack on the ANC and Communist Party — accusing them of being a "common denominator" in the violence — Vlok claimed there was "a problem" about meeting the ANC demand to make "cultural weapons" illegal. He quoted a su-



Not saved... More than 100 squatter shacks were razed in Mandela Park

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

preme court judgment that declared it was "not an offence to possess a dangerous weapon if the possessor has no intention to use it for an illegal purpose". Police could not disarm people of "cultural weapons" without proof they intended to use them illegally.

But they were not as dangerous as the AK-47 rifles ANC cadres brought into South Africa that are "responsible for at least many of the killings".

Both ministers say there will eventu-

ally have to be negotiations despite what Vlok termed "sabre-rattling" by the ANC which was only "stalling" to lengthen the process. Viljoen says that meanwhile the government will "retain the moral highground" and also continue all possible communications with the ANC. He claimed the ultimatum was an attempt "to dictate the negotiations process and its schedule" but the ANC was "risking the peace process to improve its own" position.

Vlok claims there is a power struggle within the ANC with "the hawks and doves" positioning themselves for the leadership elections at its first national congress within South Africa.

Viljoen says there's no alternative to negotiations and if the ANC withdraws after May 9, what would it do? Depend on "mass action" or return to the "armed struggle"? Vlok claims the government is "prepared for all eventualities" after the ultimatum expires.

I'm sorry for past — Morne

CAPE TIMES 12/4/91
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former Springbok rugby captain Morne du Plessis says he regrets not doing more against inequality in South African sport.

And he praised the "breathtaking" courage of the Watson brothers in the Eastern Cape, who suffered for their belief in non-racial sport.

Du Plessis, 41, said this in an interview with British sportswriter James Lawton of the Daily Express.

The former number eight forward said that while he privately questioned inequality he never took action against it, or at least not until very late in the argument — when he spoke in favour of the sports moratorium last year.

In his interview with Lawton, he was unstinting in his praise and gratitude to the contribution the Watson brothers had made to South African rugby and sport.

"They did something so brave it is breathtaking when you know their background, the circumstances of their lives," he said. "They had delved into the problem. They all spoke pure Xhosa.

"Some people tried to say they had business interests with the black people, that they had a vested interest in what they did.

"I reject that. They paid a terrible price. Their business premises were burned down. Their lives were threatened. But they did what they thought was right," he said.

MP: Why leave now, Dr Chris?

Cap Times 12/4/91
306A

PARLIAMENT. — Professor Chris Barnard had never expressed any desire to leave South Africa during the years he had lived here under apartheid, Mr Nic Koornhof (NP Swellendam) said on Thursday.

Speaking in the budget debate, he said apartheid had cut deep and left many wounds. It had affected the deepest recesses of human dignity.

But Prof Barnard, who now said he wanted to leave because of the violence in the country, had not threatened to leave then.

On the contrary, he had bought a farm in the Karoo and taken a new wife.

It was not fitting for him to now stand behind bars with his two-year-old son in his arms and say he wanted to emigrate.

Instead he should become involved and work for reconciliation.

Prof Barnard could play a role in ending the spiral of violence in the country, and that was a good enough reason to stay.

South Africans should not lose courage and perspective now.

South Africa could learn many lessons from Africa and its leaders, including presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Robert Mugabe, in the matter of national reconciliation.

"Let us strive for reconciliation, take hands and build together. Are we not all in one way or another victims of apartheid?" — Sapa

ANC moves closer

to Govt

THE ANC and the Government have moved closer together with new, more moderate constitutional principles unveiled by the ANC yesterday.

The ANC makes several proposals — including a constitutional court, a bicameral parliament, a voting system based on proportional representation and equal recognition of all languages — which the Government has also suggested.

However ANC constitutional spokesman Professor Kader Asmal last night warned at a press conference in Cape Town, that some of the similarities could be superficial and stressed "fundamental points of difference" still remaining.

These are the ANC's continued insistence on a strong centralised state and its heavy stress on affirmative action to overcome inequalities.

Federal system

By contrast, the Government favours a strong federal system with major powers devolved to regions and local governments, and wishes to entrench the free enterprise system in the constitution.

Nevertheless, the new constitutional principles were described last night by top political scientist Professor Hermann Giliomee as "more sophisticated" than any previously published ANC constitutional thinking.

"It is much more in the direction of a pluralistic state where the stress is on tolerance of differences rather than dictation from above," he said.

Democratic Party constitutional spokesman Colin Eglin said the ANC proposals indicated a "growing convergence in South Africa around the concept of a strong constitution designed to ensure multiparty democracy, the protection of fundamental human rights and the creation of a just society".

'Moderate' plan for a new SA unveiled

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

The new constitutional principles seem to have been released yesterday to demonstrate that the ANC is still committed to negotiations, despite its threat last week to pull out of them unless the Government takes decisive action to end township violence.

The proposals have been published for discussion and are likely to be finalised at the ANC's national congress scheduled for June — and to form the basis of the organisation's negotiating position at the multi-party conference which could take place later this year.

In an important symbolic concession to minorities, the ANC proposes that all languages should have equal official status.

Afrikaans should be first on the schedule of suggested officially recognised languages.

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC plan

Star 13/4/91

FROM PAGE 1.

which will be listed alphabetically.

However the Government would have the right to "give primacy to one or more languages in any region or throughout the state as the language of administrative communication or judicial record".

But any language could be used for communication with the State or speaking in Parliament.

Another concession to minorities is the suggested adoption of a system of voting by proportional representation.

This would "encourage participation" in the political process by minority groups which would be "more satisfactory than forcing political or subversive activity outside Parliament".

A Constitutional Court would have ultimate power to set aside unconstitutional legislation and actions.

Although the constitutional document stresses the need to avoid over-centralisation of power and proposes

elected regional and local governments, ANC constitutional spokesman Dullah Omar stressed that these would be purely delegated or derivative powers.

The central government would firmly retain ultimate power — largely to ensure that it had enough power to re-allocate resources to overcome historic inequalities.

The proposals strongly stress affirmative action. However, Professor Asmal said the Government would not guarantee economic rights such as jobs and shelter for all.

The document's suggestion of a bicameral parliament echoes Government thinking — but with important differences.

The ANC stresses that there will be no representation in the upper house on the basis of racial, ethnic or community criteria.

This contrasts with government thinking — not yet published — that groups will be represented, probably indirectly by giving preference to race-based political parties.

The ANC also makes clear that the lower house or National Assembly will have the ultimate power, including the sole power to change the constitution.

Why fume when you can chuckle

Star 13/4/91

304A

THERE is an African saying which goes: "Sometimes we laugh and joke even at a funeral." We are witnessing a serious crisis between the ANC and the Government, but I suggest we take time off and laugh at ourselves a bit. I suggest we laugh at the manner in which we reacted to the ANC's demand that Messrs Vlok and Malan should be sacked by President de Klerk on or before May 9 1991. Note that I am not expressing any opinion on whether or not they should be sacked.

During the past two months, virtually every newspaper in South Africa — conservative, liberal, radical or alternative — has been calling publicly for General Malan's resignation. All opposition parties in the House of Assembly, including the CP, were doing the same thing.

Intolerable

However, the moment the ANC National Executive Committee joined this chorus and called for the resignation of these two gentlemen, the whole atmosphere suddenly changed.

The SAP angrily reacted by asking who the hell the ANC thought it was to make these demands. In other words, it was tolerable, though not perhaps acceptable, for the press and the white opposition parties to call for the resignations, but totally intolerable for a black opposition party, let alone the ANC, to do exactly the same thing.

Some editorial comments in newspapers that have themselves publicly called for Malan's resignation in the past, suddenly changed their tune and even opined that make the demand publicly actually entrenched his position in the Cabinet.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, whose party also called for Malan's resignation in Parliament, is

Through My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



now seriously advising the Government not to give in to ANC demands. How about the AWB leader, who even promises that he will "protect" Vlok and Malan?

The moral lesson for me here is that in politics deeply steeped in prejudice and intolerance like our own, it is not so much what Mr Jones says that people react to. Rather, people tend to react, first and foremost, to who Mr Jones is.

In a more serious vein, Messrs de Klerk and Mandela must be urged at least to keep open the channels of communication they have so painstakingly created over the past 12 months.

If these channels are already closed, they must be assisted to reopen them as quickly as possible.

It is through these that difficult and sensitive issues can be tabled and discussed rationally, away from the glare of publicity.

Finally, the two leaders must also accept that processes of political transition, even under the most favourable conditions, are always accompanied by setbacks. Our own process could not have been different.

In Namibia, there were serious setbacks, in spite of the fact that Namibians had UN Resolution 435, which more or less mapped out the constitutional route for them.

We have no such resolution and we are virtually on our own.

The proposed multiparty conference which is now also under threat would, hopefully, map out the constitutional route for use.

Resident De Klerk's office said that the dates for the tour had been moved earlier, but said the departure time next weekend — had not.

his tour Mr De Klerk would
early 30 countries since he
resident — an achievement
youth African head of state
since the days of General

style came into full play and a strong impression as a reformist. He showed cool and calm in the face of criticism.

in the field of South African literature went far beyond those of his predecessors.

ough re-evaluation of host-
towards South Africa; es-
degree of credibility as a re-
determined his determination to

He put across a strong case for stopping sanctions and made significant breakthroughs in this direction. The outcome of the De Klerk tours have left no doubt that he has the ability to "win friends and influence people", and in most cases he achieved what he had set out to do.

Until recently Ireland and Denmark were opposed to visits by him. In addition to EC sanctions, Ireland went so far as to ban imports of South African agricultural products, especially fruit.

MR De Klerk is expected to visit these two countries after his visit to London but has to be back in South Africa by April 29 for the debate

DURING his visits to Dublin and Copenhagen he is expected to meet important leaders of those two countries. He has already visited the other 10 EC countries during his two tours of Europe last year — Britain, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

His earlier visits to African countries were also reported to have been highly successful and to have greatly strengthened South Africa's links on the continent of Africa.

One of his most impressive — and possibly most successful — foreign tours so far was his visit to the United States in September last year — the first visit to the US ever made by a South African president. Some observers described Mr De Klerk's mission to the US as the most crucial foreign encounter in South Africa's post-war history.

It was during that visit that President George Bush, after ground-breaking talks with Mr De Klerk in Washington, declared that the process of change in South Africa was "irreversible".

Mr. De Klerk was cordially received by Mr. Bush. Parting statements of the two leaders at a White House briefing indicated that they had achieved an unprecedented degree of common ground.

"All Americans recognise that Mr De Klerk is courageously trying to change things," Mr Bush said. And Mr De Klerk gave this assurance: "We will not turn back."

Significantly, Mr De Klerk on his arrival in the US had summed up his overall vision in these terms: "South Africa has embarked on a great journey. It is a journey toward full democracy at home, and abroad full participation in the family of nations."

THERE are indications that Mr De Klerk's tours into the world will continue. Preliminary official probes into potential further visits later this year have been carried out since last year. It was expected then that the focus of his travels this year would be partly on the Far East with possible visits to potential major trading partners like Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Thailand.

But until now no definite arrangements for a visit to Japan are known to have been made, but officials have indicated such a visit by Mr De Klerk may still be in the pipeline. As recently as last month the Kyodo news agency in Tokyo reported the Japanese government was planning to invite Mr De Klerk on a visit later this year.

Other possible ports of call on a Far Eastern tour are said to be Hong Kong and China.

In addition, there has been speculation that visits to countries in Eastern Europe and further visits in Africa may be on the cards.

After breakthrough visits by Mr De Klerk to the Netherlands, Luxembourg and two African states — Morocco and Senegal — in October last year he declared that world sanctions against South Africa were crumbling.

At the same time sources in Tokyo were saying Japan was considering the partial lifting of sanctions and wanted to invite Mr De Klerk to visit Tokyo. However, with Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to Tokyo at that time, the Japanese Foreign Ministry insisted it had no immediate plan to ease up on sanctions.

By that time last year President De Klerk had visited 25 countries, including 10 of the 12 countries in the European Community.

His comment then was that South Africa was in effect being accepted by the international community in the sense that previous attitudes of scepticism had been replaced by "the total opposite."



SEPTEMBER 1990... President De Klerk and US President George Bush after meeting at the White House.

placing hospital and ambulance services on a par throughout the country, a surcharge of 30 percent on the daily hospital rate of R210 per day is to be levied on private patients in the Transvaal; and that Cape medical services are to be further curtailed due to a shortfall of R200-million in a severely reduced budget, indicates that a near-complete breakdown of medical services is upon us.

While we are said to be living longer, thanks to the marvels of modern medical science, the cost of maintaining life in our bodies is escalating beyond the ability of the ordinary man and woman to pay.

If one adds to the whole sorry mess the government's intention that medical and medical charges be subject to 12% VAT after September 1991, then one can only wonder at the government's reluctance to institute a state lottery to finance the present and future high cost of "living".

Against this alarming background, Dr Willie Jasson's presumably serious proposal that a lottery to finance sport in this country be organised, leaves one gasping. There's something obscene about such a suggestion.

R D MALAN
Somerset West

Victorian methods not being used

WISH to reply to Mrs E M Nielson's letter (Weekend Argus, March 16) "Deaf schools using Victorian methods".

The letter states that the school "is doing harm." As Mrs Nielson has not visited our school, we do not feel that she has any real right to make statements about the methods used at our school. Regarding the so-called "Victorian methods," I could like to say that we use up to date international methods (such as those used at Gallaudet University for the Deaf in Washington) which have been adapted for South African circumstances.

Total communication is not a manual system consisting of signing, but a philosophy that includes all forms of communication for example speech, speech reading, signing and finger spelling.

One should also bear in mind the sign language the mother tongue of the deaf. At present ex-

placemate. It is an immoral option as it deprives the black majority of a say in the running of the country, as their vote, as in the general assembly of the United Nations, will be just about worthless. The only consolation will be that the white votes will be just as worthless. We will be ruled by an entrenched oligarchy which will make sure that nothing and nobody can remove them from power. The country will be ruled by a new Broederbond with even greater corruption as the new elites will have to fill their pockets and jobs will have to be found for all the pals.

This system will only be implemented through force as it will please nobody.

However our present rulers are betting that force will be legitimised as their black co-rulers will be using it on their people, which of course will not raise an eyebrow in Washington as we have seen with the rest of Africa.

But the comparison with Brazil does not hold water as the composition of the Brazilia nation is officially 60 percent white and 40 percent black and there is effective white majority rule. In fact there are only six black members of parliament. The positions in South Africa would be exactly the reverse and if the system is fair, it will be effective black majority rule, which, as Professor Gilimoe has pointed out is rejected by 90 percent of whites.

On top of that a 3-4 percent economic growth would be required which with the coming Aids epidemic will be absolutely impossible to achieve. And the latest ANC ultimatum is proof enough that blacks are not interested in these shenanigans. They want power.

Which brings us to the second option, the Zimbabwe option. In that country it was the result of the armed struggle that transfer of power became inevitable, as the whites did not have the manpower to sustain the war.

There is however a big difference between Zimbabwe and South Africa.

In Zimbabwe blacks were concentrated in the countryside and could threaten the white towns, while here the countryside is largely in white hands and any attempts by urban blacks to mount an offensive against whites would be nipped in the bud with devastating results for them.

The only way for blacks to get power in this country would be for whites to abdicate it and to hand over the arsenal of the country to the government.

14/04/91
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Which brings us to the Algerian solution, partition following a civil war. This to my mind is the most likely solution. How it will come about is difficult to say.

It could be as Professor Gilimoe says, following a white Sharpeville, or as Professor Welsh mentioned with the bullet that could kill Mandela. But whichever way, it will be sudden and will involve massive transfers of population and the use of private armies. Whites will abandon outlying areas to blacks and will expel blacks from large parts of the country.

White South Africa will become prosperous within five years as any shortage of labour could be made up easily from Eastern Europe, however for black South Africa it will be a total disaster on the Ethiopian scale, for without the skills to run the mines and factories in their possession and prospect of a Zulu/Xhosa civil war, they will have no chance to succeed.

Durbanville
FACTS OF LIFE

companies.

The local air fares are already so high that VAT is going to be included in these fares. It will only increase the individuals costs.

One wonders what the government is doing with all our tax money. Hospitals like Schuur are running short of money, but I see the government doing anything such about it. What about the homeless? Yet the government has money to overcome the high cost of the tricameral parliament.

The government expects us to pay higher taxes and we don't know what is happening to the money we have the right as citizens of South Africa, to know.

The government surely cannot use the public money to pay its own debts!

Athlone
EXPLOITED SOUTH AFRICA



Last week's cartoon by Derek Bauer illustrating South Africa's option as

Dear Sir Obscene cost of medical services



THE shattering news that in the process of

The Brazilian road is no option at all the Nats

HAVING read with interest Professor Gillo-
mee's options for South Africa, I am
pleased that somebody at last has put down
these options in a concise manner so that we
can make up our mind as to their value.
The Brazilian option which the NP is pursu-
ing is in fact no option at all, but only the re-

under Nelson Mandela, but I doubt if many in
the officer class would be prepared to do the
same. Which would bring us to a civil war and
the third option.
Of course there will be "quiescents" prepared
to collaborate, but on the whole the white popu-
lation will stand together, having no ways to
emigrate "en masse".

VAT won't benefit average person

AM very upset with the idea that value add-
ed tax (VAT) will be replacing GST under the
supposed conditions.
For instance if I want to buy a house of
R100 000, I am going to have to pay R6 000 ex-
tra than I would have had to pay, had the VAT
system not come into being.
The ordinary person is not going to benefit
from VAT except for

CP: Most whites will vote for FW

By DE WET POTGIETER

SENIOR Conservative Party members believe the majority of white voters support President FW de Klerk's moves to share power with blacks.

This remarkable admission is contained in a strategy document drafted by several CP members and presented to the party's head committee last year.

In its latest edition, the Johannesburg based magazine, SA Dialogue, reveals all the details contained in the document.

The document states it "is a foregone conclusion that De Klerk can win a referendum".

It continues: "De Klerk and his allies will see to it that the CP's image is denigrated and ridiculed; the All Blacks and the Lions will tour South Africa; the Australian cricket team will pay a visit; a mini-Olympic Games will be held inside the country; billions of rands will flow into the country so that even Mrs CP will feel the bene-

fits in her pocket."

As a result of these prospects, moderates within the CP are pushing for a radical reappraisal of party policies and the acceptance of a federal system with restricted powers for whites.

They are also urging the party's leadership to participate in the coming negotiating process.

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Violence is a threat to elections for new SA

STimes 14/4/91

VIOLENCE could keep nearly a fifth of all black voters from the country's first non-racial polls, a new survey has revealed.

The Market and Opinion Surveys poll of 900 urban-based black South Africans showed that 71 percent would vote in a free election if there was no "trouble". But 16 percent indicated they would stay away in the event of violence. The results reflect the extent of intimidation caused by the latest township violence.

A recent poll by Market and Opinion Surveys suggests that one of the real unanswered questions is not who people will support — but whether they will vote at all.

Players

The survey also shows that in the event of large-scale violence the ANC would lose marginally more support than its main rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party — one-sixth of potential voters compared with one-seventh in the case of Inkatha.

But it is the smaller parties who would suffer the most. The PAC, Azapo and UDF can be expected to lose a third of their support if there is violence or intimidation.

The Market and Opinion Surveys poll and another survey by Markinor also confirm findings that there are only two main players: Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk.

The surveys show the ANC enjoys the overwhelming support of black South Africans — six out of 10 urban blacks.

Some of the findings of the two polls are:

- President De Klerk enjoys as much prestige among urban blacks as Nelson Mandela.

- ANC support is not evenly spread. It enjoys the support of 88 percent of Xhosas, 68 percent of North Sothos, 55 percent of South Sothos and 58 percent of Zulus.

Regionally, too, the ANC has different levels of sup-

By BRIAN POTTINGER

port — up to 95 percent in urban areas in the Eastern Cape, but only 43 percent in cosmopolitan Soweto.

- More blacks support the National Party than whites support the ANC.

The polls put the number of blacks who would vote for the National Party at six percent. The Markinor poll, however, indicates 46 percent of blacks who feel "quite good" about the National Party would perhaps vote for it or would definitely vote for it.

Conversely, the Markinor poll could only find six percent of whites who felt "quite good" about the ANC or who might vote for it.

Rejected

The Market and Opinion survey showed that although the Inkatha Freedom Party had strong support in certain areas (particularly in the hostels), overall support for the organisation was weak and opposition to it was surprisingly virulent.

The Markinor poll found that 62 percent of its respondents rejected the organisation totally.

The Market and Opinion surveys suggests that if there were a peaceful election tomorrow, the following results could be expected: ANC (42 percent), NP (eight percent), Inkatha (seven percent), Azapo (three percent), United Democratic Front (three percent), PAC (three percent), South African Communist Party (one percent), Democratic Party (two percent).

ANC and NP views converge

From Page 1

of privatised apartheid and inequalities.

A federal or unitary state. Both agree that there should be three levels of government — central, regional and local.

The ANC, however, favours a strong central government with powers to redress historical imbalances in housing, education and health care. It proposes that there be elected forms of regional and local government. They would "exercise" delegated powers but will have wide discretion in regard to the priorities to be pursued at these levels.

In a speech to provincial administrators in Natal last year, President De Klerk said the NP favoured expanding the powers of regional and local government to prevent any one group from monopolising power.

Dullah Omar, a senior member of the ANC's constitutional committee, said this was contrary to everything for which the liberation movement, including the ANC, had fought for decades.

A two-tier Parliament. The National Assembly, both parties propose, should be elected on a one-person-one-vote, proportional representation basis.

The parties' proposals for the Senate, however, differ radically.

The ANC proposes that the Senate be elected by universal suffrage and make provision for regional representation.

The NP believes that all parties in the National Assembly should be granted equal representation in the Senate.

The ANC proposes that the Senate be the guardian of the constitution with

power to refer disputes about the constitution to the appropriate court for a decision. It would be able to delay legislation but not veto it.

The NP-envisaged Senate would have the power of veto. It would also have to approve by a two-thirds majority any attempt to change the constitution. The ANC proposes that amendments to the constitution be approved by a two-thirds majority of only the National Assembly or by a two-thirds majority in

a national referendum.

Mr Omar said this week that the government's proposal for a new parliamentary structure would be unacceptable to the ANC because it was designed to frustrate majority rule.

This was because while the government accepted the need for one House elected on a one-person-one-vote nonracial basis, it proposed a structure for the second House which would in effect nullify the democratic principle and majority rule.

The Presidency. The ANC has suggested that the head of the executive be a State President but has not committed itself on whether he should be elected by the public or Parliament.

It proposes that he act in consultation with a Cabinet headed by a Prime Minister. The President would appoint both the Cabinet and Prime Minister.

The NP proposes that a Prime Minister be elected by the National Assembly and be the prime mover in government.

The President, it believes, should be elected by the Senate and serve as the guardian of minority rights and act as mediator when the two Houses disagree.

The NP also believes that the composition of the Cabinet should reflect on a proportional representation basis the state of the parties in the National Assembly. As an alternative, it has proposed that the Cabinet consist of non-parliamentary ministers in much the same way as the US Cabinet does.

The public service. The ANC document proposes that a public service commission should have as one of its tasks the implementing of "an affirmative action programme in regard to appointments to senior positions in order to redress existing race and gender disparities".

"Provision will be made for a representative structuring of the public service and the defence services," it says.

Dr Viljoen declined to comment on the ANC document as it was still the subject of internal debate within the ANC.

In its proposals the ANC has also suggested the appointment of:

- An independent ombudsman with powers "to investigate complaints against members of the public service including the police and other holders of public and private power and to investigate allegations of corruption".

- A human rights commission to ensure that violations of human rights are investigated.

ANC and NP views converge

THE SUNDAY ASSESSMENT

By Mike Robertson and Norman West

THE African National Congress and the National Party are approaching consensus on the outlines of the system of government in a new South Africa.

But vast differences remain in their proposals for the division of power among the component parts.

Underlying the ANC constitutional proposals unveiled this week is a belief that a strong central government with powers to redress apartheid imbalances is needed.

In contrast, the National Party proposals, outlined in a series of speeches by President FW de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, envisage a drastically reduced role for central government and maximum devolution of power to regional and local government.

However, there are striking similarities between the ANC and NP proposals on the broad outlines of government in a new SA.

Both propose that:

- The new South Africa be a multi-party democracy with regular five-yearly elections;

- There should be an independent judiciary with power to review and set aside legislation;

- Elections should be held on the basis of proportional representation, although the ANC has gone further in proposing that there be both a regional and national list to ensure accountability;

- There should be two Houses of Parliament — a National Assembly and a Senate;

- Homelands should be reincorporated.

- A justiciable Bill of Rights should be established.

Specific issues raised by the ANC document include:

The Bill of Rights. The ANC has gone further than the government in proposing that all languages have equal status, not just the present two official languages.

But while the government wants property rights protected by a Bill of Rights, the ANC believes this would in effect be a "Bill of Whites". Instead of having statutory apartheid, the new South Africa would end up with a nationally entrenched system

To Page 2

The Gorbachev Disconnection

TOWARDS THE FUTURE SA

Stiles 14-11-91

THE dramatic changes that have taken place in Soviet conduct both at home and abroad allow South Africa to proceed with reforms in a less polarised international environment.

The future of Mikhail Gorbachev's government and, indeed, of the Soviet Union as a whole are extremely uncertain.

But it is next to impossible to visualise any scenario in the foreseeable future in which Moscow will be able to interfere itself in South African developments in a destructive way.

President Gorbachev and his new Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, would like to consolidate ties with the West. It is an open secret that Mr Gorbachev is much more popular in the West than in his own country.

That popularity, up to now, has not been translated into major benefits for ordinary Soviet citizens. Yet there have been some specific payoffs in the international arena, particularly from Germany.

The Soviet president hopes to have greater economic assistance from the West as soon as the stabilisation of his country makes it a more attractive place for foreign investment.

Mr Gorbachev and his advisers understand that the Soviet Union, while still a nuclear superpower, is in an extremely vulnerable position. The domination over Eastern Europe, alliances with Third World radicals and an image of a constantly growing Soviet military might are over.

Yet these status symbols from the Soviet imperial past have not been replaced by positive accomplishments. The Soviet economy is a basket case and continues to deteriorate. Also, the spectacular advances of democratisation were recently obscured by the tragic events in Vilnius and Riga.

As former President Richard Nixon observed after returning from his recent two-week trip to the Soviet Union, the USSR, which only a few years ago was

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described as an evil empire, faces the danger of becoming an irrelevant empire, one that will be relegated to the sidelines in the post-Cold War era.

To avoid this predicament, Mr Gorbachev needs all the co-operation he can get from the West. Inside his own country, he badly needs to maintain the image that he is indispensable for maintaining the Soviet Union's

Russia the evil empire is in danger of becoming an irrelevant one

international credibility. Projecting this image is also important for his ability to stay in power.

In this connection, playing risky games in southern Africa is not on the Soviet president's foreign policy agenda. Due to his pride in the USSR's great power status and pressures from nostalgic conservatives, Mr Gorbachev may be reluctant to have a total break with traditional Soviet Third World clients. For example, he was clearly uncomfortable with the US-led coalition's clear-cut victory over Iraq.

On the other hand, the pursuit of an assertive policy of destabilising South Africa — one which would inevitably put the Soviet Union on a collision course with the West, especially the United States — would be contrary to both Soviet national and Mr Gorbachev's personal interests.

Dmitri Simes suggests that the Soviet Union might become a moderating influence in South Africa's transition

Nelson Mandela is more popular in New York than he is in Moscow ...

because the Soviet Union has no real economic interests in or emotional bonds to the Third World.

There is simply no major constituency in the country that wants to bear the burden of Third World involvements: this is the Soviet version of the US Vietnam syndrome.

The struggle of the black majority in South Africa has little relevance to present Soviet foreign policy priorities. The African National Congress enjoys no genuine support in the Soviet Union and Nelson Mandela is much more popular in New York than he is in Moscow.

The US media gives the ANC considerably more prominent and positive coverage than does its Soviet counterpart. Moreover, Soviet public opinion, understandably, is rather inward looking these days.

With economic decline and ethnic turmoil undermining Soviet military capabilities, with more than 50 percent of young men eligible for the draft avoiding military service (according to Defence Minister Marshal Dmitry Yazov), it is difficult to imagine how any government in the Soviet Union could resume an expansionist foreign policy.

This is particularly true

into two categories: those which require subsidies from the USSR and those which can do something for it and do it as soon as possible. Using these criteria, the ANC has little to offer.

If anything, most ordinary Russians tend to sympathise with South African whites and relate their plight to the predicament of the ethnic Russians in the disintegrating Soviet empire.

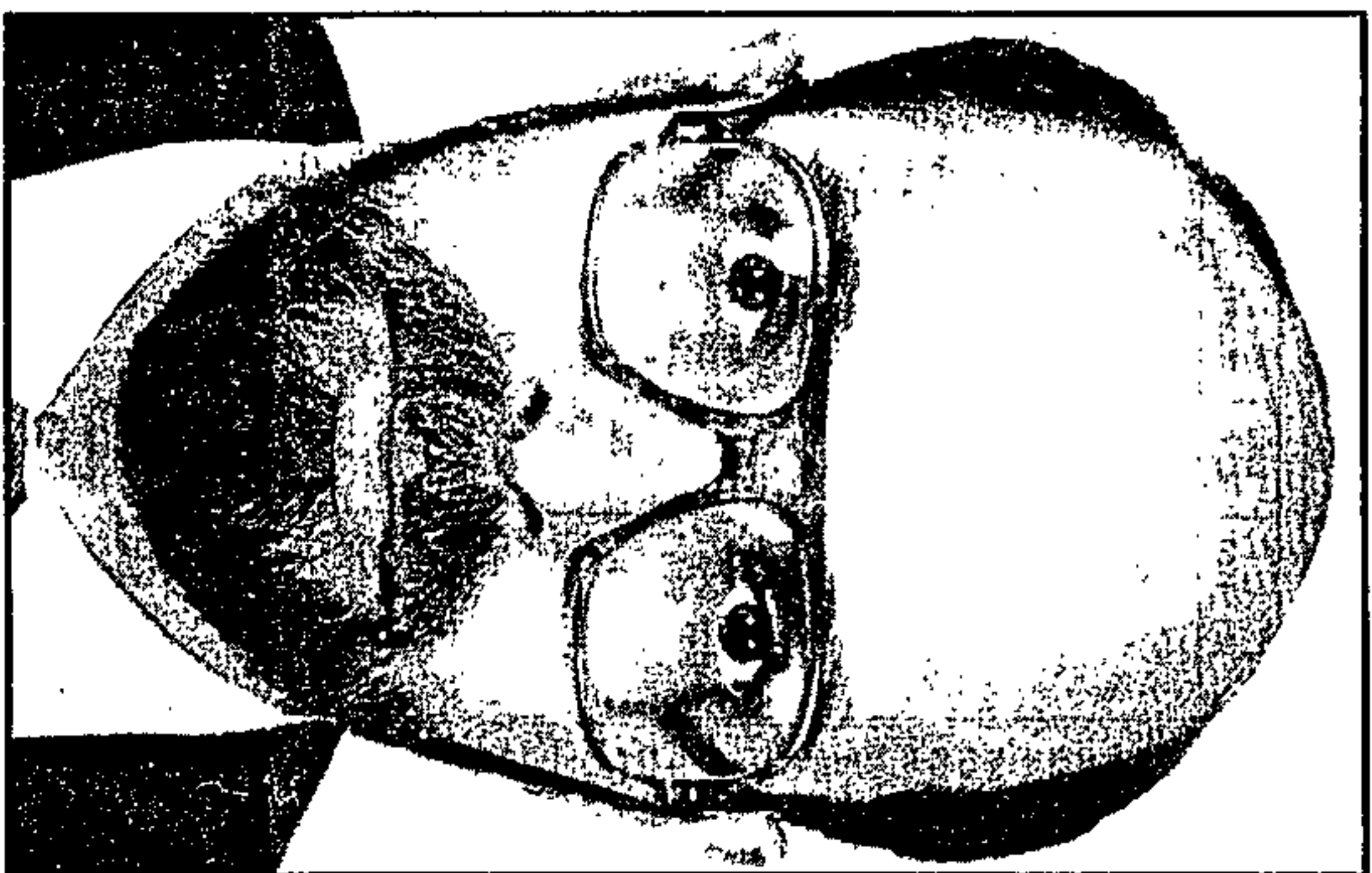
However, that sympathy is likely to remain abstract, untranslated into specific foreign policy actions.

The most Moscow could realistically do is provide some diplomatic umbrella — possibly through the United Nations — to help reach a peaceful arrangement among South African communities.

I completely agree with Chester Crocker's view in the keynote piece to this section of the Towards a Future South Africa series that the removal of South Africa from the East-West context "as a result of the ending of the Cold War is not a bad thing".

Those who want the peaceful transition to black majority rule to take place in a democratic framework should not be worried by such a "marginalisation" of the South African situation.

Pressures from both the West and the neighbouring African states to satisfy the aspirations of the black majority will remain. But those who want to achieve change through violence and to impose on South Africa the infamous African model of one man, one vote, one time will have difficulty mobilising international support.



That, in turn, will deprive those in South Africa who want to preserve apartheid with a powerful argument that change is likely to lead to a Marxist/Leninist dictatorship perhaps dominated by Moscow.

The winners will be the moderates on both sides of the great South African divide, and the losers will be those who want to promote change at any cost or, conversely, would like to block it altogether.

The war in the Gulf has provided a powerful reminder that the end of the Cold War does not equal a new world order based on peace and justice for all nations.

Fragmentation of the international system in the absence of the discipline that has been associated, until now, with the existence of two great international coalitions is one likely source of

The winners will be moderates on both sides of the South African divide

— the United States included — which for domestic reasons, cannot afford to appear being on "the wrong side" of racial issues.

Most Third World states will have an inevitable bias in favour of the fulfilment of black majority aspirations, even if it comes at the expense of white minority rights.

The decline of the Soviet Union's destabilising presence in the region does not assure benign conditions for change in South Africa. But it certainly contributes to an environment in which South Africans of all races have a better opportunity to determine their own destiny without hostile foreign intervention.

If Soviet reforms and the new foreign policy thinking associated with them withstand current challenges, the Soviet Union may gradually become an attractive business partner for the new South Africa as well as a moderating influence during its period of transition.

● Professor Simes is a Sovietologist who has visited South Africa a number of times. He is currently with the Carnegie Endowment for Peace in Washington.

Constituent assembly invitation

3044
Sowetan
15/4/91

THE South African Government has made an about-turn on the question of the constituent assembly and has invited the Pan Africanist Congress to talk about the issue.

In a letter to the PAC this week, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the Government would like to talk to the PAC about a constituent assembly.

The Government has always summarily dismissed the question of a constituent assembly, describing it as undemocratic. In its place, the Government offered a multi-party conference instead.

A response to the Government's letter

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

would be formulated within the next 24 hours, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in Zimbabwe at the weekend.

Commenting on the invitation from the Government, Makwetu reiterated PAC's resolution regarding the constituent assembly taken at the movement's national congress in December last year.

"There is principle, tactic or policy barring us from making a democratic solution to the country's problems," he said.

"The PAC will not negotiate with (President)

De Klerk unless negotiations are preceded by an election for a constituent assembly.

"The PAC has the mandate from the oppressed and dispossessed to demand that the constitution for a free Azania only be drawn up as a democratically elected constituent assembly on neutral ground."

This week's letter from Viljoen said when the PAC was ready to talk about a constituent assembly, "we can establish contact in order to decide on the time and venue for our discussions".

There was mild euphoria among the PAC's national executive council yesterday. The general feeling was "it was worth waiting all this time".

The PAC will close its meeting later today. Tomorrow it is scheduled to enter discussions with the ANC about the formation of a patriotic front.

Should a patriotic front become a reality, the Government's proposed multi-party conference scheduled for the middle of this year will disappear from the political agenda.

A patriotic front does not augur well for a multi-party conference or continued talks between the ANC and the Government.

1208 get indemnity from prosecution

Sowetan 15/4/91

A FURTHER 1 208 people who had applied for indemnity for undergoing military training contrary to the provisions of the Terrorism Act had received it.

The total of 3 692 people who had received indemnity represented 73 percent of the total applications received. - Sapa

The director-general (justice) announced in the Government Gazette on Friday that 1 208

Talks about tolerance

(304A)

217

South Africa 15/4/91

ON a big billboard, near Braamfontein on Johannesburg's M1 South, are the words "We should be talking to each other", an advertisement sponsored by a big computer company.

On Friday night at Wits University, not far from the billboard, leaders of some of South Africa's main political groups did indeed try to talk to each other.

The topic was "Political tolerance in a changing South Africa".

At the same time, in Alexandra Township a funeral vigil was under way for eight victims of the recent violence.

The Wits University event was hosted by the Five Freedoms Forum. Journalist Mr Harald Pakendorf was chairman.

Taking part were Mr C Lategan of the National Party's Transvaal Provincial Administration; Miss Barbara Hogan, the ANC's PWV regional secretary; Mr Tony Leon Democratic Party MP for Houghton; Azapo head of education secretariat Dr Gomolemo Mokae and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Musa Myeni.

Pakendorf told the equally diverse audience that the Conservative Party and ultra-right Boerestaat Party declined the invitation to participate while the PAC had "agreed in principle" to attend but did not send a delegate.

The panel was called on to discuss whether elections could take place under the present political climate; whether freedom of association was possible and whether factional tolerance existed only at a political level.

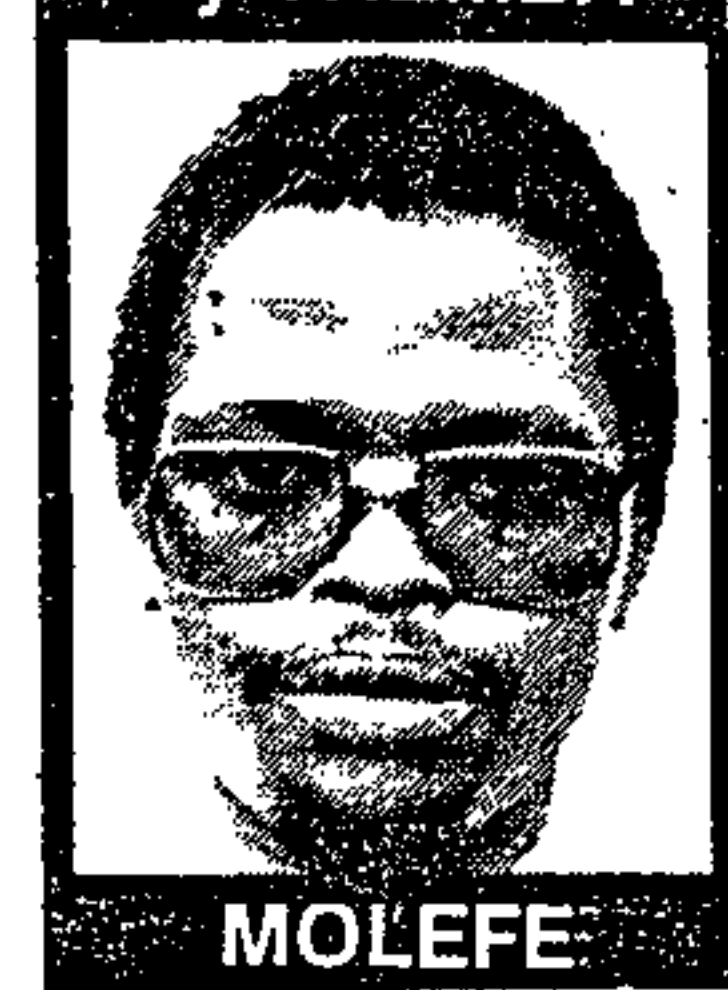
All agreed no elections could take place in the present political climate. But once discussion got underway, the debate got heated.

The ANC and Azapo began by taking the fight to the Government's corner. Inkatha immediately went for the ANC. Azapo attacked Inkatha, accusing the organisation of being opportunist.

Inkatha pointed out, in an apparent reference to the ANC, that

FOCUS

By THEMBA



MOLEFE

it was not "politically bankrupt" and therefore "lucky".

Azapo's Mokae criticised IFP by saying: "Inkatha graduated from a Zuluist cultural movement to a political party through violence and intimidation and it still does."

He said this after IFP's Myeni called on the ANC, Inkatha and Azapo to jointly address the question of intolerance. He criticised the ANC's threat to suspend constitutional talks if the Government did not stop the violence.

Myeni said the ANC should address issues relevant to the Inkatha/ANC agreement of January 29 to create joint violence monitoring structures.

"The ANC should not walk into its own trap by hinting at suspending such talks. They might find themselves asking where do they go next," he said.

"After 30 rallies since January 29 our people are still being attacked - from Pietermaritzburg to Katlehong - while going or returning from meetings. Landmines and handgrenades have been used and black people have been killed. We have information which we might release if it is for the sake of public interest."

ANC's Hogan responded: "We can talk about peace but the violence will not stop. We sign a peace accord in Tokoza but as we do so Katlehong blows up.

"Who supplies the weapons, who's doing the planning? Unless stern measures are taken to stop the killings talks are just firefighting."

Talking about the ANC's recent ultimatum to the Government calling for a solution to the violence and the dismissal of ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan, amongst other demands, DP's Leon said five of the seven demands were reasonable.

But he asked: "Why should all the blame be attributed to the State?"

Lategan of the NP said: "What exactly does the ANC want the Government to do? Whatever steps taken are being rejected. The ANC must come out in the open."

Hogan tried to swerve the debate away from what she called finger-pointing and raised the issue of a third force being possibly involved in perpetrating the violence.

"This is not simply Inkatha perpetrating the violence but we are not saying it is not responsible."

She said the ANC admitted discipline could be lacking on the ground and was working on it.

"We admit to fingers being pointed at us," she said.

"The Government is extremely intolerant, actually fascist, and this has resulted in the mobilisation process which today sees apartheid on the brink of collapse."

"But we are in a dilemma. Who started this violence? The scale of violence at this stage actually points to a sinister force which is destabilising the country with a force similar to that seen in Angola and Mozambique."

"If the State is not responsible then we should find out who is," she said.

A speaker from the floor accused the panelists of belabouring obvious issues and suggested they propose solutions to curb intolerance.

Hogan responded by saying the attitudes of the police and security forces in dealing with violence should be checked. There was a

need for attitude training in this regard, she said.

"We need a total overhaul of how security forces deal with the violence on the ground. Also, the police must work out who is working behind their backs."

She said police did not act swiftly to stop impending attacks in the township even when the ANC repeatedly supplied information or evidence.

To illustrate her argument, Hogan referred to the recent dramatic deployment of two helicopters and flying squads to arrest a fleeing man who allegedly threatened the life of radio talk-show host John Berks in Johannesburg.

"Why can't the same happen to hunt the killers in Soweto?" she asked.

Mokae agreed with her. "Black life is very cheap," he said.

He suggested blacks should close ranks and that a neutral peace force replace the present police force who could not be trusted.

Myeni responded by saying: "Blacks must take the responsibility of not blaming others."

Lategan said: "We admit that police have enforced apartheid laws in the past. But all political parties should find solutions to the problems together. Let us bury the mistakes of history."

He said poverty also exacerbated the situation and called on political groups to resist calling for sanctions.

Leon said all agreed on the same principles, such as one person-one vote and a Bill of Rights. He suggested a multi-party violence monitoring structure be initiated and a special unit within the Department of Justice be formed to follow up multi-party monitoring.

He said a conference should be called to discuss the source of violence.

And tomorrow statistics of the victims of violence will again leap from the country's front pages and television screens.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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CP MP says party should join talks

PATRICK BULGER

30491

A PROMINENT CP MP says the party should enter negotiations on a new constitution or risk being marginalised as a political force. *Bleau 194191*

A confidential discussion document prepared by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe contains an implicit attack on CP militants who support armed struggle.

The document refers to right-wingers involved in attacks on blacks and government targets as "loudmouths" and "people with criminal tendencies and deficient personalities".

"There is no way that the CP has at present an intelligible political model for which people would be prepared to wage a drawn-out struggle," it says.

Details of the document will be released this week in the political journal SA Dialogue.

It says Van der Merwe argues that the CP should enter negotiations from the start to allow it to assume a position of strength. It calls on the CP leadership to state publicly that it is prepared to become involved in multiparty talks.

Van der Merwe says SA should be divided into 20 regions. In some, whites would have no powers, in others power would be shared and in others whites would have power by being in the majority and by controlling regional government.

The document further argues that the majority of SA whites would support President F W de Klerk.

It says rugby and cricket tours and foreign investment will make the CP's proposed "land of milk and honey" pale by comparison.

CP MPs were unavailable for comment yesterday. Spokesman Andries Beyer said party leader Andries Treurnicht was preparing a statement.

CP dismisses reports about party policy

Staff Reporter 15/4/91

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says revelations about his party's planning proposals — published yesterday — had been taken from "an old document" used merely as a discussion point during a CP meeting in January.

The document is entitled "Strategy for a Changing Situation".

Dr Treurnicht's admission came as an NP spokesman said the proposals showed there were "fundamental differences of opinion" in the ranks of the CP.

Accepted

In a statement Dr Treurnicht said the document had been drawn up for discussion and submitted to a leadership meeting by CP MP Koos van der Merwe.

It had been presented "on his own initiative".

