

S.A GOVT. & POLITICS - 1991

MAY.

## Political institute launches branch

By Abel Mushi

The Institute for Multi-Party Democracy launched its Johannesburg office in Braamfontein yesterday. (304A)

IMPD executive chairman and former secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, told an audience of about 100 that his organisation would not play a prescriptive role but would be of service and assistance to concerned parties without discrimination.

The IMPD aimed "to establish and maintain a multiparty democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa", he said.

IMPD national director and former Azapo president, Dr Saths Cooper, will head the Johannesburg office.

Among those at the launch were ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, Southern African Black Taxi Association president James Ngcova and economist Professor Otty Nxumalo.

# Nats under bitter CP attack for mooting low-key Republic Day

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The National Party had turned itself into a comrade of the ANC and the SA Communist Party by deciding not to hold a central official celebration of the 30th anniversary of Republic Day this year, Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Earlier, Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar said the celebrations would be organised at provincial level under the leadership of the provincial Administrators.

The Government had asked them to arrange festivities, such as the usual receptions and sports and cultural days in their own provinces.

The Minister said May 31 was

woven into the history of the country. In 1902 it had marked the Peace of Vereeniging; in 1910, Union; and in 1961, the birth of the Republic.

He added jokingly that he believed the second Republic would come into being on May 31 in a few years.

## Celebrations

In view of the economic climate, the Government had decided to limit the cost of the celebrations this year.

Republic Day was a day for all the citizens of South Africa, not only for Afrikaners.

Mr Jacobs, who had asked

whether the Government planned countrywide official celebrations, said Mr Pienaar's reply showed that there would indeed be no central celebration of the day.

His reply also showed that the NP expected that May 31 would be the day on which the new Mandela/Slovo/De Klerk republic came into being.

This was proof that the NP Government had already taken leave of a free white republic in South Africa.

"The NP have become boycotters of that which is dear to us," Mr Jacobs said.

The Government had turned the Republic into a total constitutional catastrophe.

## Emerge

Daan van der Merwe (CP nominated) said the NP had sold out South Africa, its whites and all its other people.

"When you lose your principles, your morality and your historical basis, then you lose everything," he said.

The NP was the most left-wing party ever to emerge in the subcontinent, Mr van der Merwe added. — Sapa.



# ANC is dragging its feet, says FW

Star 115791  
By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

As the April 30 "deadline" for the release of political prisoners passed yesterday, President de Klerk said the releases were on track — and blamed the ANC for dragging its feet.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that he had approved the release of a further 71 prisoners on Monday — bringing the total so far to 933. (Sout) (252)

But he accused the ANC of dragging its feet with late applications for release or indemnity, and for failing to co-operate with the Government by not attending meetings or not providing requested information.

Mr de Klerk said he had turned down the release applications of 364 people because of the seriousness of their crimes — such as neck-lace murders.

However, many fell in a "grey area" regarding the question of whether their crimes were politically motivated or not.

He had referred these to the consultative body which had been established for the purpose — and which included members of the ANC — and was ready to reconsider his decision "expeditiously" on its advice.

Mr de Klerk said the Groote Schuur Minute — to which the ANC was bound — recognised that there was no objective definition of a political prisoner.

But the Minute had identified certain statutory offences as purely political and also offences such as high treason which were directed against the State — unless a common law crime was committed. In exceptional circumstances serious crimes such as murder could also be considered.

These cases were naturally controversial and required "deep and serious consideration".

More applications for indemnity or release were coming in daily. On Monday alone, 351 had been received, and the total for April was 1 823.

"Compare this with the 725 for March 1991 and you will realise that it is not the Government which has been dragging its feet but the applicants and their organisation which have woken up at the last moment."

Referring to indemnities, he said 4 530 of the 5 872 applications received had been dealt with by category, 55 individually and 80 had been refused or were being considered by the indemnity committees.

"A further approximately 526 applications could have been dealt with by Friday last week if the ANC had kept its appointment with the officials of the Department of Justice."

Another 402 had been referred back to the ANC for "proper" information and



Angry gesture... a man brandishes an imitation AK-47 in front of the Diepkloof police station.

could be dealt with if the ANC co-operated.

This would have left 287 applications yesterday to be dealt with individually, pending further information from the responsible organisations.

The lack of co-operation and information from these organisations was "not satisfactory", he said.