Dr Treurnicht described it as an "old document which had not been accepted by the leadership or any other committee of the party".

The comments contained in the document were not party policy, he stressed.

In it, Mr van der Merwe said apartheid could not work under a CP government or in any white homeland.

It also said rightwingers who professed allegiance to CP policies were "big mouths" who had infiltrated right-wing groupings and were possibly agents of the South African intelligence services who had been "planted".

Mr van der Merwe yesterday described reports in a Johannesburg Sunday Afrikaans newspaper about new thinking within the CP as selective and distorted.

The CP MP said in a statement that the report did not present a precise account of the document which, he claimed, was old.

The document was an outdated working document of the intelligence and strategy committee of the CP's national executive.

He added that the report was an attempt to confuse voters in Ladybrand before the forthcoming by-election there.

Last night, NP spokesman Renier Schoeman said the "weekend revelations on the strategic planning proposals submitted by Mr van der Merwe showed there were fundamental differences of opinion in the ranks of the party".

They showed that the CP was on the brink of a split.

Gael Neke discusses suspicions about FW de Klerk's 'hidden agenda'

Holding on to the levers of power

IT has been implied in Parliament recently that President de Klerk may be playing a very clever but dangerous game.

Democratic Party MP Jannie Momborg has raised a question mark over Mr de Klerk's total commitment to democracy in a future constitution. He said: "When the NP speaks of power-sharing without domination... it obviously means that no other group or party can ever be in a position where they will prescribe to the NP."

"I want to contend that we are dealing with a hidden agenda from the NP... It will only accept a constitution if it has the guaranteed certainty that a coalition of the NP and other groups will put the NP in a position to hold the levers of State power in its hands."

"If this is true, we are busy with a dangerous game that can trigger off an enormous crisis of stability in our country."

President de Klerk has become an exemplary leader for most whites and many blacks. He has brought about dramatic changes. He is seen to be the only political leader wielding real power in practical terms. His actions have

brought about very real benefits of acceptance and support for his government. These are to a large degree dependent on the acceptance of his "sincerity".

Despite national and international reluctance to openly query this sincerity, there is substance to Mr Momborg's suspicions. One of the conclusions reached in the recently published Political Environment Survey was that the National Party has no expectation of not being part of government, at least in the short term, after the formation of a new constitution.

A number of current factors support Mr Momborg's suggestion that Mr de Klerk's commitment to a future democracy may be fragile. Many of these factors have short-term, positive spin-offs for the NP, mainly through the weakening of its chief political opponent, the ANC. Breaking down support for the ANC creates the possibility of power-sharing formations.

The following factors are important:

- Violence in the townships has spread beyond the fears of the most pessimistic. It has become complex and endemic. It also is

very divisive in regard to political development and unity.

It appears there are steps that could contribute to the ending of violence, but the State and therefore Mr de Klerk seem reluctant to take them. These include banning the carrying of arms, including traditional weapons; the proper and immediate response by the police to warnings of the threat of violence; the arrest and prosecution of suspects; and the proper control of police under difficult conditions.

- Mr de Klerk has repealed apartheid laws without introducing counterbalancing laws and actions to enforce or promote positive results. So, with the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, there is no countering of right-wing activity to retain separation.

- The content of the White Paper on land reform and the manner of its release show clearly an expectation that the Government's proposals will be accepted in the future. Despite the release of the ANC draft paper on land, no reference to it or consultation is evident in the White Paper.

- The Internal Security Acts, especially section 28, still find evident favour with Mr de Klerk,

even though these do not ride easily with moves to democracy. They are used almost exclusively for hampering political activity.

- General Magnus Malan, an apparent millstone round Mr de Klerk's neck, is allowed to remain in office. Mr de Klerk's genuineness must be questioned by his acceptance of General Malan and the cover-up of the CCB and other hit-squads.

- Bureaucracy hampers the release of prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles. This undermines trust in the political clout of the ANC.

The above factors point to a conclusion that might not be healthy for South Africa's movement to a constitution of greater democracy. Mr de Klerk may be taking political advantage of the disorganisation of his political opponents.

Trying to destroy the political strength of an opponent while you are the only one with real power is not a recognition of democracy, but a repeat of the actions of the NP over the last 42 years.

- Gael Neke is co-author of the Political Environment Survey, an independent assessment of business indicators relating to political developments. □

Lines drawn for ANC, govt bargaining

CAPE TOWN — The major issues government and the ANC will wrestle over at negotiations are the political autonomy of local and regional authorities and how effectively a new parliament can redress apartheid inequities.

Big differences in their positions on the division of power among component parts of a new government emerged at the weekend when the ANC unveiled its constitutional proposals.

Underlying the proposals is adherence to a long-standing belief in strong centralised government delegating power to lower authorities — as opposed to government's position that devolved power to

BILLY PADDOCK

regional and local levels be entrenched.

Government sources yesterday said this was the major point of contention that had to be ironed out between it and the ANC.

They said government was in agreement with the principle of addressing apartheid backlogs but the ANC's proposed method of achieving this could raise problems.

However, one senior source said he was encouraged by the ANC's discussion document and said numerous points of convergence gave hope that negotiations would bring about compromises from all sides.

Leading ANC advocate Dullah Omar

said entrenched devolution of power would mean a future national government would be unable to implement policies to reduce historical inequalities in housing, education and health.

He said this, and combined with government's proposals for minority or group protectionism, would nullify or frustrate majority rule.

ANC leaders at the launch of the constitution plan said it contained draft principles to stimulate debate within and outside the organisation and was not written in stone. It is expected that a formal package will

□ To Page 2

ANC

be formulated at the organisation's June conference.

Diplomats from Europe, the US, Norway and Scandinavia all said they were encouraged by the "thoroughly democratic" document but were disturbed by areas of vagueness, particularly the ANC's apparent movement on the concept of an all-party conference.

They said there appeared to be many points of convergence between the document and the NP position, although ANC spokesmen at the launch emphasised the differences.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said: "There's a difference between the way we and government conceive the multi-party conference. The words may seem the same but the animal is quite different."

Government saw it as a constitution-making mechanism but the ANC believed it should be used only to set principles for the new constitution.

The striking similarities between the ANC and NP proposals are that:

- The new SA be a multi-party democracy with regular five-yearly elections;
- There should be an independent judiciary with power to review and set aside legislation;

From Page 1

- Elections should be held on a proportional basis;
- There should be two houses of parliament, a national assembly and a senate;
- Homelands should be reincorporated; and
- A justiciable bill of rights should be established.

The ANC proposals differ in that the senate will be regarded as a guardian of the constitution with power to delay but not veto legislation proposed by a national assembly. The NP envisage a senate with powers to veto legislation.

The ANC wants the senate elected by universal suffrage and making provision for regional representation but not on an ethnic or cultural basis.

The ANC proposes an executive president with reduced powers, directly or indirectly elected, who would appoint the cabinet and a prime minister to head the cabinet. The president's term of office will be a maximum of two five-year terms and he can be voted out by a two-thirds majority of the national assembly.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen refused to comment on the ANC's proposals, saying it was an internal discussion document still to be debated by the ANC.

● Comment: Page 8

Govt again invites PAC to constituent assembly talks

3049 M31
B/Dam 15/4/91

HARARE — The South African Government has sent another invitation to the PAC to discuss the group's views on a constituent assembly.

This was disclosed in Harare at the weekend when the PAC held a news conference on the eve of crucial two-day talks with the ANC. The talks will centre on the formation of a Patriotic Front.

The latest overture was the first indication that Pretoria was prepared to compromise on the issue.

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe will open the meeting today after which talks will be held behind closed doors.

At the news briefing, PAC officials made public a letter from the SA government sent to it on April 10.

In the letter, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said government would like to hear the PAC's views on a constituent assembly, and would like to express its own position on that and other issues.

Government was reacting to a resolution taken at the PAC's second national congress in December last year to discuss, among other issues, government's invitation to the organisation to join exploratory talks which it has been holding with the ANC in the past months.

In the resolution, the PAC said it could not negotiate with government

unless such negotiations were preceded by constituent assembly elections.

It conveyed its reaction on the issue to government in a letter in December.

PAC information secretary Barney Desai said Mugabe would open today's meeting.

Desai said there would be 40 delegates from his side, including the full national executive committee.

Eradication

Included in the ANC delegation are deputy president Nelson Mandela and head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said emphasis in this week's talks would be on the total eradication of apartheid while the two groups searched for common principles.

"The ANC and PAC need to present a solid united front in dismantling the apartheid regime. They can't afford to do that separately," political analyst Gary van Staden said.

Van Staden, senior researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs, added: "It (the front) will remove from the government its mechanism of divide and rule."

Mark Shinnars, a leading PAC official, said: "It will give the struggle a

clear direction and momentum."

Major issues to be tackled in the Zimbabwean capital will be joint strategies on major issues such as demands for a constituent assembly to oversee drawing up of a democratic constitution.

The two organisations broadly agree on this issue, but have differed on the need for an interim government as proposed by the ANC. The PAC proposes an independent external monitoring group.

Van Staden said differences over interim government could pose problems at the meeting, but he pointed out the two movements could make sure the issue did not stand in the way of the formation of the coalition.

The PAC, which has refused to participate in tentative talks with government, has come under pressure to change its stance. The latest pressure has come from the British Government in talks between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The trade union movement, Azapo and other organisations would also be given representation on the front. PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said affiliation would be granted on acceptance of the principles of the Patriotic Front.

The front is expected to be formally launched some time later this year. — Sapa.

ARRY Schwarz gives one the impression that he took on the job of ambassador to Washington not simply because he has great faith in President F W de Klerk but because his faith does not altogether extend to the politicians and bureaucrats beneath De Klerk. The normalisation of relations with the last remaining superpower, he seems to feel, is too important to be left to the National Party.

He would never say such a thing so bluntly, of course, but it shows nonetheless. And in many ways, he is absolutely right. This is not to sneer at the Nationalists, or at least not at what they have become under De Klerk's leadership. Their problem is they cannot wholly escape their past.

In setting out his agenda to a group of congressmen and senators last month, Schwarz observed that he did not "carry the albatross of apartheid around his neck". It was a pregnant phrase, and one that Schwarz's predecessor, Piet Koornhof, might understandably resent. But it goes to the core of why, even at this early stage — he only presented his credentials to President George Bush last Thursday — Schwarz's appointment is turning out to be a stroke of genius.

The "albatross of apartheid" can be read two ways. On the one hand, as a relentless critic of apartheid since its inception, Schwarz has a special credibility when he declares the system in its death throes. More importantly, though perhaps less tangibly, he is unburdened by guilt. He has nothing to atone for and is therefore free to tell the truth as he sees it without fear that some might call him an apologist for the "regime".

In recent years, there has been something cap-in-hand, even Uriah Heepish, about Pretoria's representatives here. Yes, things were bad back home. Even so, it often seemed that John Kane-Berman, say, or Ina Perlman or Helen Suzman did a better job standing up for their country in newspaper articles and television interviews than the embassy did in the course of its official duties. Unlike Koornhof, such people

Free of apartheid's taint, Schwarz helps Nats shed ugly past

10²⁹
16/4/91

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(304A)

would never have thought it necessary to do obeisance to the Rev Jesse Jackson or to parade a dubious friendship with him. They would have had the confidence to see him as the self-promoting poseur that he is, and remain aloof. Likewise, they would have felt no pressing need to declare congressman Howard Wolpe one of the cleverest men in Washington. Clear consciences make for clear thinking; guilty ones tremble before the tyranny of "political correctness" and other forms of phariseism.

Schwarz is devoting his considerable energies not only to ensuring that the US re-examines its assumptions about SA, but to curing his own staff of their insecurities. "Ours is a proud people," he reminded them in a pep talk following his meeting with Bush last week. Their task was "to convey our confidence in the future" and to tell Americans "we want you to understand us as we are now and as we will be, not as we were".

He demanded of his team a muscular sort of candour, ready to admit "the errors, faults, injustices and deprivation of the past" but also insistent that "what follows apartheid must not be as bad". Washington should be made to understand that the negotiating process "must result in a true democracy, not merely one in which there is a universal franchise, but one in which there are



□ SCHWARZ

constitutionally protected rights which are characteristic rights of the people of the US".

It must also be brought home that "we do not stand before the US with a begging bowl... We prefer normal trade, investment and loans, and our credit record, despite the debt standard still forced on us, is outstanding".

As for the sanctions question, it was time to start raising the question of compensation. "The US having contended that sanctions did help to bring about change and considering it did the country harm, some consideration to remedying the harm done might not be out of place."

In his own dealings with Americans, Schwarz is no less direct. He has no qualms about taking a swipe at "those with their own agendas" who "distort" the truth about his country, and has made it clear he is appalled by how mis-, not to mention dis-, informed the US is about SA. He seems to relish the cut and thrust of putting the record straight. His method is simple, but effective: those who challenge De Klerk's bona fides are made to understand they are affronting Schwarz himself. Having spent a career as a searing opponent of the National Party and apartheid, he, if anyone, should know whether De Klerk's intentions are honourable.

As he said at the session with congressmen: "I could not and would not have taken this position if I would have to sell apartheid or if there were tricks and hidden agendas whereby there would be a continuation of an unacceptable system."

Implicit in this is Schwarz's decision to act less as an ambassador in the traditional sense than as a semi-autonomous interlocutor. He openly

sets himself apart from the government that sent him here, and stresses to audiences that he remains a member of the Democratic Party. He makes sure De Klerk gets the credit for appointing him — for his presence here, as he sees it, is yet further proof of how SA is changing — but he also emphasises that his responsibility is to his country as a whole.

As an interlocutor, he speaks to and passes messages between all sides — whether they be governments, political parties, businessmen, bankers or international institutions like the IMF — and in the process seeks to influence each in the direction he wishes it to move.

Last week, he let Pretoria know he was unhappy with the way it was handling the return of exiles by announcing that any South African who wished a passport would get one promptly at his embassy without having to sign indemnity papers. At the same time, he sent a signal to the ANC to stop carping about the indemnity procedure: if would-be returnees were unhappy with the process, he said, they should talk to the ANC about amending the agreement to which it, after all, was a party.

Likewise, he is trying to prod both De Klerk and the ANC on the question of violence by the way he addresses it here. At the National Press Club last week, for example, he echoed a line by De Klerk to the effect "naturally, everybody is blamed for the violence by those who are themselves the causes", then added pointedly "perhaps the hands of very few involved are entirely free of blood".

Meanwhile, for the ANC's benefit, as well as that of the PAC and Azapo, he has told audiences that the only lasting way to end the mayhem is to hurry up and get to negotiations on a new constitution. Delays, threatened or otherwise, will only make the situation worse.

To all he adds the reminder that his principal mission, to encourage the West to lend its economic support to his country's reconstruction, will be in vain unless South Africans themselves stop killing each other. "We cannot," he told his staff, "convey a message of stability if it does not exist and our people back home must realise this."

Mandela rules out any group privileges

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

Star
16/4/91

HARARE — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela spoke yesterday of reaching a compromise in drawing up a new constitution for South Africa, but said he would never agree to accepting entrenched privileges for any group.

"We are not prepared to make a compromise on our basic demand for democracy," he told the opening session of the joint ANC-PAC national executive meeting which is examining the prospects for a united front.

Mr Mandela said a key area of unity was the call for a new constitution.

Outlining the demand for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution, Mr Mandela added: "The people themselves will indicate their preferences and vote for those organisations whose constitutional visions most closely approximate their own."

Influence

"This will mean that the party whose proposals for a new constitution find most support will expect to have most influence in the making of the constitution."

Mr Mandela said he spoke for both the PAC and the ANC when he said there were no illusions about the difficulties in the way of securing a constituent assembly and adequate mechanisms for managing the process of transition.

"We know the regime will do everything it can to forestall the inevitable victory of our cause."

"That is why we intend deploying our forces in all manner of means to ensure the regime understands that we will accept nothing less than our right to be a sovereign people with equal rights in the land of our birth," the ANC leader declared to applause.

● Forging a new front

304A

16(4)91

Eglin: violence hurting talks

Star 16/4/91
Violence had reached a level and persistence which threatened the process of negotiation and reconciliation and, with it, the new nonracial and democratic South Africa, Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking during the first-reading debate on the Budget, he said that so far the Government had been unable to create a peaceful, orderly society.

There could be no prospect of peace when millions of South Africans were without jobs.

Increasing numbers of people realised that the massive task of socio-economic restructuring could not wait until South Africa had a new constitution.

Sound international economic relations were of critical importance if the country were to

get its economy moving forward again.

Internally, a comprehensive and co-ordinated plan of action was needed which would involve the private sector, the Government and various non-governmental organisations.

"I see no such plan of action emerging from this Budget, nor indeed from the ranks of the Government."

Mr Eglin said the Government had a vital role to play in the fields of job creation, productivity and economic growth — not as a competitor in the field of production or as an interventionist manager, but as a co-operative, creative and reinforcing partner of the various private-sector elements. — Sapa.

However difficult negotiations may be, solving our economic problems is a bigger challenge, says Harry Schw

Freedoms which go beyond the vote for all

Sketch 16/4/71

304A

THE negotiating process in South Africa is not going to be easy. Some organisations do not want talks about negotiations but wish immediately to plunge into the negotiating process. Some want a transfer of power, not a negotiated settlement. There are preconditions to be fulfilled and manoeuvring and positioning, but somehow I am optimistic that the negotiating process will begin within a reasonable time, that after the process has been going for some time, others will join in as they will realise that they will have to do so if they are not to be sidelined or entirely left out.

What kind of constitution would I personally like to see and what is likely to happen? Regrettably the two might not be identical.

Bearing in mind the nature of our population and the history of our country, I would like to see the kind of constitution which exists in the US. Horizontal and vertical separation of powers, nonracial and with a universal franchise. A Bill of Rights with

access to courts to provide remedies. A powerful Supreme Court and a constitution which can only be changed upon attaining predetermined majorities.

My own view is that democracy involves the vote for all, but it also requires something more, as the right to vote, while vital, is also not the only right. The freedoms which US citizens enjoy go beyond the vote and I would like my people to enjoy at least the same rights. What is, however, likely to come about?

1. A universal franchise — one person one vote if you like to call it that — is not negotiable.

2. A Bill of Rights will come into existence. The terms are still being debated. The probability is that individual rights will be protected, not group rights, but that the individual's rights as a member of a group will be safeguarded.

3. The main dispute will be over the question of whether there will be a simple one chamber unitary

state or a two chamber legislature with special powers to an upper house elected on a proportional representation basis, or whether a true federation will exist.

What many of the liberation movements would like to see is a continuance of the present unitary form of government with perhaps limited changes, and a transfer of power from a white minority government to a majority government.

The rule of a minority would be replaced by the rule of a majority. The minority would then be at the whim, pleasure and good graces of hopefully a benevolent majority, as opposed to a majority having been at the whim of a discriminating minority.

To those of us who objected to apartheid rule, we have strived to have it replaced by a human rights-orientated democracy in which the minority feels it is as secure as the majority.

However difficult the negotia-

tions for a new constitution might be, the solving of the economic problems of our country present a far more formidable challenge.

The scenarios which economists and politicians sketch vary from straightforward simple capitalism to generate growth to major redistribution policies, from old-fashioned socialism through social democracy to simple trickle-down growth concepts.

The danger in South Africa is a new democracy without a sound economic base having to face expectations it cannot meet. This government might have recourse to unacceptable economic practices resulting in hyper-inflation or otherwise causing serious damage to the economy, or being tempted under pressure to suspend the new constitution or being replaced by others promising more and also being unable to deliver.

The likely scenario for South Africa is a social market economy, much on the West German model: generating wealth by en-

trepreneurship on the one hand and providing social services on a non-discriminatory basis on the other; redistribution processes taking place, mainly through fiscal mechanisms with some exceptions with land redistribution on a limited scale and some nationalisation of certain economic activities.

The new democratic government must deliver something to those who have struggled for liberation, but it needs to keep in South Africa those who have skills to keep the economy going and growing.

Regrettably apartheid has placed most skills in white hands, and a major exodus before others have had the opportunity to acquire them would be economically disastrous.

There are many things to be done, but perhaps the priorities are jobs, education and housing. If our people have work, they can pay for food, clothing and shelter, and it is here, that what is re-

quested is investment, both from home and abroad.

There are many who believe that South Africa can do it alone, that we need no foreign loans or aid.

Certainly there is much we can do. We can rearrange priorities, have greater economic justice and show more confidence in ourselves, but for those with great expectations, we cannot satisfy even their reasonable needs within the time span required for stability.

Those who have decided to try to influence the course of history in South Africa by helping to bring down apartheid should consider their obligations, albeit only moral, to ensure that this victory does not turn into the ashes of poverty and instability.

● Mr Schwarz is South African Ambassador to the US. This is a shortened version of his address to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington last week. □

Split out of the question, says MP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There was no chance of a split in the Conservative Party, Koos van der Merwe, the MP at the centre of a new rightist storm, said yesterday.

"There's no split, nothing at all," he said.

Mr van der Merwe was responding to newspaper reports, gleefully read by National Party MPs, of a rift looming among Conservatives following the publication of a strategy document he wrote which differed sharply from present CP policies and statements.

But it is well known that there have in the last year or so been simmering differences between a group of young MPs, Mr van der Merwe prominent among them, and those still wanting a return to Verwoerdian apartheid, led by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

The two camps are divided on negotiations: Mr van der Merwe's more modern group is eager to take part but the other group rejects them.

Mr van der Merwe said the document had been in the possession of CP foes for months.

"They held it until now, just before the Ladybrand by-election. It's a transparent attempt by the NP to hide its own insurmountable problems," he said.

When Koos is away the CP won't play

The vociferous CP MP for Overvaal, Koos van der Merwe, was conspicuous by his absence from the chamber of Parliament yesterday.

Revelations in the Sunday press of a document he had written saying, among other things, that the NP had a mandate for its reform and that the NP would win a referendum, seemed to throw a blanket of silence over CP members.

Mr van der Merwe is an unrelenting interjector — often to the chagrin of the Speaker or Chairman of Committees — and when he is absent, this role is taken up by Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) and Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman).

Yesterday, however, there was barely a peep from CP members, apart from Daan van der Merwe (CP nominated), who made a few inaudible interjections.

As soon as the House was in session, NP members called out: "Where's Koos?"

The fifth speaker on the list during the Budget debate was Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) who made a brave attempt to write off any importance that may be attached to the CP "document".

He said, in reply to assertions that the CP was about to split, that the party did not



Moolman Mentz . . . tried to dismiss document.

have problems within its ranks but it did have many problems with the situation in which the NP had landed the country.

"This is all being done without a mandate," said Mr Mentz.

This was greeted by hearty laughter from NP members, including the State President, who was in the chamber.

Mr Mentz said the document was not a new policy paper but an old one which outlined broad thoughts and arguments. It was not a policy document.

Reform was the reason that violence in South Africa had escalated, he added.

The NP's biggest problem was that its philosophy was founded in liberalism, which did not know the strength of nationalism.

The CP would not take part in negotiations in which the party would be dictated to.

Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar said the CP document on its role in the future of South Africa showed there was light at the end of a very dark tunnel. He said he agreed that the views of the document were those of the NP six years ago.

There was a germ of approval for negotiations and this should be expanded upon as the CP's refusal to talk to groups in and outside Parliament would lead to its total isolation.

Myburgh Streicher (NP De Kuilen) said the CP would never be the same after the appearance of the "Koos document".

The philosophical basis of their policy of partition had fallen away and after nine years it had realised it was in a dead-end street.

Reform in the party could come now that the document had appeared, he said.

The party presented two faces: those on the apartheid road and those who looked at reality.

Mr Streicher said he hoped the document would be clear encouragement for the ANC and that consensus among the whites would grow.

Solving problems peacefully was a priority and violence had to end at all costs. — Sapa.

Greater confidence in SA 'now possible'

18/10/91 16/4/91
THERE is a case for measured confidence in SA's future as the situation has turned around from heading for sure disaster to possible success, says Investec analyst Hendrik du Toit.

"The process of self-destruction, which gained considerable momentum in SA during the 1980s, has indeed been halted, if not reversed," says Du Toit in Focus on the Economy.

Substantial progress has been made towards building a better SA since February 1990. "The major political actors have not only moved

SHARON WOOD

from being bitter military enemies to credible negotiating partners, but have publicly acknowledged the relevance and importance of one another," says Du Toit.

It is important that at last the disease, rather than the symptoms, are receiving high level attention.

"The F W de Klerk government is the first one in the history of the country to elevate the assault on poverty and deprivation, in especially the black community, to a national

priority," he says.

But there are strong obstacles preventing a "quick fix" solution. For instance, almost half of the 1990 Budget would have to be redirected to primary and secondary black education to lift overall per capita expenditure to the current white level.

The stress of transition started taking its toll by the end of 1990.

Most people clearly understand that they are in a society in transition and that demographic, political and economic forces of change can no longer be denied or wished away.

Barnard finds 'hope' after chat with FW

16/4/91
30 6A

By ESANN van RENSBURG Staff Reporter

AFTER a meeting with President De Klerk, Professor Chris Barnard has "new hope" for the future of South Africa.

He was invited to Tuynhuys yesterday after Press reports said he was investigating a move to another country with his family.

Professor Barnard said after the meeting: "This was the first time I had had the chance to speak to Mr De Klerk and I was very impressed.

"My main worry was the violence in the country and that I did not want my family to live in a place where violence makes one lose a sense of value and respect for human life."

Mr De Klerk had told him the nature of violence in South Africa had changed over the years.

TRIBAL FACTION AFFAIR

"He said that at first black people had revolted against authority, but that today violence was more a tribal faction affair."

Professor Barnard was reassured that the president monitored violence daily.

"Mr De Klerk said it was very difficult to take steps to stop the violence because of the criticism such steps would bring. He did not want another state of emergency as this would mean sending people to jail again."

What impressed him most about Mr De Klerk was that he did not try to smear anyone or blame anyone for the violence.

"I thank the Lord that we have him as a leader in South Africa. I told him that if ever there was anything I could do to help, he should let me know."

Professor Barnard said media reports of his earlier statements had been distorted.

"I did not say I would definitely leave South Africa. All I said was that, for the first time in my life, I was considering moving to another country."

1075 *Answered 16/4/91*

TUESDAY, 16 APRIL 1991

1076

Voortrekkers Hospital 0 0
 Warmbad Hospital 36 4
 Waterval Boven Hospital 0 0
 Willem Cuywagen Hospital 0 0

Great Trek commemoration: amount donated

62. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 48 on 22 March 1991, the FAK has reported to his Department on how the amount of R690 000 donated to it

in respect of the commemoration of the Great Trek in 1988 was spent; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether he will furnish details of the spending of this amount to the House; if not, why not; if so, what are the details?

304A Answered 16/4/91 B779E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) Yes;

(2) no, audited financial reports are, however, available for inspection at my office.

1077

TUESDAY, 16 APRIL 1991

1078

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mervelville: community centre

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Matjiesfontein: funds budgeted

*1. Mr A ESSOP asked the Minister of Housing:†

(1) Whether funds were budgeted in the 1986-87 financial year for the upgrading of Matjiesfontein; if not, in what financial year were funds last budgeted for this purpose; if so,

(2) whether any delay is being experienced in the upgrading of Matjiesfontein; if so, for what reasons;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

CS9E

†The MINISTER OF HOUSING:

(1) No.

1989/90

(2) Yes

The principal reason for the delay in the upgrading of Matjiesfontein is that a suitable water supply must first be found.

(3) No.

*2. Mr A ESSOP asked the Minister of Housing:†

(1) Whether his Department has rejected the establishment of a community centre at Mervelville; if not, what are the relevant details; if so, for what reasons;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

C60E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING:

(1) No.

The Central Karoo Regional Services Council, as the agent of the local authority does not see its way clear to negotiate a Housing loan to finance a community centre as they are convinced that the community will not be able to redeem such loan. The Development Board has already decided, in principle, to render assistance to smaller communities by giving consideration to the provision of a first and second phase of a basic community centre, dependant on the availability of funds, on condition that adequate contributions from other sources, to complete the facility for use, be available. The concerned local authority has meanwhile requested my Department to prepare cost estimates of the various phases of a community centre and only when these are available will the local authority decide if they will be in a financial position to proceed with such project.

(2) No.

Government raised any additional revenue from individuals owing to the effects of fiscal drag on personal incomes; if so, what total amount in each such year?

Haswell 16/4/91 B617E

†THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

1989/90 financial year: Yes. R1 423,0 million.
1990/91 financial year: No. The revised tax rates which were fixed in respect of this year, in fact resulted in a decrease of R586,0 million in State revenue.

Old Colonial Building, Pmb: disposal

*17. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:

Whether the old Colonial Building, which fronts on Church Street in Pietermaritzburg, will be disposed of on the open market; if not, (a) why not and (b) in what manner will it be disposed of; if so, what are the relevant details?

B653E

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAND AFFAIRS:

The disposal of the Old Colonial Building will be considered after the adaptation of the accommodation in the adjacent State buildings into magistrates courts and offices for the Department of Justice. The Old Colonial Building will most probably have to be used on a temporary basis during such adaptations.

*29. Mr J VAN ECK — Law and Order.
[Question standing over.]

New questions:

Taxation of fringe benefits: amount collected

*1. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance: *Haswell* 16/4/91

What additional amount was collected in taxation revenue in each of the past two tax years as a result of the taxation of fringe benefits?

B662E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

R591 813 381 in respect of the 1989 year of assessment

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

R845 809 425 in respect of the 1990 year of assessment *Haswell* 16/4/91

Medical laboratory technicians: practices

*2. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health: *Haswell* 16/4/91

(1) Whether any steps have been taken or are being contemplated to allow medical laboratory technicians to establish their own private practices; if so, what are the relevant details with regard to the (a) training requirements in order to do so and (b) scope of the functions they will be able to perform;

(2) whether the (a) South African Society of Pathologists and (b) South African Medical and Dental Council have been consulted in this regard; if not, why not in each case; if so, what was the response in each case? B672E

†THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) The decision whether medical laboratory technicians can be allowed to establish their own private practices is a decision that rests solely with the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC). This Council accepted the principle that medical laboratory technicians can establish their own private practices. Further particulars are presently being worked out by the Council;

(a) and (b) these aspects are presently under discussion at the South African Medical and Dental Council. No final decision has been taken yet;

(2) (a) the Medical Association of South Africa and the National Pathology Group as well as the Federation of South African Associations of Pathology have been consulted by the SAMDC;

(b) falls away.

The pathology groups are not in favour that medical laboratory technicians are being allowed to establish their own private practices.

Public funds: political organisations

*3. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Finance:† *Haswell* 30/4/91 16/4/91

Whether he can give the assurance that over the past 10 years the Auditor-General has had full access to the relevant documents in order to be able to report to Parliament if public funds were used by the security family or any other State departments, including those in the self-governing territories, to support political parties or organisations?

Haswell 16/4/91 (30/4/91) B679E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

I refer the hon member to the replies of the hon Minister of Defence and the hon Deputy Ministers for Information Services and of Law and Order on Tuesday 5 and Tuesday 12 March 1991, to questions along the same lines. I have nothing to add to those replies.

Police collusion: investigation

*4. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a senior police officer has been appointed to investigate complaints of alleged Police collusion with certain political groups in Natal; if so, (a) (i) what is the rank and/or name of the officer so appointed and (ii) on what date was the appointment made, (b) what are the circumstances surrounding the matter and (c) what progress has been made in the investigation;

(2) whether a report will be published on the findings of this investigation; if not, why not; if so, when?

B694E

†THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, but if the hon member has any information regarding the matter at his disposal, I would appreciate it if he could supply it to me.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

(2) Falls away.

Attack on Nkamalala: arrest

*5. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Haswell* 16/4/91

(1) Whether the South African Defence Force arrested a certain person and handed him over to the South African Police in connection with an attack on

Nkamalala near Pietermaritzburg on or about 28 January 1991; if so, (a) who was arrested and (b) what are the circumstances surrounding the matter;

(2) whether the person so arrested is a member of any arm of the security services;

(3) whether any steps have been taken in regard to the matter; if so, what steps?

Haswell 16/4/91 B697E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) Two unknown Black males.

(b) On 28 January 1991 at approximately 16:00 members of the South African Defence Force arrested two black males. They had allegedly thrown petrol bombs at a house. A police officer visited the scene. The members involved of the South African Defence Force could not point out the house or the petrol bombs. On the available evidence, the officer decided that the further detention of the persons would be unlawful and ordered their release.

(2) No, not as far as is known.

(3) No.

Radio Good Hope/Kontrei: split transmissions

*6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether he will furnish information on Radio Good Hope and Radio Kontrei transmissions; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether an announcement was made recently that Radio Good Hope and Radio Kontrei would be operating on split transmissions; if so, (a) with effect from what date and (b) for what reasons;

(3) whether applications have been received from any (a) individuals and (b) organisations for independent local radio stations in the Southern and South Western Cape; if so, what are the relevant details?

B700E

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Minister and hon members correctly. Firstly, because it is dangerous and secondly, because doing so has an intimidatory effect on those attending such occasions and, more specifically, on those who are onlookers and who are not involved. This standpoint is confirmed in legislation, and regulations in that connection have already been made.

Consequently I find it difficult to accept that we should not adopt a similar standpoint in respect of other weapons which may also be dangerous and intimidatory, particularly to those who are observers. When all is said and done, how do we tell members of the AWB that they may not have certain kinds of firearms on their person as traditional weapons on certain occasions, while we accord that privilege to certain Black groups. It is a dilemma, and all of us must concede this.

We appreciate the traditional and emotional aspects of this issue, but the fact of the matter is that political leadership is necessary here. In this regard I want to make a specific appeal to Chief Buthelezi, because he is an important leader in this country and he may perhaps be able to provide personal guidance in this connection, to discourage that practice. However, we must also take steps on our part. [Interjections.] I want to express appreciation for the fact that the hon the Minister has already taken certain steps in this connection. [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: However, the hon the Minister must go further and make sure that the carrying and use of any form of dangerous weapon, or replica thereof, that can be intimidatory—I have a suspicion that in many cases this is intended to be intimidatory—and which is dangerous, should as far as possible be discouraged and prohibited in this country. [Time expired.]

Mr J H MOMBERG: Mr Speaker, I am disappointed that the hon the Minister does not see his way clear to implementing a total ban on weapons, but if this interpellation will help to make people aware of the need to save lives, I think we will have achieved something.

I want to make an urgent appeal to the hon the State President to repeal Proclamation No. R.164 of 1990, which will ban the carrying of traditional weapons by Zulus in Natal. While I respect his traditions and culture, I want to

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

appeal to Chief Minister Buthelezi to take the initiative to stop the carrying of weapons in public. I want appeal to Mr Nelson Mandela to prevent his people from carrying weapons that can kill other people. [Interjections.] It is Parliament's duty to stop people from carrying dangerous weapons that can kill other people. We must stop the violence before it destroys the negotiation process.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, we share the concern of the hon member for Simon's Town and we should also like to have a stop put to the violence. I honestly want to tell the hon member, though, to prohibit traditional weapons and in that way merely create a new issue, is not going to stop the violence. We are worried that this could in fact give rise to more violence. Apart from the emotional tension and the problems this is going to cause, surely it is true that a person has the right to defend himself, as the courts have correctly pointed out. That is why they carry these weapons. We are saddled with a problem of criminality in this country, which is also a source of serious concern to us.

Therefore the best answer does not lie in prohibiting these weapons. The best answer lies in getting people's co-operation, as I have in fact done. We shall go further along this road in order to enforce it carefully, with the co-operation of all the people. That is the offer I am making the hon member this afternoon.

I said at the outset, as far as the carrying of traditional weapons is concerned—the hon member for Stilfontein is quite correct—that one cannot say that the knobkerrie and the spear are traditional weapons, because then one is on one's way to the firearm. I said at the outset that we must not ignore this. The carrying of firearms and other weapons in this country is an emotional matter. The hon member for Simon's Town must not say what he said here in Natal to the Zulu king or to the Zulus, because he will then encounter a great many problems. We are trying instead to cause the violence to abate so that no further contentious issues can be created, and so that we can persuade one another by means of reason. This is the point of departure of the SA Police, and also of the Government.

We want to engage freely in politics in this country, and that is why there are no banned organisations today, that is why people are no

longer being detained and why restrictions are no longer being imposed on people. That is why people are able to hold meetings freely. We who have to prohibit people from carrying weapons there, I must say this to hon members, have a practical problem, and this is the way I want to convey it to the hon member. [Time expired.] Debate concluded. *Answered 16/4/91*

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Ministerial representatives

*1. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:†

(a) What are the assignments and duties of Ministerial Representatives and (b) what are their total remuneration package and privileges?

B756E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(a) Ministerial Representatives were appointed by the State President for the respective ministers' councils and for certain provinces in terms of section 28(1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983. In terms of the provisions of section 28(2) of the Constitution, ministers of the respective ministers' councils assigned certain powers, functions or duties entrusted to them in terms of a law or otherwise, to the Ministerial Representatives. These powers, functions or duties are exercised or performed on behalf of the minister concerned by such a ministerial representative.

(b) (i) *Remuneration*

Salary	R94 470
Allowance	R26 049
Total	R120 519

(ii) According to their position in the hierarchy of political office-bearers, which is comparable to that of mem-

bers of executive committees, ministerial representatives also enjoy benefits in respect of housing, motor car financing, travelling, accident insurance and participation in the PARMED medical aid scheme and the Pension Scheme for Members of Parliament and Political Office-bearers.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I would like to know whether these are *ad hoc* responsibilities with which such Ministerial Representatives are being entrusted. Is there a set of commitments which they have to comply with, or are they responsible for a package?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, Ministerial Representatives work under the auspices of Ministers' Councils and Ministers who are members of Ministers' Councils. Speaking from experience I can tell the hon member that when I was Chairman of the Ministers' Council, all the Ministers in the Ministers' Council entrusted Ministerial Representatives with quite a few responsibilities.

When provincial councils ceased to exist, a vacuum was created in the functions that were administered by Ministers' Councils, because there no longer were MECs or members of provincial councils who were present in the respective provinces on a full-time basis and who served the public directly. When I was Chairman of the Ministers' Council in those days, it was our experience that Ministerial Representatives served a very useful purpose. Because they could be there all the time, unlike hon members of Parliament who have to be absent for long periods, they did very important work on behalf of communities. Furthermore, it was our experience that they rendered invaluable service in terms of the powers delegated to them.

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 9 April 1991:

Fiscal drag: additional revenue *Answered*

*10. Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Finance: *Answered 16/4/91*

Whether, during the latest specified two tax years for which information is available, the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Most policemen don't trust govt, riot member tells BBC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Ninety-nine percent of South African policemen do not trust the government, a sergeant in the Cape riot police claims in a BBC television documentary to be screened here tomorrow.

Sergeant Geoff MacMaster also claims to have killed up to 25 people in action in South Africa — apart from his activities during service with Koevoet, which fought Swapo in Namibia.

In a report on his documentary, Children of God, producer Stephen Lambert wrote in yesterday's Guardian that although the senior ranks in the SAP appear to be adapting to reform, old-style attitudes remain deeply entrenched in the lower ranks.

The programme, which focuses on the Cape riot unit, is peppered with expressions of concern by policemen about their future under a possible ANC government.

Colonel Chris Loedolf, commander of the Cape riot unit, was the man who ordered the notorious "Trojan horse" operation, in which three people were killed by policemen who hid in the back of a truck and fired on protesters.

He says it did not occur to him that he was sending a vehicle to murder people, saying the policemen were only doing their job.

Children

"I was very upset because some of those killed were children. So that night, as I went on my knees, I spoke to the Lord about this — and I have got peace in my heart today."

He adds that had the police intended killing people many more would have died.

Sergeant MacMaster is described as the longest-serving member of the Cape riot unit's "undercover team" — and someone who has been in many situations in which he has used firearms.

"But where I personally killed people must be in the region of 25. That's apart from border duty that I've done."

He served with Koevoet for three years. Surrounded by his family, he

shows photographs of his time up there and the people killed in the bush.

"You know what life's all about when you come down from that place, how absolutely... worthless life was. Probably it's not nice taking the life of somebody, I mean no guy in his right mental capacity can shoot and not give a s... about it, but if it's your life or his, that's the way it works."

Sergeant MacMaster is deeply suspicious of the government.

"I've got no trust in my government at the moment."

ANC government

"Ninety-nine percent of policemen, if they give you an honest opinion, would say the same. They are worried about what is going to happen to them if an ANC government takes over — and I can tell you there is only one way... You as a policeman, you were the oppressor, you were the over-abusive, you were the over-reactive, you were everything

that the blacks don't like.

"So the day that they take over, you're gonna get f... up, that you must know."

Colonel Loedolf understands the fear of his men: "I don't know exactly how far the government is going to go, but I think it is normal to fear the unknown. Everyone has reservations — and I have one for certain, I'm not prepared to serve under a communist government."

He says he knows the SAP has to change with the times.

"We are committed to go all the way with the government in this new South Africa. We have proved that by being prepared to lean over backwards, to discuss."

Constable Andries Bosman, sitting beneath ANC insignia taken over the years, observes wryly: "We've been the opposition the whole time. They don't like us. Maybe they will make us political prisoners. Like the nazis were in court for war crimes, maybe they'll put us in court for riot crimes."

Sergeant Paul Gibson speaks of how the events of the past year have turned their world upside-down:

"Over the years we've been filled with the idea that the ANC are terrorists. Now, all of a sudden, we've got to accept them as colleagues, which I find, myself, very bad. I mean, I won't accept it."

Constable Craig Cruickshank is scornful of black majority rule: "One man, one vote? Has it worked in Angola? Rhodesia?"

'Ruin'

Sergeant Herbie Johnson also believes blacks aren't suited to rule: "I don't have much belief in this theory that the majority must rule, by no means. Throughout Africa, wherever they've got independence, the country has gone to wrack and ruin."

Besides, he adds, now apartheid has been abolished, why do any more?

"If any black wanted to further himself, he's had the same opportunity as us for quite a couple of years now."

Special black sergeant Alfred Mekana says he joined the police only because of unemployment.

"But the people in the townships hate us," he says. "They say we are shielding the government from them and it's true we often have to arrest them. But the government seems to have no more care for us than the township people who hate us."

The film shows a police chaplain at a service for on-duty riot policemen: "We are called by God to maintain His law and His order. But of course there are so many ways to do this job, so many wrong ways, ways of injustice, ways of unnecessary violence."

"The job of riot policemen and policewomen is to do it as children of God."

Producer Lambert notes that for 40 years, the SAP were the "rod that upheld the laws of apartheid." Now its 80 000 members are being asked to "bend with the wind of change."

"The politicians are struggling to give the 'new' South Africa constitutional shape, but the question of what it will really be like greatly depends on how those inside the yellow riot Casspits interpret the changing rules."

The Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland — which often has to "act against its own angry and disaffected community" — was fairly well paid, but Lambert was surprised to discover that "permanent members of the SAP are also poorly paid".

Loyalty

Although their pay was increased recently, Lambert asks: "Will that be enough to ensure loyalty?"

A police spokesman said last night that the BBC had been given permission to conduct interviews with policemen and these had taken place a considerable time ago.

If members of the SAP had political fears, then there were channels through which their problems could be addressed within the police force.

Friend springs to Barnard's defence

Cape Times 17/4/91 (304A)
Staff Reporter

A FRIEND and business partner of Professor Chris Barnard — the subject of news reports over the last week over statements about his possibly leaving South Africa — has sprung to his defence.

Prof Barnard was quoted last week as saying that he intended to emigrate to Switzerland — if he could obtain a Swiss passport — because of escalating violence in South Africa.

However, after meeting with President F W de Klerk on Monday he emerged with "new hope" for the country's future, but stopped short of saying that he was shelving plans to go overseas.

In a letter to the Cape Times yesterday, Mr Frikkie Erasmus said the reports have "created an incorrect impression because of misquoting and selective reporting".

"Unfortunately this caused widespread reaction within South Africa (even within Parliament), as well as abroad, and provided an opportunity for his critics to take him to task for daring to consider (let alone decide) his own future and that of his family," Mr Erasmus said.

Mr Erasmus said Prof Barnard had never given up his South African citizenship, nor had he been drawn away, "despite lucrative offers from abroad". Prof Barnard was not available for comment last night.

CAPE businessman have come out strongly in support of the new South Africa and the potential power it offers.

They say the insecurity and uncertainty surrounding the transition process would be unsettling but soon disappear in a stable environment.

Southern Life chairman Mr Neal Chapman says South Africa faces better prospects now than ever before.

Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman says: "South Africa has given me so much, I am encouraging my kids to stay."

Negotiations in crisis as differences harden

Sowetan 17/4/91

304A

THE Government and the African National Congress were expected to move a lot further apart in coming weeks as differences over the nature and composition of constitutional negotiations harden.

This was said by senior negotiators yesterday, who added that the latest setback for the ANC - the lifting of European sanctions - would aggravate differences.

Unless there was a major shift, talks - even on a one-on-one basis between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela - were now almost definitely ruled out until July, they said.

The ANC leadership was now positioning itself for a militant congress in June.

The Government made no special plans to address the ANC's open letter demands - apart from an expected slight shift in its policy on Zulu traditional weapons - while the ANC suddenly stepped-up its public programme in underscoring the issues which separated it from the Government.

Principles

The ANC also started positioning itself for talks by releasing its well-received constitutional principles on Friday.

This was clearly a response to growing public estrangement with the ANC.

The organisation also stressed that its proposed all-party congress should discuss principles for a new constitution, not the constitution itself.

Meanwhile, the Government has simply reacted to the ANC's ultimatum with a "business-as-usual" attitude, saying it was up to the ANC to come and explain



itself regarding what it was looking for.

The Government also expressed disappointment that it had been unable to convince the ANC to bring Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into a so-called "troika" to deal with violence, now becoming the major stumbling-block to talks.

The apparent rashness of the ANC's "ultimatum" is seen as a symptom of something deeper than mere dove/hawk squabbling. It is considered a deliberate attempt to buy time and symptomatic of an ANC strategy to set up constitutional talks in the most beneficial format.

The desired ANC format includes:

Violence

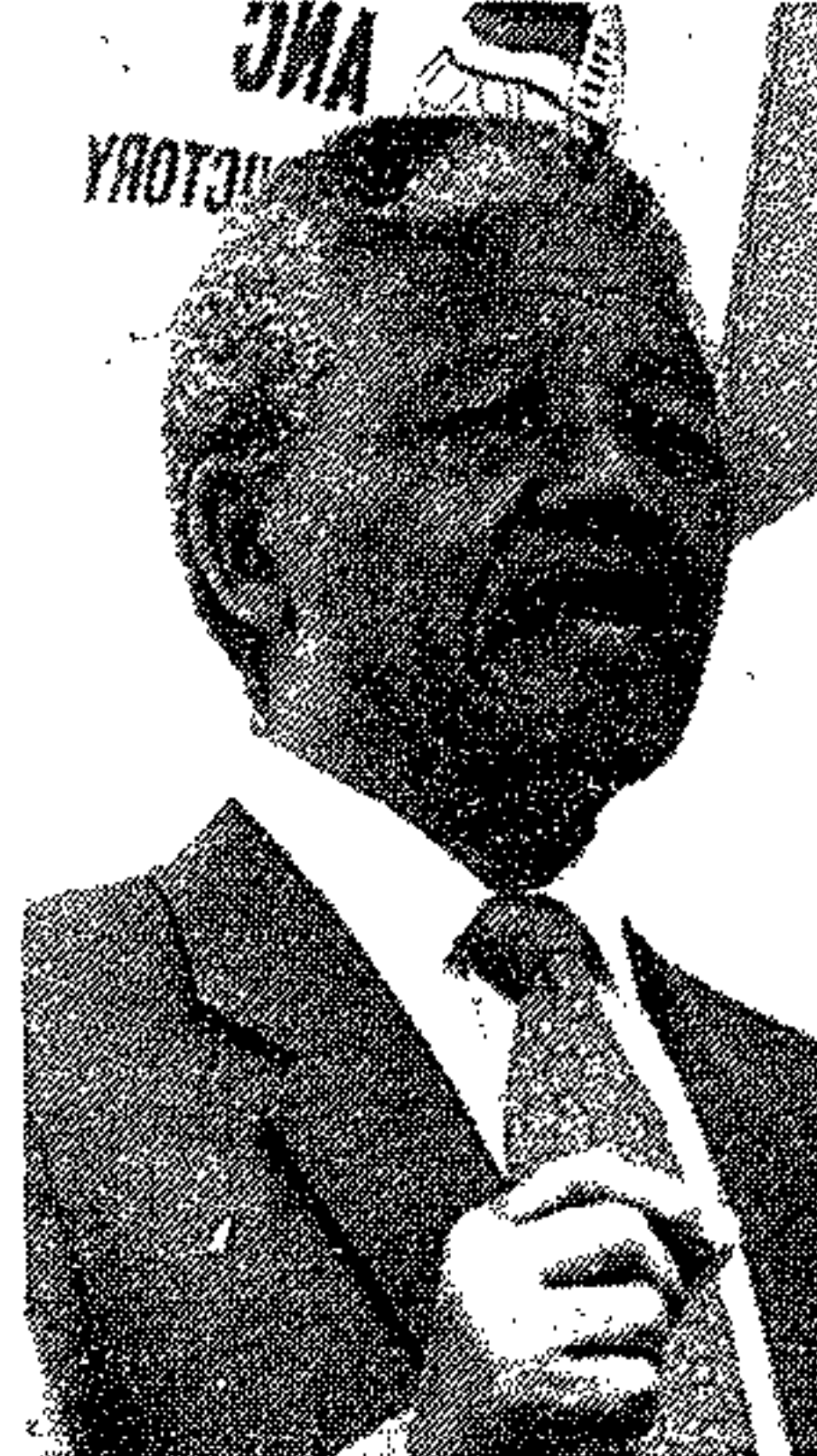
- * Total rejection of the "troika" approach to address black violence;

- * Disarming and reducing to a minimum the status of Inkatha and its leader Buthelezi; and

- * Going to the negotiation table profiled as the leading force in a broad united liberation front.

Whereas most observers agree that this is in the main a reflection of the ANC's strategy since negotiations began last year, they feel the organisation had been sidetracked by the heady atmosphere of the initial cordiality of talks and by De Klerk's formidable personality.

Current moves, such as the Harare unity meeting with the Pan Africanist Congress and the ultimatum, now reflect a last-ditch effort to get back behind the original strategy for securing political power by dictating the



Mandela's tough stand at the Alexandra funeral at the weekend reflected growing differences with the Government. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

terms of a constitutional settlement.

There are clear indications that the ANC will not sit down at the negotiation table until it has achieved some success towards setting the table more favourably for itself and probably not before July.

Strategy

The strategy was necessitated by the ANC's own admission that it had lost the initiative to De Klerk and that the violence had caused a ground-swell of anti-ANC sentiment among black moderates. At the same time, its accommodating meetings with Chief Buthelezi have eroded the trust of the more militant youth.

The first signs that the ultimatum was only one component of a new strategy came when Mandela let the cat out of the bag in a confidential briefing

of diplomats on the "ultimatum" last week and at a funeral oration at the weekend.

He told the diplomats that the ANC was absolutely opposed to forming a leaders' committee with Buthelezi and De Klerk to deal with the issue of violence.

At the funeral, he swept aside speculation that the ultimatum reflected a hawk victory over so-called doves. He claimed that he himself had proposed it, overruling "hawks" Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani and SACP leader Joe Slovo.

Such a strategy is clearly aimed at reversing the weakening of the ANC's National Executive Committee on the eve of the movement's first post-exile congress.

Alliance

To regain the moral and political high ground, the ANC would have to find a way to endorse the image it had for decades propagated, particularly amongst its sponsors abroad, as being an organisation which:

- * Was the leading, if not only, black liberation movement;

- * Was able to represent the widest possible spectrum of black and white democratic South Africans; and

- * Was therefore the undisputed post-apartheid government.

The Harare talks with the PAC to form a possible "patriotic front" is a key element in achieving this goal.

Once such an alliance becomes a reality, ANC leaders hope, De Klerk will be forced into a more open and premature alliance with Buthelezi.

This, they feel, would drive both leaders out into the political prairie before negotiations start, enabling a "patriotic front" to ultimately emerge the victor at the talks table and the post-apartheid polls - Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Multiparty conference to debate violence

8/Day 17/4/91

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government is to call a multiparty conference of all organisations to thrash out a way of combating the violence, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced yesterday.

He also slapped a ban on the carrying of all pangas, axes and bush knives, but stopped short of extending the restriction to cultural weapons.

And in a stinging attack on the ANC, he told a Press conference that despite all the measures to curb the killings, the violence continued "apparently with the ANC in every case the catalyst".

"Information also indicates that certain activities by the ANC or its members often

seem to be the trigger or cause of the violence," he said.

He said government was committed to ending the violence. The only way it could be done effectively was if all parties concerned combined efforts in a serious attempt to identify all the causes and then honestly addressed them.

There was agreement by all parties involved that violence could only be effectively addressed through liaison, discussion and negotiation. "We intend to call a conference of all parties involved to deal with the violence."

The ban on weapons applies to all dangerous weapons apart from "traditional weapons" which Vlok identified as spears, sticks, knobkierries and shields.

Vlok said the concession was not in response to the ANC's ultimatum. The ANC has repeatedly called for the banning of all traditional weapons.

Inkatha has stated it would resist the banning of traditional weapons. Vlok said traditional weapons were an emotional issue and there was no positive evidence they were being used in township killings.

Much of the news conference was devoted

□ To Page 2

Conference

8/Day 17/4/91

304A

□ From Page 1

ed to the attack on the ANC.

"The ANC, instead of assisting and co-operating with the SA Police in ending the violence, hinders the police with a constant stream of unfounded complaints, allegations and vilifications aimed at discrediting the force," Vlok said.

Valuable police resources and taxpayers' money were being wasted by false alarms which often turned out to be "red herrings" needed to justify subsequent propaganda, he said.

He handed out a large dossier disputing ANC allegations of police bias, brutality, inaction and other acts which the police had investigated and found to be groundless or where efforts to trace witnesses or information were fruitless.

Sapa reports the ANC last night welcomed Vlok's announcement that police had been instructed to confiscate dangerous weapons in conflict situations.

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 8

Top British bankers on FW's guest-list

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — President F W de Klerk will meet a cross-section of Britain's top bankers, possibly including Bank of England governor Robin Leigh Pemberton, when he visits London next week.

The meeting at South Africa House, part of a week-long diplomatic assault on Europe starting on Saturday, could determine whether banks set up new operations in SA soon.

De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pk Botha will also meet Prime Minister John Major, Labour leader Neil Kinnock and former premier Margaret Thatcher.

De Klerk will also pay working visits to Denmark on Wednesday and Ireland on Thursday.

His trip coincides with a visit to Britain next week by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, en route to Japan.

After lunch with business executives and financiers on Tuesday, De Klerk will address 3 000 company directors at the annual conference of the Institute of Directors and later that evening will speak to members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Royal African Society.

On the Friday, De Klerk will address a joint meeting of members of the Confederation of British Industry and the UK-SA Trade Association.

MPs to get 12,5 percent pay increase from July 1

MEMBERS of Parliament will get pay rises of about 12,5 percent from July 1.

This emerged from a statement yesterday by Dr Dawie de Villiers, leader of the House of Assembly, who said their 10 percent non-pensionable allowance since April 1 last year would, like those of public servants, be con-

Own Correspondent

solidated from that date.

Mr Amie Venter, Minister of State Expenditure, said yesterday the Commission for Administration was still calculating the packages for public servants from July 1.

Details would be conveyed to officials and em-

ployees "through the normal channels at a later stage".

It is understood this will happen before the end of the month.

De Villiers said the total salary account for political office bearers would not rise by more than 11 percent.

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"less than evident in the civil service".

There would be a differentiated scale for increases - those earning the highest salaries (Cabinet Ministers, deputy Ministers, and the State President) would receive the lowest increments (between six and seven percent).

Sowetan 19/4/91

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MPs to get 12,5 percent pay increase from July 1

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MEMBERS of Parliament will get pay rises of about 12,5 percent from July 1.

This emerged from a statement yesterday by Dr Dawie de Villiers, leader of the House of Assembly, who said their 10 percent non-pensionable allowance since April 1 last year would, like those of public servants, be con-

Own Correspondent

Sowetan 19/4/91
solidated from that date.

Mr Amie Venter, Minister of State Expenditure, said yesterday the Commission for Administration was still calculating the packages for public servants from July 1.

Details would be conveyed to officials and em-

ployees "through the normal channels at a later stage".

It is understood this will happen before the end of the month.

De Villiers said the total salary account for political office bearers would not rise by more than 11 percent.

He noted that this was

"less than evident in the civil service".

There would be a differentiated scale for increases - those earning the highest salaries (Cabinet Ministers, deputy Ministers, and the State President) would receive the lowest increments (between six and seven percent).

Botha to be acting head



PIK BOTHA

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha will be sworn in as acting State President when Mr FW de Klerk leaves for Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, will now accompany De Klerk.

Botha was due to leave with De Klerk but his wife, Mrs Helena Botha, fell ill. *Sowetan 19/4/91.*

De Klerk will meet Mrs Lynda Chalker, Britain's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs on Monday, as well as chairmen of banks and financial institutions and British MPs.

She was admitted to the intensive care unit of the Conradie Hospital late on Monday night after falling and injuring her cervical spine, resulting in paralysis.

He is also due to have a working dinner with British Prime Minister Mr John Major. - Sapa.

FM 19/4/91
304A
JOELLE BOURGOIS

LOOKING FOR REALITY

All the vital signs point to renewed French business interest in SA but Joelle Bourgois, France's new ambassador to SA, says her country's primary role remains political — for the time being.

Bourgois (45) comes from a well-known family of intellectuals and is a graduate of the prestigious Ecole Nationale d'Administration, France's leading business school. A respected negotiator on economic issues, one French observer describes her as "a very tough cookie."

Her appointment is said to have raised eyebrows in Paris. Sending an envoy with a strong economics background to SA was interpreted as a sign that the French government is making a serious move to increase its economic role in the region, in line with increased French private-sector interest.

Though France boasts the world's fourth biggest economy, bilateral trade with SA is relatively unimportant. About 4% of SA's exports are absorbed by the French market while exports to SA account for less than 0.5% of France's total international trade. This leaves considerable scope for improving ties. Right now, two French publications are here researching surveys on SA.

Bourgois displays a disarming modesty when talking about herself and her role here. But she disagrees with the interpretation of her appointment. "I also have a political background and I don't regard myself as an economist." She concedes that politics and economics "are the two faces of reality."

She adds: "The lifting of sanctions should increase France's economic role in SA but our general approach to this country in the near future will remain political."

France is not alone in its dual approach of assisting with development in SA as well as in the neighbouring states but, she adds, "we believe SA could act as a stimulus for development in the entire region."

In the short-term, however, Bourgois says her function is to ensure France plays a constructive role in an evolutionary move towards nonracial democracy. The experience of post-colonial Africa taught France that countries can prosper only through democracy. "It is easier when a country is more developed, but there is no way other than democracy."

Not only is she France's lone female ambassador, Bourgois is also the only woman serving in such a post here. It's not a new role for her, however, because the career diplo-

mat was also the first female envoy to the Vatican, which had a policy against giving diplomatic credentials to women. It was, she says, "an interesting assignment from an intellectual point of view."

She and her husband, Olivier, a novelist, live with their two young daughters in Newlands, Cape Town. She says her job is difficult because it looks so simple. "This is a beautiful country and, as a diplomat, I lead a privileged life, so it's easy at first not to perceive all the problems. It is a contradiction between appearance and reality. There are so many differ-

ing views on what should be done and how it should be done and this makes it difficult to remain impartial."

PETER HEARFIELD CHECKING OUT

There comes a time when even a top hotel executive says it's time to check out. That, says Peter Hearfield, is why he packed his bags at Southern Sun and took up residence as executive director of the Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association of SA (Fedhasa).

Hearfield (56) wants to make it clear that he didn't leave the number two spot because of a clash of personalities with his new boss, Ron Stringfellow, who took over as group MD of Southern Sun late last year.

But no doubt it was difficult to swallow being passed over in favour of a 39-year-old whizz kid from the Zimbabwe Sun chain.

If it wasn't a case of sour grapes, then why did he give up on the com-

pany after nearly a decade? Hearfield says he "likes being an operator, first and foremost." As Southern Sun's group executive director, he was in charge of marketing and containing group costs. Ho hum: despite the perks, he was no longer an operator.

He certainly revelled in his previous post as the high-profile chief executive of Holiday Inn, where he was directly responsible for profitability and became involved in virtually every activity, from supervising press launches to devising new menus. If he didn't like the way a meal came out of the kitchen, he marched in and set the chef straight.

Early in his career he apprenticed at a club in London, then spent seven years with the hotel group Trust House, and then 14 with the Reo Stakis Organisation. He was director of operations for all the UK leisure divisions of the hotel chain when he emigrated to SA in 1980 to join Southern Sun, which had staked out European hotels and lured away experienced help.

He's counting on his knowledge of all aspects of the business to smooth his path through an industry that sorely needs an influx of foreign tourists willing to discover the new SA.

"Because of my seniority, the top guys in the industry see me on their level and I do not have to establish an identity with them. I believe I will be useful here by being able to help members who have become bogged down and give the smaller ones the big picture approach."

"I believe tourism in SA will come into its own as a major earner of foreign currency in the next three to five years, and I want to be in a hands-on position to help the industry cope with the challenge."

As the leisure industry's chief representative, it's his job to beat the drum for protectionism of tourism's special interests.

He wants government to create a master plan for tourism and he would like to see a "development bank" for hotel operators to upgrade their facilities at less than the going interest rate.

Fat chance.

In addition, he also wants to keep grocers out of the liquor business and limit the issuing of liquor licences. For that he'll have to tangle with Pick 'n Pay's Ray Ackerman and the other supermarket bosses — a much tougher breed than Holiday Inn chefs.



Bourgois ... 'there is no way other than democracy'

Hearfield ... lobbying for special interests



FW calls ^{304A} multiparty summit to halt violence

Star 19/4/91
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk is to launch a multiparty two-day summit and a permanent commission of inquiry on violence, in the Government's most substantial political effort so far to tackle the endemic township unrest.

In an apparent response to the ANC's demands of April 5 for an independent commission on violence, Mr de Klerk said yesterday he would soon submit legislation to create a standing commission to investigate and combat political violence and intimidation and to identify those involved.

But Kaizer Nyatsumba of our Political Staff reports that President de Klerk's planned peace summit appears to be stillborn, with the official Opposition in Parliament and all but one extra-Parliamentary organisation having rejected the call.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr de Klerk's announcement did not address the question of violence as raised in the ANC's recent open letter.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC rejected Mr de Klerk's plans and would not take part in the meeting, set down for May 24 and 25.

However, the ANC's Gill Marcus told The Star this morning that a statement responding to the announcement would be issued later today.

The Conservative Party also rejected the initiative, but the Democratic Party and Labour Party supported it and urged all other parties to attend the summit.

In a clear attempt to win international favour, Mr de Klerk timed the announcement for the eve of his departure for state visits to Britain, Ireland and Denmark today.

He said in his statement that the maximum capability of the security forces would be used when needed to combat violent situations.

But he said security

● To Page 2 ■

Multiparty summit on violence

● From Page 1

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measures were not enough — unless extraordinary measures were used, which he was not prepared to do.

The main aim of the summit would be to call on political and other leaders to assume co-responsibility for ending the violence. *Star 19/4/91*.

He said the new measures were needed because the "comprehensive" steps the Government had taken so far had decreased violence but had not ended it.

The security forces would use "all legal means at their disposal to apprehend criminals, warlords and instigators of violence and unrest".

These special measures would sometimes inconvenience the public, who would be warned about them.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr de Klerk's statement and promised full DP support, but CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht rejected the initiative as a panic reaction.

The proposed summit, he said, was intended for the lead-

ers of those involved in violence.

The CP was not involved in violence and would not negotiate with those who were.

President de Klerk said the summit would be held on May 24 and 25 and that he would soon submit legislation to create a standing commission to investigate and combat political violence and intimidation and to identify those involved.

Rejected

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Boerestaat Party (BP) have all rejected President de Klerk's initiatives and said they would not attend the planned summit.

PAC projects co-ordinator Mark Shinnars said his organisation was not prepared to "discuss violence with the perpetrator".

"The idea (of the summit) really begs the question because the Government as the de facto authority has all the resources to stop the violence. It is therefore surprising that the Government seeks help to identify the source of the violence because

if it is so much ignorant of this it would not be in power at all," Mr Shinnars said.

Azapo general secretary Don Nkadimeng said although his organisation had not yet discussed the proposed summit, he was certain Azapo was unlikely to attend "because we believe that (President de Klerk) does not need us to address the question of violence and we don't enter into talks with the regime".

Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party, said to try and address the question of violence through commissions and peace summits was "absurd".

It was Pretoria's intention to restructure the country and bring together "many different nations" that had caused the violence.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was the only party this morning to express willingness to attend the summit.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the IFP was "totally committed to the eradication of any violence" and would lend its wholehearted support to any attempt to stop the violence.

11-pc pay increase for politicians

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

3044
19/4/91
Cabinet Ministers, MPs and other politicians are to get pay increases averaging 11 percent this year, the Government announced yesterday.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, said the increases — from July 1 —

would be less than the likely increase in public servants' pay.

Cabinet Ministers will receive the lowest increases — of between 6 percent and 7 percent — while MPs could get around 12,5 percent.

It is clear they are below the 15 percent cost of living index and considerably below the 26 percent increases which were speculated in March.

FW jetting off to boost SA's image

Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk leaves tonight for a week-long working visit to Britain, Denmark and Ireland to consolidate South Africa's foreign-relations gains and boost efforts to win new investment.

Key engagements in the itinerary announced by Tuynhuys yesterday include meetings with the political leaders in all three countries and leading British businessmen and bankers.

He is to have tea with former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and Sir Denis and, in what has been described as a "coup", Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock.

This first meeting for a South African leader with the Labour Party leadership in decades re-

flects a significant shift in Opposition thinking in Britain.

Mr de Klerk and his entourage will be in Britain on Monday, Tuesday and Friday next week.

Other items on the itinerary in the UK include meetings with Prime Minister John Major, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Lynda Chalker and chairmen of banks and financial institutions.

Mr de Klerk will address the annual convention of the Institute of Directors; a joint meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Royal African Society; and the Confederation of British Industries and the United Kingdom/South Africa Trade Association.

On Wednesday Mr de Klerk's party flies to Copenhagen where he will

attend a working lunch hosted by Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, and hold talks with Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter.

Further engagements include an address to the Danish Foreign Policy Society and an official dinner hosted by Mr and Mrs Schluter.

The South Africans then fly to Dublin on Thursday morning where President de Klerk will have talks with Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey.

After an official luncheon, he will hold talks with the Speakers of both Houses of parliament and attend a reception hosted jointly by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland and the Society of Barristers.

Marika de Klerk fea-

tures in the itinerary too — she will address a joint gathering on Monday of the South African Women's Club, members of the South African Embassy Wives' Group, the South Africa Club, the diplomatic corps, and the United Kingdom Federation of Business and Professional Women.

On Thursday Mrs de Klerk will address a group of Irish women at a luncheon hosted by the mayoress of Dublin, Michael Donnelly.

The President will return to South Africa next Saturday.

Mr de Klerk will be accompanied by Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels, director-general of the State President's office Dr Jannie Roux, director-general of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden and a number of senior officials.

Govt nod to TBVC states joining talks

(3047) TIM COHEN (204)

GOVERNMENT yesterday came out in favour of the TBVC states taking part in the multiparty conference on negotiations.

A government delegation, led by President F W de Klerk, met homeland leaders and the chairmen of parliamentary Ministers' Councils, but the meeting was not attended by the heads of the TBVC states.

The meeting agreed that the participation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei would be decided by the multiparty conference itself.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation regarded the residents of the TBVC states as South Africans and that they ought to be represented at the conference. But the ANC still had to decide whether it was in favour of the TBVC governments being represented in that their capacities as governments. B10am
11/4/91

However, the ANC would not campaign for the exclusion of political parties which operate in the TBVC states, the spokesman said.

Yesterday's conference in Cape Town accepted that the states had a vested interest in future constitutional developments in SA.

Parliamentarians to get 11% salary rise

CAPE TOWN — Members of Parliament will get salary increases of 12% from July 1 this year, but President de Klerk and his Cabinet are restricted to just over 6%.

Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers announced yesterday that the increases would average 11%, but would be on a differentiated scale this year, with those earning the most receiving the smallest increases — "between 6% and 7%".

Political Staff

He said agreement had been reached after consultation with all parliamentary parties and "the total salary account for political office bearers will be 11%".

Last year MPs' salaries went up by more than 25%. At present Cabinet Ministers' annual salaries are R145 839, with a R40 278 reimbursive allowance.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to go ahead with the proposed summit on violence in spite of the ANC's rejection of the idea.

Top government sources confirmed this today and said that Mr De Klerk had indicated this to deputy ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he told him beforehand of the announcement.

A meeting of leaders in governmental executive positions, including the chief ministers of self-governing black areas, were told about this when they met Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday.

While there will be some disappointment in government circles about the ANC rejection of the plan, Mr De Klerk will go ahead. Rightwing whites will also not attend. The Conservative Party has also rejected the idea.

Although Mr De Klerk did not directly refer to the ANC's recent ultimatum to him on the question of violence in his announcement on the summit and on a permanent standing commission of inquiry into the prevention of violence, he gave the impression that it was addressing at least some of the issues raised by the ANC.

These could also be raised at the summit to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk's main point was that the government alone could not end violence but that it needed the help of all leaders.

Mr De Klerk's statement was also timed for his departure on a short European trip where the issue of violence will undoubtedly be raised.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr De Klerk's announcement did not address the question of violence as raised in its open letter to him.

"The call for a summit on violence seems to be the same idea that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, floated a few days ago. As is known, the ANC rejected that idea as unnecessary and divisionary."

The ANC had called for a commission of inquiry that would be independent and would have full powers to deal with violence.

"The present proposal does not seem to be aimed at achieving that objective."

The ANC's national executive committee would respond to Mr De Klerk's statement in full in due course.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said he regretted that the ANC had reacted negatively to the call for a summit on violence.

"It will certainly be our intention to raise the matter of police violence at the proposed meeting."

"We would very much have wished to have heard the voice of the ANC also."

"We have considerable sympathy for some of the views the ANC has been expressing on this question and we shall continue to seek ways and means of co-operating with them."

"However, to boycott a conference such as the president is calling will simply not be our style," Dr De Beer said.

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two businessmen were wounded by robbers with AK-47 rifles and pistols when they tried to help a guard attacked outside a bank in Alberton.

Police said the five robbers wrenched a firearm from Mr Cedric Jandi. Mr Alf Jones and Mr H. Engelbrecht went to help him and were shot. Both are in stable condition.

● A 62-year-old bee-keeper, Mr F F Steinhel, of Benoni, was held up by three men with AK-47 rifles in his garden and robbed of R8 000 cash, which was kept in a safe in an office next to his house. The gunmen fired at Mr Steinhel when he fled, but missed.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said that his party was not involved in violence and would not hold talks with perpetrators of violence.

He dismissed Mr De Klerk's announcement as a panic reaction because it no longer controlled the security situation in the country.

"The government is responsible for unbanning terror organisations which in turn have terrorised and murdered innocent people."

Summit on

By TOS WENZEL, Political Staff

Ms 19/4/91

(3049)

FW

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304A

SANCTIONS END IN SIGHT

The lifting this week of significant European trade sanctions against SA and the prospect of an early return to international sport are regarded by government as key developments in efforts to win back Afrikaner support and bolster white morale.

White perceptions of change in SA have been sliding in recent months with spiralling violence and the world's apparent reluctance to "reward" President F W De Klerk for his reforms. Some senior Nationalists have privately expressed concern about the continuing erosion of party support to the Right. The lifting of sanctions is seen as an important counter to white fears for the future.

The EC's move, and positive noises from the International Olympic Committee about SA's participation in the Barcelona Games next year, are likely to undercut CP support on the eve of the Ladybrand parliamentary by-election on May 22. The CP won the seat by only 70 votes from the NP in 1989.

The NP is expected to use positive international developments to show voters the fruits of reform.

The party will warn that support for the CP implies a willingness to return to international isolation.

The CP, on the other hand, is expected to focus its campaign on violence as a product of reform.

The NP will also exploit the CP document on negotiation leaked to the press last week. Though party leader Andries Treurnicht says the document — compiled by senior MP Koos van der Merwe — is not CP policy and was rejected by the executive committee, it clearly shows the tensions within the party on negotiations.

The NP believes De Klerk's visit to Europe next week could lead to other sanctions being lifted and the re-establishment of sports ties — which would be perfectly timed for the by-election.

Though the NP's prospects of winning back the seat are considered extremely slim at this stage, a strong showing against the CP — or even a win — would be a great boost for De Klerk.

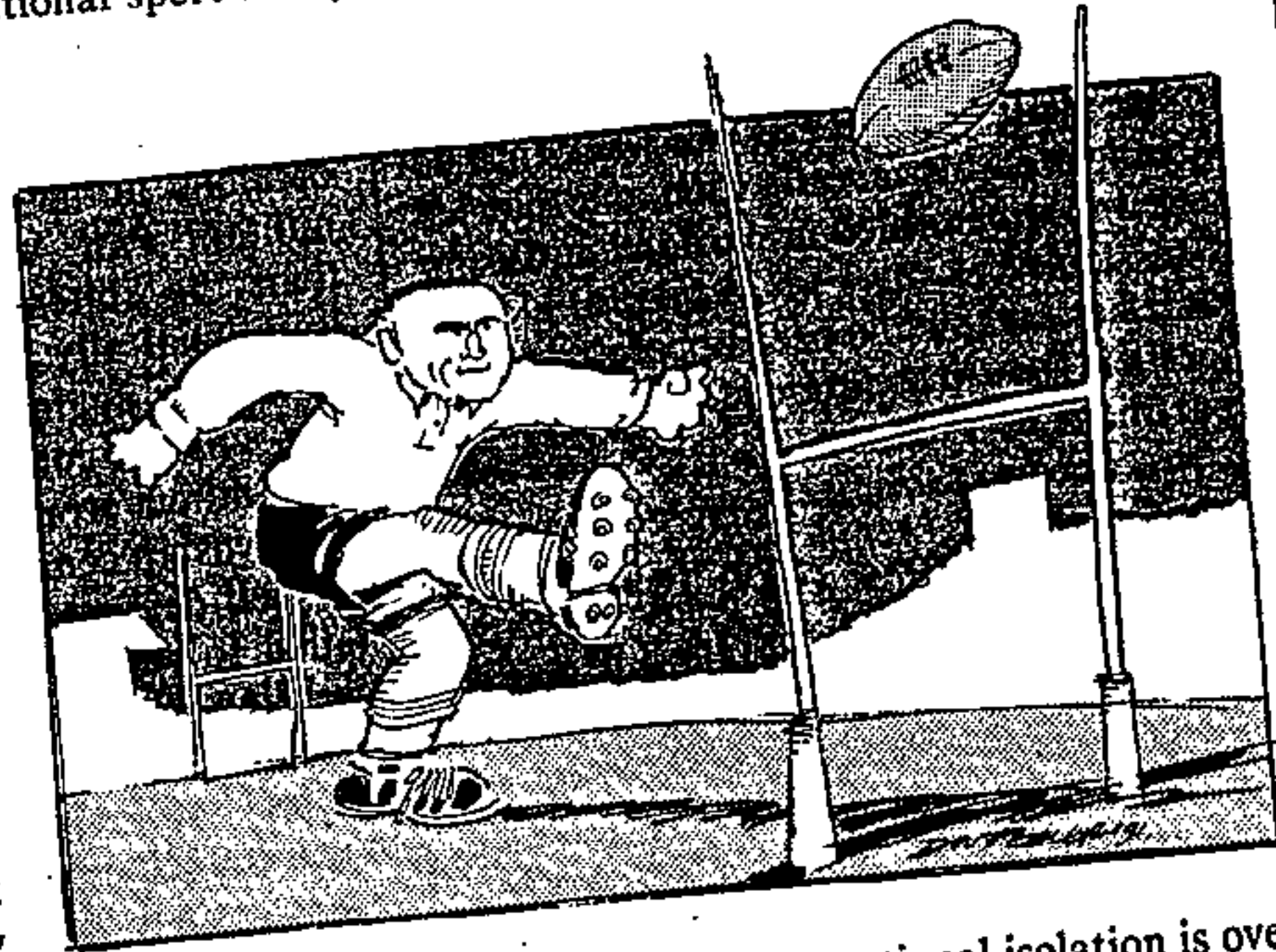
Foreign Minister Pik Botha says the return of SA to international sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular will be a major boost to De Klerk's nation building efforts.

"If a black athlete wins an event I have no doubt that all South Africans would applaud him and that's part of nation building, of the new SA that President De Klerk wishes to

create."

Botha stresses, however, that this week's developments must be seen as another step towards a return to international sport, rather than the end of the road.

Botha concedes that violence is now the major obstacle to prosperity. "As far as I'm



concerned our international isolation is over. We now need to create a climate that will encourage investors to come here."

EDUCATION

LOOMING DESPAIR

If ever President F W de Klerk needed to back the reform process he has set in motion with firm action, it is now, before the country's education system breaks down beyond repair.

Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar has washed his hands of the drastic teacher cutbacks which come into effect at the beginning of next year, telling the *FM* (*Leaders* January 25) he is only responsible for "general policy."

At the same time the minister responsible for the white Department of Education & Culture, Piet Clase, seems determined to push ahead with his rationalisation process, despite numerous appeals and warnings of the consequences. Many educationists are convinced his department is working off a white education rationalisation plan drawn up in 1984, which ignores the certainty of a future single ministry of education. De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela agreed on this when they met last month to discuss education.

Late last year the Natal Teachers' Society wrote to De Klerk to ask him to intervene in the education crisis and call a moratorium on teacher cutbacks and the closing of facilities while the whole matter was investigated as a national issue. They are still waiting for a reply. NTS executive director Dave Ryman finds this disappointing.

As has been argued before, the destruction of the white education system is not about entrenching white privilege nor maintaining the status quo. Well-qualified teachers and

De Klerk gravy train trundles into the light

304A

SOUTH Africa's long exile from the world community is ending, perhaps too late for a shell-shocked economy and too early for the African National Congress which has not yet signalled to the world community that change away from apartheid is irreversible.

But this week's developments — including the lifting of European Community trade sanctions and the probability that South African athletes will be invited to the Olympics in Barcelona next year — could not have been better timed for President FW de Klerk.

With the political bloodletting continuing in the townships, the extreme right-wing backlash and the threat by the African National Congress to pull out of the negotiations, De Klerk is badly in need of some gain to show for his reforms.

Government ministers could hardly conceal their delight with this week's breakthroughs, which included a call by British Prime Minister John Major for an end to the oil embargo against Pretoria. Foreign Minister Pik Botha declared: "Just as the dismantling of apartheid has become irreversible, so has the dismantling of sanctions."

That sanctions are crumbling despite the pleas of the ANC for the world to stand fast underlines the extent to which De Klerk has seized the high ground internationally.

A few years ago, the only European leader who would shake hands with a white South African leader was the Prefect of Madeira. Now the ANC, with all its international prestige and the standing of its

Wimand 19/4-25/4/91.
President FW de Klerk's government has chalked up victories on the international terrain — but still faces a race against time to save the economy.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

deputy president Nelson Mandela, appears helpless to prevent the steady erosion of sanctions.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo and international affairs head Thabo Mbeki travelled in vain to Brussels to discourage the EC from lifting trade sanctions. Part of the problem is the mixed signals that the ANC itself is sending out, both in public and in private, about what its position on sanctions will be after the June conference.

By contrast, the government has fine-tuned its propaganda. It brought out the big guns in the days before the EC decision. First, Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals warned that South Africa had four years to avoid chaos, and then Finance Minister Barend du Plessis underlined the same point two days later when he sketched a grim scenario of what South Africa would look like if sanctions were not lifted soon.

Du Plessis warned, in front page headlines in the Sunday press, that unless the violence and sanctions were ended soon, "there will be so many jobless people that you will have an ungovernable situation". The timing of both warnings on the eve of the EC summit was not simply coinci-

dence.

Though nobody has ever totalled the damage of sanctions to the South African economy, it is substantial. The oil embargo alone has cost \$25-billion extra during the past three decades.

But it would be either naive or disingenuous to blame sanctions alone for that state of the economy and joblessness in South Africa. Du Plessis is very cleverly shifting the blame from the government for the parlous state of the country's affairs onto the shoulders of the ANC.

De Klerk leaves for Europe this weekend, secure in the knowledge that his government is chalking up a string of victories on the international terrain.

The EC move has major symbolic importance as it clears the way for other countries such as Japan, which is waiting for the release of all political prisoners, to follow suit. At the same time, there is general awareness within government circles that US sanctions will be the toughest nut to crack.

But the International Olympic Committee expressed an eagerness to have South Africa back in the Olympics by next year.

An IOC delegation said on March 27 that South Africa could be readmitted to Olympic competition if all sports federations unified into single bodies and if apartheid was abolished within 180 days.

Though an end to the sports boycott would be a psychological boost to De Klerk and the whites, the problem now is the race against time to rescue the ailing South African economy, which many have their hopes on as the catalyst for development throughout the region.

Forget reunion when FW and Mandela hit London

It may have the look of a cunningly contrived Old Boys' Reunion when FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela hit London next week with top advisers in tow — but the paths of the two leaders won't cross.

De Klerk flies in tomorrow for a six-day visit that also will take him for hit-and-run appearances in Copenhagen and Dublin. Heartened by a European Community decision to cut back some sanctions against South Africa, his prime aim is to lure British and international banks, investment houses and fund managers to resume big-time business with the Republic. But a measure of disappointment awaits him. The word from key members of the Institute of Directors, the Confederation of British Industry and the main political parties is that he should expect NO stampede to commit huge sums in a country gripped by violence, instability and uncertainty.

Mandela arrives from Japan on Wednesday for a two-day stay without much to cheer about. The EC's cutback of sanctions on Monday ignored African National Congress pleas to keep them in place for a little bit longer. The Tokyo government last month pledged a mere \$3.2-million for the repatriation of ANC exiles after turning down a request in 1990 for a \$25-million contribution for the buildup of the ANC's

Mandela and De Klerk arrive in London next week — but they won't be holding any joint meetings. By

ARTHUR GAVSHON in London

political infrastructure.

De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, will be dining with Prime Minister John Major on Monday; Thabo Mbeki and probably Palo Jordan will be seeing him on Wednesday afternoon.

Both men also will be meeting with Labour leader Neil Kinnock. De Klerk had asked for the session, never having met Kinnock before. Mandela, of course, knows the Welshman quite well. The occasions — on Tuesday and Thursday respectively — should provide greater comfort for Mandela than De Klerk. That's because Labour's national executive this week adopted a resolution closely backing the positions taken by the ANC on a variety of issues which have brought it into conflict with the De Klerk government.

While praising De Klerk for what it calls his "courage and realism", Labour's resolution urges him to comply fully with the 1989 United Nations declaration on South

Africa; to free all political prisoners; to repeal all repressive security laws; to help end violence by ensuring the impartiality of the security forces; and to work sincerely to achieve a new constitution for a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The focus of De Klerk's programme will be South Africa's economic and financial problems. Backgrounding his talks are the warnings issued by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals that the country could become ungovernable by the mid-1990s as a consequence of economic collapse.

The state president will attempt to allay these fears not only when he meets Major and key British ministers on Monday night, at the Albert Hall annual conference of the Institute of Directors he will devote much of his keynote speech to that theme.

De Klerk also hopes to convey the same sort of assurances to politicians of all parties whom he has invited to join him for a reception at the South African embassy on Monday night. Private lunches and meetings also have been set for directors of British, Japanese, American and European banks based in London.

The president's side-trips to Copenhagen (Wednesday) and Dublin (Thursday) will coincide with Mandela's presence in town.

(304A)

w/mailed 19/4-25/4/91

Botha to be acting head



PIK BOTHA

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha will be sworn in as acting State President when Mr FW de Klerk leaves for Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

Botha was due to leave with De Klerk but his wife, Mrs Helena Botha, fell ill. *Sowetan 19/4/91*

She was admitted to the intensive care unit of the Conradie Hospital late on Monday night after falling and injuring her cervical spine, resulting in paralysis.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, will now accompany De Klerk.

De Klerk will meet Mrs Lynda Chalker, Britain's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs on Monday, as well as chairmen of banks and financial institutions and British MPs.

He is also due to have a working dinner with British Prime Minister Mr John Major. - *Sapa*.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday called an all-party conference on the violence rocking South Africa to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

De Klerk made the announcement as the peace process headed into heavy weather with the April 30 deadline for the Pretoria Minute, the African National Congress' May 9 ultimatum on the violence and the ANC's June conference looming on the horizon.

However, all the major parties remain committed in the long-term to the negotiations — and have no option but to find their way back to the bargaining table once the storm is over.

And despite ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's rejection of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's plan for a multi-party conference on violence, the concept of a peace conference has been far from ruled out.

De Klerk said parliamentary and extra-parliamentary movements, government institutions, churches, trade unions and academics would be invited

Stormy weather ahead for SA's peace process

ed to the conference. He also announced legislation to provide for a standing commission into the violence.

But several obstacles still lie in the path of the government and the ANC.

The first is the wind-up date for the Pretoria Minute. According to the agreement between the government and the ANC, all the tasks laid out in the minute — including the release of prisoners and the return of exiles — have to be completed by April 30.

The date was further loaded at the ANC's December conference where it was decided that unless all the obstacles to the negotiations were removed on or before April 30, the ANC would consider suspending the negotiating process.

There's a big storm ahead for peace — but all the players will have to ride it out, reports

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

ANC negotiator Mathew Phosa said this week at least 1 362 identified political prisoners had still not been released, 32 of them on death row.

Nagging problems over indemnity have not been resolved, returning exiles are still being arrested on their arrival in South Africa and, to make matters worse, ANC NEC member Penneel Maduna was arrested at Jan Smuts Airport on Thursday.

The Pretoria Minute deadline is unlikely to be met, though it is not certain what the ANC's response will be. "We will have to cross that bridge when we come to it," said Phosa.

However, the ANC will be under further pressure to suspend talks in the likely event of the government failing to meet its six demands on the violence, including the axing of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

ANC spokesman have reiterated in the past few days that the ultimatum stands. Mandela has said, however, that if there is a serious response from President FW de Klerk on the movement's demands, then "the ANC will not be found wanting".

Malan's belated sacking of Civil Cooperation Bureau members and Vlok's

attempts to distinguish between "traditional" and other weapons are not viewed by the ANC as going anywhere near to meeting the demands.

The ANC's leeway in finding compromises on the two deadlines is narrowed by the conference, due for June 26, when the performance of the leadership will be under scrutiny from a membership whose militancy was strongly in evidence during the December conference.

Some cynics say that if the government wants an ANC team prepared to compromise, it must let Mandela and the present team continue sounding a hard-line until the conference.

Negotiations, including unpopular compromises, can only proceed once the conference has been surmounted and the present pro-talks leadership is intact.

Even so, in its response to the violence during the past few weeks, the ANC has shown that it has to remain in touch with the feelings of its members on the ground — and cannot negotiate the New South Africa in disregard of its township constituency.

Reform on track, says FW

304A

Star 26/4/91

THE release of political prisoners and the return of exiles were "absolutely on schedule" and there was a chance these processes could be completed before April 30, President FW de Klerk said last night.

Responding to a question at a press conference before his departure on a six-day visit to the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark, President de Klerk said his Government was doing everything possible to fulfil agreements reached in talks with the ANC by April 30.

Deadline

That is the deadline set by the ANC at its national consultative conference in Johannesburg in December for the Government to implement the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

If the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles were not completed by the date,

President leaves on 6-day trip to Europe

KAIZER NYATSUMBA,
Political Staff

the organisation said, it would seriously consider pulling out of talks.

President de Klerk also disclosed he was not surprised by the Conservative Party's refusal to participate in the May 24-25 summit on violence,

- See Editorial on Page 12
- FW's progress: Page 14

saying the CP refused to participate in forums where the ANC was represented.

Asked if Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok — whose resigna-

tion from the Cabinet the ANC has called for as part of its May 9 ultimatum — would participate in the summit, President de Klerk said everybody who dealt with the violence would be welcome to attend.

Turning to the ANC, President de Klerk said although the organisation's reaction had been relatively negative, the ANC had not rejected the summit. He revealed he had telephoned ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela before announcing the summit.

Negotiations, President de Klerk said, were firmly on course, despite the ANC's initial response to the summit and any other differences, and that was the message he would take with him to Europe.

"We don't see negotiation coming to a halt. There is no alternative but to ensure that negotiations are on track; I and my Government will make sure they succeed."

Foes

President de Klerk said he would meet both friends and foes during his visit, including former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock. He was looking forward to these meetings and he hoped he would be able to persuade Mr Kinnock that change in South Africa was now irreversible.

Travelling with President de Klerk were his wife Marike; the director-general of the State President's Office, Dr Jannie Roux; the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, and a few officials of the President's Office and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Leon Wessels and his wife, who are standing in for Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his sick wife, Helena, will leave today for the UK, where they will join the De Klerks and their entourage.

The secret of F



MAN OF PRINCIPLE: F W de Klerk is tough and wily, but has been praised for his integrity.

FREDERIK Willem de Klerk has already secured a place for himself in South Africa's history as the white leader who finally recognised that the decades-long quest for equal political rights by the black majority could not be denied.

President de Klerk (55) is committed to a negotiated settlement with black leaders, including representatives of the formerly outlawed nationalist and communist movements.

In the talks, universal adult suffrage — one person, one vote — will be an axiom rather than point of contention.

His acceptance of this as the starting point for resolution of the South African conflict is remarkable for two reasons.

First, his heritage is that of Afrikaner nationalism, which for decades instilled in its sons and daughters a fear of the black majority and warned them that concessions led to black domination, not black gratitude.