Despite repeated requests to the ANC to identify political prisoners, it was only on April 25 this year that it had identified itself with a list of 1 292 drawn up by the Human Rights Commission.

However, only 770 of these were on the Government's records, many were "unknown" and 133 were in neighbouring countries.

Obliquely referring to ANC accusations that the Government had started the release and indemnity process late, Mr de Klerk said it was "conveniently forgotten" that:

● The indemnity and release process could only get going after February 12 when the ANC re-committed itself at the D F Malan airport talks to carry out its commitments under paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute. These commitments were to the "effective termination of violent and related activities".

A "great rumpus" had

been made of "so-called political trials" still under way. (They number 1 632 according to the Lawyers for Human Rights.)

Of these crimes 539 had been committed after the October 8 1990 cut-off date agreed to by the Government and the ANC, 225 of the crimes had been committed in neighbouring states, 79 cases had been completed or withdrawn and 103 involved murder which had to be dealt with individually.

Only 116 of those on the list had applied for indemnity and only 155 of the crimes committed before October 8 1990 were "possibly of a political nature".

Mr de Klerk stressed that not only ANC members were being indemnified and so the process would continue after April 30.

Referring to the 364 convicts whose applications for release he had turned down, Mr de Klerk said a significant number were "opportunists or dangerous criminals".

One had raped two women aged 94 and 87, had murdered one of them and stolen a radio and jewellery — but had applied for release as a political prisoner.

Many others had been convicted of "particularly brutal murders" such as neck-lacing.



# Koos tells of Nat document for Afrikaner homeland

304A

Star 11/5/91

CAPE TOWN — Selective quotes from an allegedly secret National Party document were read out by Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal) during the State President's budget vote debate yesterday.

Mr van der Merwe said that if President de Klerk knew what he was holding in his hand he would faint.

The document, which he said were the minutes of a secret Cabinet "bosberaad", recommended that something should be worked out to accommodate the demands for a separate Afrikaner homeland.

Speaker Louis le Grange asked Mr van der Merwe if the document was official.

"It is an unofficial document," replied Mr van der Merwe.

He also raised the issue of the so-called "Koos document" he had drafted, and which had

been raised in Parliament on several occasions since it was published in the press.

He said it proved that the Conservative Party was a dynamic, modern political party.

Over the past few years the Government had deliberately created a false caricature of the CP that it consisted of people who could not think and could not see the political realities of the day.

"They say the CP cannot evaluate politics scientifically and intelligently.

"Therefore the document is a huge embarrassment and a great backlash, as it destroys the false and conservative image which the NP created about the CP."

The document was proof that the CP was looking at all political solutions and played according to the most modern rules.

The NP was anxiously hiding

behind the document and avoiding its responsibility for the chaos which it had created.

"They will not deal with the fact that they have bankrupted the country.

"They have no solution for the shocking violence and crime."

Mr van der Merwe said the CP would take over the government in the next election.

"I assume that what worries the NP most about my document is that the CP stands here today with its dynamic thoughts and scientific plans.

"The CP is miles ahead of the NP in modern thought, dynamic technique and the search for fair solutions."

Mr van der Merwe asked Mr de Klerk, as "one Afrikaner to another", whether it did not concern him that the Afrikaner people had been torn in half. — Sapa.



**T**HE transformation of South African politics has, rather sadly, sidelined those brave people, mostly whites, who spoke up for blacks in the awful days when black people could not speak for themselves: the Black Sash, churchmen, lawyers in unpopular causes, liberals, and "Progs".

Chris Hani gives vent, if he chooses, to his own anger; he no longer needs a white MP to stand up in Parliament, as Helen Suzman used to do, or Margaret Ballinger before her, to plead on behalf of the voiceless. Archbishop Desmond Tutu can go back to speaking for God; Nelson Mandela speaks for himself.

The question now is what role remains for those people, essentially liberal, who kept the flame of civilisation alive in this country during the dark years when others resorted to the blind atrocity of limpet mines and bombs. Or to cast it in severely political terms, where do the gentle Progs go from here? Can they survive the return of peace?

Ray Swart, one of the original rebels who left the United Party to form the Progressive Party in 1959, has written a personal account of his political life which ends, also rather sadly, by suggesting that the Democratic Party's role is to become a

"pressure group committed to sound liberal principles".