Bold

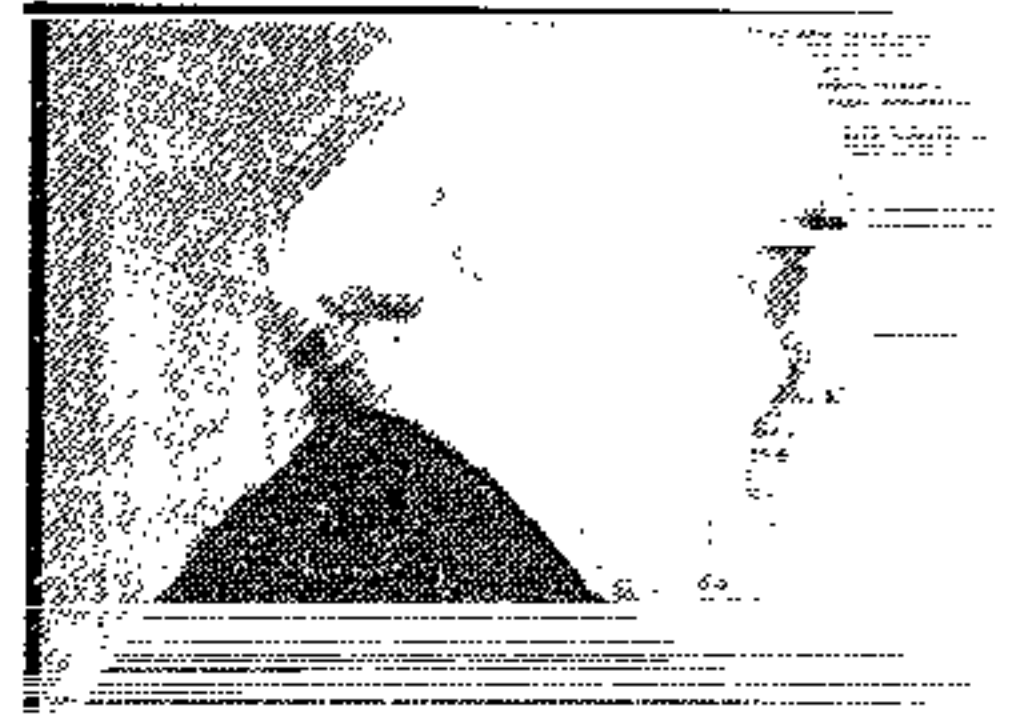
Second, Mr de Klerk's personal record as a politician before being elected as President in September 1989 is that of a cautious pragmatist rather than a bold innovator.

Even after he was inaugurated as President his conservatism was by no means dead. In October 1989 he admonished his elder brother, Willem, a former newspaper editor and influential intellectual, for talking to the ANC.

"Participants in such talks are playing into the hands of forces that are still set on destabilising South Africa and destroying law and order," Mr de Klerk said.

Yet, four months later, in a now celebrated speech to Parliament, Mr de Klerk unbanned the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and the Pan-Africanist Congress, and invited them to negotiate with him a new constitution for South Africa.

One explanation is that Mr de Klerk had already decided on his bold moves when he publicly ad-



TAKING A DIFFERENT ROUTE:
jail, and (below)

Why a ^(304A)
cautious
^{Star 20/4/91}
pragmatist
became a
reformer

PRESIDENT de Klerk left last ...
his itinerary of Ireland and ...
Community sanctions — reflect
international hostility. PATRICK

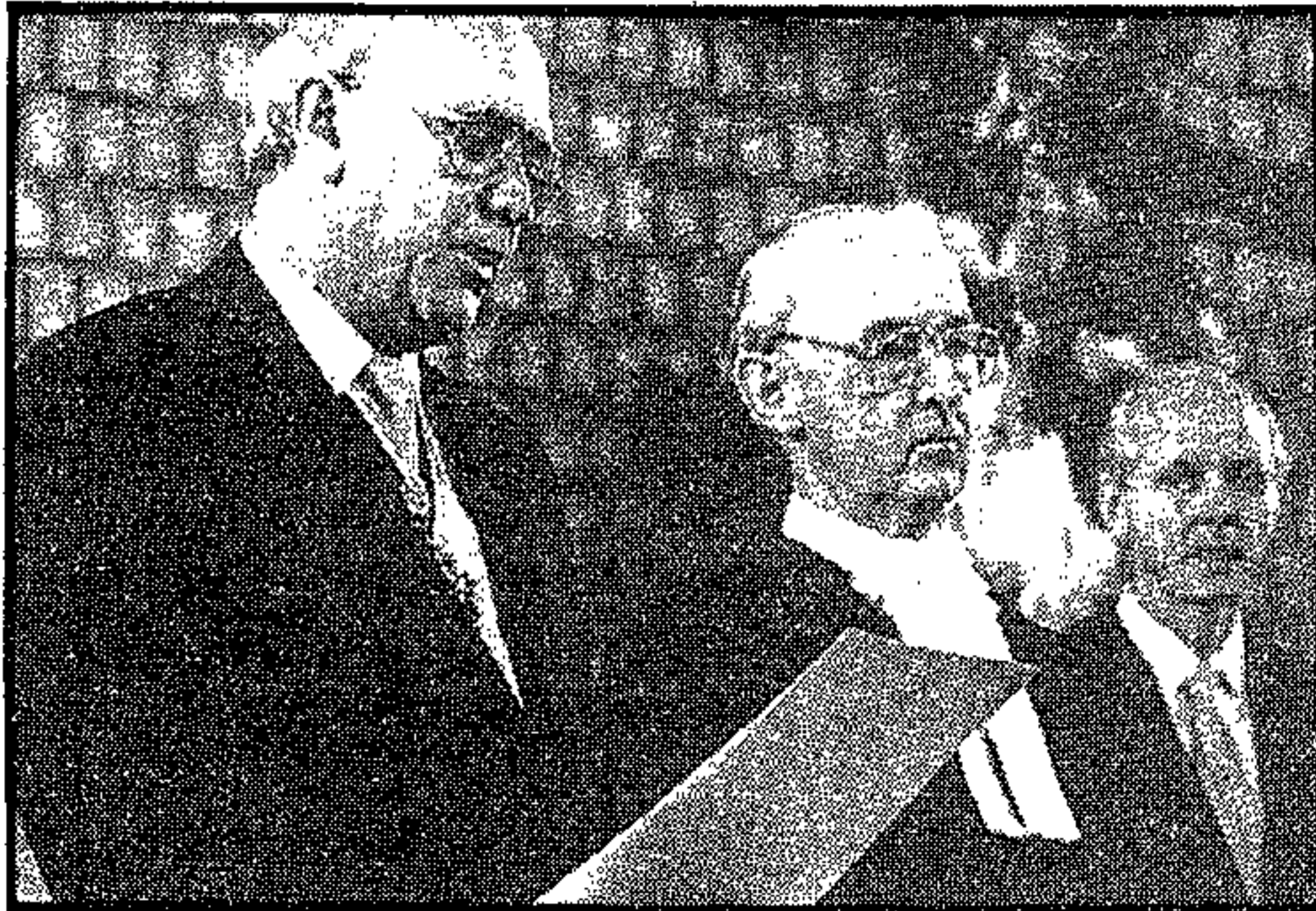
monished his brother and those like him who were involved in discussions with the ANC.

This theory says he had to publicly disapprove of their actions to pacify conservatives and to maintain an element of surprise in his

W's about-turn



F W de Klerk with Nelson Mandela, the living legend he freed from being sworn in as State President to succeed P W Botha.



it for short visit to Britain, Ireland and Denmark. The inclusion on mark — both of which have resisted the lifting of the European — his growing confidence in completely rolling back the tide of AURENCE offers an appraisal of Mr de Klerk.

political strategy.

Even so, Mr de Klerk moved across a vast distance, ideologically speaking, in a relatively short time. His track record as a politician before succeeding P W Botha, first as leader of the Na-

tional Party and then as President, is that of a conservative, a man who sought to mollify conservatives in the party rather than to break new ground.

Two factors seem to be central in Mr de Klerk's political meta-

morphosis: his religious convictions and his intellectuality or, as his brother prefers to call it, his

Mr de Klerk is a member of the Gereformeerde Kerk, the smallest of the three Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Churches.

In his biography Mr de Klerk, his brother describes him as an Afrikaner Calvinist and thus a person whose life is "subject to the authority of biblical principles" at all levels.

The Gereformeerde Kerk is theologically conservative in political matters its leading thinkers, based at the University of Potchefstroom, took the lead in first modifying, and then rejecting, apartheid.

One thinks of men like Professor Hennie Coetzee and other thoughtful, perspicacious writers in the publication, Woord en Deed (Word and Deed).

They were Afrikaner pathfinders.

Principles

Their verlig or enlightened political outlook was the product of theology; having decided that apartheid was not justifiable scripturally, they spoke up against it and helped prepare the way for the reformist policies of Mr de Klerk.

They were, to use the Afrikaans term, "konsekwent". It translates as "consistent", but has heavy Hegelian overtones in the Afrikaans.

It means, loosely, being true to your principles. If apartheid could not be reconciled with biblical injunctions, it had to be jettisoned.

Mr de Klerk studied law at the University of Potchefstroom. His legal studies made him cautious; prudence blended with jurisprudence.

As he remarked shortly after being elected as leader of the National Party in February 1989: "I am a lawyer. I know how to be cautious."

But Mr de Klerk learnt how to be "konsekwent" as well as cautious during his studies at Potchefstroom University.

As early as 1987, shortly before the general election that year, he

told National Party MPs in a special briefing that apartheid was no longer a viable solution.

But as a "konsekwent" thinker he did not leave it there: he moved on in the search for a more permanent solution to the escalating conflict in South Africa, and to the steady isolation of its white ruling caste and their black compradors.

It led, eventually, to his decision to release ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to unban outlawed organisations and to initiate the search for a negotiated settlement.

Mr de Klerk's rationality, his logicity, took a specific form. He did not try to impose his intellectual reasoning on his political colleagues. He sought to take them with him, to make them part of the discourse.

A feature of his presidency has been "think-tank" sessions, in which the whole Cabinet retreats to an isolated venue and focuses on how to solve the problems confronting the nation.

Mr de Klerk's elevation to the presidency may have helped him shake off the cautious, conciliatory approach to fellow Afrikaners which marked his career as an MP before he succeeded Mr Botha.

Once he was elected as President his perspective changed. His view was wider, taking into account the growing rebellion at home and the worldwide forces hailing to crush apartheid and grind its protagonists — and them the Afrikaner people — dust.

Being "konsekwent" he acted, as a friend and foe alike with the speed of his programme of reform, catching the extra-parliamentary opposition on the wrong foot time and again.

Realising that whites, and Afrikaners particularly, faced inevitable defeat, he changed the nature of the rain and prepared to fight for their survival on a new political field. Increasingly the National Party is talking of how it can lead a grand alliance to victory in the person, one vote election.

MISSION Red Planet for Gerrit

3044

Star 20/4/91.

A PIONEER in the true sense of the word, Dr Gerrit Olivier is not in the least apprehensive about his challenging appointment as South Africa's first "Man in Moscow".

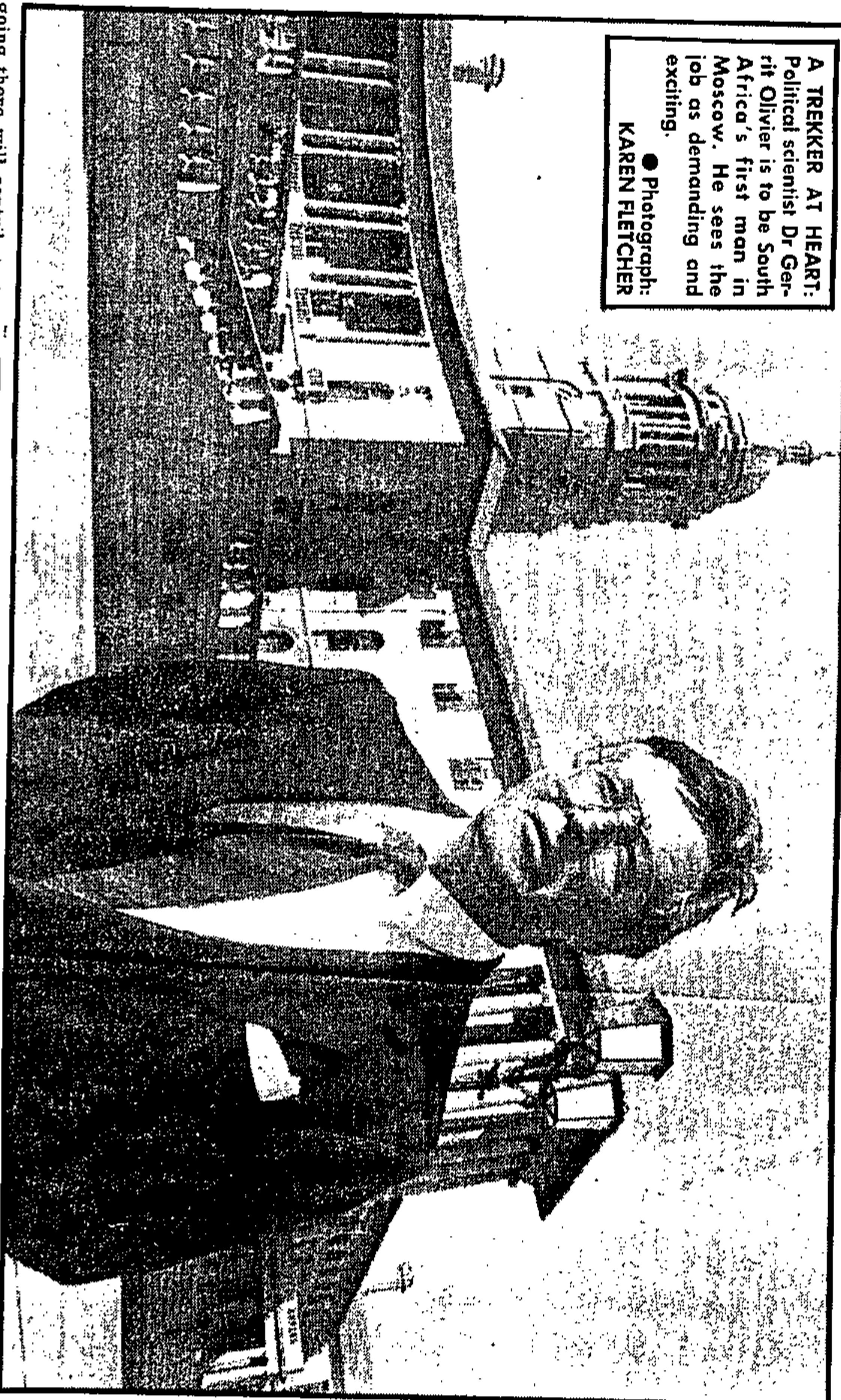
He may not yet speak the language of his new home, but, a trekker at heart, he sees his task as both demanding and exciting.

"It is like being sent to a new planet," he says with uncharacteristic airiness. "Inevitably it will be an entirely new lifestyle, but if you can't beat a new planet it must be the fault of the visitor, not the place."

He is a serious academic, with an impressive achievement record in political studies. Dr Olivier's approach to his appointment is one of utmost dedication.

A TREKKER AT HEART: Political scientist Dr Gerrit Olivier is to be South Africa's first man in Moscow. He sees the job as demanding and exciting.

● Photograph: KAREN FLETCHER



Saturday People

DR GERRIT OLIVIER

Written by CARRIE CURZON

HE is not prepared to discuss detailed implications of his mission, or what could result from it in the way of trade and travel opportunities for both countries. He says simply: "I am going there with the primary idea of representing my country. I am a diplomat and I go there with an open mind. I cannot compare the lifestyle, or hardships suffered there in anyway to South Africa. You cannot juxtapose the country against another. Each is entirely unique and each country has its own particular circumstances."

"Both our countries are going through a process of transformation and I accept there are differences, as well as similarities."

"I don't see this as a public relations exercise, but there are obviously bad images and stereotypes that need to be broken down on both sides. Hopefully my

going there will contribute to a better image of Russia and vice versa. That is part and parcel of my brief."

"It is important for South Africa to have a presence there. Russia is, after all, an important global role player, and we cannot ignore that. It is a huge country, with 300 million people and an area representing one-seventh of the Earth's surface. It is a world power, but so far there has been nothing between us and Russia on an official level."

No, Dr Olivier had not seen the film "Russia House" which so gloriously depicted the physical

beauty of the Soviet Union alongside its mind-boggling violation of human privacy. "I am not paranoid about all that. I am going there to establish open relations with the Soviet Union and don't have any hidden agenda."

Tomorrow Dr Olivier flies to Moscow for the first time to find himself accommodation in what will be his new world for proba-

bly the next four years. As an ardent reader of Tolstoy and an staunch patron of the opera and ballet, he looks forward to the cultural opportunities awaiting him.

"I have an abiding interest in Russian literature and look forward to seeing it at close range. Having re-read Tolstoy over the years I can't wait to

visit his home near Moscow. It will also be stimulating to have conversation with Russian intellectuals."

"Living conditions will not be my major concern. And loneliness is a relative thing. My wife and I are both ex-academics so I believe wherever we are in the world we can find an element of society with which to make contact."

"There is so much common ground between cultural and intellectual things."

The father of three grown-up children, Dr Olivier travels to Moscow alone with his wife, Mil-

lie — a lecturer in child psychology at the University of Pretoria. In Moscow he will head the Interest Section of the South African Interest Office.

"My wife is looking forward to it. It is a new challenge in a big, interesting, and important country. We are now busy learning the language from books and tapes."

"In the way of culture, politics, and economics it is a whole new world for us. If it is nice we will enjoy it, if it is different we will accept it."

Dr Olivier (56) has a BA, BA Honours, and MA in Political Science, as well as a DPhil in International Politics — all from the University of Pretoria.

He has been on study visits to Britain, West Germany and the United States, and was seconded to the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1983.

The author and co-author of 10 books and some 60 articles on South Africa's foreign policy, constitutional and political change, he is also a past member of the South African Institute of International Affairs, and member of the Human Science Research Council's Advisory Committee for Political Science.

FROM 1981-1983 he was the President of the South African Political Science Association.

Up until his new appointment he was the director in charge of communication and planning in the Department of Foreign Affairs for the last three years. This post involved taking charge of the production of films and literature that have presented South Africa's image abroad.

His posting to Moscow represents his first posting overseas by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"I am very bashful about it, and also very honoured."

'Sam' opens up NP branch — in Tembisa

JOVIAL RANTAO

DISILLUSIONMENT with traditional black political organisations — particularly over their handling of violence — has led a 49-year-old father of five to establish a branch of the National Party in Tembisa.

"Sam" refuses to be identified for the time being. But he claims to have encouraged more than 50 local people to sign up and he expects many more to follow.

"Sam" is chairman of the Tembisa branch. He became a member last month after weeks of soul-searching and debate with his family.

After the family made its decision to join, "Sam" approached Dr Teshia King, MP for Kempton Park, and was signed up.

No tolerance

He said he chose the NP instead of the ANC, the PAC, Azapo or the Inkatha Freedom Party because of their lack of political tolerance. But he hastened to point out he would not have thought of joining President de Klerk's party had apartheid been in existence.

"Sam" said intimidation and fear for his family's safety were the reasons he did not want to be identified. "It is this kind of fear that has made me look for a moderate party to join."

"I fear that my family might be attacked. My five children might be ostracised at school and in social circles."

But, he said, withholding his identity was just a temporary precautionary measure. "It won't be long before South Africans will know my face."

Besides these factors, "Sam" believes his family has made the correct decision and nothing would deter them from taking part in NP activities. Already, the family has attended a few meetings at which they were addressed by the party's top brass.

"I think my family has the right to freedom of association. If people can join the ANC, Azapo, PAC and many other parties, why can't we join the NP?" said "Sam", a supervisor at an aluminium firm in Midrand.

A very ambitious man, "Sam" said as soon as blacks were allowed to vote, he would make an effort to become South Africa's first black member of Parliament.

"That is my long-term plan. I want a seat in Parliament and believe that will not be out of reach as soon as we're allowed to vote. I look forward to representing Tembisa, which I hope by then will be a constituency on its own," he said.

Another factor that influenced his decision was the political changes in the country brought about through the Government's reform policies.

"The violence and the

intimidation from the main black organisations really sickens me," he said.

Before joining the NP, "Sam" did not belong to any political party, although he sympathised with the PAC.

"Our black organisations are taking us nowhere. We are losing too many people through violence. When liberation finally arrives, we will have three-quarters of the population left."

Born in Moruleng, on the outskirts of Rustenburg, "Sam" came to Johannesburg in 1965, when the NP-invented apartheid was still in force, to look for a job.

Respected

When asked how he went about his recruitment campaign, "Sam" said he went for people in his immediate social circle. He does not go door to door. Some of the interested people have telephoned him.

He said his friends and relatives knew about his family's membership and they respected the decision.

He said if more black people joined the NP, the chance of speeding up political change would be greater.

But whether the decision to join the NP was the right one still crops up during the family's dinner. "Just the other night my wife asked me whether I thought our decision was correct."

Tough talking when FW meets Kinnock

SI Times 21/4/91 (304A)

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO: London

STATE President FW de Klerk's reform policies will be carefully dissected this week when he meets Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, one of South Africa's most vociferous critics.

But, say Labour spokesmen, although there will be some tough questions thrown at Mr De Klerk, the meeting in the shadow cabinet room at Westminster on Tuesday will be cordial.

The fact that a South African head of state is being received by a Labour leader is seen as significant. It is the first time one has met a Labour Party leader since 1961 when South Africa left the commonwealth.

Labour's eagerness to meet President De Klerk is seen by observers as a shift in its stance against SA.

The South Africans are placing great importance on the meeting since Mr

Kinnock could become the next prime minister of Britain.

When, in 1986, then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met former head of state PW Botha, the strongest criticism came from the Labour Party.

Salute

But its foreign affairs spokesman Donald Anderson warned that not much should be read into the party's meeting with Mr De Klerk.

He said: "There has never been a formal request for a meeting in the past.

"When it was suggested that a front bench team led by Mr Kinnock meet Mr De Klerk and senior government officials, we conferred, and it was agreed

that we should.

"Labour MPs acknowledge the positive aspects of Mr De Klerk's reform measures and salute them.

"While our meeting with him will not be a shouting match, we will be expressing our concerns about the situation in SA."

He said Mr De Klerk would be asked whether his government was unwilling or unable to control the continuing violence within South Africa.

"He will also be questioned on his ability to control the police.

"We are also concerned about political prisoners, exiles and the continued threat to returning exiles who fear that they are still under surveillance."

Mr Anderson said the Labour Party wanted to see a smooth transition of government with the

necessary economic growth.

But he said the party's commitment to sanctions remained intact.

"We still think sanctions are a means and not an end."

Two days after the De Klerk meeting, the ANC's Nelson Mandela meets the same Labour team — but their discussions will be different.

Mr Mandela will be asked to brief Labour Party politicians on the internal situation in SA. He will also be asked to advise them on how they could help ensure a smooth transition of government.

● Some Labour MPs led by arch anti-apartheid campaigner Peter Hain have refused to attend a cocktail party at the SA Embassy.

Peace plan holds the key to success of De Klerk's European visit

FRUSTRATES HIS

304A
By MIKE ROBERTSON
and CHARMAIN NAIDOO
21/4/91

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK officially begins his British and European tour tomorrow on a wave of foreign support and sympathy.

He brings with him a trump card — a plan to end the violence in SA, which he will present to British Prime Minister John Major tomorrow night and the heads of state of Denmark and Ireland in the next few days.

Back home he leaves a divided ANC, with its leaders confronted by crumbling sanctions and growing international pressure to take part in the government's proposed peace commission.

Linked

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will see Mr Major two days after Mr De Klerk — and is expected to face some tough questions about his organisation's reluctance to take part in the peace talks.

Mr De Klerk and his wife Marike arrived in London at 8am yesterday and were immediately driven off to a secret country rendezvous with their student son Willem, who has been romantically linked to Erica Adams, a Cape Town coloured girl.

A large party of pressmen at Heathrow airport — most of whom were more interested in his son's love life — was abruptly told that the president would not speak to them until his three-day working visit began officially tomorrow.

Preparing

Amid tight security and unseasonably cold weather, Mr De Klerk was met by newly arrived ambassador Kent Durr and his wife, Suzanne, and embassy minister Richard Carter.

He was received by Sir David Muirhead, special representative of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

The presidential party is preparing today for the crucial meeting tomorrow night with Mr Major.

High on the agenda will be sanctions and ways to deal with the inter-party violence which has racked South Africa in recent months.

Mr Major has called for the lifting of all sanctions against South Africa and has become one of the strongest anti-sanctions lobbyists in the European Community.

Diplomatic sources indicated that Mr De Klerk

□ To Page 2

A.T.O.



State President FW de Klerk

De Klerk says ANC may join summit

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa 21/4/91

THE ANC may after all take part in the summit on violence which State President FW de Klerk announced this week.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday before his departure on a three nation tour of Europe, De Klerk said he "hoped the organisation will after all take part in the summit".

De Klerk said he telephoned ANC deputy president Nelson

Mandela "the day before making the announcement on the summit and he replied the ANC would 'give it consideration'."

Two days after the announcement of the summit however the ANC formally responded by stating that the initiative by the State President did "not address the question of violence" as raised in an open letter the organisation sent him and his Cabinet two weeks ago.

Mandela views the summit as a

"propaganda ploy" by De Klerk on the eve of his departure to Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

The summit on violence, scheduled for May 24 and 25, is intended to include political parties and movements, both parliamentary and extra parliamentary; government law and order agencies; key figures from the churches, labour and private sector; and academics and institutions with specialised knowledge on communal violence. De Klerk said the summit would

provide an "in-depth dialogue" on the "climate of violence and intimidation".

"A false impression has been created in some circles that the government is uncaring about the violence."

De Klerk also said at the airport he was "not surprised" the Conservative Party had rejected participation in the talks. He said the CP's position of refusing to participate in any forum with the ANC is well known.

He said Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan "will definitely take part in the summit because they are heads of security forces involved in quelling violence".

In the open letter the ANC among other issues called for the dismissal of the two Ministers.

De Klerk was in a jovial mood before his departure to Europe, but the news coming from Denmark is likely to dampen his spirits.

Denmark's parliament has ordered its government to maintain trade sanctions against South Africa despite a decision by the other 11 European Community states to lift them.

Political Staff
WHITE pessimism has grown in South Africa as black optimism has risen, a new public opinion survey has found.

While 16% of whites were very pessimistic and 29% were fairly pessimistic — 45% in total — 24% were very optimistic and 38% were fairly optimistic — 62% in total.

The poll, which was published in a Sunday newspaper, found that only 28% of whites were fairly or very optimistic.

It also found that more than half of the 905 adult blacks, who were polled in the major metropolitan areas of South Africa, were "very satisfied" (52%) with the government under the leadership of President FW de Klerk, while a further 30% were "satisfied".

With 82% either very satisfied or satisfied with the De Klerk government, the survey indicates that eight of every ten adult blacks is satis-

Whites less, ^{CAR T-F} 22/4/91 blacks more ^{30/4/91} positive

fied with Mr De Klerk's rule.

In contrast, 29% of more than a thousand whites said they were very satisfied and 26% said they were satisfied, a total of 55%.

While 12% of blacks were neutral on the question, 2% were dissatisfied and 3% very dissatisfied.

The poll found that with 39% of English-speaking whites stating they were very satisfied, compared to 22% of Afrikaans-speaking whites, the increase in the support for President De Klerk was largely due to a sharp rise in support among English-speaking whites.

Reform

has made little difference to the homeless

Spencer 22/4/91

BOOK OF THE WEEK

~~\$25.95~~

~~£7.95~~

3044

~~£4.95~~

Urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa
by Richard Tomlinson (Unwin Hyman R69,95)
Reviewed by James Clarke

WRITING a book about post-apartheid cities right now is a bit like writing on post-war Iraq. It is a mile too soon.

But Richard Tomlinson took the plunge. He produced "Urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa", while reform was fluid. He certainly could not have guessed, at the time of writing, that the Group Areas Act was about to collapse.

Yet his thesis stands.

Dr Tomlinson (I understand he is only distantly related to the "homelands architect" Tomlinson who died this month) lays bare the apartheid city and its bastardised zoning.

This very useful section is reason enough to read this book. He goes on to show how "reform" is changing nothing.

Nationalist urban planning ideology, like an Aborigine's unwanted old boomerang, is going to be very difficult to throw away.

In the days of apartheid, black influx was checked by unsuitable controls — blacks had to beg for permits to stay in town and could own nothing.

Tomorrow they are going to have to beg for money instead. The black worker has been priced out of town.

True, he is no longer a migrant worker, yet he is still being "planned" out of town.

He is now a "commuter worker", forced to live on the urban edge because he can afford nothing more.

There is nothing new about commuter workers, of course, but "what the Government is doing," says Dr Tomlinson, "is deliberately accentuating the cost of land close to the cities".

While workers are pushed to the periphery of the city — in fact, to extensions of existing townships — the unemployed are forced to live in even less accessible places far from work opportunities. They can't afford even the site-and-service schemes offered by the Government.

In short, "the city divided" which so epitomises South Africa remains intact.

Dr Tomlinson does not advocate shock tactics in order to induce a more equitable nonracial order.

He sees as the major priority the need to make more land available for low-cost housing right where the job opportunities are.

How? With a new land tax to encourage land to come on to the market.

Look at all that sand-smothered mine-owned land which has been kept out of circulation.

The mines could afford to keep it out because they pay no rates and taxes on it.

He also advocates a progressive site-value tax system which will encourage higher densities and spread the financial burden of providing infrastructure.

He warns that land supply must not be seen as an isolated issue (that's been our fault in the past) but in context with urban living patterns.

If housing development is where the jobs are then the less well-off are spared the expense of commuting.

Dr Tomlinson (a respected planner with the Development Bank of Southern Africa) has a great deal to say about the PWV, which he sees as being on the threshold of a new phase of explosive urbanisation. He battles with the quantitative side and refers often to the

incredible disarray of the existing data base.

For example, Soweto's population could be anything between 700 000 to 3 million, depending which survey you prefer.

He shares the view of Wilfred Mallos that South Africa is more aligned to a middle-income country than a Third World country and that solutions to our problems may be found more in overseas experiences than from anything Africa can offer.

His book also examines post-apartheid government and economic values; industrial decentralisation and rural development, including the thorny issue of land redistribution.

As far as the last point is concerned, he sees a situation which is much less traumatic than the average South African would believe. There's a lot of "white land" out there, often unused, sometimes abandoned and some of it already occupied by blacks anyway. □

'You did the damage, now help with repairs'

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — US legislators and executives who claimed credit for the changes in South Africa also had to take the responsibility for the damage they caused, according to Harry Schwarz, South African ambassador to the US.

He has asked Americans to urgently consider specific projects to help those South Africans most deprived and in need of assistance.

Mr Schwarz this week took broadly the same message to audiences in New Jersey and Washington DC: If sanctions against South Africa had

worked, then they had also caused economic deprivation and harm, and those who had imposed the sanctions now had a moral obligation to help repair the damage.

He told a gathering at Princeton University that if it was correct that injury had been done mainly to the section of people who were most deprived, then the case was strong for repairing some of this damage once the political process was irreversible.

"Having therefore once applied sanctions, the case for assisting the economy on a sound basis in the new South Africa is morally substantive," he said.

At a separate function in Washington, Mr Schwarz told the American Bar Association that for democracy to have a fair chance in South Africa, the

economy had to be re-established so at least some reasonable expectations could be met.

"Failure to do this may result in South Africa becoming, in the long term, just another poor country in Africa."

Mr Schwarz said South Africa had resources which if correctly managed could provide a growth rate of about three percent a year without foreign aid, loans or investments.

However, what was needed was a growth rate of say five or even six percent.

Foreign aid was the key, but this did not mean standing with a begging bowl in a long line of others equally, or more, in need.

South Africa needed aid not so much in the form of money, but rather project related so that it assisted those in need and deserving help, he said.

SA's man takes off for Moscow

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Head of mission Ger-rit Olivier took off for Moscow yesterday to exchange the sunny climate of Pretoria for the chill of the Soviet Union.

With hopes high, SA's new man in the Soviet Union said his first task would be to find somewhere to live and to locate office accommodation for his staff of five or six Foreign Affairs officials.

In an interview before his departure, Olivier, 56, said he was going to break down the "ugly stereotypes" which had developed in both countries during 40 years of name-calling.

As SA's first diplomat in the Soviet Union, he faced an enormous challenge.

He takes up his post officially in June. *6/0am 22/4/91*

Olivier said the USSR and SA were in a disturbed period of political transition, and the Russians were troubled economically as well. To observe developments as a political scientist would be gripping.

Particular attention, he said, would be focused on reciprocal trade. The USSR, which covered one-sev-

enth of the earth's surface and had a population of more than 300-million people, constituted a vast market hungry for consumer goods which SA could not afford to neglect.

Scientific and academic contacts would be cultivated.

"We have been separated diplomatically and in every other way for more than 40 years during which stereotypes, which do not reflect realities, developed in both countries."

These would have to be broken down and, in their place, a real and productive relationship established.

A start had been made along that road with the Soviets' reciprocal diplomatic appointments in Pretoria.

Olivier is chief director, communications and planning, at the Foreign Affairs Department and a former political science professor at Pretoria University. *304A*

He is author and co-author of 10 books on SA foreign policy, constitutional change in SA, political change and modernisation, and SA's relations with Africa.

Govt anxious to begin multiparty talks ^(304A) Meyer

B/day 22/4/91
GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Government rejected any political manoeuvrings which could delay the negotiation process, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend.

Opening the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly at Siyabuswa, Meyer said government was anxious that a multiparty conference be launched not only to end conflict and unrest, but also for effective constitutional management.

Meyer said there were no more essential or credible objections or obstacles in the way of negotiation.

Government could not be expected to remove violence and other obstacles on its own. All parties seriously interested in negotiations had to contribute.

"There is no longer time to raise all sorts of new requirements that will paralyse the negotiation process. All political and community leaders have a responsibility to make the process work."

Meyer said government was sincere in its efforts to build a new constitution on a firm foundation. However, negotiations would not be easy and there were no guarantees of success.

SA with its multiplicity of divided loyalties was a society with a high potential for conflict and no society in the process of reform could escape conflict or violence.

Government, Meyer said, was appealing to leaders across the political spectrum to break down barriers of suspicion and hatred.

The best protection for the freedom of the individual lay in a bill which would protect individuals against arbitrary and unconstitutional laws and actions by the authorities. A new constitution should also indirectly protect minority group rights.

F.W sets out to drum up confidence in SA

LONDON — The key issues during President F W de Klerk's three-day official visit to Britain, which starts today, are violence in SA and the need for investment.

Foreign Affairs sources indicated yesterday that investors and bankers in Britain were ready to invest in SA, but were in a "wait and see mode". A source said the questions investors wanted the President to answer were what would happen and how would violence be ended.

De Klerk will have dinner with Prime Minister John Major this evening, and address the Institute of Directors tomorrow

Room 22/4/91
Political Staff

before heading for Denmark and Ireland.

The Danish parliament last week refused to sanction an EC decision to end the ban on trade with SA as far as iron, steel and Krugerrands were concerned.

At this stage, De Klerk is due to meet only Prime Minister Poul Schluter, but he may meet the opposition, which led last week's revolt against the government decision to lift sanctions.

Despite the EC concessions and the feeling in Britain that the time is now ripe to

look at sporting sanctions and the ban on the sale of crude oil, De Klerk's visit to Europe looks ill-starred, according to the Daily Telegraph.

It reports today that "the climate of violence in SA has so soured relations between Mr de Klerk and the ANC that Mr Nelson Mandela is stopping off in London on Wednesday to try to undo the work of the President".

De Klerk was understood yesterday to be having a private meeting with his son Willem and his girlfriend Erica Adams.

● See Page 2

Bank on a new South Africa urges De Klerk

Sowetan 23/4/91. 304A

LONDON - President FW de Klerk had a crucial meeting with some of the world's most powerful bankers here yesterday.

He was hoping to convince them to invest in his vision of a new, post-apartheid South Africa to be negotiated with the ANC and others.

On the pavement outside the South African Embassy, where De Klerk met the bankers behind closed doors, anti-apartheid activists still sceptical of his declared democratic intentions - and who in Britain agree with the ANC's stance that sanctions must stay - were hoping for a good response to their call for a "mass protest".

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement's chairman and Labour Party MP, Mr Robert Hughes, said amid preparations last week that their message was "De Klerk must stop the violence and repression which is wrecking the peace process".

Promises

"De Klerk has broken his promises to release all political prisoners, grant indemnity from prosecution for political exiles, and to repeal repressive legislation by April 30," he said.

Anti-apartheid demonstrations, which used to run non-stop outside South Africa House on Trafalgar Square, have been relatively subdued since the release of Mr Nelson Mandela on February 11 last year.

Topping the list of about 15 of Britain's most senior bankers and financiers giving De Klerk a unique combined audience, was Mr Robin Leigh-Pemberton, Governor of the Bank of England.

Other bankers' names remained secret - as a rule they prefer to do business out of the media spotlight - but Japanese



bankers, representing some of the world's richest and most powerful financial institutions, were reliably understood to be on the panel as well.

While expressing quiet confidence at his Chelsea hotel on Sunday night, on the eve of his week-long tour of Britain, Denmark and Ireland, it was clear De Klerk was anticipating some tough questions from the bankers.

Interest

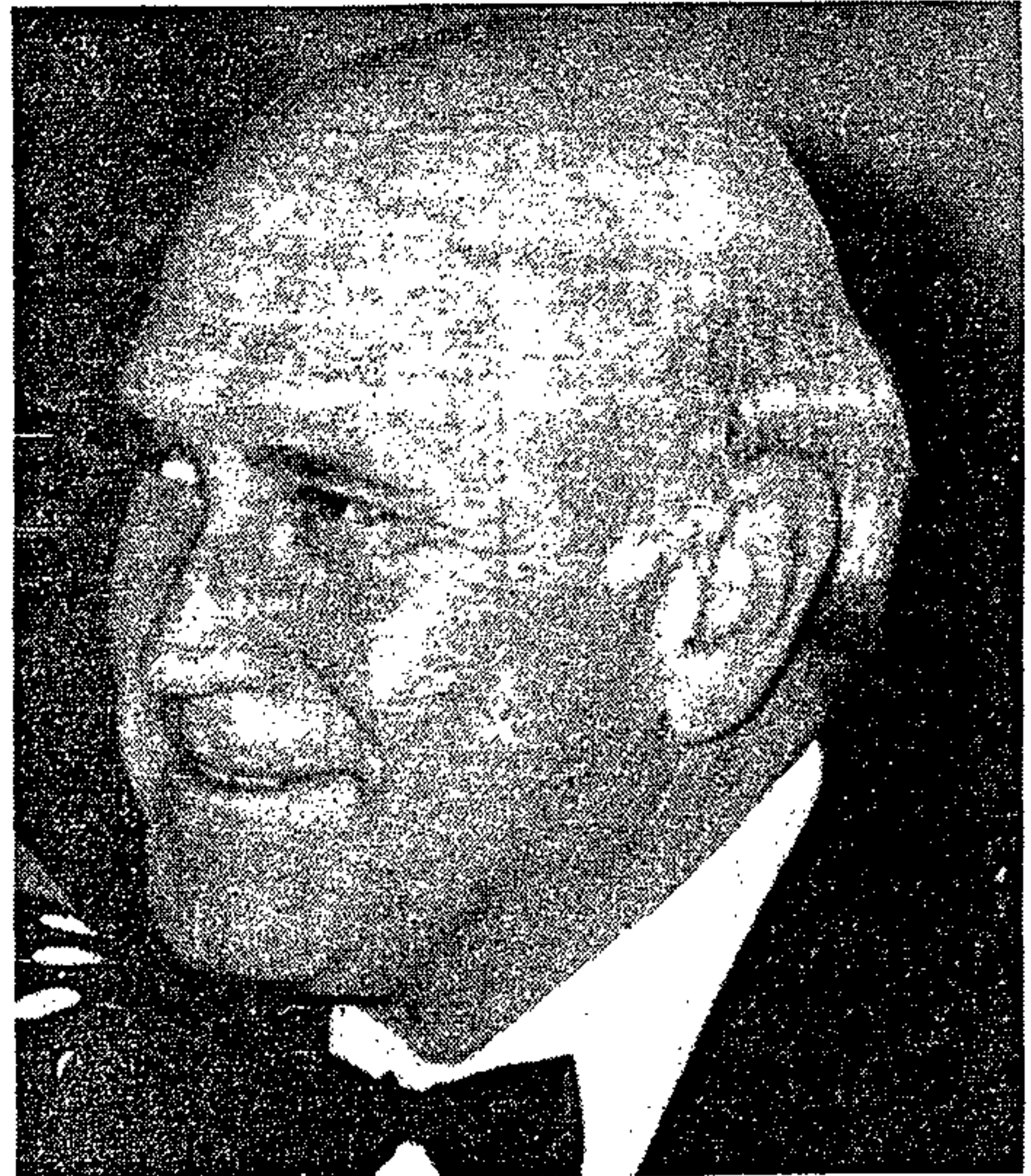
De Klerk said he felt there was already considerable interest in South Africa from potential foreign investors.

He saw his task as one of securing more solid assurances from them that they would be going ahead and investing in South Africa's future.

In pure financial terms, for bankers looking firstly at a profit on their foreign investments, South Africa remains a distinct credit risk due to the internecine township violence, wider political instability and question marks hanging over the prospect of South Africans being able to peacefully negotiate a new non-racial constitution.

De Klerk faces the task of explaining to the bankers that without their green light for an injection of foreign capital to revive the tattered economy - so that it can provide the vital socio-economic basis for his "new South Africa - his chances of succeeding are drastically cut".

He will be following this up with the argument that his chances of success will be considerably increased if they accept his as-



PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK

surances a peaceful settlement is possible, and invest now if not sooner with a promise of good profits they will be able to take home in the years to come.

In the frank discussions, De Klerk is expected to give the bankers - renowned for respecting confidentiality - an intimate breakdown of the state of affairs in South Africa at present.

Killings

His latest moves to get black leaders' co-operation in stopping the township killings, and progress on negotiations so far with his opposition, such as Mandela's African National Congress, will feature prominently.

One of his arguments to the bankers is likely to be the prospect of a politically stable, prosperous and democratic South Africa

using its economic infrastructure in co-operation with other emerging democracies in Southern Africa to open up a vast new African market for the First World to trade with.

South Africa could be a new southern gateway to Africa, but only if they are prepared to help make it happen, he will argue.

De Klerk confirmed on Sunday night that while he was intent on establishing a good working relationship with British Premier John Major, as it would be their first meeting, and breaking new political ground in Denmark and Ireland, "the emphasis is on the private sector".

On this, his third European mission in less than a year, his agenda is crammed with business meetings, mostly in London. - Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ANC wants FW to resign - PAC

Sowetan 23/4/91
304A

THE African National Congress wants President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet to resign, suspend the constitution and create an interim government, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Alexander said the ANC told the Pan Africanist Congress of this plan at the Harare alliance talks between the two movements last week.

The ANC wanted the creation of an interim government before any negotiation process towards a new constitution could proceed, he said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo yesterday confirmed Alexander's comments.

Nzo said the first phase was the removal of obstacles to talks.

The second phase was an all-party congress, where the ANC would



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point out that it wanted De Klerk and his government to resign as it could not be "both player and referee at the same time".

The Government would have to suspend the constitution and create an interim government which would rule by decree.

A constituent assembly would in turn be the only mechanism for adopting a democratic constitution.

"For the transitional period to be overseen properly it must be by a neutral authority," Nzo said yesterday.

"You can't have two governments running parallel. That's obvious. If there is agreement on an interim government it means that the other people must go."

After returning from the Harare talks between the PAC and ANC last Thursday Alexander said the ANC had offered to "give us more details than they've ever done to anybody in the past. Mainly, that Mr de Klerk in fact should resign. For the first time they said that."

"And that the constitution must be scrapped. And that the interim government must rule by decree," Mr Alexander said in an interview.

Nzo confirmed this and said the ANC's view would be determined by the removal of all obstacles to negotiations. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Great goodwill towards SA in Africa - Rupert

By Paula Fray ^{Star} 23/4/91

There was enormous goodwill towards South Africa among African leaders, Dr Anton Rupert told the regional congress of the Federation of Hotel, Liquor and Catering Associations of SA (Fedhasa) in Vanderbijlpark yesterday.

He said South Africans had the responsibility to explore the new climate positively: "The opportunities are immense and all we need now is peace."

There were great opportunities in tourism, the fastest growing industry in the world, with a R10-trillion turnover, employing 100 million people.

Dr Rupert said South Africa had the infrastructure, culture, the climate and the variety to attract world tourists.

Southern Sun Holdings Group MD Ron Stringfellow said the hospitality industry had been badly affected by the Gulf War.

He said there was a surplus of hotel accommodation in the country.

SA may be invited to join African Development Bank

ABIDJAN — The African Development Bank (ADB) is studying changes in South Africa with a view to future membership of Africa's top lending institution.

"We are aware of the evolution in South Africa and are watching it closely," ADB secretary-general Alioune Blondin Beye told the media yesterday when asked if Pretoria would be invited to the bank's annual general meeting next month.

He said it was "not yet the political view of Africa" to have South Africa join the ADB.

But ADB sources have said the bank's president, Babacar

N'Diaye, favours eventual membership for South Africa.

The sources said it was possible SA would have observers at the meeting on May 7-9 in the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan or that South African bankers would be present.

Participation in the ADB would be a major step forward in the process of cementing ties between black Africa and South Africa.

Mr Beye said up to 1 500 people were expected to attend the ADB's annual general meeting and that one of the main orders of business would be setting a new five-year programme for the bank. — Sapa-Reuter.

Banking on closer ties with Zimbabwe

Star Africa Service

HARARE — A significant shift towards closer relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa took place yesterday with a call on President Mugabe by Dr Desmond Krogh, a senior adviser to the Governor of the South African Reserve Bank.

Dr Krogh, in Harare for a meeting of the Institute of Directors to discuss the challenges facing Southern Africa this decade, told reporters that South Africa was working on the prospects for future co-operation with other African countries.

Already there were some areas of co-operation between Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Zimbabwe's economic reform programme would open up trade co-operation between Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa, he said.

Zimbabwe broke diplomatic relations with

South Africa after independence in 1980 but the two countries maintained trade missions in each other's territories.

The missions also handle consular matters.

Mr Mugabe has maintained that there should be no political links.

The meeting between Dr Krogh and President Mugabe was described by the Zimbabwe national news agency as the first between an official link to the white minority regime and the Zimbabwean president.

Dr Krogh said there were prospects of co-operation between the reserve banks of South Africa and Zimbabwe which would be positive for both countries.

The two neighbours were exploring ways of working closely together in their mutual economic interests.

Dr Krogh served with the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia in the 1970s and stayed on with the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe until 1983.

Peace bid wins strong support

FW jubilant over 'good day for SA'

8 Nov 23/4/91

By Michael Morris

LONDON — President de Klerk resumed his crowded schedule here today after winning Britain's support for his peace package — next month's summit and the standing commission on violence — at his first meeting with Prime Minister John Major last night.

And in a further endorsement, Mr Major announced that Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd would visit South Africa soon.

Britain's backing for the Government's peace moves will send the very signal Mr de Klerk hoped for in his bid to encourage more new investment.

Mr Major, who shares the concern of many abroad over the political and economic threat violence poses, said he welcomed the peace summit and the establishment of a permanent commission.

Mr de Klerk said after the dinner meeting at Downing Street: "This has been a very good day for South Africa. Things look good as we look ahead."

"We had a very friendly and warm reception, and there was very good rapport all round."

The talks, he said, had ranged over relations in South and southern Africa and international relations and the fact that "the time has come for South Africa to fully return to the international community".

Sporting ties with the world turned out to be a particular focus of the discussions. Mr de Klerk believed that "there is a very specific wish" on the part of Mr Major that South Africa return to international sport.

Did this mean, he was asked, that South Africa could expect a return to the international tour circuit?

He smiled. "It wasn't that specific. Neither of us is a sports administrator."

Mr de Klerk's first reaction to Mr Major was direct and positive: "I like him. I hope he likes me."

Mr de Klerk left his hotel early today for the House of Commons and a meeting with Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, an old foe. This was to be followed by tea with an old friend, former Premier Margaret Thatcher and husband Denis and then a lunch with more financiers and businessmen.

The big event of the day is his address this afternoon to the Institute of Directors' annual conference at the Royal Albert Hall.

An address to the Royal

Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House in St James's follows.

Today's altogether more public engagements follow two important private meetings yesterday, both at South Africa House in Trafalgar Square.

The first, with leading bankers, was dominated by economic concerns. The second, with British MPs from both the Conservative and Labour parties, focused more on political matters.

He acknowledged that the bankers were anxious to see normality resumed in South Africa, but said his chief impression was that they were willing to invest money in the country.

Later, he spoke to a group of more than 100 MPs. He was only to have made a few opening remarks, but ended up speaking for about half an hour. The MPs gave him a standing ovation.

Mr de Klerk said he used the opportunity to convey the complexities of South Africa's constitutional problems, and particularly stressed the fact that the Westminster system of winner-take-all was unsuitable.

"The audience was receptive and understood, and it is clear that relations between our two countries are continuing to improve," he added.

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: The enemies of Christianity and the enemies of the Afrikaner people have never wanted us to survive. I want to tell the hon the Minister today that he is going to unleash the greatest struggle in South Africa; he is doing this by taking away the Afrikaner people's identity, freedom and fatherland.

I want to tell them that they will meet with the greatest opposition, because any self-respecting Venda will remain a Venda, any self-respecting Zulu will remain a Zulu... [Interjections.] ... and the self-respecting Afrikaners will remain Afrikaners. [Interjections.] They, however, are Sanballaites and Azanians. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister has become ashamed of being an Afrikaner. The hon the Minister and those hon members who have ridden on the back of Afrikanerdom to get where they are today, are deceiving the Afrikaner into destroying himself. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: He is a bad egg (*slegte ding*)!

*Mr J A JOOSTE: Mr Chairman... [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Does the hon member for De Aar wish to raise a point of order?

*Mr J A JOOSTE: Yes, Mr Chairman, on a point of order: May the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe tell another hon member he is a bad egg (*slegte ding*)?

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! What did the hon member say?

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I said he was a bad egg (*slegte ding*).

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member must withdraw it.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I withdraw it, Mr Chairman.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: He is a bad Minister! [Interjections.]

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, on a further point of order: The hon member for Lichtenburg also said it; is that in order?

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*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Did the hon member for Lichtenburg say that as well?

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: Yes, Mr Chairman, I said "he is a bad egg (*slegte ding*)", meaning "he is a bad Minister".

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member must withdraw it.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: I withdraw it, Mr Chairman. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The aim of interpellations, as I understand it, is definitely not what we are seeing demonstrated today. Hon members are now forcing me to rule that no interjections may be made during the rest of this interpellation and during the following one. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe has so little faith and confidence in himself that he needs legal protection to remain an Afrikaner. [Interjections.] It is incredible. He now wishes to define groups again. How does one define an ethnic-cultural group? All the Van der Merwes in the Official Opposition are White—let me state this clearly before they complain again—but they belong to different groups. [Interjections.] Surely the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe does not belong to the same group as the Koos document group of Van der Merwes. Surely that is true. [Interjections.] Surely the Koos document group of Van der Merwes are divorced from the anti-Koos document group of Van der Merwes. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I am not going to allow this unnecessary laughter either. [Interjections.] I am definitely not prepared to make a farce of this procedure. I have made repeated appeals to hon members for their co-operation, but I am not receiving it. Hon members are now forcing me to take more drastic action in order to maintain the dignity of this House, and I intend to do so. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: I just want to ask politely how one will find a definition that can define White, Coloured and Black without any loopholes. Must one appoint colour-blind arbitrators to do so? Does the hon member wish to revert to descent? Does he believe that is the solution? He

is dead silent. [Interjections.] Do hon members know what he has done?

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! No, this is not fair of the hon the Minister in the light of my ruling. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: I apologise. I do not wish to be unfair to the hon member.

Just to show the world how difficult it is to define the word "group" in this country, I took the constituency list of my colleague, the hon member for Daljosaphat. This is the one prior to the 1989 election. There are 11 Van der Merwes in electoral district 0755 alone. There is a Barnard, there is a Hartzenberg, spelt correctly with a "z"...

*Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: The hon the Chief Whip of the Majority Party is continuing to laugh whereas you have said... [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister's time has expired. Debate concluded.

Municipal elections: registration

2. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

Answered 23/4/91

(1) Whether, after the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, he will take steps to ensure that all persons who qualify in all other respects will, for the purposes of municipal elections, be eligible to register in those wards in which they reside or own rateable property, regardless of their previous race classification; if not, why not;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

304A

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The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING: Mr Chairman, in terms of existing legislation, the right to vote at local government level is coupled to the system of separate Black local authorities and management and neighbourhood affairs committees. The proposed repeal of the Group Areas Act of 1966 will not amend the aforementioned legislation. This means that

when a person now moves into an area where he does not qualify for voting in terms of existing legislation, he will not be eligible to vote.

The hon the State President stated in his opening address in Parliament earlier this year that the Government accepted the principle of one city, one tax base. The Government also subscribes to the Manifesto for Local Government, and I quote from paragraph 2 thereof:

Any new system of local government should provide for democratic political participation, the elimination and prevention of domination, effective participation of minorities, free and independent community life, the elimination of discrimination, freedom of association and a commitment to negotiation as a method of change. *Answered 23/4/91*

The Government is convinced that a final local government system will have to be negotiated around the central negotiating table, and that new models must not be implemented unilaterally. This unfortunately means that during the transition period there will indeed be some people who will not have the vote. However, the proposed Bill on interim measures for local government provides for communities for local government provides for communities for negotiating non-discriminatory arrangements for voting rights at local level. This will be an optional negotiation, and will not be mandatory. *304A*

Mr E W TRENT: Mr Chairman, I want to say that I am extremely disappointed in the reply from the hon the Minister. As usual, there is no firm commitment and he is vague. I would also like to remind the hon the Minister what the hon the State President said in his opening address. He said:

The time has arrived for nation-building.

The majority are tired of the negative and the destructive. They wish to take hands, but they do not always know how...

I wish to accept this challenge today and invite every leader in every field to join me.

It is in that spirit that I actually asked the hon the Minister this question. I want to tell him that I am deeply disappointed.

We have to build new structures and we have to start right from the bottom. Old structures and practices will have to be destroyed. To a certain extent this is happening. Why can we not con-

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tinue with this process and get rid of the clauses that prevent people from voting where they live?

We cannot be complacent. We must actively continue to seek out and destroy apartheid wherever it exists, and that is what I want the hon the Minister to do. We must build the new nation, brick by brick, from the bottom up. We cannot wait for a new constitution before we start building this new nation. The hon the State President has said we must take hands and build a nation.

The Government has committed itself to the elimination of racial discrimination, and it has acknowledged that it goes hand in hand with the process of constitution-building. It is not exclusive, but goes hand in hand with it.

Let us listen to the hon the State President's commitment and weigh it up against what the hon the Minister has told me this afternoon. The hon the State President has announced in clear stated guidelines the commitments with regard to constitutional and property reform. Some of these measures are already tabled in the form of Bills. South Africa cannot afford a slackness in the dynamic progress of reform. The hon the Minister is showing me his slackness. He is not even prepared to take a few basic steps to include people who live and pay rates in an area, to register as voters. It is absolute slackness. They tell us the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act will be repealed. The total elimination of racial discrimination goes hand in hand with this process. Interim measures at local government level are under consideration, and an attempt is being made to reform at this level, which is a matter of urgency, and the hon the Minister actually mentioned that.

The problem is that having repealed group areas one is going to be faced with unacceptable consequences. Unless amendments are made to the provincial ordinances there will be, as a result, people who will be disenfranchised. People who move from the management areas into the now White areas will be disenfranchised. Those people will lose their vote, but they will not be given a vote in the area where they live. The Government has spent the past year dishing out group areas permits by the thousands. We know that this was escalating toward the end of last year. In other words, what one is trying to achieve is normally in our city life, but then one

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is preventing a person from voting, even though they pay taxes. [Time expired.]

*Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman ...

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Would you not reconsider your ban on interjections, because your current ban is killing this debate?

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I regret that I have no reason to believe that I can lift the ban at this stage. The hon member for Kurruman may proceed.

*Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister and the Government have already taken the steps necessary to make what Mrs Helen Suzman fought for for years in the DP a reality. They are simply doing it slowly, step by step, and are introducing interim measures to get there. The repeal of the Group Areas Act and the population registration legislation cancel out the present constitutional dispensation. They cancel out the concept of own affairs. The hon the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs confirmed this in Parliament on 22 March in Hansard, col 3798.

By doing this the Government is destroying the right of the Whites to live among their own people, to decide for themselves and on their own about their own affairs, to have their own schools and old age homes, to have their own city councils and their own voters' roll. The repeal of the Acts paves the way for an undivided unitary state, the birth of a raceless nation, government at local and central government level constituted on the basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' roll. It paves the way for Black majority rule in most of South Africa's towns and cities.

On 22 March 1991 I asked in the Chamber of Parliament whether the White group in the new South Africa would have its own voters' roll. The hon the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs' answer was categorically no. That is what the hon the Minister did not do this afternoon. He is still providing models. His Deputy Minister answered categorically no to the question on common voters' rolls.

The hon the Minister of Home Affairs said there were no groups. The hon member for Swellendam said the following on 5 August 1989, prior to the election:

Elke groep sal sy eie kieserslys hê.

Then he discussed the issue of groups and said:

Group politics is part of power politics in South Africa. It is interesting to note that the White group is the second largest group in South Africa and with our economic power this makes us the most powerful group in South Africa in group politics. This factor can be decisive.

[Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING: Mr Chairman, with reference to the hon member for Port Elizabeth Central I want to say I am very sorry if he found my reply vague, because that was not the case. I gave him a very clear reply to his question, namely that there was a period of transition in which certain people would not vote. There is nothing vague about that. I made it quite clear that this side of the House had committed itself to the fact that everyone must have franchise within a geographic area. There is absolutely nothing vague about that. I put it very clearly to the hon member that we believed that we could not simply effect interim changes by introducing final models. The credibility of these models depends on their acceptability at the central negotiating table. I do not know what is vague about that. Clear replies were given.

The hon member for Kurruman referred to Mrs Helen Suzman in this connection. This sounds to me very much like the pot calling the kettle black, because that party stole the HNP's policy lock, stock and barrel. The only reason they did not join the HNP was because they did not like Jaap Marais. However, the policy is precisely the same. What is the policy of those hon members in connection with Black local authorities? They say Black local authorities must be established in White South Africa. In other words, Black people must govern White land. That is what it amounts to. They say those people must make their own financial arrangements. With what?

Those hon members say Black people may not own land in South Africa. They will not have freehold. What must tax be levied on if one cannot buy a property on which to build a house? What must tax be levied on? If a person cannot own a piece of land in an industrial area on which to erect a factory, on what must the Black local

authorities levy tax to survive financially and be viable? [Time expired.]

Mr R F HASWELL: Mr Chairman, what we are addressing here this afternoon is a transitional measure which will help to transform unracially elected local authorities into non-racial bodies. Surely only the CP can object to that. Frankly, like the hon member for Port Elizabeth Central, we expected a lot more from the hon the Minister. Perhaps he is doing what the hon the Minister of Law and Order did to us last week. Munn's the word here in Parliament. Treat us with contempt and then, at a Press conference later this afternoon, announce that in fact that is exactly what the Government has in mind.

What we are asking for this afternoon is really the least that the Government should do. The Government should be introducing far more than simply enabling legislation, for that is benign in that it will only allow the Boksburgs of this country to carry on.

The NP is quick to level charges of racism against the CP, but has the NP really turned away from racism? Whilst racial restrictions remain in the provincial ordinances, the NP's charges against the CP will have a hollow ring to them. The NP will label themselves as little more than neo-racists.

I think it is clear from the hon the Minister's reply that we now all know what the NP means by one city, one tax base. The NP means that one should pay one's rates and taxes, but if one is not already on the White role, one will not be able to vote.

Mr E W TRENT: Mr Chairman, I do not actually understand the hon the Minister. He said that the Government would not accept interim measures and that we would have to wait for a constitution to be negotiated.

However, in a headline in Saturday's *Evening Post*, the hon the Deputy Minister says "Bills Green Light for One City". The hon the Deputy Minister tells us here that municipalities can, in fact, amalgamate. I want to tell the hon the Minister that I have been assisting for the past couple of months, to put together a conference the purpose of which is to unite the city of Port Elizabeth. We have already had everybody around the table. They are there on the premise that everybody within that geographical area will

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

have a vote, and that, Sir, may come about before a new constitution is negotiated.

Is the hon the Minister telling me that I must go back to our next meeting on 2 May and tell the people that it is not acceptable for people of colour to vote in areas that are now White? I would like the hon the Minister to actually reply to me. I just want to tell him that my request in no way deviates from the hon the State President's stated position. My request will in no way cause a constitutional crisis in this country.

What I am asking the hon the Minister to do, is to extend the right to vote. He might recall that women in this country were only given the vote in 1930 and that the age for voting was reduced from 21 to 18. Circumstances at the time influenced policy, and we have a different set of circumstances today. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING: Mr Chairman, those hon members have now changed the ball-game. We did not talk about interim measures. I referred at the end of my speech to interim measures, or temporary measures.

Of course we are making provision for all those things in terms of interim measures, but the difference is that it is not compulsory but develops by way of agreement in a local area. That is what is at issue.

Our standpoint is that people can negotiate at local level, but things cannot be made compulsory in our country before these matters have been agreed on at the central negotiating table, because we believe that we will achieve less with compulsory legislation in connection with these matters than if we leave it in the hands of communities to deal with these matters themselves.

The basic difference between those two hon members and myself on this side of the House is that they want me to make it compulsory. I say no, we will not make it compulsory, people can negotiate on it. We will negotiate on it at the central negotiating table and once we have reached consensus there, then it will be a compulsory system which applies throughout the country. We are not running away from our policy that we are moving away from discrimination, but we want to establish a new South Africa in this country in an orderly way, and not simply

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

abolish at random; we want to do this in an orderly way. That is what we want to do.

The hon member for Pietermaritzburg South who said that we were running away from discrimination must really listen to the members of the CP when they talk to us. Then he will hear how wrong he is.

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 16 April 1991:

*29. Mr J van Eck—Law and Order. [Question standing over.]

New questions:

Warrant officer's case: cost of defence

*1. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to information furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, the State incurred any costs in defending, or paying the fine of, a certain warrant officer of Parys in a case in which the latter was convicted of referring to a certain person of Tumahole in a racist manner; if so, (a)(i) what costs and (ii) what did they amount to, (b) what are the names of the persons concerned and (c) what are the circumstances surrounding the matter?

B711E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(c) I refer the hon member to the oral reply to question No 8 in the House of Assembly on 16 April 1991 which I consider to be sufficient.

Disposal of cycads: SAP order

*2. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to the reply given by the Minister of Justice to Question No 8 on 29 May 1990, an order was made by the South African Police in terms of section 31 of the Criminal Procedure Act, No 51 of 1977, in regard to the disposal of the cycads involved in the case tried in the Uitenhage magistrate's court on or about 27 April 1990; if not, why not; if so, with what result?

B716E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No, the Regional Court prosecutor in Uitenhage and the lawyer for the accused entered into a mutual agreement whereby the accused would plead guilty and the court case be finalised on 27 April 1990.

The South African Police, as well as the Cape Division of Nature Conservation were not aware that the case would be finalised in the Regional Court on the mentioned date. There was therefore no opportunity to apply for the forfeiture of the cycads. The court also did not issue a disposal order.

After the finalisation of the court case, the Cape Division of Nature Conservation applied to the Transvaal Division of Nature Conservation, with whom the cycads were kept in safe custody, for the resettlement of the cycads in a natural habitat.

Sharpeville commemoration: SAP action

*3. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police opened fire on a group of persons who were making their way to a cemetery in Langa on 21 March 1991 to commemorate the Sharpeville tragedy; if so, why;
- (2) whether any persons were (a) killed and (b) injured as a result of this police action; if so, how many in each case;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B763E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Hansard 23/4/91

- (1) On the particular date eight illegal marches took place. However, it is not known to which one of the instances the hon member is referring.

In each instance the Police warned those present in terms of section 48 of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982) to disperse. After those present had refused to heed the warning, the Police fired teargas, rubber bullets and plastic rounds whereupon the persons dispersed.

In three of the instances stones were thrown at the Police.

- (2) (a) No.

(b) Yes, one person was slightly injured after being hit by a rubber bullet. He was part of a procession that was marching in the direction of the Langa Police Station.

- (3) Yes, as has already been mentioned numerous instances occurred which disturbed the peace and order in Langa on that particular day. The conduct of the Police was aimed primarily at restoring law and order.

On one occasion, and with the purpose of restoring order, a resident of Langa was allowed, by means of a megaphone of the South African Police, to persuade the crowd to disperse. They did not even pay attention to this request.

Professor: application for visa

*4. Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Home Affairs:† Hansard 23/4/91

- (1) Whether he recently received an application for a visa from a certain professor, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when and (b) what is the professor's name;
- (2) whether this application has been refused;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B776E

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Don't disrupt visit - FW^{304A}

LONDON — President de Klerk yesterday said his Government would see to it the ANC did not wreck the visit of former British premier Margaret Thatcher to South Africa next month.

The President's warning was delivered after he and Mrs Thatcher met for an hour to discuss developments in South Africa and details of her trip.

The ANC and black opposition groups have promised to disrupt Mrs Thatcher's visit because she had opposed sanctions.

After her meeting with Mr de Klerk, Mrs Thatcher said: "We had very good talks and I am delighted South Africa is well on the way to becoming a democracy and rejoining the international community."

"There is a lot of hard work to be done still."

Asked about ANC plans to wreck her visit, she said: "I hope they will not do that."

Mr de Klerk added: "We will see to it that they do not."

● Actstop yesterday joined political organisations in condemning the Johannesburg City Council's decision to grant the Freedom of the City to Mrs Thatcher.

Actstop publicity secretary Cas Coovadia said it was disturbing that a so-called enlightened council would be foolhardy enough to contemplate such a controversial step, which could jeopardise interaction between the city's residents.

The Democratic Party-controlled city council's failure to consult Actstop, representative of the city's more than 100 000 black residents, showed a callous disregard for the views of blacks, Mr Coovadia said.

Star 24/4/91

Negotiators may come into Cabinet

Star 24/4/91
By Michael Morris
Star Bureau (3044)

LONDON — President FW de Klerk has raised the prospect of including leaders of key negotiating partners in the Cabinet, or least in decision-making at the executive level of Government.

And he has also expressed confidence in getting a multi-party conference going in the second half of the year.

These points emerged from a warmly received speech to the Institute of Directors' annual conference at the Royal Albert Hall yesterday afternoon.

Given the President's principal goal of seeking new investment, his appearance before Britain's top business leaders was yesterday's highlight.

He was greeted by the audience of hundreds — including Prince Michael of Kent — with rousing applause. Applause rang out on several occasions during his speech, and at its conclusion.

He dealt at length with the key points in his manifesto for a new South Africa, and the country's desperate need for an economic boost.

On the political front, he told the businessmen that he realised that given his manifesto content would require "long and

thorough negotiation", and he was heartened by the signs of growing consensus that the "time has finally arrived for a multi-party conference".

Bespite having to confront delaying tactics from time to time, he said he was convinced that it remained possible to get a multi-party conference going in the second half of this year.

While rejecting the concept of an interim government, he said: "Nonetheless we are prepared to consider certain transitional arrangements at both the legislative and executive levels in order to give the leaders of the various negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important decisions."

On economic issues, he emphasised South Africa's commitment to a market-orientated system and the entrenchment of private ownership.

He added: "Foreign investors, I venture to suggest, should not be mesmerised by events in Eastern Europe."

"South Africa has a first class infrastructure and can call on abundant natural and human resources."

"Moreover, it is a terrain familiar to overseas investors, and British investors in particular."

"Opportunity abounds and investors may rest assured: the moderate majority of South Africans will see to it that stability is maintained."



Old friends . . . Mr de Klerk with former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher in London yesterday.

Picture: Reut

Dublin rolling out red carpet for De Klerk

Star 24/4/91.

304A

THEY'RE already playing the music of Vivaldi — reportedly F.W. de Klerk's favourite composer — in the Berkeley Court Hotel in Dublin, and the penthouse suite has been made ready for the President and his wife.

Security for tomorrow's first official visit to Ireland by the South African leader and his entourage will be the strictest seen in the Irish capital for years, according to police reports. Almost certainly it will be totally unnecessary.

Mr de Klerk has been enjoying such a favourable press in Ireland in recent weeks that the protests against his visit — voiced almost exclusively by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and the left-wing Labour Workers Party — have been drowned out by the editorial plaudits for his courage and leadership. The inevitable protest pickets tomorrow will be more ritual than real.

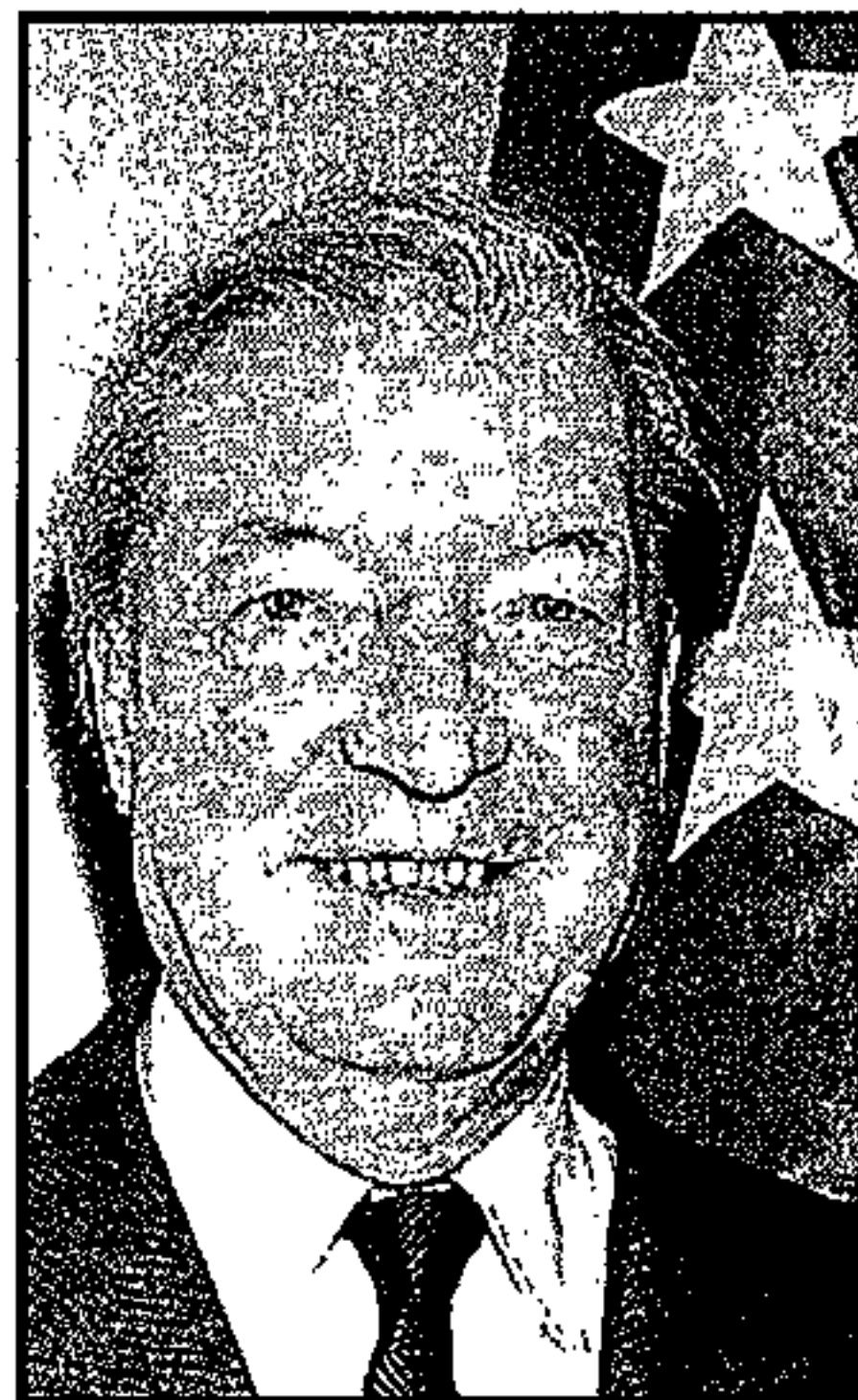
One Dublin columnist, Shane Ross, a member of the Senate, even took the Irish government to task for not having invited the President "to drop in during his European tour last year".

He wrote: "That omission was a mistake. We had been bullied by our anti-apartheid movement into snubbing Mr de Klerk and leading the charge for continuing sanctions against a regime rapidly reversing the appalling wrongs of the past."

Senator Ross, a member of Fine Gael, the main opposition party, once led by Dr. Garret

President de Klerk will meet Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey (right) — who likes to make an impact on international issues — tomorrow. A dramatic gesture of friendship to South Africa could well be announced. And Mr de Klerk has been enjoying such favourable press in Ireland that protests against his visit have been drowned out.

ANTHONY GARVEY
reports



FitzGerald, was in no doubt about the future of sanctions. He declared: "Sanctions against South Africa are a dead duck. Even the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Charles Haughey — Mr de Klerk's host tomorrow — has recognised this at last."

Other columnists had similar encouraging news for the South African visitors. In the influential Sunday Business Post, Mary Ellen Synon wrote: "It is unfortunate that the excellent Mr de Klerk has to waste time on such a visit, because the Irish government, before now, should have dropped its support for sanctions."

She added: "Outside government buildings tomorrow will be the usual mobs of orthodox anti-South Africans. Calling themselves anti-apartheid, they

will be baying against a man who is the best hope of the end of apartheid."

In the face of such editorial unanimity, it has been difficult for the anti-apartheid campaigners to whip up public support for their opposition to the visit, and for the maintenance of sanctions.

Newspapers have been circulated with letters from some Irish citizens in South Africa objecting to the visit, and also with statements from prisoners on Death Row in Pretoria urging that sanctions remain in place.

But the strategy has had little impact. Instead, it is Mr de Klerk who has been winning the headlines with his decision to reprieve Death Row prisoner Robert McBride, a great-grand-

son of Ireland's Major John McBride and a relative of the late Sean McBride, the former UN commissioner for Namibia.

So what can Mr de Klerk expect from the Dublin visit? The fact that the Irish government — for so long the leader of the anti-apartheid fight in the EC and at the UN — is meeting him is significant in itself. It is an indication that the Irish accept that things have changed fundamentally in South Africa.

But Mr Haughey — the man whose word is law in the Irish government — also likes to make an impact on international issues. A dramatic gesture of friendship to South Africa, or even the re-establishment of certain trade links, could well be announced after the talks. Sanctions, as Senator Rose said, are effectively dead.

For Mr de Klerk, the Irish visit will seem almost like a busman's holiday. He will be in a country that, just like his own, is currently being torn by parliamentary violence and about to embark on an all-party conference to try to find a political solution to the Ulster crisis.

One Irish journalist has already suggested that Mr de Klerk be asked to stay round to help the Anglo-Irish peace conference opening at the end of the month.

The likelihood is, however, that South Africa will sort out its problems before the Irish find their solution. But no one will be impolite enough to mention that at tomorrow's meeting. □

(304A)
Great times

ahead — Relly

Star 24/4/91
HARARE — A multiparty political system based on universal adult suffrage, a justiciable bill of rights, an independent judiciary and the freedom of the press would be the outcome of negotiations in South Africa.

This was predicted yesterday by Anglo American director Gavin Relly.

He said, however, that a great deal of posturing would take place before then.

In a paper presented at the convention of the Zimbabwe division of the Institute of Directors, which has been debating the challenges for Southern Africa in the '90s, Mr Relly said the decade held great promise.

South Africa would have a constructive role to play in southern Africa and it could act as the entrance to the region for foreign investment. — *Star Africa Service*

New deal soon, hints Mbeki

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — South Africa could have a new constitution by the end of the year, Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's national executive member in charge of international affairs, said yesterday.

"The possibility is there that South Africa will move fairly rapidly towards adopting a new constitution.

"We see no particular reason why there should not be a new constitution in South Africa by the end of this year."

He told leading businessmen attending the Institute of Directors convention on the challenges facing southern Africa that the major problem was the issue of violence, which could derail the political process.

If the Government did not do certain things by May 9, the discussions would have to be at least



ANC executive member
Thabo Mbeki

postponed until the matter of violence had been attended to.

But Mr Mbeki said that if all went according to plan, an atmosphere conducive to negotiations would have been established by June and the process of discussing the new constitution could begin.

The ANC and the National Party had agreed

that the next step should be the calling of an all-party conference at which the mechanics of drawing up a new constitution could be discussed. The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to do that, but the NP favoured the conference itself.

Also on the agenda would be the mechanism of how SA should be governed during the transitional period.

If indeed the political process as outlined emerged, then the urgency of dealing with economic challenges became quite clear.

A political settlement in South Africa could not survive without something being done about the economy, which was in a state of crisis.

Mr Mbeki said a democratic South Africa should be interested in the development of other countries in the region.

Invest now FW tells the world

Sowetan 24/4/91.

LONDON - President FW de Klerk was confident yesterday that new private sector investment would flow into South Africa once all impediments had been removed.

Addressing an international Press conference in London, De Klerk said it was vital that new investment should precede the finalisation of the reform process.

He also said the release of prisoners and indemnification of exiles was on track and fully complied with the Pretoria Minute. He hoped South Africa's international sports relations would soon be normalised because it would boost efforts to achieve reconciliation at home.

Emphasising the importance of economic growth and development, De Klerk said: "From our point of view, economic development goes hand in hand with constitutional development.

"The high percentage of unemployment is counter-productive to the maintenance of law and order and plays into the hands of radicals who would like to see disruption and disorder.

"Any new government will be faced with high expectations. Economic development is the only answer for the development of our human potential and can and will make a fundamental contribution to efforts in all other spheres.

"Constitutional reform must be underpinned by a vibrant economy."

Tackling huge socio-economic backlogs and meeting the challenge of a "breathtaking rate" of urbanisation would require a sound and strong economy with a growth rate of about six percent.

"All these are potent reasons to get the economy growing as soon as possible."

He said what South Africa sought from the world was "confidence".

"We are not asking for hand-outs or donations. We ask that the impediments be removed and we have no doubt that we will get a flow of private sector investment because of the opportunities our economy and Southern Africa offer to them.

"There is no doubt

many private sector companies are ready, willing and able to invest in South Africa. The sooner impediments are removed, the sooner this process can start."

Although it was not yet "immense", South Africa was already experiencing an inflow of new investment capital.

The removal of sanctions - which was being led by the EEC - had led to an increase in foreign trade.

Old markets were being reopened and South Africa was also trading in new markets. Among these were many African countries.

He said he had discussed US sanctions with British Prime Minister John Major and was in direct and regular communication with the US Government.

On constitutional issues, he said his government stood for a united South Africa with full political rights for all - "call it one man one vote if you like" - but providing for the principle that the majority should not be in a position to abuse power to the detriment of minorities. - *Sowetan Foreign News Service.*



Britain's Prime Minister John Major shakes hands with President FW de Klerk at London's 10 Downing Street on Monday.

East Rand princ meet DET offici-

THE 41 Katlehong principals "sent" by teachers to negotiate "burning issues" with the authorities yesterday reported at the Department of Education and Training offices in Alberton for the second day.

The DET said they could not guarantee that effective teaching was taking place in the absence of principals.

It said Monde Primary

By MOKGADI
PELA

School, where 16 teachers had been suspended, was running smoothly with the principal present.

In nearby Tokoza schooling had returned to normal with all the principals at their schools.

On Monday a DET spokesman said that principals had been expelled by teachers belonging to

the South African Democratic Teachers Union. The Sadtu denied this.

A Sadtu spokesman said principals had themselves "decided they would not return to school as they were negotiating burning issues with DET".

Meanwhile, an urgent meeting on the education crisis in Katlehong is to be convened by the Azanian Students Con-

IT IS perhaps as well that the ANC's new constitutional discussion paper allows for a state of emergency. Any SA government elected under a system of straight, list-based proportional representation will probably need emergency powers quite soon after it takes office. The system might be fine for Western Europe, but for a society as deeply divided as SA it will serve only to promote descent towards authoritarianism.

So, cogently, argues Duke University's Prof Donald Horowitz, author of *A Democratic South Africa?*, and one of America's leading constitutional scholars. His specialty is devising democratic systems for nations racked by racial and ethnic conflict. While he believes the ANC's latest proposal is a significant advance on its earlier thinking, particularly the constitutional guidelines it issued in 1988, he still contends the movement is failing to address squarely the nature of the society it aspires to govern.

On the positive side, he finds that the ANC at least appears to be shedding its "Jacobin" tendencies. The latest proposal suggests that the organisation, or at least its constitutional committee, is "now committed to a liberal democracy with an effective, but not all-powerful government". The new emphasis on the "dichotomy between good sign, as are society" is another good sign, as are the references to a separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary.

Horowitz is particularly pleased that the ANC is ready to consider a nationally elected president, rather than one chosen by the majority party in the legislature. He is also encouraged by hints that the ANC, in recognising the importance of regions, is shifting towards federalism. He is less enamoured by the concept of a House of Lords-style Senate with no effective veto over decisions taken by the National Assembly. In his view, full bicameralism on the

Pre-poll coalitions will be political cement of new SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

American model offers far greater safeguards against majority tyranny and political upheaval.

Finally, he detects a ray of hope in the ANC's decision to favour proportional representation over the current first-past-the-post arrangement. By guaranteeing all but the tiniest minorities some role in the legislature, this at least indicates "an interest in accommodating racial and ethnic differences". For if the movement's sole ambition was to maximise the number of seats it stood to win, it would have gone for first-past-the-post which promises dominant parties a majority of seats even if they fail to achieve a majority of popular votes.

The problem Horowitz sees in straight proportional representation is that it will very likely result in a coalition government. If current polling data are accurate, the ANC will not be able to win an outright majority and will thus have to find coalition partners to form a government. This might be no bad thing if SA were a homogeneous society at peace with itself, but it is not. It resembles Nigeria and Uganda far more than it does Italy. In both the former cases, parties that won electoral pluralities entered into coalitions to take power and having done

so, tossed aside their partners and sparked civil war.

The key in divided societies is to find a mechanism that will return a majority government on polling day, but one that has a broad-based popular mandate. In a sense, it is a question of when the coalition is formed. If it is created before election and then receives popular blessing, it will stand a much better chance of surviving than if it is cobbled together as an electorally untested marriage of convenience afterwards.

The solution, as Horowitz personally advised the constitutional committee last December, is "alternative voting". Voters are asked to list their second and third choices from among the candidates or slates on offer. If no one receives an outright majority on the basis on first choices, the second choices, and if necessary the third ones, are counted until someone tops the 50% mark.

In circumstances such as SA's, this encourages competitors to forge compacts before the voting begins. For example, the ANC, knowing it could rely only on 40% of first

choices, would have to look around for a partner who would urge its supporters to list the ANC as their second choice. That partner might, for the sake of argument, be the NP or even Inkatha, each of which would be in a position to seek concessions from the ANC in return for their cooperation. In any event, an important degree of pre-election reconciliation would be required.

Assuming the ANC was successful in attaining a majority on the basis of second preferences, it would have to govern knowing its hold on power was dependent on the support of voters from outside its natural constituency, voters who could easily deny it support in subsequent elections if their wishes were not respected.

There also would very likely be elements within the ANC (the SACP, perhaps?) and whoever it reached agreement with who might reject reconciliation and conclude they stood to gain more by hiving off and campaigning on a rejectionist platform, perhaps in alliance with other rejectionists. Their departure would only enhance the centripetal effect of the system, strengthening the forces of moderation and accommodation, and making centrists more reliant on each other, whatever racial or ethnic differences previously

had separated them.

Horowitz disagrees that this procedure would conflict with the constitutional committee's understandable desire for simplicity. It need not involve immensely complicated ballots. As he sees it, voting would occur in large, heterogeneous, multi-member constituencies. Each candidate's name would have a party symbol next to it. Voters would mark the ballot with their preferences for each of the constituency's seats.

This would be more complicated, certainly, than the ANC's current one vote only criterion. However, it would also seem to deal with the committee's own admitted concern that the selection of successful candidates from a party-prepared list, rather than by the voters themselves, may vitiate the accountability of senators and assemblymen to their constituents.

By any standard, the modest increase in complexity is surely worth the extra trouble that might be required for voter education. The system Horowitz advocates, especially if used to pick a nationally elected president as well as a legislature would, on its own — and without any recourse to the dismal "re-education" policies preached by Idasa and others — serve to create new patterns of political and social interdependence by making reconciliation and compromise the sine qua non for political success.

Though it sounds like motherhood (albeit motherhood constrained by what the state might choose to regard as the public interest), the ANC's current plan does not do this. The reason, perhaps, is the ANC is not yet prepared to abandon an ideology which holds that if only racialism and ethnicity were outlawed, utopia would reign.

Racial and ethnic — not to mention economic — division cannot be wished or coerced away. To that, the 4,000 who have died in recent unrest are surely testimony. Incentives, on the other hand, targeted at the ambition that binds all politicians together, might just work. Incentives are what alternative voting provide.

FW confident on multi-party conference, UK businessmen hear

Talks partners may join Cabinet

304A

AGUS 24/4/91

From MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

LONDON. — President De Klerk has raised the prospect of including in the Cabinet leaders of the key negotiating parties, or at least in decision-making at the executive level of government.

And he has also expressed confidence in getting a multi-party conference started in the second half of the year.

These points emerged from a warmly received speech to the Institute of Directors' annual conference at the Royal Albert Hall yesterday afternoon. He covered much of the same ground in a second speech to the Royal Institute for International Affairs and the Royal African Society at Chatham House.

Given the President's principal goal of seeking new investment, his appearance before Britain's top business leaders at the Institute of Directors' annual conference was yesterday's highlight.

He was greeted with rousing applause by the audience of hundreds — including Prince Michael of Kent — in this cavernous venue.

Key points

Applause rang through the famous chamber on several occasions during his speech, and at its conclusion.

He dealt at length with the key points in his manifesto for a new South Africa, and the country's desperate need for an economic boost.

Despite having to confront delaying tactics from time to time, he said: "I am convinced that it remains possible to get a multi-party conference going in the second half of 1991."

While rejecting the concept of an interim government, he said: "None the less we are prepared to consider certain transitional arrangements at both the legislative and executive levels in order to give the leaders of the various negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important decisions."

Private ownership

On economic issues, he emphasised South Africa's commitment to a market-oriented system and the entrenchment of private ownership.

"We know that unless those responsible for the task of development — of creating jobs — can be sure that their investments are secure, business confidence will wane."

He added: "Foreign investors, I venture to suggest, should not be mesmerised by events in Eastern Europe."

"South Africa has a first-class infrastructure and can call on abundant natural and human resources. Moreover, it is a terrain familiar to overseas investors, and British investors in particular."

"Opportunity abounds and investors may rest assured: the moderate majority of South Africans will see to it that stability is maintained."

● See page 19.

New SA constitution by year end — ANC

CHP-Trip 24/4/91 (30/4)

HARARE. — Top ANC diplomat Mr Thabo Mbeki said yesterday a new constitution entrenching equal rights for all South Africans could be drawn up by the end of the year, Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reported here.

"We see no reason why there should not be a new constitution in South Africa by the end of this year," Mr Mbeki, head of the ANC's international affairs department, told delegates to a two-day conference convened by the Zimbabwe division of the Institute of Directors.

He told the conference a non-racial South Africa should become part and parcel of Southern Africa and should join the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference.

"The countries of the region would resent economic domination. This might result in creating a situation of tension. A democratic South Africa should avoid a situation of tension between itself and the countries of the

region."

He said a political settlement had to be "underwritten" by a strong economy.

"The economy is in a crisis. The majority of the people don't expect that they are going to get a vote only. They also expect that they are going to get a job, housing, education, health facilities and a loaf of bread every day," he said.

He said the country's Gross Domestic Product had declined and the decline in the economy was causing further poverty and instability.

"It is going to be difficult to generate a growth of 5,5% to address existing unemployment and (employment for) new entrants in the labour market over a period of 10 years. It is clearly going to be difficult to turn the economy around." — Sapa

● More reports — Page 12

Danish govt says reform 'irreversible'

COPENHAGEN — The Danish government understood the complex challenges facing SA and accepted the irreversibility of fundamental reform in the country, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk was speaking after meeting Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter.

Schluter's minority government was last week forced by combined opposition parties to withdraw Denmark from the EC decision 10 days ago to lift the 1986 trade sanctions against SA.

De Klerk arrived in Copenhagen from London on a one-day visit for talks with the Danish government and main opposition leaders.

Talks with two of the main opposition leaders, who led the moves to block lifting sanctions now, were added to De Klerk's programme at the last minute, and officials said the fact that they were prepared to receive him was significant.

De Klerk said of these meetings that while they had disagreed on certain matters, there had been a fundamental exchange of views and he had welcomed the opportunity for discussions.

He had not tried to convince them to change their minds on sanctions.

Of his meetings with Schluter and Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, De Klerk said he had spelt out his vision of a post-apartheid democracy and that the various obstacles standing in the way of this had been discussed.

De Klerk said he had informed the Danish government fully on the latest developments in SA.

He had explained where government stood on matters such as constitutional negotiations, moves to stop violence, and had given the assurance he was on target to implement agreements with the ANC for releasing political prisoners and granting indemnity to exiles by April 30.

Asked various questions about sanctions, De Klerk said those measures being retained were at present contributing to the violence in SA.

"Sanctions contribute to unemployment, and unemployment contributes to a volatile situation.

"If many people are out of work and don't have food, it has a negative influence ... it makes it easy for those who want violence to have violence.

□ To Page 2

Denmark

"The continuation of sanctions is harming the poor and jobless."

Government was, however, not concerned overly about sanctions because they were crumbling anyway and, with the EC leading, many countries which had been in the forefront of the measures were restructuring relationships with SA.

De Klerk named Australian leader Bob Hawke as a prime example.

"In his latest communications, Hawke has been constructive and most encouraging about what is taking place in SA."

The Danish Foreign Minister said before discussions with De Klerk that he hoped Denmark would be able to lift its EC sanctions against SA soon.

A small group of Danish anti-apartheid demonstrators mounted a protest outside parliament. — Sapa.

□ From Page 1

De Klerk will not regret setting Mandela free

304A

Sowetan 25/24/91-

THE liberators of South Africa have gone to the negotiating table too soon. People are celebrating too soon.

The South African struggle was not about street demonstrations. Its main objective was to confront the South African Defence Force and defeat it.

This seems unimaginable, but many countries which have suffered colonialism started their wars with stones and ended up over-running the capital cities of their colonial masters with guns, and even tanks.

The South African freedom fighters seem, however, to have failed to confront the white settlers.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, the war started like a joke with a few ill-equipped guerrillas who in the main were all killed.

But these were the sacrifices that inspired the whole nation to take up arms and fight the white minority.

Gamble

The Zimbabwe National Liberation Army, better known as Zanla, the armed wing of Zanu, and Zipra of Zapu prosecuted the armed struggle and in the end, there were considerable areas of Rhodesia which were liberated.

In some areas the liberation army set up their own administrations and fierce battles ensued. People were politicised and convinced that they were to take up arms and fight for their land.

And they did.

The sacrifice cost tens of thousands of lives.

Out of desperation, the whites, led by their appointed puppet Bishop Abel Muzorewa, agreed to an all-party conference in London at Lancaster House to avoid humiliation on the battle front.

The conference went ahead, but on the terms of the liberators,

FOCUS



Visiting Zimbabwean journalist **NEWTON KANHEMA** has some serious criticisms of the present state of the South African political struggle.

for the only language their oppressors understood had been used - that language was war.

Thus the independence of Zimbabwe was attained in 1980 following a one-man-one-vote election with 80 percent of the parliament black.

The war was fought and won and the negotiations were just a formality - to draft a constitution that was to be implemented by the future government.

One of the most famous lines in the Zimbabwean struggle were the words of the then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith: "Not in a thousand years."

What he meant was that there was never going to be a black government in a thousand years - but these were a short thousand years, for he lived to see the black government in 1980.

The war that had started like a child's play in 1972 lasted eight years and involved about 80 000 soldiers.

The soldiers were known in their constituencies and civilians could identify their liberators.

Then came the time of their return. Lord Soames, the governor during the transitional period, tried to disarm them.

But the freedom fighters were prepared to go back to the bush because they refused to be disarmed by the British for they were the colonialists they were fighting against.

After all, they did not trust them.

There had been a few agreements that were signed by some black "sellouts" which had never brought any good to the people.

The soldiers were sceptical.

The freedom fighters went to the assembly points with all their military equipment and stayed there. The boys came back victorious and they were the heroes of our liberation struggle.

President FW de Klerk took a gamble by releasing Nelson Mandela - a gamble that no previous South African leader had taken.

Struggle

It was a gamble that he will never regret. This is a move that he has manipulated to change the political course of the South African struggle.

It seems the ANC, led by Mandela, has now been outwitted by De Klerk.

The return of the exiles who are supposed to be the liberators is changing the face of the struggle.

They are arriving in chartered planes. Off the plane they are pushing trollies full of exotic goodies. These are the people who are supposed to be coming from the bush.

One does not need to have been in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Kenya to have an idea of returning freedom fighters.

With the suspension of the

armed struggle that has resulted in the return of some exiles who were freedom fighters, the ANC is in a weaker position while the

Government retains its defence force and the police intact - two factors that give the Government the upper hand.

Going to the negotiating table has been interpreted by many black radicals both internally and externally as selling out the struggle. This could be wrong but one wonders what the ANC has as a trump card as it looks like it has given all it had.

The ANC cannot scare the Government anymore and yet the Government has every inch of the power they had before the release of Nelson Mandela.

The ANC is yet to prove to the radicals that they have not sold out.

The only way they can achieve this is to clinch a good deal that will bring equality and justice within the society and guarantee every citizen the right to vote for a government of their choice.

Blacks have not been fighting for the right to share toilets with whites, but to have equal opportunities with them.

This cannot be achieved easily as their white counterparts have had privileges for the last three centuries.

Anything short of this will not satisfy those in doubt of the wisdom in the negotiations. The ANC took a big gamble in going to the negotiating table and when you gamble you either win or lose.

One can only wish them luck because if they lose they are going to lose big.

They are all looking up to the ANC. If the ANC gets the deal, then all these people will be happy.

But if it does not one can scarcely imagine the consequences for ANC's support and popularity.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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THE arrival of President F W de Klerk in Ireland today recalls a far older relationship — an alliance, almost — which stretches back to the South African War of 1899-1902.

While emphasising his country's opposition to apartheid, then Irish Prime Minister Sean Lemass told the Dail in 1959: "The government entertains nothing but friendly sentiments for SA. Our relations have, indeed, always been marked by mutual sympathy."

De Klerk's visit is the first by a South African head of government since 1939, when Gen J B M Hertzog, then Nationalist prime minister, visited Dublin as the guest of the government of the Irish Free State. The two countries had co-operated closely during the 1920s in the campaign to gain recognition of dominion sovereignty within the British Commonwealth. As Vincent Massey, Canadian ambassador to Washington, described it, within the Commonwealth "SA and the Irish Free State... formed a fellowship of disaffection".

Hertzog's 1930 visit was a personal success. The former Boer general and his finance minister, N G Havenga, were met at Dublin har-

bour by President Cosgrave and the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

At a state banquet the following evening Cosgrave said the presence of the South Africans was a source of comfort and pride. Hertzog was a friend of the Irish.

In reply, Hertzog congratulated the Irish on the successful outcome of their struggle for independence.

By this time, Ireland's links with SA were already old. The first recorded visit of an Irishman to SA was in 1781, and since then the Irish contributed greatly to all aspects of life in SA — administrative, military, ecclesiastical and commercial.

The South African war marked the high point in the relationship between the Irish and the Boers. As Archbishop Denis Hurley put it at a conference last July: "Irish and Afrikaner nationalisms were locked in a brief embrace, the former to achieve independence, the latter to preserve it."

Irish nationalists formed one of the strongest pro-Boer movements

A fellowship of disaffection

By Don Lowry

in Europe, and two brigades of Irish volunteers fought alongside the Boers, one of them led by Major John MacBride, later executed for his part in the Easter rebellion of 1916. (His son, the late Sean MacBride, became UN Commissioner for Namibia in the 1970s).

The city of Limerick was particularly pro-Boer and in 1900 it conferred the freedom of the city on President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal Republic, ex-president Steyn of the Free State, and Boer generals Botha, De Wet and De la Rey.

Among those in the forefront of the pro-Boer campaign was Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Fein, who had worked as a journalist in Johannesburg in the 1890s. In 1921, a Sinn Fein representative toured SA. One of the architects of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 was General Jan Smuts. Smuts rewrote Lloyd

George's speech for the opening of the new Ulster parliament so that it would be more conciliatory, which confirmed Smuts' reputation as a philosopher king.

In 1921, Tom Casement, brother of the executed 1916 leader, called on Smuts in London to convey an invitation from prominent Irish politician Eamonn de Valera to meet Sinn Fein leaders in Ireland to discuss an end to the Anglo-Irish conflict.

Sir Horace Plunkett, too, sought the intervention of Smuts. "No living statesman would be more acceptable to the majority of the Irish people as a political adviser than yourself," Plunkett told Smuts.

Lloyd George thought that Smuts, "as an outsider and Boer", would be able to secure a truce, and so Smuts arrived in Dublin incognito as "Mr Smith", to parley with De Valera and others. He failed to persuade De Valera about the inevitability of dominion status, but he did secure the truce which ended the Anglo-Irish war. The next visit by a South African

emissary was equally unusual. In 1939, following the outbreak of war, Dulanty, Irish High Commissioner to London, was in conversation with his South African opposite number, Denys Reitz, former Boer commander and author, who argued that it was in Ireland's interest to enter the war on the allied side.

"You've got to go and speak to Dey," replied Dulanty, and within two days De Valera sent an aircraft to collect Reitz to bring him to Dublin for talks. These were cordial but inconclusive.

While official relations between the two countries remained at the consular level, the ties of friendship remained cordial into the 1970s.

Among the visible reminders of SA-Irish links are the Irish flag that flies each day from the Transvaal Brigade monument in Johannesburg and the South African Irish regiment with its saffron kilts, green cockades, pipers and the old Royal Dublin Fusilier motto, "Faugh a ballagh" (Make way).

Lowry is a fellow of Rhodes University's Institute of Social and Economic Research and secretary of the committee for Southern African-Irish studies.

Sympathy – and protest – expected in Ireland

By Michael Morris ^{SAW} 25/4/91

DUBLIN — After difficult talks in Denmark, President de Klerk expected a more sympathetic reception all round today when he became the first South African Head of State to visit Ireland.

Support has swung his way dramatically in Ireland, and while anti-apartheid activism is still strident, and protests were expected, the political wisdom of going along with the EC's decision to drop sanctions has wide support.

There was speculation that Prime Minister Charles Haughey, whom Mr de Klerk was seeing this morning and at lunch, could soon announce a move towards establishing open diplomatic links with South Africa.

Ireland, like Denmark, was for years a hardliner on the apartheid issue, but Mr Haughey now believes the time has come to reward Mr de Klerk for his far-reaching reforms.

Establishing diplomatic links could be the sort of thing Dublin is considering to strengthen support for the dialogue it has long called for.

Unlike in Copenhagen, where Prime Minister Poul Schluter is being held back by his opposition from endowing excessive favour on the reforming South Africans, Mr Haughey's opposition is pressing him to do more to encourage Mr de Klerk by reward.

Mr de Klerk will have an opportunity this evening to address Irish businessmen and lawyers at a party hosted by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland.

The President was expected to concentrate on consolidating Ireland's change of heart and assuring them that South Africa was indeed on the way to a post-apartheid future.

He will also tell the Irish that he needs their help, not least materially, to get there.

● De Klerk fails to swing
Danes — Page 2

26/4/91 (304A)

CP quits land reform committee

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has withdrawn from the parliamentary committee on land-reform laws in protest against the State President's announcement that all apartheid laws would be scrapped by June.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement yesterday that the announcement made a farce of democracy and parliamentary procedure.

President de Klerk had made his authoritarian announcement while the Joint Committee on Legislation on Land Reform was hearing evidence and studying the legislation and its consequences, it said.

The committee had invited the public to give evidence. Organisations and interested parties had presented oral and written evidence at great cost, on the understanding that it would be carefully considered.

The State President's announcement had reduced the evidence and the work of the committee to "eyewash".

It was for this reason that the chairman of the committee had been asked to suspend its activities.

The request had been refused and the CP's representatives had therefore withdrawn from the workings of the committee, the statement said. — Sapa.

FW scores coup in Ireland

Star 26/4/91

304A



Irish first... Prime Minister Charles Haughey welcomes President de Klerk on the first visit by an SA president to Ireland.

DUBLIN — In a major diplomatic coup for President de Klerk, Irish Premier Charles Haughey yesterday ordered a complete review of all relations and contacts his country has with SA.

Speaking after their first meeting in Dublin, Mr Haughey said despite the complexities involved, the reform process Mr de Klerk had embarked on was "irreversible and fundamental".

"Mr de Klerk needs support and full understanding. It is clear that SA has now embarked on a definite process, the ultimate end of which is the complete and final abolition of apartheid."

At a press conference later, Mr de Klerk's comments clearly indicated he was pleased with the results

of his first visit to Ireland, which has been in the forefront of international sanctions against SA.

Giving his overall impression of talks with Mr Haughey and Foreign Minister Gerry Collins, he said: "For a long time, relations between Ireland and South Africa have been strained."

"That has changed fundamentally because of a new reality in South Africa."

"I would conclude that relations now are warm, positive and constructive."

"I found my whole discussion with the Irish government to be particularly encouraging."

Mr de Klerk said bilateral relations and prospects of future trade had been discussed, in addition to wider-rang-

ing discussions in which he had explained in detail the present situation in South Africa and the difficulties of getting discussions on a new constitution moving.

Ireland is the only EC country that has no direct diplomatic links with Pretoria, and Mr de Klerk was asked whether there was a prospect of these being established soon.

Mr Haughey had earlier said he looked forward to Ireland's establishing diplomatic ties with a future democracy in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk said diplomatic links had not been specifically discussed, as these were not high on either SA's or Ireland's agenda.

Mr Haughey said sanctions had not been discussed.

The Irish premier said Mr de Klerk had given a "brilliant analysis" of the situation in SA. He had concentrated on gaining understanding and support in Ireland and in Europe of his vision for a new SA.

Mr de Klerk is due to return to London this morning before returning to SA in the evening.

Today his only public engagement will be a meeting with members of the influential Confederation of British Industry, and the British Industry Council on South Africa, to discuss business and trade prospects. — Sapa.

● FW nonchalant about son's girl — Page 6

Negotiate or bust, warns outgoing UK diplomat

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

304A

Star 26/4/91

There was no alternative to a

negotiated settlement in South Africa and, if this process ever broke down, it would simply have to be started all over again, according to outgoing British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

Addressing the South Africa/Britain Trade Association in Johannesburg yesterday, Sir Robin said he was leaving South Africa with deep regret. Despite problems related to the negotiations process, he had

no doubt a settlement would be reached because "there simply is no alternative".

He said he had always been optimistic about South Africa's future — long before it was "fashionable to do so".

However, Sir Robin said there was at present "an apparent deadlock, with the major players concentrating on transitional problems".

He said the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party were all equally preoccupied with the appalling level of violence in the townships and had at times come

close to despairing about their ability to control it.

Although each party blamed the other for the violence, they all stood to lose and would have to redouble their efforts dealing with the problem.

Sir Robin said that writing a "good constitution" for the new South Africa would be far from sufficient — what was more important was making sure it would be observed.

"The purpose must be not to frustrate policy decisions by the elected government, but to ensure that they were reversible if the majority changed. The

purpose also must be to guard against the abuse of power by the executive, which had been such a feature of South African politics," he said.

South Africa, Sir Robin added, would be a democracy, and President de Klerk was committed to a new constitution based on universal franchise.

The day was, therefore, not far off when black political leaders in government would have to explain to their supporters that many aspirations could not be met because of insufficient resources.

The ambassador said it was important that people in South Africa and abroad stopped cultivating Utopian illusions about what could be done once apartheid had been scrapped — nothing could be more dangerous than to make people believe resolution of South Africa's political problems would automatically constitute a panacea to the country's economic woes.

"The real issue for the future is going to be how to cope with the horrendous economic problems resulting from the backlog and the phenomenal increase in the population."

SA blows its own trumpet in Time magazine

By David Braun
Star Bureau (3644)

Star 26/4/91

WASHINGTON — South Africa has embarked on a great new endeavour which could perhaps be compared in socio-political terms with the great transformation movement America went through at the time of its civil rights movement, President F W de Klerk has said in a 12-page advertisement in the latest issue of Time magazine.

The special advertising section, titled "The Emerging New South Africa", is being published in more than 1,7 million copies of Time's US, Japanese and British editions.

It is a joint project of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, Anglo American Corporation, Eskom, First National Bank and the South African Tourism Board (Satour).

The advertisement includes two pages taken out by South African Airways which describe the carrier as "an African airline which elevated



Brief message... leader of black business mission to the US, Willie Ramoshaba.



Comments... from past chairman of Anglo American Gavin Rolly.



Also added his contribution... Satour chairman Pieter van Hoven.



Written article... SA Nature Foundation chief executive Professor John Hanks.

Star 26/4/91

appearing in ordinary copies of the magazine on sale at news agencies.

Thousands of reprints of the advertisement have been ordered from Time for distribution throughout the US by the South African Embassy.

The spokesman said the embassy had no figure for the cost of the exercise as it was a joint effort by the department and the private sector. Financial arrangements had been made in South Africa.

The advertisement starts with a full-page colour photograph of Table Mountain as seen from Bloubaergstrand.

Apart from Mr de Klerk's message, there are articles by Foreign Minister P. Botha, Satour chairman Pieter van Hoven and SA Nature Foundation chief executive Professor John Hanks.

South Africa's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, has contributed a brief message. Comments from Anglo past

written a piece on constitutional negotiations in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk says in his message that South Africa has turned its back on the past and that a totally new future awaits the country.

He lists all the reforms of the Government and expresses the hope that this year will see the end of externally imposed restrictions on the country's economic development.

Outlining his vision for a future South Africa, the President concludes by saying he is deeply convinced that Americans will understand the challenge and lend support to the new future the country is working towards.

Mr Botha says the irreversibility of the reform process in South Africa is being accepted worldwide. The anti-apartheid industry is becoming more and irrelevant and facing insolvency, he adds.

Important new projects are already under way as a result of new relationships brought about by the new South Africa. It is in everyone's interest, not least that of the American entrepreneur and investor, to become part of it, the Foreign Minister adds.

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Star 26/4/91

Apartheid is on its deathbed, says FW

COPENHAGEN

Apartheid was on its deathbed and at the point of blowing out its last breath, President FW de Klerk said in Copenhagen this week after talks with the Danish government and opposition party leaders.

He was replying to a question at a Press conference on how long it would take him to dismantle apartheid, in view of the fact it had taken decades to build the system up.

De Klerk reiterated his commitment to scrapping the remaining statutory pillars of apartheid by the end of June.

So what 26/4/91
Never

"In practical life, however, all forms of discrimination can never be totally isolated... it exists in countries that have never had apartheid.

"While things were been done in the past that were not in the interests of all South Africans, there was a change of heart taking place in the country.

"Something wonderful is really happening in South Africa, if we focus on the positive, it is history in the making.

Proud (304A)

"I am proud to be a South African and glad to be living in South Africa right now while the process is taking place."

De Klerk said that while many things could delay the process of change, nothing could stop it.

"There will be a new constitution in South Africa... it will and must be framed within the principles of real democracy.

"We want to be in step with the free democratic world." - Sapa.

SA is a ^{7/7/91} society ^{26/4/91} in trauma ^{30/4/91} — Viljoen

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA was a "society in trauma" in which people were divided and distrusted each other, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

These circumstances adversely affected the climate of negotiations, the government's chief negotiator said.

Dr Viljoen said that for negotiations to be successful it was essential that the first step in the process should be a multi-party conference.

He said the government envisaged that the agenda for the multi-party conference would include:

- The composition and functioning of the negotiating forum.

- The main principles on which a new constitution should be based.

- The basis on which political involvement during the transition period could be broadened.

- The chairmanship of the negotiating forum.

Dr Viljoen urged the business sector to help government in addressing the needs and expectations of black political and business organisations.

"Fair opportunities for access to good jobs, to promotion, should be facilitated," he said.

The alleged Soviet-inspired onslaught has withered away, writes Gerald L'Ange

From enmity to near-friends

8 Feb 26/4/91.

~~28 Feb~~

304A

FIVE years ago, the Soviet Union was the South African Government's bogymen, supplying guns and limpet mines to ANC insurgents, pouring tanks, planes and other sophisticated weaponry into the arsenals of the Swapo, Cuban and MPLA forces fighting against SADF troops in Angola and allegedly masterminding a "total onslaught" against South Africa.

Today, Moscow and Pretoria are preparing to exchange diplomats for the first time since ties were severed in 1956.

The Soviets emphasise that the "interests offices" that will be set up in each capital are not the same thing as restoring diplomatic relations.

But it does reflect Moscow's new attitude to South Africa and to Africa in general. That attitude may have been summed up by Dr Boris Asoyan, one of the Soviet Union's leading Africa specialists

and currently ambassador to Botswana, when he said in a recent interview in Gaborone that Moscow's aim in Africa now was to "eliminate the after-effects of the cold war, which brought Africa a lot of hardship."

Dr Asoyan made it plain that Moscow now views the situation in South Africa from the perspective of the "new political thinking" that produced glasnost and perestroika and of the detente with the United States.

These factors had helped bring about the settlement that led to the independence of Namibia.

This has been followed by the negotiations for peace in Angola and in Mozambique and the reforms in South Africa, which had changed international attitudes.

"The Soviet Union, being part of the international community, has also changed its attitude to South Africa," Dr Asoyan said.

It supported the efforts of "all

political forces which fight against apartheid". Did this mean, he was asked, that Moscow was no longer giving its support exclusively to the ANC and PAC?

"The new political thinking is aimed at settling conflicts by political means, which means peaceful means," he replied.

"When we speak about new political thinking it means just that — the thinking is new. Old stereotypes are going away and the language is becoming different."

Dr Asoyan described the Soviet interest office in Pretoria, which will be operated under the aegis of the Austrian embassy, as "just an official presence which could help to improve understanding of the situation in South Africa, to help us to see with our own eyes what is happening there and perhaps to contribute positively to the process of (eradicating apartheid)".

"But I must stress that the So-

viet Union is not eager to interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa because we think that the choice there must be made by all the parties concerned."

Soviet-South African relations in the future would, he said, be shaped by the development of the negotiating process and by the attitude of the international community.

According to Dr Asoyan, Moscow will abide by the consensus resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 until the UN decides its conditions have been met.

"But the process is already going on; we see that sanctions are being eroded."

The moves to re-admit South Africa to international sport were "a positive development" which would greatly facilitate the country's full return to the international community once the sanctions

were lifted.

Some interests in the Soviet Union were ignoring sanctions and making private arrangements for trade with South Africa but at government level the Soviet Union still maintained sanctions.

"We will change our relations with South Africa only after the sanctions introduced by the UN are lifted."

Once sanctions were lifted the Soviet Union could have very good economic and trade relations with South Africa.

The ambassador was asked when the Soviet Union would consider the abolition of apartheid to have become irreversible.

He would consider this stage to have been reached when negotiations had led to agreement or consensus on a new constitution, when the legal basis of apartheid had been abolished completely and all parties agreed on the future dispensation.

I put it to Dr Asoyan that "moving goalposts" syndrome left some South Africans feel that reform was going unrecognised and unencouraged.

His response was that all should look at the big improvement in South Africa's international image.

On Soviet policy on Africa general, Dr Asoyan made a point that Soviet Union always power would not abandon Africa.

The era of super-power competition had been "expensive in economic terms with zero results."

"It didn't give anybody anything and only multiplied the suffering of people in Africa."

The Soviet Union had been that ideology would play a role in its relations with countries. African countries did not have ideology but aid and investment. □

SOUTH AFRICA ... 'ABSURDITY AND OBSCENITY MERGE INTO ONE GREY AREA'

PERHAPS I should call this "The first observations of a semi-educated monkey". I have difficulty transcribing the flood of images; like a dull-witted ape I imitate gestures and movements in an attempt at adaptation. For the first time since 1973 I have the chance of traveling through the land. Our peregrinations take us to the periphery (Venda, kaNgwane, the Boersian around Pietersburg...) and my apprehensions also criss-cross the country.

Some regions I knew only from postcards or from accounts of the horrors perpetrated there; I meet people — the stinking rich and the dirt poor, and all these Robben Island graduates — with whom I'd never had the privilege of becoming acquainted. Overwhelmingly the unfolding landscapes are deployed before us so that distances, resonances, dimensions and deeper drifts oblige you to broaden your outlook.

The journey is very often disconcerting. Perhaps the extremes of emotions and actions encountered are symptomatic of the Great Re-lease: hospitality and assassinations, reconciliation or even collaboration, and hate.

It is conceivable that this country has always been in a turmoil of dislocation, confusion and madness. Is it not also fair to assume that apartheid was intended to enforce a pattern of rationality upon a reality which could not be integrated?

But any attempt at macro-economic or large-scale political engineering must certainly by now be doomed to failure. I doubt whether the necessary transformation of attitudes, let alone relationships, can still be motivated by ideological considerations. A liberal politician tells me, perhaps with a measure of self-blinding optimism: "Politics here are now no longer black-white, but grey and nice."

Maybe the gentle slowness and the kindness of local life as one rediscovers it are but control mechanisms for surviving in an insane environment. South Africans are schooled in the techniques of the cut-out — how to categorise aspects of public life and render them invisible.

In fact, despite a self-effacing simplicity of manner, South Africans are sophisticated; they know the knack of holding illusion and harsh reality in balance, they move effortlessly between the integration of violence and personal decency, between the institutionalised brutalisation of society and a concerned commitment to change.

Besides, at least over the weekends, the shadows of blood disappear under the passion for sport and a love of nature. From time to time though, a father will wipe out all of the immediate kin, people systematically drink themselves into the grave, and healthy men unexpectedly succumb to heart attacks, cancer and high blood pressure. People don't

Unfolding Landscapes

W/week 26/4 - 2/5/91.

(204A)

Returning to South Africa after nine years in exile, writer **BREYTEN BREYTENBACH** found a country in the process of radical transition

just kill other people, they stab and stone and hack and burn them.

What stands out like a salient truth is that the Great Adjustment must be made: a radical view of how financial resources ought to be allocated; an integration of skills and privileges and responsibilities, which will make of the decision-taking power fields a truer reflection of this country's real composition and especially of the interests of its people. Only from this background can a contentious notion such as "standards" be usefully debated.

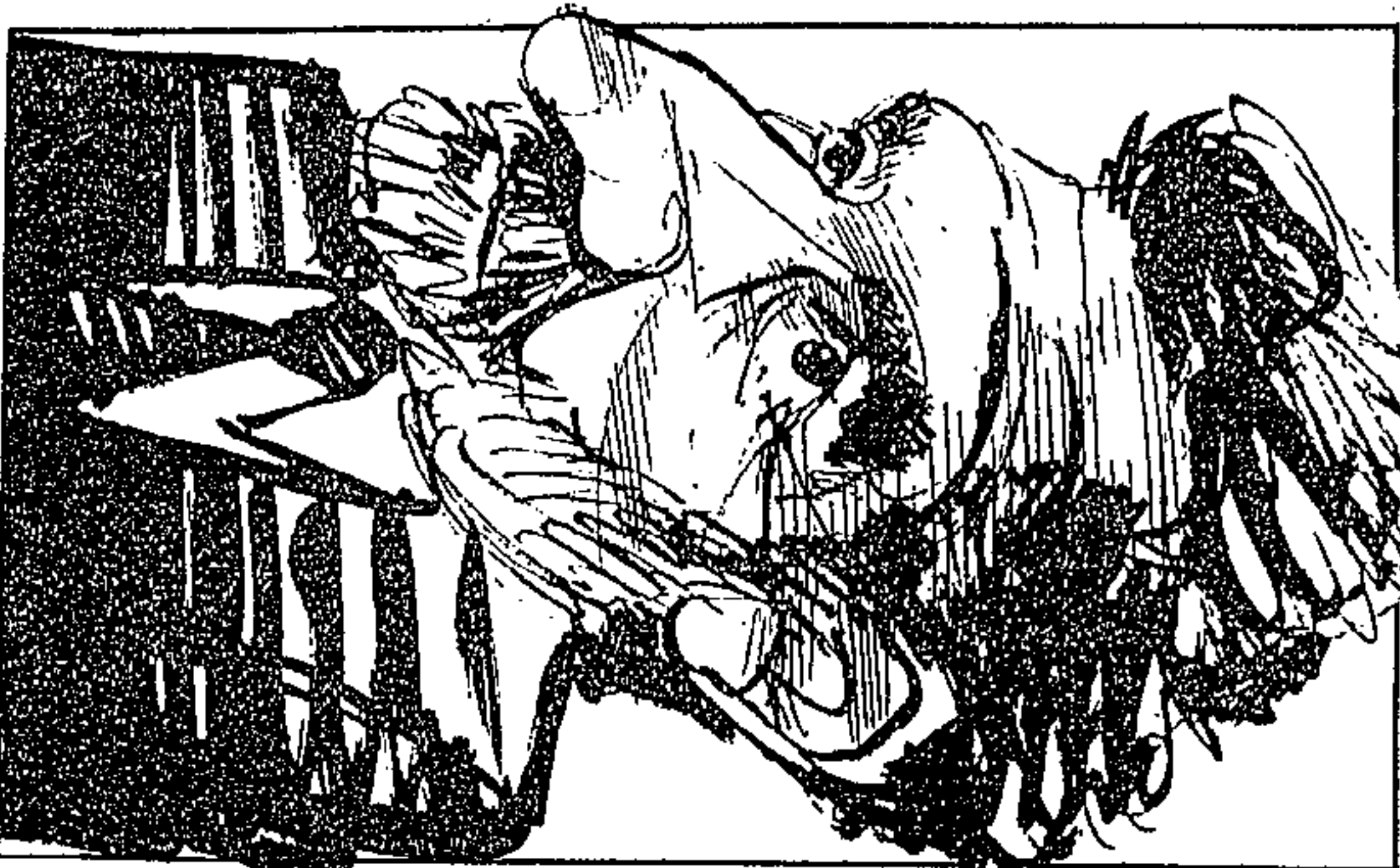
Unrealistic expectations have been fostered on the left and on the right. The whites believe "change" to be a painless adaptation which will not afflict their lifestyles. Isn't the country icony enough for everybody? There are flowers and trees and birds.

Enos Mabuza, kaNgwane's chief minister who has just now resigned, sadly shakes his head and warns against the cheeky euphoria of comrades "who think they've won a revolution".

Absurdity and obscenity merge into one grey area. In Khayelisha there are only seven teachers for a thousand pupils; the Minister of Education and Training, Stoffel van der Merwe, says his warning to local civic associations not to over-enrol has been ignored. Note the priorities. Must the kids who are greedy for learning then be kept away from schools?

The universities are also flooded by applicants who cannot be accommodated. Shouldn't young people be taught that book-knowledge is not all that it is made out to be? That it would be senseless to educate a generation for unemployment? That it would be more important to know about repairing a car, or how to live autonomously from and with the soil, than to become white-collared pen pushers?

A representative for the Pan Africanist Con-



Breyten Breytenbach...disconcerting journey

gress explains their slogan of "one settler, one bullet" thus: "The PAC is a poor organisation and cannot afford more than one bullet per settler." But not all settlers are white, she adds. And meanwhile there are mountains and clouds at sea.

It is not even as if the country were frozen. Apartheid and a war economy and international isolation impoverished it. The people have been impoverished. Gene Louw, Interior Minister, says the state cannot contribute towards the cost of resettling the exiles (or "returnees") because South Africa has been flooded by sanctions — and he conveniently forgets to remember that sanctions were applied exactly because the same state repressed and maimed people and forced many to flee the country. Sanctions did help paralyse the economy but the structures of exploitation

have remained intact.

Wherever you go you find a cultural desert. An African National Congress representative says the cultural boycott must help protect us from an influx of mediocre foreign artists with their moth-eaten wares, seeing as how we do not dispose of adequately competitive infrastructures. Isn't she forgetting that the boycott also delivered fatal blows to a potential cultural infrastructure at home?

She worries about the over-population, brutalisation, unemployment. "What are we to do?" And with a complicitous hand upon my arm: "They (the lumpen proletariat) are going to kill all of us!"

Images, questions, phrases churn through my mind. I learn about how the Boere farmed with kaffirs. Black kids, in fact, unwittingly finance the white supremacist Conservative Party. The CP is funded by the Hervormde Kerk which owns the Hollandsche Afrikanische Uitgewers Maatschappij (HAUM) which makes its profits from prescribed books sold to a captive black market.

Medical services in the countryside have all but packed up. Even there the majority of cases admitted are victims of physical violence.

There's an almighty outcry against the ANC's handling of the Winnie Mandela trial — seemingly constituting a denial of the due processes of the law; but have we forgotten that we have in this country a white legal system where white laws are administered in white courts by white judges for the benefit and protection of white interests? On the other hand, can we ever allow that presumed black homosexuals be tortured because it was believed they shared a white man's bed?

Orwellian attempts are made to deny the atrocious nature of institutions by a change of name: prison is now known as a place of Corrective Service.

And maggots — the senior civil servants, generals and brigadiers — are plundering the state in every conceivable way. This ship will sink because even the tar between the planks would have been eaten.

And meanwhile there are the glistening valleys and a silver wind. And in the meantime there is the Big Rot of a regime, a state, an establishment making it morally possible to arm the guns of death squads, an authority now attempting to stifle the needed debate on public ethics by pretending that apartheid was not, and is not, the crime against humanity as experienced by the majority of South Africans.

Crimes were perpetrated and mistakes were made on all sides, the president seems to imply, and they were similar in kind, so why should they apologise?

Meanwhile, the crocodiles are feasting among the children. — The Guardian, London

IRISH TOUR ... AN EVENT REPLETE WITH SPLENDID IRONY

By DAVID ST JOHN

3044

FW de Klerk's visit to Ireland this week was an event replete with ironies, many of them encapsulated in the young African National Congress guerrilla who last week escaped the Pretoria hangman's noose, Robert McBride.

Cynics who believe that the timing of a politician's every move usually has an ulterior motive are likely to have their prejudice bolstered by the fact that the state president chose the eve of his Irish trip to grant clemency to McBride (and, as a quid quo pro, Barend Strydom).

De Klerk — or at least his advisers — will have been well aware that the campaign to save McBride's life centred on his Irish ancestry. Taken in conjunction with the fact that Ireland is this year celebrating the 75th anniversary of the event which gave birth to the nation, that ancestry could have turned this week's state visit into something of a debacle.

The link between Robert McBride and that event 75 years ago lies in the claim by McBride's family that they are direct descendants of one John McBride, a major in the Boer war. Like other Irish Republicans of his time, McBride saw the Boer cause as the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle and commanded an Irish regiment of like-minded Boer sympathisers fighting in South Africa.

The major returned to Ireland as a hero; such a hero, in fact, that the then chairman of the Transvaal-Irish Solidarity Committee travelled to Paris to meet and accompany

him on the last leg of his journey home.

Which just about broke the heart of Ireland's greatest poet. Because the chairman of that Transvaal Committee happened to be Ireland's most celebrated beauty, Maude Gonne, who was passionately adored by WB Yeats. Maude, however, rejected him in favour of the returning hero, and eventually married McBride.

Yeats nursed some contempt for McBride, whom he suspected of mistreating his beloved Maude. But his prejudice towards the Boer War hero was to be reversed in dramatic fashion in 1916 — 75 years ago — when McBride joined 1 500 members of the Irish Republican Army in staging Dublin's "Easter Uprising".

McBride was captured and executed with 16 other leaders of the rebellion. The effect of the executions was electric, rallying Irish popular opinion behind the rebels. Yeats summed it up in his celebrated poem, *Easter 1916*, part of which appeared to refer specifically to McBride:

*This other man I had dreamed
A drunken, vainglorious lout.
He had done most bitter wrong
To some who are near my heart
Yet I remember him in the song;
He, too, has resigned his part
In the casual comedy;
He, too, has been changed in his turn,
Transformed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.*

The tale does not end there. Because John and Maude had a son called Sean who grew up to become chief of staff of the IRA, an

Irish cabinet minister, winner of both the

Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes and — as chairman of Amnesty International and a leading figure in the Anti-Apartheid Movement — one of the greatest individual scourges of white South Africa.

If one were to accept — as most do — that international pressure on South Africa was the key factor in pushing the Nationalist government into the reform era, then it could be said that Sean McBride played a part, however fractional, in saving the life of Robert McBride.

Which is the final irony, of course, worth savouring as De Klerk made a triumphant visit to Dublin this week to reclaim the "special relationship" which existed between Ireland and South Africa.

The significance of all these ironies? It is the curse of political analysis that one is constantly required to define, explain and otherwise reduce to certainties the illogicalities that make up the lives of individuals, families and nations. Poets do it better. Irish poets in particular. So if there has to be a conclusion to the story of the McBrides and that of Ireland and South Africa, a fitting epitaph can be found in the work of Yeats. It was the dying speech of a hero in one of his plays — a poet in fact:

*When I and these are dead
We should be carried to some windy hill
To lie there with uncovered face awhile
That mankind and that leper there may know
Dead faces laugh. King! King! Dead faces laugh.*

Purple patches cover the sunlit landscape

304A

W/M and 26/4 - 2/5/91

ARTHUR GAVSHON assesses the impact of President FW de Klerk's London visit

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has been painting for Britons a sunlit picture of the South African scene bright with hope and promise since arriving on Saturday — but covering darker realities with patches of purple rhetoric rich with euphemisms.

Reactions of the individuals and groups he has addressed have been predictable:

- Prime Minister John Major and Conservative MPs were enthused by being told things they have wanted for years to hear, among other reasons because this has seemed to vindicate the often unpopular pro-South African stance they have maintained.

- Neil Kinnock's Labourites displayed scepticism and publicly criticised what they portrayed as his government's failure to fulfil key pledges, particularly in the area of ending security force repression and freeing political prisoners.

- And potential investors, already over-extended by prior commitments and recessionary pressures, remained cannily cautious, showing no inclination to stampede with multi-million pound credits or industrialisation projects into a land still torn by violence and uncertainties.

About the only significant development to emerge thus far from De Klerk's talks has been an arrangement for Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to visit South Africa in the next few months and for Major himself to make the journey when he judges "the time is right".

When that will be is anyone's guess. A British general election next autumn or spring is Major's chief preoccupation these days and appearance in South Africa might lose rather than win votes.

De Klerk came to London with a single set message delivered with varying degrees of emphasis to the three main audiences he spoke to on Tuesday: an open news conference, the annual assembly of the Institute of Directors and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The message, in essence, was that the "new South Africa" to all intents and purposes was under construction and for the job to be completed, foreign investment, credits and enhanced trade were essential; in parallel he called for a total abolition of sanctions or, as he put it, "impediments". Indeed, at times, it seemed as if he believed the "new South Africa" already was in place and that a new constitution could be negotiated within a year once the process got under way.

"If he believes that," one senior British official who has served in South Africa observed, "he will believe anything and I only hope he doesn't persist in this sort of hard sell."

De Klerk gave the impression he was

playing the role of politician rather than a statesman. It showed, for instance, in his preference for euphemisms. "The word 'apartheid' should never have been coined," he told the news conference. He, personally, had never once used the word since entering politics and always referred to the National Party race policy as "separate development".

De Klerk left London on Wednesday for sidetrips to Denmark and Ireland satisfied, according to members of his entourage, that he had convinced most of South Africa's longtime supporters in London that effective power in the Republic will not be wrenched from his grip.

He did more than reject the concept demanded by the ANC of an interim government taking over.

Instead he gave the impression that in an election under a new constitution his National Party could rely on the support of moderate black groups like Inkatha which he was careful not to criticise in any way.

In the private exchanges with the Conservative politicians and bankers — who declined to be identified — he was at pains not to conceal his belief that the ANC was in a state of disarray, disunited, less than efficient and unlikely to become the next government of the Republic.

Without putting these beliefs into words there is little doubt that he was able to transmit these perceptions and to assure Establishment Britons he would be around for a long time to take care of the safety of any investments they may choose to make.

FW can't make apartheid vanish

W/week 26/4-2/5/91

DEMOLISHING "the last three cornerstones of apartheid" is proving to be trickier than President FW de Klerk expected.

The Democratic Party and the South African Council of Churches want to suspend four of the five Bills intended to replace the two Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

At the opening of parliament in February, De Klerk announced that the Acts would be repealed by June.

He is expected to make a policy statement on a change in government strategy after his return this weekend from his European tour during which he assured the world that apartheid will be dead by the end of this parliamentary session and all sanctions can be lifted.

The problem arose in the joint parliamentary committee considering the five Bills. Four of them are seen to have what the SACC called "serious flaws" when its delegation met three mini-

sters responsible in Cape Town last Monday.

The DP and the SACC want the four suspended and only the overall Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, which is nearing its committee stage, passed into law while the others are re-considered. The thinking is this Bill, which repeals the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act will, with the uncontroversial Population Registration Act Repeal Bill, demolish the cornerstones without causing too much grievance.

Parliamentary sources say a compromise, which the government is considering, is to incorporate the better

clauses from the other four in the Abolition Bill — such as the one that will grant freehold rights to township tenants at no cost. The DP is also proposing reparations for Africans forcibly removed from their homes — Sophiatown and District Six being two of scores of examples — to be considered by a Land Commission rather than the courts because the law that allowed forced removals was bad but still legal. The commission would consider fairer compensation for the victims than they received under unjust laws.

But the SACC demands much more: compensation as well as restitution. The government claims giving back land would be impractical and could cause conflict; but the churches argue that "much of the land concerned is still in state hands and could be readily restored".

The SACC told the three cabinet ministers led by Hennis Kriel — who is meant to pilot the five Bills through

parliament — there had been no consultation and "this process is interpreted as a statement by government that it is not really interested in what people outside government think or want".

The four they disapprove of maintain apartheid in a new form by placing "all significant decisions in the hands of officials who exercise wide discretionary power" with no appeal against most of their decisions.

But parliamentary sources are sceptical about the consultations demanded by churchmen at the drafting stage, saying these would cause so much delay there would be no possibility of passing them into law by the June deadline.

The churches say there "is no fundamental problem" with the Abolition Bill and it should be passed "soon". Their objections to the other four are:

- The Residential Environment Bill "is an attempt to continue the artificial protection which white areas have enjoyed" under the Group Areas Act.
- The Less Formal Townships Establishment Bill is also "a new form of apartheid" with officials exercising "unchallengeable discretion as to where townships will be established".
- The Rural Development Bill gives officials "vast powers" to decide where Africans may farm and imposes conditions — whereas repeal of the Land Acts is meant to allow them freedom of choice.
- The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Bill has "serious flaws" like leaving tenants "at the mercy of the landowner" and, again, allows officials unlimited powers.

In a variation from the DP, the churches want a land claims commission that will give back land forcibly taken away from people.

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sanctions and the Gleneagles Agreement on the sports embargo are likely to dominate proceedings.

Little that was new emerged from De Klerk's first meeting with Neil Kinnock, Labour party leader in the Shadow Cabinet Room at the House of Commons. Kinnock had previously acknowledged the SA government's courage and realism in embarking down the road to full democracy but again stuck close to the ANC and Commonwealth line.

The 45 minutes of talks were described as "courteous and correct" but at the end Kinnock reaffirmed that "it is still too early to lift economic sanctions." That must await fulfilment of the Pretoria Minute, effective tackling of the violence and — in what seemed to be a shift of goal posts — repeal of the Internal Security Act plus "further major steps toward constitutional reforms."

Kinnock appeared to put most of the onus on De Klerk and government. "They have the power. They therefore have the responsibility," he said.

De Klerk managed to find that encounter with (possibly) the next UK premier as "encouraging and constructive."

But the main thrust of the London visit was expressed by De Klerk, as the FM went to press, as the hope that he might encourage foreign investors "to take part in the reconstruction of SA."

That was the purpose of discussions with leading banks, including Robin Leigh-Pemberton, Governor of the Bank of England, his speech to the annual conference of the Institute of Directors and the meeting with the Confederation of British Industry which wound up his tour. "We don't want hand-



Major



De Klerk

outs," he told a media conference. "Many private-sector companies are ready, willing and able to invest in SA and we are experiencing an inflow of capital."

De Klerk, of course, found himself facing a chicken-and-egg situation in talks with the businessmen. Instability and unrest deter investment. But mass unemployment is an incubator for both.

He told them the SA economy was "ready

FW IN EUROPE

FM 26/4/91 (304A)

SPORTING CHANCE

Politics were almost a sideshow on the British leg of President F W de Klerk's five-day tour embracing Denmark and Ireland, two of the most hawkish European governments on the subject of trade sanctions against SA. In London the political business produced no surprises.

De Klerk, Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels (in the absence of Pik Botha) and officials received predictable responses to his well-anticipated story. In concrete terms the EC had already taken the big step of revoking the bans on SA iron and steel products and Krugerrands — so there was little of substance to be expected this week.

However, John Major, British PM and cricket fan, did reiterate his earlier hopes for a return of the Springbok XI and other representative teams to the international scene; promised unspecified government money to buy bats, pads, and so on, for aspirant black players in the townships; and set the course for a personal return visit to SA. Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd will come first with Major to follow — probably after the October meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Harare at which

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(304A)

for a marked upswing" but it now needed 6% annual output growth to cope with the rising numbers in the labour market. Reaction to what De Klerk had to say was wholly sympathetic but it was clear that any resumption of significant amounts of capital hang on attainment of "normality" in SA — a difficult definition to nail down.

Copenhagen and Dublin promise to be less well-rehearsed and more political, but important for all that. Neither looms large as potential investors but if De Klerk can convince the Danes (who hold a pivotal position among the Nordic countries) and Irish of the irreversibility of the process of change in SA he will have achieved much.

CP in Worker's Day boycott

CP + 719p 26/4/91 Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party has launched what could well be a world first in industrial action.

Yesterday it bucked the international trend by calling on white workers to go to work on a public holiday.

Mr Frank le Roux, the party's spokesman on manpower, explained that the CP saw Worker's Day, on May 1, as a "communist, Marxist-inspired occasion".

It was, therefore, calling on white workers to report for work as normal on that day.

He said the CP supported the principle of a Worker's Day, but not on May 1 because this was the date identified by communists and Marxists for the holiday.

The President had a ball at the Royal Albert Hall

LIKE Hugh Masekela, F.W. de Klerk this week took the Royal Albert Hall by storm.

THE SUNDAY ASSESSMENT

By MIKE ROBERTSON

Political Correspondent

The then-exiled artist featured on Paul Simon's Graceland Tour which raised international recognition for South African music to new heights.

Mr De Klerk addressed Britain's top businessmen, members of the Institute of Directors, and gave an equally virtuoso performance which left no doubt that he had their approval and admiration.

The only thing lacking was their support — in the form of firm commitments to invest in South Africa. There's the rub.

This week Mr De Klerk visited Britain for the fourth time in two years. His first meeting with the new British prime minister, John Major, began coolly as they assessed each other but, by all accounts, proceeded splendidly as each began to like what they saw in the other.

By the end Mr Major had given a personal undertaking to intervene in the unravelling of sporting sanctions against SA, knowing the tremendous psychological impact this would have within the country.

It was all Mr De Klerk could do in the circumstances, have asked of him.

In large part due to his predecessor, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, European trade sanctions against SA are a thing of the past. Even in the Nordic countries businessmen are queuing up to buy cheap SA wine and establish new markets for their produce in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

Re-think

Ireland, formerly a staunch sanctions advocate, is having a complete re-think, according to Prime Minister Charles Haughey.

Trade sanctions, however, have never been the problem. Financial sanctions have. If Finance Minister Barend du Plessis's assessment is correct, SA needs large-scale financial investment now, if it is to avoid chaos.

The private sector, not the government, will have to provide this and, despite the thunderous applause, it is still not forthcoming from Britain's businessmen and bankers.

The reason, as was made clear to Mr De Klerk time and time again, is the present violence, as well as a continuing scepticism about the future stability of SA.

Given that he has heard these arguments on every visit to Europe since his election as president, it was not surprising that Mr De Klerk began to display a degree of frustration, even pleading, when he argued to the Institute of Directors that "Foreign investors... should not be mesmerised by events in Eastern Europe. SA has a first-class infrastructure and can call on abundant natural and human resources; moreover, it is a terrain familiar to overseas investors, and British investors in particular."

This frustration was probably also the reason for his loose talk in a subsequent appearance before the

Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Mr De Klerk said hundreds of millions of rands in risk capital were being invested in SA, adding that those who were over-cautious would find that others were getting in on the ground floor.

Scheduled

The first part of the statement might well be accurate, but Mr De Klerk risks being guilty of overstatement. The implied "you might miss the boat" threat in the second part is plainly silly.

Mr De Klerk's remarks were made in response to a question from Lloyd's Bank director and former adviser to Mrs Thatcher, Sir Robin Ibb.

He pinpointed a key element in bankers' reluctance to extend new long-term loans to SA — its status as a scheduled country.

To change this in the near future, SA would need an International Monetary Fund facility. To get that would require the intervention of the US administration.

The thinking among senior South

African foreign affairs officials is that the Bush administration would only attempt such a step if assured of getting it through Congress.

And when an influential newspaper like the New York Times argues, as it did this week, that access to the IMF should be denied SA until a new constitution has been adopted, this assurance is by no means guaranteed.

On this trip Mr De Klerk met, for the first time, British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock and Danish Social Democratic Party leader Svend Auken.

In much the same vein as the New York Times and those in the US sanctions lobby they stated that they would only agree to the lifting of sanctions once there were clear indications that negotiations on a democratic constitution were well advanced.

In dealing with these people Mr De Klerk has entered ANC territory — they believe sanctions have worked in forcing the government to change and can continue to work. While praising him for changes introduced, they remain to be convinced that he

is prepared to go the whole way.

Like the ANC, they question failure to deal adequately with the problem of violence and a lack of security force excesses.

Minister Magnus Malan despite the CCB scandal and the retention of Internal Security Act.

Opening a dialogue with the represents a major step forward Mr De Klerk. But as in dealings with the home front before they will shi

Boost

Mr Major and the US government have, by strongly endorsing it, given a boost to his multi-party conference.

Ending violence is the first step. The other issues will, however, have to be resolved in a manner that meets approval of all parties before President Bush will feel confident enough to act on reopening access to IMF facilities and international investments on the scale needed to avoid the chaos envisaged by Mr Plessis.

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, responding to growing demands for an interim government, indicated this week that negotiating partners could be allowed to have a say in the formulation of policy at cabinet level.

In speeches in London and Copenhagen, Mr De Klerk continued to reject calls for an interim government.

But expanding on his offer in his opening of parliament speech to consider "transitional arrangements", Mr De Klerk said the various negotiating parties could be given a voice in important policy decisions at "both the legislative and executive levels".

Mr De Klerk said he saw a formidable alliance of moderate leaders taking shape in SA.

These leaders all wished to avoid a suicide pact. "They know that we need one another and that all of us are indispensable to one another," he said.

The president said he was determined SA would have a new negotiated constitution within the next three years.

Reiterating his belief that a multiparty conference was the most suitable negotiating mechanism, Mr De Klerk said he was confident that within a year of starting its work it could have agreed on the basic guidelines of a new constitution.

The National Party, he said, envisaged that the new constitution would allow for one-man-one-vote elections as well as protection for minority parties.

Agreed

It favoured a two-chamber parliament. The first would be elected by popular vote. The second would be "compiled in a different manner" and would be specifically charged with guarding cultural rights and be the watchdog of a bill of rights and the constitution.

All major role players would be represented in the cabinet and SA would be ruled by an "enforced coalition".

In addition to this, he said, there would be a strong diffusion of power away from central government to second and third-tier levels.

Mr De Klerk said he envisaged that as soon as

FW offers all parties a voice in policy decisions

the multiparty conference had agreed on the basic principles of a new constitution they would be put to the electorate in a referendum.

He was not even considering the possibility that these principles would not win popular approval.

Decision

Thereafter "political technicians" would draft the constitution in the form of an Act which would be passed by parliament.

Mr De Klerk said the first major decision confronting the conference would be on the structuring of the negotiating process.

It would also have to decide on the composition of the conference and whether it should continue as a negotiating forum.

If the parties decided the conference should be the negotiating forum, he envisaged that it would split into "specialist committees" to discuss issues such as the draft bill of rights.

Mr De Klerk said the problems of SA's political transition would not be solved by demanding a constituent assembly.

Circumstances which made a constituent assembly an appropriate interim political mechanism in Namibia did not exist in South Africa.

"No self-respecting independent country can allow its parliament, imperfect as it may be, to be bypassed in constitutional matters."

PRESIDENT COMES HOME TRIUMPHANT

Press 28/4/91. 3044

PRESIDENT FW De Klerk braved protests in England, Ireland and Denmark but returned home triumphant to say: "It was a good day for South Africa."

"Our objective, of returning South Africa to its proper place in the international community with honour and credibility, is no longer merely possible – we are making it a reality," he told journalists before landing in Johannesburg.

It was his third European mission in less than a year.

He said he had not sought or received concrete investment pledges but he expected a small inflow of foreign capital.

De Klerk's first meeting with British Premier John Major was "warm and positive", he told the media on Monday night outside Number 10 Downing Street after a working lunch with Major.

He and Major agreed a cricket Test Series between the two countries should be arranged "as soon as possible".

Major, an avid cricket fan, has also personally approved a "sizeable" financial grant to buy cricket equipment for South Africa's black townships.

"It was a good day for South Africa," he said, summing up a meeting with bankers, including the Governor of the Bank of England, Robin Leigh Pemberton, and a briefing with British MPs.

The meeting focussed on economic matters, although the continuing violence and instability in South Africa also featured.

The president later told the media there would be a "one man, one vote" system in the new South Africa, but certain checks and balances – to prevent the majority suppressing any minority – should be incorporated in the constitution.

Opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kin-

nock, who met De Klerk for the first time, insisted it was still too early to lift sanctions.

But in a clear indication of his support for De Klerk, he said: "If the president could achieve everything he wants to in South Africa, we could literally be standing at the graveside of apartheid."

On a lighter note, sources revealed that Kinnock, a Welshman who is "fanatical" about rugby, said he couldn't wait to see the British Lions take on the Springboks in South Africa as soon as conditions were right.

De Klerk also delivered a keynote address on his reform plans to 3 000 delegates at the Institution of Directors' convention in the Royal Albert Hall.

Speaking to members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Royal African Society, he acknowledged violence was the one remaining factor frightening off investment.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's chairman, Labour Party MP Bob Hughes, said in a statement on Monday De Klerk should have stayed at home to get negotiations going rather than coming to Europe again "winning and dining bankers and politicians" in an attempt to get more sanctions lifted.

Earlier, the President met former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to finalise details of her trip to South Africa next month.

De Klerk warned the ANC, which has vowed to wreck her visit because she opposed sanctions while in power, that his government would see to it that they did not disrupt the trip.

At a press conference the President "absolutely disputed" claims there were still about 1 300 political prisoners in jail. He said the true figure was "well below 200".

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is to make an official visit to South Africa within weeks, Downing Street confirmed. Sources in London indicated on Tuesday evening Major was also keen to visit South Africa, although no specific dates had yet been discussed.

■ Danish Premier Poul Schluter on Wednesday night showed his irritation with opposition parties, who have torpedoed his minority centre-right government's sanctions-lifting decision, by strongly endorsing De Klerk's reforms and personal courage.

Schluter's government was last week forced by combined opposition parties to withdraw Denmark from the EC's decision 10 days ago to lift the 1986 trade sanctions against South Africa.

Sources close to the Premier's office however indicated there was deep disappointment in Denmark that Mandela had responded to an official invitation, in February 1990, to visit the country before De Klerk.

■ In a diplomatic coup for De Klerk on Thursday, Irish Premier Charles Haughey ordered a complete review of all relations and contacts his country has with South Africa.

Speaking after their first meeting in Dublin, Haughey said despite the complexities involved, the reform process De Klerk had embarked on was indeed "irreversible and fundamental".

■ On Friday, De Klerk also met New Zealand's Deputy Prime Minister, Don McKinnon, in London for a half-hour of discussions.

McKinnon said afterwards he had found the President "a very determined man" regarding his reform plans. – Sapa-Reuter

□ SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY

THE ANC's May 9 deadline for the government to meet its demands remained firm, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said after flying in from his visits to England and Japan on Friday.

"Unless the government addresses our demands before May 9, there will be no discussions with them on an all-party conference or a future constitution," he said at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport.

Mandela had "cordial and very constructive" talks with British premier John Major, on whose invitation he had visited England - but the two disagreed on sanctions. British Conservative Party governments have opposed sanctions as a means of promoting reform in South Africa for the past 12 years.

However, British officials, who described the meeting as "friendly and energetic", said Major and Mandela agreed on a common objective - a need to end apartheid and introduce a non-racial democratic system of government in South Africa. Mandela said they took a common position on several issues and agreed to "keep in touch and to meet from time to time".

He later told newsmen sanctions had been imposed "to give the vote to all the people of South Africa and to scrap apartheid" and that sanctions had to be maintained because neither of these ob-

ANC stands firm on its deadline for demands to be met

jectives had been achieved.

Officials said Major's response was that the British and European Community (EC) position was that the lifting of sanctions was not designed to favour the South African Government, but to encourage the reform process.

"Britain remains committed to securing the dismantling of apartheid at the earliest possible date, but it also believes that Pretoria now deserves to be encouraged to press on with its reforms," said one official.

Last week, the EC said bans on imports of gold coins, iron and steel from South Africa would be lifted.

But Mandela had won support from British opposition leader Neil Kinnock on Thursday for keeping up sanctions pressure against the South African Government. Mandela held talks with Kinnock and other top Labour Party officials.

The main purpose of Mandela's trip to Britain was to brief ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is currently recuperating

in Britain from his earlier partial stroke.

ANC officials said the two leaders discussed developments in South Africa ahead of the movement's congress in late June - its first annual congress in the country since its unbanning.

His plane from Japan had touched down at Heathrow on Wednesday one hour after State President FW de Klerk flew out for Copenhagen after two days of talks, which also included a meeting with Major and appeals for new British investments in South Africa. Major had told De Klerk he would continue pushing within the EC and the Commonwealth for the remaining sanctions to be lifted.

Back home, Mandela said he might meet De Klerk again, but stressed he would definitely not meet him after May 9 if the government did not address the ANC's recent demands, which included that he sack Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and bring an end to the township violence, which has

led to the death of at least 600 people this year.

"We have made these demands in order to induce the government to end the violence that is raging in the country and, equally importantly, to save the peace process. Therefore we insist on them being addressed before May 9," he had earlier told journalists at a London press conference.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Buenos Aires that Argentina plans to restore diplomatic relations with South Africa after Mandela has visited the country in July.

"Argentina started to consider resuming diplomatic links late in 1989 after South African President Frederik de Klerk announced he would dismantle apartheid's legal structure," said a senior Foreign Affairs official, who asked not to be identified.

The Argentine official said his country would seek to boost bilateral trade once full diplomatic ties resumed.

Also on Friday, Mandela hit at an exploratory visit by Japanese businessmen to South Africa,

saying: "The Japanese must not act prematurely on the lifting of sanctions."

He was speaking after meeting the high-powered delegation headed by Bank of Tokyo deputy president Otsu Yamaguchi. Yamaguchi said Mandela had repeated sentiments he had earlier expressed in Japan. The delegation left yesterday.

■ Governments which wished to re-establish relations with South Africa should follow the example of the US and speak to both South Africa's government and its black residents on the handling of sanctions, Mandela told an international conference of journalists in Kyoto, Japan, on Monday evening.

"While we do appreciate the concerns of foreign governments and business people who wish to re-establish relations with South Africa, we still insist that it would improve matters greatly if the victims of apartheid were consulted before such precipitate steps were taken," he said.

Mandela lauded "the exemplary attitude displayed by the USA."

He said the US "has been in regular contact with us from the highest quarters in the administration" and had not treated "the issue of sanctions as if the only people who matter are the South African government." - Sapa-Reuter.

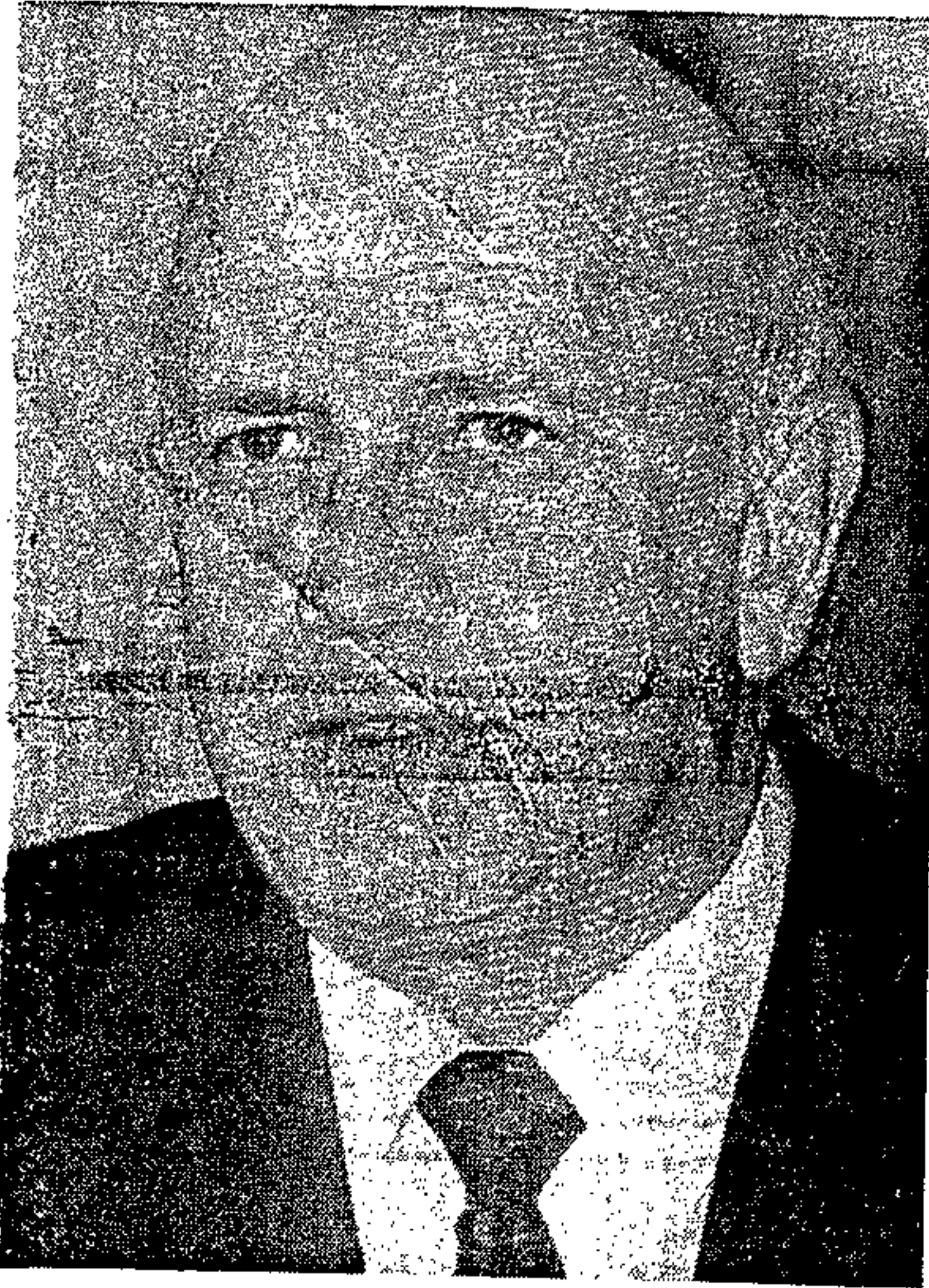
ANC deadline approaches

by SEKOLA SELLO

WITH just two days before the April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, President FW de Klerk insisted the government was "on schedule in terms of the agreements with the ANC".

He was speaking yesterday morning at Jan Smuts Airport after arriving home from a week-long visit to England, Ireland and Denmark.

He criticised those promoting the "propaganda image" of the government not moving fast enough to meet the deadline.



De Klerk ... criticised "propaganda image"

Although De Klerk says the government is on schedule, it seems unlikely the process for the return of exiles will be completed by Tuesday.

There are about 20 000 to 40 000 people still in exile.

De Klerk is expected to make an announcement in Parliament this week on the ANC's May 9 ultimatum. At the airport yesterday he refused to say whether the government would be able to meet the ANC's demands.

The ANC has said negotiations with the government may be derailed if Pretoria does not meet the April 30 deadline for exiles and amnesty for political

prisoners and fails to respond positively to its May 9 ultimatum.

The ultimatum demands include the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

There is a discrepancy between the number of political prisoners the government says are still incarcerated and the figure given by the Human Rights Commission.

De Klerk said in London there were less than 200, while the HRC puts the figure at 1 146.

This is because some political prisoners are regarded by the government as "common law criminals".

The State President said he was warmly received in Ireland and Denmark, countries which in the past were vehement opponents of South Africa.

Although De Klerk denied he had gone to Europe with a "shopping list", he said trade with overseas countries was opening up and there was an inflow of capital, even if this was not on a large scale.

See reports on Page 10.

De Klerk confident as
 28/4/91
 Amnesty 'on schedule'

FW set to clarify host of issues

Star 29/4/91 304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk is expected to clarify the Government's position on major issues such as negotiations, violence and land reform when he addresses Parliament this week during the debate on his budget Vote.

He is also likely to report back to Parliament and the country on his official visits last week to Britain, Denmark and Ireland.

The week-long debate will give him an opportunity to respond to whatever the ANC does after the expiry of tomorrow's target date for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The ANC regards tomorrow as a hard deadline and has threatened to pull out of talks with the Government if it is not met.

National Party sources believe Mr de Klerk is also sure to deal with the ANC's threat to pull out of talks on May 9 if the Government does not take certain steps to end the township violence.

At the weekend the ANC came up with new claims of "third force" involvement in the violence.

Mr de Klerk is likely to tell the ANC that it should bring up such allegations at the multi-party summit he has called for the end of May.

Although ANC deputy

president Nelson Mandela has recently confirmed that the ANC will not be attending the summit, sources expect Mr de Klerk to say the summit will go ahead.

Parliament's joint committee on land has been wrestling for weeks with the White Paper on Land Reform and the five Bills which accompany it.

The main Bill, which abolishes laws that discriminate against black land ownership, is not controversial, but opposition has built up to the other four for various reasons.

The committee appears to be heading for a compromise which will allow the abolition Bill to be pushed through this year but the others to be referred for further consideration.

Reeling

Mr de Klerk might announce the terms of such a compromise if it is reached this week.

He is also expected to climb into the official Opposition in the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party.

The CP is reeling from the disclosure of an embarrassing policy document drawn up by CP information chief Koos van der Merwe.

The document basically says CP policy cannot work, and the NP might well decide to bring in its leader to exploit this critical chink in the CP's armour.

ATRICK LAURENCE reflects on the race to meet the April 30 deadline

Suddenly overcoming obstacles

SA 29/4/91

With the April 30 deadline for the "unconditional" release of political prisoners and return of es only hours away, problems ch appeared intractable last k now seem to be soluble.

Less than a week ago President Klerk and the African National gress were at odds over the ber of political prisoners who had to be freed.

Mr de Klerk put the number at than 300, while the ANC, work- from a detailed report com- i by the Human Rights Com- sion (HRC), insisted that at t 1 300 were in jail.

he Pretoria Minute, signed by Government and the ANC after August 6 meeting last year, d the release of political pris- s had to be completed by April 91, at the latest.

or the Government to meet the line — on which the future se of negotiations depends — ted an all but insurmountable

task: while the Government could have met the deadline if Mr de Klerk's total was accepted, it seemed impossible for it to un- shackle 1 300 captives before April 30 unless it abandoned the adminis- trative procedures it had insisted on so far.

The HRC asserted the deadline could only be met by "throwing open the prison gates to all those with a clear claim to being in pris- on because of their resistance to apartheid".

The discrepancy between the Government and the ANC on the number of political prisoners still in jail stemmed in large measure from their different conceptions of what constitutes a political prison- er.

The ANC, with the HRC, identi- fied three categories of political prisoners: those who were involved in the ANC's now-suspended armed struggle, those who worked for out- lawed organisations before they were unbanned, and those who took

part "mass action and community resistance" against the apartheid system.

The Government, while recog- nising the first two categories, seemed to regard prisoners in the third as criminals who had been convicted of common law offences, including public violence and arson.

The April 30 deadline was — and is — of critical importance, given the resolution at the ANC's consultative conference last De- cember calling on the ANC na- tional executive committee "to consider suspension of the whole negotiation process" if all politi- cal prisoners were not "uncondi- tionally" released by the end of April.

The Government, clearly con- scious of the importance of April 30, moved swiftly last week. While stopping short of throwing "open the prison gates", it took a num- ber of bold steps. These included:

● Immediate release of nearly 200 more political prisoners.

● Broadening of the definition of po- litical prisoner to include people convicted of public violence, arson and malicious damage to prop- erty, whose motivation was political and whose actions did not result in loss of life or serious injury.

● Appointment of four ANC nomi- nees — Arthur Chaskalson, Them- ble Skweyiya, Dullah Omar and Max Coleman — to advise the judges considering applications for indemnity and release.

But these moves left another problem: the return of exiles who fled South Africa either to escape prosecution under the apartheid system or to take up arms against the "apartheid regime".

The unconditional repatriation of exiles by April 30 was another de- mand set by the ANC at its De- cember conference. But since then the return of emigres has proceed- ed slowly.

The process only started on

March 7, when 98 expatriates ar- rived from Zambia. Another 116 arrived from the same country on March 28. On April 18 a further 110 arrived from Tanzania. An- other 180 from Tanzania and Kenya arrived on Friday.

But the combined total of less than 450 constituted only a minus- cule proportion of the estimated 40 000 South Africans in exile. It is another potential point of dis- pute in relations between Presi- dent de Klerk's administration and the ANC.

Before the Government's latest moves to accelerate the release of prisoners, the ANC publicly ac- cused it of holding the prisoners "hostage" in a bid to impose its will on another disputed point in the Pretoria Minute.

The Government slowed down the process, the ANC asserted and the HRC emphasised, to force the ANC to comply with its view that ANC's the suspension of the "armed struggle and related ac- tivities" — as stipulated in para-

graph three of the Pretoria Mi- nute — embraced more than the cessation of gun and bomb attacks.

The dispute was partially re- solved on February 15 when the two sides agreed paragraph three prohibited infiltration of men and material, creation of underground structures and military training of guerrillas inside South Africa.

The whole issue was compound- ed by the ANC's April 5 open let- ter to Mr de Klerk, the ANC ac- cused the security forces, or ele- ments in them, of complicity in the violence sweeping the town- ships and threatened to withdraw from negotiations if he did not meet its seven-point ultimatum by May 9.

These demands, which included the dismissal of the Ministers of Defence and Law and Order, con- stituted another obstacle to nego- tiations. First, however, the April 30 deadline has to be overcome. After last week's moves the Gov- ernment, fortunately, seems to be in the process of doing that. □

- if not, why not; if so, what are their names;
- (2) whether alternative provision has been made for parking for departmental officials employed at Bridgeway House; if not, why not; if so, what provision;
- (3) in what manner did the disposal of parking spaces at Bridgeway House affect the lease with the owners of the building?

C85E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING:

- (1) *George:*
Rentsburg Court: Mr L Janse van Rensburg
Donkin Building: Messrs B P Potgieter Trust
Wesscott Park: Mr A G Wesso
Port Elizabeth:
Elizabeth House: Puddler Investments:
Mr N D M Khan
- (2)
Noma House: Noma Investments: Mr N D M Khan
Edufin Building: Corfin Investments: Mr N D M Khan
Bridgeway House: Kapbro Industrial Complex: Mr J A Khan
East London:
Deals House: Gorrill Brothers Investments: Mr D M Gorrill
Middelburg (Cape):
Educof Building: K A Beherend: Mr P S Herholdt
- (3) No. Since the terminated parking space was at no time utilised by officials employed at Bridgeway House, neither did any of them apply for alternative parking facilities after termination.
- (3) The termination of the parking areas had no effect on the lease agreement other than that it secured for the Department a saving of R3 000 per month on the rental.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

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

General Affairs:

Republic: official celebrations

*1. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of National Education:

Whether the Government intends holding country-wide official celebrations of the twentieth year of existence of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1991; if so, what are the relevant details; if not, why not?

B883E.INT

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Losberg asked whether the Government intended holding country-wide official celebrations of the 30th year of existence of the Republic on 31 May 1991, and what the relevant details were.

The answer is yes, the Government does, in fact, intend holding country-wide official celebrations in regard to Republic Day. They will not, however, assume the form of a central national celebration, but will be presented at the provincial level under the auspices of the four Administrators.

The Government remains convinced of the historical importance of Republic Day and of the value it has for so many of its citizens. The date 31 May is woven into our constitutional history. On 31 May 1902 we had the Peace of Vereeniging, on 31 May 1910 the Union of South Africa and on 31 May 1961 the first Republic of South Africa. I believe that the second Republic of South Africa will possibly also come into being on 31 May in a few years' time. [Interjections.]

The initial intention was to celebrate Republic Day on a national scale every five years, but in due course it was decided to scale down their frequency to ten years. On 31 May 1991 the 30th Republic Day will, in fact, be celebrated and it is fitting that it be celebrated on a national level.

In determining the scope of the celebrations, the Government was led by its approach and policy of scaling down State expenditure under the present difficult economic conditions. When the economic growth rate is a little over 1% per annum and there are not enough funds available to provide for all the requirements of education, for example, priorities have to be determined and in my view the Government has taken the correct decision in limiting the costs of the celebrations this year. All hon members ought to agree with this.

As I have already said, the hon Administrators have been requested to arrange appropriate events in the four provinces. I do not want to take up the House's time by dealing with the various programmes in detail, but apart from the customary receptions in all four of the provinces there will also be events at which all population groups will be able to participate in sporting and cultural programmes. The latter include performances by choirs, a symphony orchestra and a youth symphony orchestra. [Time expired.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, as I understood the hon the Minister, there were two central ideas in his reply. In the first instance no central Republic Day celebration will take place in the RSA. In other words, the answer is negative, because we asked our question in relation to a country-wide celebration of Republic Day. [Interjections.]

The second central idea in the hon the Minister's reply was that it was foreseen that 31 May would once again be an important constitutional day in the future. We are to deduce from this that the Mandela-Slovo-De Klerk republic, which will naturally be a Black majority government, will then take shape. [Interjections.]

We on this side of the House say that the NP Government has already in its heart of hearts taken leave of a free, own White Republic of South Africa which represented the highest constitutional ideal which we strove to achieve in regard to our entire existence as a people. [Interjections.] For this we fought two wars of independence against the mightiest world power of the day. [Interjections.] For this we surmounted unknown dangers in a popular movement to trek for our liberty; for this we worked and toiled to establish a new Republic on 31 May

1961. [Interjections.] The second central reason as to why that side of the House will not . . .

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member must resume his seat. I am not prepared to allow this interpellation debate to degenerate into a shouting match between hon members. The hon member will have a fair opportunity to make his speech. The hon member may proceed.

*Mr S C JACOBS: The second reason as to why the hon members on that side of the House do not want to hold a central, country-wide Republic Day celebration, is that they now subscribe to an ideology that is totally alien to their people, namely that of Black majority rule; what our enemies sought to achieve over the centuries is now being done by this Government within the space of a few years, and the method being employed is that of misleading and misrepresentation in regard to the White voters.

By not holding country-wide official celebrations of the 30th year of the existence of our Republic, the NP are now becoming joint decision-makers together with the ANC and the SACP. [Interjections.] What is important, is that they are now also becoming boycotters of what we hold dear, namely a free, own White Republic. [Interjections.] This state of affairs is becoming another gravestone on the path of the NP under the present hon State President. [Interjections.]

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, if ever there was an exhibition of absolutely distorted thinking in regard to Republic Day, we have just listened to it. When one thinks back to what the hon the Minister of National Education referred to, viz 31 May 1902, 31 May 1910, 31 May 1961, one realises that it is engraved in the history of every one of us who comes from an Afrikaners background, as well as in the history of every White South African.

I wholeheartedly agree with the ideal that is being stated to the effect that we should enter a Republic which all the people of South Africa can be proud of and which can be inclusive, but I think there is some merit in the standpoint regarding how the celebrations are going to take place. They are going to take place country-wide, and they are going to centre on our national flag, of which we are all appreciative. For our part we are entirely in agreement that in the present economic climate massive amounts of money that should be used for the elimination

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

of backlogs, should not be used for Republic Day celebrations simply to oblige those people.

It is not a question of the scale on which one celebrates Republic Day; it is a question of how one acts and lives one's daily life with a view to developing this Republic which we have at present in accordance with the ideals which we all expound to the effect that we can be one nation, true to this Republic, and develop it in the future. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Speaker, I thank the hon member for Umhangla for the reasonableness he has introduced to this debate. I do not understand the hon member for Losberg at all—he asked me whether we were going to hold country-wide official celebrations and I replied to the question, but when I told him that the celebrations would be held country-wide, he said no, they would not be held country-wide. Surely if they are held in all four of the provinces, they will be held country-wide, not so? I simply do not understand how one can arrive at a different interpretation of the word "country-wide". [Interjections.]

The only quarrel he has with me, is that country-wide means that they ought to take place nationally at one place and not in the four provinces. I think that is a totally ridiculous argument. [Interjections.] It is just as ridiculous as the idea that because we are now celebrating it in this way, we are complying with certain parties' wishes. We are complying with the wishes of the entire South African population, who can take part in these celebrations. There will be public events in which everyone can take part, and the hon member can also take part in them if he so wishes, but it is for the hon member to decide whether he wishes to participate in these celebrations which will not be concentrated in one place nationally, but will be held country-wide.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the sage Dr Verwoerd said the following on 31 May 1960 on the occasion of the Union jubilee:

Veertig jaar vorentoe is maar 'n kort tydjie in die lewe van 'n volk. Sal ons wat vandag die toekoms van ons taak en van ons volk beheer so geïsoleerd wees dat ons kinders oor 40 jaar 'n veilige toekoms kan beëw en belewe, of sal ons uit swakheid of uit selfsug of uit vrees vir dit wat in ons probeer indring hulle verloor?

The NP has renounced South Africa, the Whites and all the other peoples in Southern Africa. When one has lost one's principle, moral and historical basis, like the NP, one has lost everything. The NP is hiding behind the financial economic condition of the country, which they themselves created by way of their policy of power-sharing.

When one looks at the NP of today and goes back into the past, one finds that the NP is the most left-wing party this southern land has ever produced. [Interjections.] This party is way to the left of, and very hostile to the founders of the Union in 1910. That is why most Whites—over 90% of them—are today aligning themselves with this school of thought, with the CP, so that we can once again build upon and fight for that historical idea, the foundation of our people, namely the Christian National foundation, and then we shall once again be able to establish in South Africa what our forefathers lived and fought for.

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, we are talking about a country-wide celebration that is organised by the central Government. Surely it is very clear that there are no central Government celebrations in regard to the 30th year of existence of the Republic of South Africa.

Secondly, we are speaking in very clear language about an own free White Republic and celebrations to commemorate the establishment of such a Republic. [Interjections.] We are not talking about what the NP Government has made of this Republic, namely a total constitutional catastrophe. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Speaker, I should like to hear the hon member's argument some other time regarding since when the various provinces are no longer part of South Africa and since when the various provincial administrations are no longer part of the central Government authority either. [Interjections.] If the central Government issues instructions to the various provinces, then it is still the central Government that is making these arrangements. [Interjections.]

I want to tell the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe that he is making a big mistake. This day is a day for the citizens of South Africa, not for the Afrikaners alone. It is the privilege of every citizen in this country and of everyone who

considers himself a citizen of this country to participate in such a Republic Day celebration, and not only that of the Afrikaners. That is why it must also be presented in such a way that all the population groups may participate in it.

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The time for this interpellation has expired and we shall now proceed to the second interpellation.

Debate concluded.

Soaring crime rate

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Handwritten: 30/4/91*

- (1) What steps are being taken by the South African Police to curb the soaring crime rate in the suburbs of South Africa;
- (2) whether these steps have proved to be adequate; if not, why not?

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The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, the reply is as follows—(1) and (2): Currently there is an issue in South Africa which is of concern to us all. Although the SA Police is the most important establishment in society to control crime, its capabilities when it comes to achieving this goal are limited. Social conditions which stimulate crime are not created by the SA Police. Nor can the SA Police do anything about the creation of unrealistic expectations which lead to frustrations and negative attitudes.

The Police are merely a part of the judicial system, and the judiciary is only one branch of the Government, and the Government is a part of society. For all that, the Police are so often a convenient scapegoat or whipping boy on whom inner conscientious objection, guilt feelings and failures can be projected.

However, it must be realised that the fluctuation and escalation in crime in South Africa show a proportional pattern which is being experienced worldwide. South Africa is faced with the challenge of overcoming this problem in society, and the responsibility in this regard rests on each and every citizen in our country.

The Government, however, accepts its responsibility in respect of the protection of the life and property of our citizens. In order to curb this unacceptable occurrence of crime, and to achieve the mutual goal of a partnership between

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Crucial week for FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk faces one of the toughest weeks of his political career when his budget vote begins in Parliament today.

The President faces three major, interrelated challenges.

In the next few days he will be expected to find ways to:

- Defuse the looming showdown between government and an increasingly militant ANC over its threats to abandon all talks and embark instead on a nationwide programme of mass protest action.

- Rescue the floundering peace process by getting all parties to co-operate in a joint effort to curb spiralling violence and intimidation.

- Consolidate his latest efforts to roll back South Africa's international isolation and persuade overseas investors that it would be safe and profitable for them to return to South Africa.

Complicating Mr De Klerk's task is the increasingly militant stand being taken by the ANC as the April 30 deadline on the release of political prisoners

and its May 9 seven-point ultimatum to the government on ending violence loom large.

The ANC leadership — including its secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo — upped the ante at the weekend by claiming that organised forces within the state were waging a war against the organisation which included plans to assassinate prominent ANC members and mobilise anti-ANC vigilantes.

The allegations were dismissed by a Ministry of Defence spokesman but the Ministry of Law and Order said a senior police officer would contact the ANC about its latest claims.

The government last week moved to extend the definition of political prisoners and amnesty for those involved in politically related offences and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee indicated that the vast majority of political prisoners would be free by April 30.

However, ANC legal adviser Mr Mathew Phosa said at the weekend that the organisation

From page 1

was "deeply dissatisfied" with the way the government had handled the political prisoner issue and said that thousands of prisoners would be going on hunger strike, while there would be a linked programme of mass action from the outside.

Mr De Klerk will also be expected to find ways of getting the ANC to reconsider its announcement at the weekend that it would be boycotting his proposed all-party summit on May 24-25 on ways of ending violence and intimidation.

The dilemma facing the ANC is that if it agrees to attend the summit, its threat to break off talks with the government on May 9 would become a dead letter.

Mr Nelson Mandela told diplomats earlier this month that the ANC's seven-point list of demands to the government — including the firing of two cabinet ministers — was not an ultimatum but a cry for help from the people.

However, the ANC deputy president appeared to harden his stance again at the weekend, saying that the May 9 deadline remained very firm.

"Unless the government addresses our demands before May 9 there will be no discussions on an all-party conference or a future constitution," he said.

When he addresses Parliament during his budget vote this week, Mr De Klerk could go some way to appeasing the ANC by giving details on how the government plans to ease up on security legislation — such as the Internal Security Act — which the extra-parliamentary parties have repeatedly complained hampers free political activity.

However, diplomats have indicated that if the ANC boycotts Mr De Klerk's proposed peace summit the organisation could lose support from foreign governments, even those that have most consistently backed the ANC over the years.

Mr De Klerk will be under pressure this week to find new ways to get all parties back on board in the search for peace and a negotiated settlement.

To page 2

High-powered ANC legal team grapples with constitution

PATRICK BULGER

A GROUP of high-powered constitutional and political lawyers make up the ANC team devising a new constitution for a future SA. *81024 30/4/91*

The team is headed by the ANC's constitutional chairman Zola Skweyiya.

It includes two of the country's most high-profile political lawyers — Arthur Chaskalson and George Bizos. Both men defended ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at his treason trial and have kept close contact with him since. Both have a long record of defending accused in political trials.

Chaskalson was involved in helping draft the constitution for post-independence Namibia — a constitution that has been hailed as a vehicle for reconciliation in a previously deeply divided society.

Bizos is defending Winnie Mandela on kidnap and assault charges.

Another of the advocates, Dullah Omar, has been involved with the Mandelas for decades.

Two other important contributors are Albie Sachs and Kadar Asmal. Sachs, who lost an arm in a car bomb blast in Maputo while in exile, is considered an innovative thinker on the ANC's constitutional team and has written extensively on a Bill of Rights and second generation rights in a constitution.

Second generation rights have been a cause of controversy because by implication they give the state a central role in any constitutional system.

A second generation right, for example, may give somebody a constitutionally entrenched right to a job or to a house, rather than the first generation right of perhaps being able to live where one wants and take up employment of one's choosing.

Representation

Guaranteeing a job to a citizen by definition entails the intervention of the state to secure that job which critics argue elevates the state above the individual.

Asmal is an exile lecturing in law at Trinity College, Dublin. He is a keen exponent of the principle of proportional representation in any future SA constitution.

While the constitutional team reflects ANC thinking in its disavowal of a federal system of government, it has made concessions in the form of proportional representation and devolution of power.

The ANC argues that a federal system would dilute the power of central government leaving it impotent to the tasks of reconstruction it deems so vital.

A number of attorneys who became well known in the course of anti-apartheid politics include Pius Langa, Louis Skweyiya, Mbali Mncadi, Fink Haysom, Bulelani Ngcuka and Essa Moosa.

Three top-level figures from the ANC's legal department feature on the committee and would contribute valuable day-to-day advice on constitutional thinking from within the movement. They are Bridget Mabandla, Penuele Maduna and Matthew Phosa.

Maduna and Phosa have served on ANC-government working groups on the armed struggle and prisoners.

A number of representatives are still outside the country. They include the ANC's EC representative Pat Tekane, London representatives Tony O'Dowd and Nathaniel Masemula.

We can't go on like this, says FW

Violence on the Left and threats of counter-reaction had led to polarisation which could end in civil war, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

"We are picking the bitter fruit of the past. What has happened, has happened, but what is happening now is a blemish on us and we can do something about it," he said, introducing debate on the State President's vote.

"We can't go on like this. Violence and intimidation must end as it is undermining the prospects of South Africa."

Mr de Klerk said he had made his opening speech to Parliament in February with a positive attitude and he still had as much trust in South Africa and its people.

All positive steps were, however, being delayed and even threatened by mindless violence and intimidation which had developed into a culture of violence.

There was a perception inside South Africa and in some overseas countries that violence was justified.

Violence had come to

the fore in many aspects, with young children burning down schools, black communities being torn apart and almost destroyed, "not to even talk about necklaces".

"The reforms of the Government are not the cause of the violence — it was established during the era of separate development. Any attempts, during this debate, to blame the violence on reform would be misleading."

Stone-throwing and burning tyres had become a symbol of how deeply violence had been established in everyday life.

Mr de Klerk renewed an invitation to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkhata Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in elevating the question of violence above party-political manipulation. "I'm sure neither of them doubt my sincerity."

He invited them to join him in "allowing discussions we began in March to take place now — such a discussion could also serve in preparation for the meeting (summit

on violence) on May 24 and 25."

To break the spiral of violence, "we need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society — the time has come for them to speak up in public".

To stop violence, the culture of violence in South African society had to be cured. In that spirit, there were elements in the latest ANC statements that could have negative effects.

Inasmuch as these statements were an expression of a "cry for peace", however, as had been spelt out in newspaper advertisements, "I welcome them — then they are an echo of the cry in the hearts of all peace-loving South Africans. To that I will listen. It is also a cry from my heart. Therefore, I renew my invitation to the ANC to discussions with the Government."

The Government had made itself available for a solution-oriented discussion on the problem of violence with all leaders on May 24 and 25.

"We must bring an end to violence and accept co-responsibility," Mr de Klerk said. — Sapa.

The Government is curiously calm about today's 'ultimatum', writes **Shaun Johnson**

'D-Day', and no sign of panic

Star 30/4/91.

3044

TODAY marks the long-awaited arrival of the first of two "deadlines" which could, if applied literally, disembowel the negotiations process by removing one of its vital organs — the enthusiastic participation of the ANC.

Since the signing in August last year of the Pretoria Minute, April 30 1991 has been held up as the day on which the success or failure of that landmark agreement would be judged. When things have (frequently) gone wrong between the Government and the ANC in the course of the last nine months, deadlines and impass have been dismissed with the answer: "It will all be sorted out by April 30." Today this rings hollow.

On subjective grounds, it is difficult to declare the performance of the Minute in the intervening months as anything but abject. Trust between ANC and Government is at its lowest ebb, there is deep-seated disagreement over what progress has been made on amnesty and indemnity and, worst of all, an even more serious deadline looms barely a week after the passing of this one.

The ANC accuses the Government of foot-dragging and obstructionism on the questions of

prisoners and exiles — this notwithstanding an eleventh-hour concession from Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on the categories of people eligible for indemnity from prosecution — and the immediate run up to today's deadline has seen a marked hardening of attitudes in statements from heavyweights like Deputy President Nelson Mandela, Secretary General Alfred Nzo and MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani, among others.

There has been considerable objective progress since August 1990 on the exiles/prisoners question, but the prevailing atmosphere makes it almost unthinkable that either side will interpret the current situation generously. Rather, it seems that the ANC will declare the Government efforts to be too little too late, and the Government will in turn blame the ANC for failing to co-operate fully in the process of indemnification and amnesty, as part of an overall tactic of filibustering.

All of this suggests that alarm bells should be ringing long and loud in the offices of a Government which appears to have staked no less than its political future on the continuation of the negotiating process. That they were not, only hours before the arrival

of the deadline, is one of the more curious phenomena in a political system where the unexpected has become the norm.

National Party figures, from lowly caucus members to high-powered negotiators, are calm — even seemingly unconcerned. The Star was told repeatedly that the Government expected the ANC to "kick up some dust" today, but this should not be taken too seriously — the peace process itself was not in danger.

As recently as last week State President F.W. de Klerk spoke confidently of a political settlement on schedule — meaning before the expiry of the lifetime of the current Parliament in 1994 — and his chief strategist, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, repeated his belief in the "inevitability" of the negotiations process.

There was no other way for either party, he said, implying that what might appear to the public outside as fights to the death were in fact political spats within severely proscribed parameters.

Speaking at the opening of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly on April 19, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer expanded on the theme: "The Government is anxious for a multi-party conference to get off the ground, so that a

joint dedication to a peaceful solution can arise," he said, "not only to end the conflict, but also for the effective constitutional management of our country."

"There are really no more essential or credible objections or obstacles in the way of negotiation. The process must be activated as soon as possible."

"We have irreversibly entered the phase of political and economic debate and negotiation. Negotiation is the only solution — we cannot evade it... the very fact that there are ultimatums, demands and threats, that violence increases alarmingly and unacceptably, emphasises the necessity of negotiation."

"If we depart from the road of negotiation, we shall in the end only have to return to this road... thus there is no workable alternative to negotiation for any party."

This refrain (admittedly coupled with the caveat that the process "might not be easy"), is being repeated at every level within the NP, and is responsible for the odd air of calm surrounding today's "deadline".

One source told The Star that "Government... had understanding" for the pressures under which Mr Mandela was operating. It was intimated that while the

Government would prefer him to adopt a more conciliatory tone, it was believed that this would be forthcoming after the ANC's July conference.

"But, he added: "We seriously believe that he and the ANC NEC remain committed to promoting a peaceful outcome."

Interestingly, Government sources now give more credence to the ANC's stated reason for its current, uncompromising stance (concern about township violence), than before. "We don't necessarily doubt their sincerity," said one, "we just think they've got about it in a stupid way."

Senior NP members hinted that this approach had been communicated to the party's more junior ranks, where some MPs — those who do not have direct access to the negotiations process — were becoming jittery about the ANC's hostility. They note with concern, however, that the business sector was "not as easy to reassure".

Nevertheless, there is an overarching belief that today will pass without disastrous consequences, and that the behind-the-scenes negotiating forums will continue their work.

Government figures concede that the ANC's May 9 "ultimatum" might prove more difficult,

although they insist that it too is surmountable. There is a recognition — apparently reinforced by the tendency of ANC spokesmen in recent weeks to downplay the April deadline and emphasise that of May — that damage limitation then will not be as easy.

Government sources are encouraged by the apparent downgrading of the specific demand for the resignation of Ministers Malan and Vlok, and believe that a "renewal of our undertaking" to deal with the causes of violence should be sufficient to ensure that the peace process proceeds, even if unsteadily.

According to one source: "We sense that they (the ANC) are also saying 'look beyond the specific demands. Long-term peace is the issue'. That leaves some room for manoeuvre."

The rarefied gloss which the Government is placing on a situation which looks disastrous to the outsider remains baffling, these reassurances notwithstanding. If the NP has decided to erect a facade to disguise real concern, it is a very effective one indeed. But if, as an intrigued opposition politician suggested this week, the confidence is genuinely felt, then "perhaps they know something we don't." □

Few in bold bid for peace

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday launched a two-pronged attack on the ongoing violence which he said would lead to civil war if left unchecked.

**BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

polarisation which will culminate in civil war. There exists today a psychosis of violence on both sides of the political spectrum."

There was a perception inside South Africa and in some overseas countries that violence was justified.

Oil reserves

In a dramatic plea for peace, De Klerk invited ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the violence - before the proposed Pretoria peace summit scheduled for May 24 and 25.

Speaking in Parliament during his budget debate, De Klerk also announced that the Government would free R1 billion to ease the suffering of violence victims and to create conditions of economic growth.

Because of sanctions and economic pressure, it had become necessary for South Africa to stockpile large amounts of its financial reserves in oil.

But because South Africa's relations with the rest of the world had changed, Government had decided to

free within the next year about R1 billion in oil reserves, De Klerk said.

Should South Africa's international economic relations improve, another R1 billion could be freed.

De Klerk said the victims of violence could not be helped by political sloganeering and rhetoric, nor by apportioning blame in all directions.

Therefore, the funds to be made available would be put into programmes and projects to aid victims of violence, he said.

Job creation programmes, establishing clinics, primary health care services, sport and recreational facilities, schools and the provision of land for informal settlement, are some of the areas the Government plans to

3044

took at

"The problem is that people, especially in the stricken areas, have virtually no means of their own to safeguard their livelihoods in times of violent disruption.

Violence-ridden

"The support systems which normally exist in communities have been paralysed in many cases or destroyed to a large extent.

"In this regard I am of the opinion that the Government should consider measures by which violence-ridden communities may be assisted by providing basic short-term necessities such as food, clothing and blankets," De Klerk said.

Legislation will be tabled in Par-

liament within weeks aimed at the creation of a social emergency aid fund for violence-ridden communities.

In his invitation to Buthelezi and Mandela, De Klerk said: "I invite them to join me in declaring war on violence and intimidation.

"To co-operate with me in bringing violence to an end.

"To join me in elevating the question of violence above party political manipulations.

"The time has come for the men of peace to gather. Do not let your abhorrence of what is happening sweep you into the torrent of emotionalism.

"Let us the leaders of our people, remain cool and steadfast."

SA must have a common purpose

Sowetan 30/4/91

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's short, but intensive tour of London, Copenhagen and Dublin has reinforced the need and the urgency of forging a common purpose among South Africans.

Political Staff

The concept of co-responsibility during the transition process has problems of its own - it might be seen to be a form of co-optation and

His five-day three-nation tour has extended South Africa's influence and won further encouragement and support.

He has broken new ground in Ireland and Denmark and has the ear of politicians there.

However one looks at it, South Africa's shares have risen.

April 30 1991



FW DE KLERK

De Klerk was eloquent, serious, humble, confident but he remains the leader of a white minority

Boost

And De Klerk made it clear to all he saw that their help now would make a difference to the country's future.

His visit to London certainly does seem to have given South Africa's return to the international sports arena a big boost.

He has predicted a return to the international test circuit quite soon.

In Denmark - where the State President and Prime Minister Mr Poul Schluter seemed to get on famously, De Klerk took an effective swipe at the notion that sanctions should not be lifted until he has done more to abolish apartheid ... in short, to scrap the existing

On this, De Klerk has learned, depends the degree to which business and political leaders will be prepared to underwrite the transition he has convinced them is real.

In 1990, they were anxious to find out if he was serious, and if the process he had begun was indeed irreversible.

A year later, they doubt that no longer - they are wondering, simply, if his vision is achievable.

The question that arises is whether De Klerk has convinced them that it is. In fact, it is a false question. It is not a question he alone can answer.

Answers

It was notable that after he had addressed the Confederation of British Industry in London on Friday, these hard-nosed businessmen wanted brass tacks answers on the future of the economy.

Before they put down their money, businessmen want to know more or less what's going to happen to it in the medium term.

They are all for political change, but not so much of it that the apple cart topples over.

Future

Perhaps one of the most significant statements of the tour - in a speech to the Institute of Directors at the Royal Albert Hall last Tuesday - was that while he rejected the notion of an interim government, he was prepared to consider drawing the leaders of major negotiation partners into legislative and even executive decision-making.

leaders might be wary of discrediting themselves.

But besides next month's peace summit, it is one of the few opportunities being mooted for the forging of a common purpose.

What bankers and businessmen really want is an assurance from a South African leader they know speaks for all his people, or, crudely perhaps, for the larger portion of the black majority they know must inevitably determine the course the country takes into the future.

Task

De Klerk was eloquent, sometimes impassioned, serious, humble, confident - but, however determined, he remained the leader of a white minority government.

Even so, given these difficulties, it is undoubted that De Klerk made headway in conveying the complexity of the task of creating a new nation.

apartheid" constitution. This, he argued, was tantamount to asking him, as one of several key negotiation partners, to circumvent the talks process and unilaterally impose a new order. Much like his discredited predecessors.

After years of urging him to negotiate, was this, he posed, what his detractors really wanted him to do now?

In the same television

interview, he was asked about his son Willem's love affair with Erica Adams and was entirely unphased, perhaps to the surprise of many Danish viewers.

Protests

The Irish response clearly heartened the South African team. They encountered the stiffest protests (though even these were muted com-

pared with the clamour of years gone by) in Dublin, but such a clear signal of encouragement from Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey, that this one-day visit stands out as a highlight in South Africa's breakthrough to international contact and acceptance.

In the most important sense, it is now what happens on the home front that counts more than ever.

FW - the odd man

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha did it. His deputy Leon Wessels did it. Even Finance Minister Barend du Plessis did it. But President FW de Klerk won't.

Against a tide of white Afrikaner remorse for their failed 40-year experiment in legalised race discrimination, De Klerk has so far refused to say "sorry" to South Africa's blacks for apartheid.

"Some of our people continue to be obsessed with past grievances. Some insist on apologies for everything that has occurred in the past," De Klerk said in a recent address to South Africa's Goodwill Foundation.

Mistakes

"Many mistakes were made by all sides and parties. If we dwell on the real or imagined sins of the past, we shall never be able to find one another in the present," he said.

In one private conversation, De Klerk said the whites who have controlled South Africa for 300 years and the Dutch-descended Afrikaners who have ruled since 1948 have nothing to apologise for.

"It (apartheid)... was an honest attempt to



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi...apology necessary for reconciliation

There's no sign of remorse from white leader

resolve our problems. It didn't work and now we must try something else," he said.

Nelson Mandela's African National Congress has not made an issue out of De Klerk's refusal to apologise for the policy he decided last year to abandon.

A spokesman at the movement's Johannesburg headquarters said ANC officials were too busy with details of negotiations on a new constitution and demands for land reform to focus on the need to say sorry.

The ANC is insisting that a reluctant government must give back at least some of the land it seized from blacks.

But other black leaders insist that South Africa's whites must repent the violence and cruelty of apartheid before there can be forgiveness and reconciliation.

Censured

"We want to hear a formal, public apology from President De Klerk for the things his people have done since 1948 in the name of apartheid and racial segregation," said Coloured Labour Party parliamentarian Pieter Hendrickse.

He said South Africa's five million whites could not shrug off the injuries done to 32 million blacks, Coloureds and ethnic Indians in the name of "separate development" of the races.

In one catalogue of the cost of apartheid, the *Financial Mail* cited: *...hundreds of unexplained deaths in political detention...

*...17 million arrests under the now defunct

pass laws that restricted black travel, and

*...3.5 million forced removals from traditional homes to remote human dumping grounds under the laws that controlled where black people could live.

Others also point to the sundering of families whose children were allocated to different race groups and the torture of children jailed for anti-apartheid protests.

Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently urged all sides in the South African conflict to apologise to each other to clear the way for reconciliation and cooperation.

Confession

"We need these 'sorries' to be expressed by every leader concerned in South African politics," Buthelezi said in an appeal to De Klerk and Mandela to join him in apologising for the violence of their followers.

Pik Botha, who defended apartheid at the United Nations and the World Court before he became foreign minister under hardline prime minister John Vorster in 1977, confessed in a recent television interview that apartheid had been a terrible mistake.

"To allocate rights and privileges on the basis of a physical characteristic was really tantamount to... sinning against God," he told once-banned newspaper editor Donald Woods in an interview.

Leon Wessels, a rising star in De Klerk's National Party, apologised formally in the parliament that still excludes the



FW DE Klerk...no apology for failed policy of discrimination

country's 28 million blacks: "Apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land... I am sorry."

And Du Plessis, who came within five parliamentary votes of beating De Klerk to the presidency in 1989, acknowledged in parliament recently that blacks had had reason to launch their guerilla war against white rule in 1960.

"The idea for which they stood - that they wanted freedom in the land of their birth and a say over their own lot -

down on protest.

"Suddenly you can't find an Afrikaner who ever believed in apartheid. They were all guerillas fighting it from within," said veteran anti-apartheid activist Jan van Eck.

He said he recognised that it was hard for Afrikaners to apologise for something that had been so central to their lives for so long.

"It must be very difficult for De Klerk, but he will have to do it some time," Van Eck said.

Sapa-Reuter

could not be destroyed," he said.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South African winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, has welcomed the wave of repentance and says blacks are willing to forgive.

Cynical

But some white politicians are cynical about the sudden rush to repudiate the philosophy that justified four decades of oppression, imprisonment, forced relocation and tough police crack-

out

CAP-Times 30/4/91 (304A)
'What's FW up to with ANC?'

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk had to make it clear whether he was trying to work with the ANC or destroy the organisation, Democratic Party leader **Dr Zach de Beer** said yesterday.

Speaking during the President's budget debate, **Dr De Beer** said one of the "great mistakes" being committed by **Mr De Klerk** was that he continually left the press and the public in doubt as to what his attitude to the ANC is.

The DP, he said, wanted to work with the ANC — as well as the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and other organisations of "the broad, moderate, democratic centre".

SA science groups to form unified academy

3 (2041) 30/4/71
ROBERT LAING

NOBODY escapes politics in SA. Even free-thinking scientists cannot keep aloof from recent developments. Like most local interest groups, SA's science organisations fell into apartheid's trap of splitting into three separate bodies — dominated by Afrikaans, English and black scientists each.

True to science's dream of unifying everything, the three groups — the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, the Royal Society of SA and the Science and Engineering Academy of SA (Seasa) — are keen to form a "unitary academy" of science.

SA scientists have been sidelined in the negotiation process. They fear the foundations of SA science — freedom of information, education standards and research funding — may be eroded further.

The academy's planners hope to build the organisation into something comparable to the US's National Academy of Science, a politically independent body which advises government.

The Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns and Foundation for Research and Development (FRD) chairman Rhein Arndt said: "The new body will be a grouping of a small number of elected members, recognised for their contribution to promoting a scientific culture in their communities."

Seasa chairman and SA's only black nuclear physicist Gordon Sibuya said the new body had to broaden SA's view of science.

"Irrespective of who runs SA, science and technology have to be promoted. Science education has to be improved if SA is to grow economically."

Royal Society of SA chairman Prof Frank Nabarro said he was in favour of forming the united academy, but had some reservations.

"We agreed on a draft document last week outlining the aims of the academy. It will be less easy to reach agreement on how the academy will be funded."

"The committee includes many starry-eyed young people who want the body to be unanswerable to politicians, yet funded by government."

Nabarro said the Royal Society of SA had always regarded itself as a national academy and he feared the united academy might usurp it.

Some local scientists, like Wits University science dean Prof Jan Boeyens, said SA science had never really been isolated as scientists had always had access to the International Council of Science Unions.

Arndt said: "That may be true for established scientists who were known to the international science community before academic isolation was introduced two decades ago. But young SA scientists have been kept away from international science. Now, hopefully, they can take part in the world's research effort."

Who's who on govt's negotiating team

CAPE TOWN — Political players across the spectrum are drafting proposals to be debated at the pending multiparty conference on negotiations.

Recently the ANC released its working proposals for public debate. Other players have also put forward suggestions of what they would like to see in a new constitution.

During the past few months government has put together a high-powered constitutional committee. It is structuring proposals to put on the table at negotiations.

Senior government sources say President F W de Klerk heads the team, and is a strong force directing the cabinet committee on negotiations.

Sitting on the team and instructing civil servants, technocrats and academics are seven Ministers including three provincial leaders and two Deputy Ministers from Constitutional Development Services.

Directing the committee is Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, who shares with Umkhonto we

By Gary 30/4/91
Sizwe chief Chris Hani a love for the classics.

Viljoen became rector of the Rand Afrikaans University in 1967, having previously been professor of classics at Pretoria University.

In 1978 he was appointed Namibia's administrator-general. He returned two years later as National Education Minister, introducing managerial and organisational reforms.

Viljoen maintains that one of his greatest achievements was legislation establishing a general educational policy and a central ministry, and binding the different education departments.

The three provincial leaders on the team are Finance Minister Barend du Plessis from the Transvaal, Justice



● VILJOEN

BILLY PADDOCK

Minister Kobie Coetsee (Free State) and Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers (Cape).

Other Cabinet members are Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Minister Hernus Kriel.

The other two members of the committee are Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer and Tertius Delpoort, who is also Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Deputy Minister.

Regarded as a skilful negotiator, Botha has pulled off numerous spectacular foreign affairs coups and is renowned for his ultra-verlig comment (in 1986) that SA could be ruled by a black president in the future. He was publicly repudiated for this by President P W Botha.

Coetsee, an advocate, was appointed Defence and National Security Minis-

ter in October 1978. He restructured the National Intelligence Service after the Information Scandal, and took over the Justice portfolio two years later.

Barend du Plessis maintained directorships of 12 companies until his appointment as Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister in 1982.

Diplomat

As Education and Training Minister in 1983 he had to deal with school boycotts, meeting pupil leaders to discuss problems. He took over the Finance portfolio in 1984.

Stoffel van der Merwe was a career diplomat with Foreign Affairs, gained his D Phil with a thesis entitled A System Analysis of Revolution, and served as a state witness in numerous political trials in the 1970s, including the SA Student's Organisation/Black Peoples' Convention trial and the PAC trial held in Bethal.

Dawie de Villiers, a former dominee, was well known as a Springbok rugby captain before Gerrit Viljoen encouraged him to enter politics.

Hernus Kriel was born in Kakamas in the Cape. His father was a missionary in the coloured community and opposed the petty apartheid of the Verwoerdian era.

Kriel believes John Vorster was the father of political reform in SA and supported Vorster's less doctrinaire application of the theory of separate development.

Roelf Meyer completed the degrees of BCom and LLB before working as a legal advisor to Federale Volkslegings. During his student days he was active in politics and was part of government's team at the Groote Schuur talks with the ANC in May.

Sunday's River MP Tertius Delpoort was appointed chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Development, Foreign Affairs and Development Aid in 1989.

Seven months later, in May last year, predictions of a rapid rise for Delpoort were confirmed when he became Deputy Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister.

DP calls on FW to show his colours

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk had to make it clear whether he was trying to work with the ANC or destroy the organisation, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

304A
Speaking during the President's budget debate, De Beer said one of the "great mistakes" De Klerk committed was that he continually left the Press and the public in doubt as to his attitude towards the ANC.

BIDAM 30/4/91
The DP, he said, wanted to work with the ANC as well as and the NP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and other organisations of "the broad, moderate democratic centre."

Political Staff

"What is nerve-wracking for everybody is the sense that the NP is without a strategy for dealing with the ANC."

De Beer said it was also an error of judgment for De Klerk not to put the management of the negotiation process into the hands of a neutral arbitrator, Sapa reports.

The DP had warned more than a year ago that it would "just not work" for the President to be referee and player at the same time.

The confusion between these roles had become a stick with which government was being beaten.

Crisis looms

From Page 1
Star 30/4/71

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance was discussing a Peace Conference to be formulated as "a culmination of a broad national campaign for peace."

The statement warned of a major political and economic crisis facing the country.

Retrenchment — up to 150 000 workers stood to lose their jobs in the next 12 months — "meant a disaster of national proportions faced our people."

"The Alliance will throw its weight behind the campaign to stop retrenchments."

Chief Mangusuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the ANC in Natal had a hit-list of top Inkatha officials and said there was a plan to kidnap two of his children. Star 30/4/71

The ANC described such allegations as preposterous.

Chief Buthelezi, accepting Mr de Klerk's invitation to himself and Mr Mandela to peace discussions ahead of the proposed May 24-25 summit on violence, said: "The ball is in Dr Mandela's court."

Addressing Parliament yesterday, President de Klerk said that a "violence psychosis" was threatening to delay or disrupt negotiations.

The leaders of people who were continuously involved in violence had a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

Mr de Klerk said South African leaders stood before a decisive choice on politically-related violence and intimidation:

"Either they play politics with it, or they come together and co-operate in seeking solutions."

More reports — Pages 3, 6, 7 and 14



When push comes to shove... an ANC bodyguard confronts Hendrik Claassens after he and a group of rowdy rightwingers invaded the stage at the University of Pretoria campus yesterday, just before a speech by ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Report on Page 3. Picture: Jon Hrusa

FW warns of civil war • Cosatu threatens general strike

Torrent of protest looms

Star 30/4/71

30/4/71

30/4/71

By Andrew Walker

The first of two crucial deadlines was reached today, with the Government and the ANC and its allies in a confrontation that is set to ignite massive protests.

The deadline for the release of political prisoners and detainees arrived amid acrimony and a background of violence which has brought South Africa to a new crisis, as the ANC's May

9 ultimatum to the Government to make moves to end the fighting approaches. Public accusations between the main extra-parliamentary players in the negotiation process reached a crescendo last night as State President F W de Klerk warned that the country was "on the edge of civil war."

A joint congress of South African Trade Unions said speakers at May Day rallies would threaten a general strike unless the Government acted to stop violence. First protest actions

aimed at the two deadlines were scheduled for later today by the ANC Youth League.

It threatened to "occupy" the Union Buildings and march on Parliament, government buildings and foreign embassies in a campaign to highlight "the Government's failure to stop the violence."

Last night President de Klerk, announcing the creation of a fund to aid the victims of violence which has claimed 61 lives in Soweto

and Alexandra in the last three days alone, made renewed peace talk proposals.

They were immediately rejected by the ANC and its backers, who accused him of creating a smokescreen to hide reluctance or inability to end the fighting.

The vast public divide between the Government and the ANC was made clear in a press statement issued in Johannesburg last night after a meeting of the national executive committees of the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

Accusing the Government of "once again" failing to take seriously warnings of pending attacks on its members, the Tripartite directly accused President de Klerk of failing to stop the township slaughter.

"De Klerk has not demonstrated any willingness to end the violence," said the statement. "His proposal for a Mandela-De Klerk-Buthelezi meeting, and his proposal to convene a multi-party conference on the violence, are a diversion from the issues raised in the Open

Letter (issuing the May 9 ultimatum) and subsequent information released.

"De Klerk is trying to build a smokescreen to conceal his own reluctance or inability to take immediate and effective action."

The statement rejected President de Klerk's proposal for a standing commission on violence, calling instead for an independent commission of inquiry and an international judicial committee to monitor violence.

To Page 2

policeman to be available to testify in court or to go on leave or on sick leave. Ten thousand extra policemen seem to be a large number. However, if one looks at the matter in this way, there are not that many people in real terms. I would also like to point out to the hon member that the ratio of police per thousand of the population in South Africa is still one of the lowest in the world. It is about two per thousand of the population.

*We have a great deal of unrest and violence which the Police have to deal with. These things are related to each other. If unrest increases, violence increases as well. This is part of our problem. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, firstly I want to say to the hon member for Ermelo that long before he came to this House there were those of us in the then Progressive Federal Party who were raising the issue of crime, and we will continue to raise it, whether or not the hon member makes his racist jibes at us. [Interjections.]

Secondly, we will raise it with the hon the Minister. We have heard of his good intentions and plans. We want to tell him that the people are concerned, fed-up and angry. They are angry with crime, but they are also angry with the inability of the Police to protect the ordinary law-abiding citizen in the suburbs and cities.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: If the Police takes action, you ask for a commission!

Mr C W EGLIN: I once again this year asked the hon the Minister questions about crime in the Cape Peninsula. It appears that the farthest Cape in all the world is becoming the crime capital of South Africa. These are not only crimes associated with poverty and deprivation. They are crimes of violence like murder, rape, assault and, more particularly, the assault and murder of elderly people. This shows an increasing disregard for life and humanity.

It is correct that it is not solely the task of the Police to resolve the problem of increasing crime. Yet, in any civilised country the Police Force is the main body that stands between the criminal and the ordinary people in society. It is the function of the Police to stand between them. In spite of the good intentions, the public want to know whether the Police are properly staffed, equipped and trained, and whether members of the Police stand close enough to the communities

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

they are supposed to serve to be effective. We have no doubt that police units must be as close as possible to the communities. If possible, personnel should be drawn from the community which they serve. We believe that one still has to return to the old-fashioned concept of the bobby on the beat, difficult though it may be. Personal human foot patrols on a neighbourhood basis are fundamental to the police protection of ordinary citizens.

*Mr C H PIENAAR: The DP hates the police.

Mr C W EGLIN: What is more, the Police have to work closely with the community, with the neighbourhood watches, business watches and community organisations, and we do not know whether the Police are doing enough of that. We hear of the hon the Minister's intentions... [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, the steps announced by the hon the Minister here this afternoon are insufficient and inadequate as the crime levels in the suburbs of South Africa are totally unacceptable, in particular in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, the area that I represent and in which the people for whom I must speak in this House live.

The people in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg are a community living under siege—the siege of the robber, housebreaker, car hijacker and the bandit. I spoke to a man on Sunday whose house had been broken into six times. The burglars take out the soft putty from the window and get into the house the same way each time. I spoke to a man on Saturday who had been mugged in a shopping area. There are simply not enough policemen in the streets, the bobbies on the beat, to look after our people.

The rapidly rising business in this country in security apparatus is simply unacceptable. Everybody has an electric gate, everybody has spikes on their fences, everybody has a buzzer to protect themselves. We need policemen on the beat to ensure that our suburbs are safe.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, I cannot find fault with the standpoint which the hon members adopted about the high crime rate in the country. We know about that. The Government realises it. That is why last year the Government gave the Police millions of rands extra so that we could employ 10 000 people. That is why we are getting extra money

this year to do this again. The hon member was not telling me anything new. We know about that. *Answered 30/4/91*

We must tell one another as well. The South African Police's task in this country is not being made easy. There are many people who are placing obstacles in the path of the Police, which makes matters difficult for us. I am not accusing anyone; I am just saying that our task is not made easy. [Interjections.]

It is also a fact that the SA Police will do everything to prevent crime. We will do everything to investigate crime and to solve crime, but we live in a community which does not respect the lives and property of others. [Interjections.] The SA Police cannot rectify that. [Interjections.]

I want to tell hon members here today that of course we can do far more to get the communities to co-operate, but if one voice could be heard from this Chamber telling people to join the neighbourhood watch systems, it would help us a great deal.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Yes, but the CP may not join! [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER: In many cases this system is used for party politics. [Interjections.] We say no, we must not do that. The public and the Police must work together and stand together against crime. I am telling hon members that I am far more dissatisfied with the present crime rate than these hon members. We are doing our utmost with the limited manpower and means at our disposal, and I want to give hon members the assurance that we will do everything to triumph in the struggle against crime. We ask for co-operation and we ask for the help of the total South African community. [Time expired.]

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Just before the hon the Minister rose to answer the question which I have on the Order Paper, the hon member for Newcastle, as the hon the Minister for Law and Order sat down, said in reference to the hon member for Claremont: "Hy is 'n klipgoot-instrukteur." [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order! That is not a point of order. [Interjections.] Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 9 April 1991:

Arrest of MP for Claremont

*29. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Answered 30/4/91*

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 12 February 1991, the reasons for the arrest by the South African Police on 3 November 1990 of the member of Parliament for Claremont, as furnished by the Western Cape Commissioner of Police and quoted in certain newspapers on 3 November 1990 (copies of which have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply), are still the valid reasons for the arrest of this member of Parliament; if not, why not; if so, how can these reasons be reconciled with those furnished in the reply to the above-mentioned Question No 7; *(30/4/91)*

(2) on the strength of what unrest-related incidents and circumstances that occurred and applied in the area of Khayelitsha where the member of Parliament concerned was arrested did the officer who arrested him come to the decision to arrest him;

(3) whether the presence, in the relevant area of Khayelitsha, of the members of the ANC and the leader of the Khayelitsha Civic Association who accompanied the said member of Parliament could have contributed to public disturbance, disorderliness or public violence; if not, why not; if so, why was only the member of Parliament for Claremont arrested and removed from the area by the police officer concerned;

(4) with reference to his reply to standing-over Question No 6 on 12 March 1991, on what date was the case docket on the arrest of this member submitted to the Attorney-General?

B691E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) A further intensive investigation into the circumstances and reasons for the arrest of the hon member in Khayelitsha on 2 November 1990 has revealed that the information regarding this arrest, and upon which the Western Cape Regional Commissioner based his premise, namely that the hon member was arrested because he was found "where he was busy addressing a growing crowd of 100 people", was based on the personal and subjective opinion of the officer in charge of the situation and ostensibly gave rise to a misinterpretation of the circumstances.
- If the answer to Question 7 on 12 February 1991 left the impression that the hon member was involved or responsible for the stone throwing which occurred on 25 October 1990 in the black residential areas, Old Cross Roads and Khayelitsha, it is not correct.

- (2) Regulation 2(3) of the Unrest Regulations of 1 November 1990, of which the applicable section is quoted here, is as follows:

"If a member of a security force is of the opinion that it is necessary for the combating or prevention of public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence . . . , he may summarily order a person present in an unrest area . . . , and who is not normally resident therein, to leave that unrest area . . . immediately, and if that person fails to leave that unrest area . . . immediately, that member may arrest the person concerned or cause him to be arrested and may remove him from that unrest area . . . or cause him to be so removed."

On 2 November 1990 the hon member was found in Khayelitsha in the presence of a group of people who were visiting the area. The hon member was, in the opinion of the officer concerned, the central point and principal figure in the group. The officer was of the opinion that the circumstances were such that it was necessary for the prevention of public disturbance, disorder or public violence to order the hon member to immediately leave the area. The hon member ignored

the order, whereupon he was arrested and removed from the area.

In this regard I would like to point out that the decision was left entirely to the judgement of the officer in charge of the situation. He alone, having regard to the circumstances present, was in a position to make a decision at that given moment.

- (3) Yes, the presence of members of the ANC or of the Khayelitsha Civic Association could also have contributed to public disturbance, disorder or public violence. As has already been said, the officer involved was of the opinion that the hon member was the central figure at scene. In fact, ten other people were also ordered to leave the area in terms of regulation 2(3). As they obeyed the order, no further action against them was necessary.
- (4) On 6 December 1990 the case docket in respect of the arrest of the hon member was submitted to the Attorney-General who declined to institute any prosecution.

Question standing over from Tuesday, 23 April:

Summer daylight saving

*9. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Manpower:

- (a) What is the Government's policy in regard to the introduction of a programme of summer daylight saving and (b) what are the reasons for this policy?

B795E

†The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

- (a) and (b) The Department of Manpower is not directly involved in the matter of summer daylight saving as the legislation administered by this Department, for example, prescribes only maximum working hours per day or per week and not the time of commencement of such working hours.

The other Departments directly or indirectly involved are *inter alia*:

- Department of Law and Order
- Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs
- Department of National Health and Population Development

- Department of Trade and Industry and Tourism
- Department of Transport

The State President has therefore decided to have the matter investigated by the President's Council.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Just before the hon the Minister rose to answer the question which I have on the Order Paper, the hon member for Vryheid, as the hon the Minister for Law and Order sat down, said in reference to the hon member for Claremont: "Hy is 'n klipgoot-instrukteur." [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order! That is no point of order. [Interjections.]

New questions:

Westonaria magistrate's office: repairs

*1. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:†

- (1) Whether any repairs to, renovations of and/or additions to the magistrate's office at Westonaria are envisaged; if not, why not; if so,

- (2) whether this work will commence this year; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will commence; if so, when is it anticipated that the work will be completed?

B805E

†The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes. It involves renovations, the conversion of existing accommodation as well as additions.

- (2) Yes.

- (a) Falls away;
- (b) anticipated towards the end of 1991, with completion during the second half of 1992.

Occupational safety/health: investigation

*2. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Manpower:†

- (1) Whether an interdepartmental committee has been appointed to investigate the rationalisation of occupational safety and health;

- (2) whether this investigation has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so,

- (3) whether it is the intention to introduce legislation in this regard; if not, why not; if so, when?

B806E

†The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

- (1) Yes. An interdepartmental task group under the chairmanship of the Director-General of Manpower has been appointed to investigate the matter.

- (2) No.

- (a) The investigation has not been completed because of the complex nature of the investigation as well as the fact that several departments are involved in the investigation.

- (b) As a result of the reason mentioned under (a) above, it is not at present possible to furnish an expected date of conclusion.

- (3) It is at present not possible to say whether legislation would be necessary should rationalisation take place.

MD of Transnet: Goodwill Fund

*3. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:†

- (1) (a) For what purpose is the Goodwill Fund or Goodwill Account of the Managing Director of Transnet usually used, and (b) what was the balance in this fund or account as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

- (2) whether any donation was made out of this fund or account to any political party during the period 1 August up to and including 31 December 1990; if so, (a) to which political party, (b) why and (c) what was the amount of the donation?

B843E

†The MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

The Managing Director of Transnet Limited replied as follows to the hon member's question.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: I think the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition can put these questions in writing and we can answer them at the soonest possible opportunity.

Separate police districts

*4. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he intends creating separate police districts for Indians, Coloureds and Blacks; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Answered 30/4/91

D85E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2)
- An investigation is at present being carried out into the institution of additional Police districts and an announcement in this regard will be made shortly.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising from the answers given, is not the question of the establishment of separate Indian, Coloured and Black districts outdated in the light of the reform programme of the Government of the day?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, that question will be addressed in the announcement to be made shortly.

New questions:

Overvaal resorts: racial incidents

*1. Mr A S KAHN asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

- (1) Whether any racial incidents occurred at Overvaal resorts subsequent to the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No 49 of 1953; if so, what are the details in this regard;
- (2) whether he intends transferring the control of these resorts to the Transvaal Provincial Administration; if not, why not; if so, when;

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Chairman, I really cannot see how this follow-up question relates to the main question.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: It is a factor.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: It is history.

ANC: prisoners held in foreign countries

*3. Mr M F CASSIM asked the Minister of Constitutional Development: *(30/4/91)*

- (1) Whether the Government has entered into negotiations with the ANC regarding the release of prisoners being held in foreign countries; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether, during the course of such negotiations, the Government requested the ANC to assist in bringing about the release of prisoners in detention camps such as Mbarara in Uganda; if not, why not; if so, what has been the response to this request;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Answered 30/4/91

D107E

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1), (2) and (3)

The Government and government agencies are continuously taking steps to procure the release of South Africans finding themselves in detention in foreign countries. In the process contact is often made with a variety of organisations and foreign governments. The success of such efforts is almost always dependent on confidentiality. The particulars asked therefore cannot be provided. From this cannot be deduced that contact was at any time made, or not made, with any particular organisation in this regard.

Transnet: sport sponsorship policy.

*4. Mr N SINGH asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

- (1) Whether it is the policy of Transnet to provide sponsorship for sport; if so, what criteria are applied and (b) procedure is followed in this regard; *Answered 30/4/91*
- (2) whether Spoornet has announced that it

intends sponsoring rugby; if so, for what reasons? D109E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT (for the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises):

The Managing Director of Transnet Limited furnished the following reply to the hon member's question.

- (1) Yes.

- (a) The same as for Corporate Advertising i.e. the cost of the sponsorship is compared to the publicity value which will result from the exposure obtained. *Answered 30/4/91*
- (b) Normal budget and expenditure control procedures.

- (2) Yes; for the publicity value that Spoornet would obtain from the exposure.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, would it not be a better policy if sponsorship was provided for those kinds of sports that need upliftment through sponsorship and not those kinds of sports that enjoy significant public patronage?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: Mr Chairman, I am of the opinion that each and every sports organisation can apply for sponsorship from the independent board of directors of Transnet. They will determine where they can get the best value for their money, and then they will sponsor that specific sport's council.

RSA: size of bureaucracy

*5. Mr M F CASSIM asked the Minister of State Expenditure and for Regional Development:

- (1) Whether a scientific assessment of the size of the bureaucracy in the Republic of South Africa has been undertaken recently; if so, (a) by whom, (b) when and (c) what were the findings; if not,

- (2) whether he intends having such an assessment undertaken; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? D110E

The MINISTER OF STATE EXPENDITURE AND FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes, if the hon member means by bureaucracy the Public Service and the Public Sector; *Answered 30/4/91*

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

- (a) the Central Statistical Service undertakes surveys of the total Public Sector, while the Office of the Commission for Administration gathers and maintains information on the RSA Public Service;
- (b) the surveys are done on a regular basis, the most recent survey on the size of the Public Sector being as at 30 September 1990 and
- (c) findings with regard to these surveys indicate that the personnel numbers as at 30 September 1990 were 748 302 for the RSA Public Service and 1 662 355 for the Public Sector.
- (2) Falls away.

INTERPELLATION

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

Own Affairs:

Education: steps to improve

1. Mr K PANDAY asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether he or his Department plans to take steps to improve the education of children falling under his control so that they will be able to face the realities of the new democratic South Africa; if not, why not; if so, what steps;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard
3d/191

D90E.INT

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the answer is yes. The department's policy is geared for fully integrated schools influenced by demographic patterns in the country, reflecting the new democratic South Africa in the microcosm of the school.

The following population statistics for 1990 clearly indicate the trend that the pupil population at schools in a new democratic South Africa will be predominantly Black, with ever increasing numbers of Black pupils at schools close to them. The figure for Blacks is 5,69 million; for

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Indians, 0,29 million; for Whites, 1,3 million; and for Coloureds, 0,9 million. It is obvious that White, Indian and Coloured children will have to adapt to the changing scenario, rather than to expect Black children to assimilate naturally with the status quo situation. The need is paramount for children to become familiar with other cultures, languages and backgrounds and to accept these as normal.

My department has already opened its doors to pupils and teachers from other race groups. To date there are 10 686 Black, 4 880 Coloured and 29 White pupils in our schools, and I am proud to state that at present one Black, 16 Coloured and 108 White teachers are employed at our schools. In so doing we have impressed upon our Indian pupils that the transformation of the South African society into a non-racial, unitary nation is imminent and we have taken a firm step towards nation-building. *Hansard*

With regard to the inculcation of a positive attitude towards people of diverse cultural backgrounds, my department has introduced cultural studies into the curriculum for standards 2, 3, 4 and 5 pupils. One of the fundamental aims of this subject is to help the child discover that other cultural conceptions are normal and that there is a common humanism that pervades all cultures. The need for respect, tolerance and sharing is firmly entrenched in the programme of instruction in this subject as well as in customs, values and mores.

In addition, pupils are free to study any Black language as an examination subject in the junior and senior secondary phases as long as teachers and classroom accommodation are available. Attention is at present being given to the formulation of strategies for the introduction of Black languages in primary schools. Several Indian educators have already majored in Zulu for their BA degree.

My department is fully aware of the fact that the new South Africa will require major attitudinal changes among pupils and teachers. Therefore, it is wary of prescribing to schools how to change in order to merge into the new South Africa. We have faith in our teachers and we are convinced that as professionals they will focus on the needs of the changing South Africa in their daily teaching. New Right Living, guidance and counselling programmes which are being presented at

our schools are flexible enough to help inculcate positive attitudes towards change.

The school curriculum itself is undergoing change. There is a greater emphasis on technical, vocational and vocationally oriented education as opposed to the generally academic education of the past. It is worth mentioning here the good work done by the Job Placement Board and the Vocational Education Directorate of my department. This directorate will be playing an increasingly important role in the future South Africa in securing jobs for school-leavers. [Time expired.]

Mr K PANDAY: Mr Chairman, it appears that some very positive steps have been taken by the ministry in respect of the interpellation I have posed here. However, I should like to make some observations with regard to this.

The Indian children, through no fault of their own, by and large understand the culture and behaviour only of the children of Indian origin. The grouping of our children into Indian schools was not a choice of the Indian parent or child. It is really superfluous and irrelevant at this stage to address the issues of the past. The education of our children is of paramount importance. Much of what is being practised currently will be history in the not too distant future. Let us not look too critically at the past, but rather prepare our children for the changing South Africa.

Interaction is the key word. How do we get our children to communicate and interrelate with children of their own age group across the colour line? Briefly, I would suggest that firstly, Afrikaans as a compulsory subject must be scrapped. Let the main language of this country be English. Allow children to choose their own second language, whether it is Afrikaans, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Arabic, Zulu, Xhosa or any other language of their choice. By forcing Afrikaans as a compulsory second language down the throats of our students we are not only punishing them, but losing the very essence of education, namely that a child must feel comfortable with the subjects that he or she chooses.

That is why, in order to direct a child into a particular field, he or she has to choose the direction of his or her study at the beginning of his or her Std 8 year. After that the child is geared into a particular field. The Indian child has to learn to understand and speak Black languages in order to communicate with his

peers. In order to incorporate this into the curriculum without interfering too much with other subjects, our schools should take away about an hour or an hour and a half from the three to three and a half hours allotted to Afrikaans with immediate effect and next year remove all of it.

Hon members will remember my suggestion in respect of the option which I suggested much earlier. I am not suggesting that we teach Zulu or Xhosa using all the grammar rules and other paraphernalia that go with it. However, we must allow our children to communicate. Many of us from Natal in particular can speak Zulu without having had any formal lessons. [Time expired.]

Mr M F CASSIM: Mr Chairman, it pleases me to follow on the hon member for Reservoir Hills. He and I have an abiding interest in education and I am always interested in listening carefully to his ideas so that together we can put forward something that will be of interest to all of us.

I take note of one point: Whenever we try to exclude something, we make our education so much less important and significant. The policy should be all-inclusive rather than exclusive.

We can take Afrikaans as an example. For a long period, because of political connotations, there was a need or desire to protest against Afrikaans, but now that the new situation is evolving, Afrikaans must be seen as a language which has a place here. If people know that language, it gives them added mobility and added inroads. The purpose of education should not be to deny but rather to provide the means, because this is what makes the best education possible.

HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

Mr M F CASSIM: If we are looking towards a new South Africa, yes, I buy the hon member's idea that we should try to have more Black languages as communication languages. Inasmuch as we can help the hon the Minister of Education and Culture, he should note that it is an idea we can support. It is an idea that is important.

Just this weekend, before I left, I saw this in practice. My wife, who is very fluent in Zulu, runs special classes outside school hours to help Black children become more familiar with other languages and, by way of the opposite process, to make Indian children more fluent in Zulu.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Tuks burn ANC flag on campus

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — A large group of right-wingers yesterday prevented ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela from addressing a meeting at the Pretoria University amphitheatre.

An unidentified elderly man confronted Mr Mandela's small party on the stage and was soon joined by noisy right-wing students.

Mr Mandela stood impassively on the platform as the group, waving Vierkleur flags and banners proclaiming "Terug na Ons Volksstaat" and "ANC Scum", shouted "af, af" (get off, get off).

The group of about 100 burnt an ANC flag. They were among about 5 000 who had come to hear Mr Mandela speak at an Afrikaans university for the first time.

Police were not seen at the meeting, which broke up as Mr

Mandela and his party retreated.

A section of the audience protested that Mr Mandela should be given an opportunity to speak, but was shouted down by the mob.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, a former lecturer at Pretoria University, said the meeting was a disgraceful display of closed minds and intolerance.

The university's student representative council condemned the right-wing protest and said it was a blemish on the name of the university.

Vice-rector Professor Flip Smit said the break-up of the meeting was initiated by outsiders and not by students. The university had taken steps to identify those responsible and further action would be taken.

The university's standpoint was that invited speakers were treated as guests and freedom of speech was highly regarded.

FW casts oil on violence victims

Cpt Tm's 30/4/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday launched a fresh initiative to curb the recent spiralling violence which has claimed at least 50 lives since Friday.

Mr De Klerk also announced two new funding projects — one financed by the selling off of strategic oil reserves — to address some of the underlying causes of violence and bring emergency relief to its victims.

He made an impassioned plea for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in a crisis

"mini summit" to work out a joint plan to crack down on violence and intimidation.

Introducing the debate on his budget vote, Mr De Klerk said that up to R2 billion freed by the reduction of South Africa's strategic oil stockpiles would be used for development programmes — including projects aimed at ending township violence.

He acknowledged that poverty, joblessness and unacceptable social conditions were contributing to the violence sweeping the country.

Outlining the first aim of the two-pronged initiative, Mr De Klerk said about R1bn would be used this year to further social stability and order by funding projects such as the erection of clinics, sport and recreational facilities, schools and the provision of land for housing in poor communities.

The money would come from selling off oil reserves.

As economic relations with the rest of the world continued to improve, the amount could be raised to R2bn.

Disadvantaged communities would help to identify facilities needed and, where possible, also contribute labour. The projects would be co-ordinated with manpower training to ensure as much job creation as possible.

A committee of ministers headed by the Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Dr Dawie de Villiers, would evaluate and co-ordinate projects, which would include the repair of the vital road infrastructure.

The second part of the initiative will be the establishment of a Social Emergency Aid Fund to channel

short-term relief in the form of food, clothing and blankets to violence-ridden communities.

The fund, which would be established in terms of legislation during the current session of Parliament, would channel financial support it received through welfare organisations and other approved institutions.

Mr De Klerk committed the government to making "substantial contribution" to the proposed fund. He expressed the hope that the South African public

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● Don't trust FW totally, UK warned — Page 4

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would contribute to the fund and was confident that it would be possible to get international support as well.

He warned that the "violence psychosis" and culture of violence gripping the nation was in danger of plunging the country into "civil war".

"We can't go on like this," he told Parliament. The "senseless" politically motivated violence and intimidation racking the country was jeopardising reform, economic development and the future prospects of South Africa.

Turning to the latest instance of on-the-ground violence, Mr De Klerk said that some black communities were being torn apart and "almost destroyed".

Mr De Klerk said he accepted that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi — as leaders — wished to see an end to violence. "I know that neither of them doubts that I am just as serious about it."

He invited the two leaders to join him in discussions on violence which would precede the proposed Pretoria summit on violence next month.

Mr De Klerk also proposed that they jointly "declare war" on violence and intimidation, co-operate to bring violence to an end and elevate the question of violence "above party-political manipulation".

"The whole country wants this to happen — indeed, even the entire world.

"Let us act in such a way that history will never be able to say that we failed as responsible peace-makers," Mr De Klerk said in what amounted to an impassioned plea for joint action.

Mr De Klerk issued a challenge for all leaders to attend the proposed peace summit in Pretoria by saying: "The time has come for the men of peace to gather."

He added: "If we stand arm-in-arm, we will be able to turn the tide of violence."

To break the spiral of violence, South Africa needed "a massive effort" by all the leaders of society — political, religious, educational and community.

"The time has come for them to speak up in public. We need an outcry against violence."

However, more was needed than mere statements opposing violence, and it was for this reason that he had called a special all-party summit on May 24-25.

Mr De Klerk said the solution to the problem of violence did not lie in apportioning blame or issuing ultimatums. "Confrontation among leaders will merely fan violence."

In an apparent reference to the ANC's planned nationwide mass action programme, he said: "Let us be careful how we demonstrate or protest, so that those who follow us do not get caught up anew in the spirit of blood and flames."

Mr De Klerk said the government was totally committed to the peace process. "We are not playing games and we don't have a hidden agenda.

"If anyone is playing games, we want to know it. The truth must prevail." This was one of the reasons for the proposed establishment of a Standing Commission of Inquiry into violence and intimidation.

"Simultaneously, the leaders of those who are continuously involved in violence have a special responsibility to discipline their followers."

In a side-swipe at Inkatha, he said those who carried traditional weapons should make doubly sure that the symbols they carried in their hands "remain an expression of their true culture".

And in an apparent reference to the ANC, he said: "Let those who are not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically, realise the time for armed struggle is over."