It is a kindness on his part to bequeath to a party dominated by old enemies like Denis Worrall, Jamie Momberg and Sampie Terreblanche — a party that is the malformed creature of the departed Wimpie de Klerk and Wynand Malan — the status of liberal standard bearer. Swart, after all, abstained from the vote to dissolve the Progressive Federal Party in 1989 in order to form the DP.

By then, only Marius Barnard, never a member of the Prog inner circle, still had the spunk to vote "no". Most of the Progs, including Helen Suzman and Harry Schwarz, succumbed wearily to the argument that principle must in the end yield to the exigencies of building a constituency.

The folly of going into a coalition with Afrikanerdom's drop-outs is plain enough in retrospect, but at the time the illusion of power proved, for "Young Turks" who had grown aged waiting for their day, too heady a promise. They did not examine it closely, and resented anybody who did. The DP was born malformed, and so it lives on, malformed.

Its birth contained an irony, also obscured at the time but clearly exposed in Ray Swart's book, *Progressive Odyssey* (Human and

# KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY 3048



Rousseau: the "Prog" movement ended up emulating the suicide — suicide by unnatural marriage — committed by the United Party a dozen years earlier on an ice rink in Johannesburg. The UP died trying to effect a marriage with a man called Prins, now utterly forgotten, who persuaded Sir de Villiers Graaff that he led an Afrikaner army; the PFP died at the Johannesburg College of Education, also a graveyard of English cultural hopes, trying to effect a marriage with a mysterious "fourth force" of Afrikaners.

**T**HERE is another parallel, less obvious, but ominous: the United Party was mortally wounded when the young Progs, Swart among them, walked out in disgust over the pettiness, the expe-

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diency, the political marriage-broking by which that party survived; the PFP was mortally wounded when Van Zyl Slabbert walked out in disgust at the very idea of participating in Parliament.

These events can hardly have been coincidence. The underlying force that drove both parties to disaster was the realisation that an English electoral minority could not aspire, under the 1910 constitution, to any kind of power unless it formed an alliance with the Afrikaner majority.

Ray Swart's "odyssey" is, in effect, the story of the decline from youthful idealism to power-hungry cynicism. It begins with fond memories of the earliest days when a handful of mainly young, idealistic people — "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers" — sacrificed everything for an ideal.

It runs through the doggedly courageous, if clumsy, leadership of Colin Eglin (whose personal abrasiveness finds an overdue public airing in this volume), and the spectacular rise and fall of Van Zyl Slabbert. It ends in the dissolution of a bad marriage in 1989.

**R**AY SWART himself could not understand, then or later, why a party with 40 000 paid-up members should go into alliance with "the alleged" 2 500 Malanites, the 1 500 Worrallites, and a couple of dozen Stellenbosch academics. Nor could he understand why in this alliance the Progs had only one quarter of the representation on the national board.

In retrospect, the Progressive Party was never so great as when Helen Suzman, standing alone in Parliament,

was the voice of liberal conscience. She had no hope of power, and she felt free to raise her trumpet and blow a clear, unsullied note that went around the world.

The purity of that note was in the early days precious to the party. Too precious, perhaps. The original Progs felt sullied by the merger with Harry Schwarz's Federal Party, which was brokered under circumstances that consigned the "Federalists" for ever to second-class status within the PFP.

Perhaps it is understandable that Harry Schwarz, the most talented politician the Progs ever had but often a difficult man, was denied leadership; it is not forgivable that he was consigned for ever to an "outer circle". It was a terrible waste.

In fact, Harry Schwarz barely features in Ray Swart's account. Neither, for that matter, does Swart mention (or appear to be aware of) Tony Leon's extraordinary job of reviving the PFP in Johannesburg after Slabbert's defection, when the rest of the party were prostrate, held together only by the brute will of Colin Eglin.

Swart is coldly damning of Slabbert, to whom he wrote bitterly: "With absolute enthusiasm and conviction I have committed myself through the years of your leadership to so many others ... Yet without even a hint or private

word you depart from the scene in the most abrupt manner imaginable."

So it fell to Eglin — whom Swart sketches as tenacious, abrupt to the point of rudeness, overbearing in his disregard for the opinions of others, and scornful of the role of "protest group" — to play a role for which he had the courage, but not the vision. Dedicated to widening the party's base, he proceeded doggedly on the path of failure, and was replaced in that role, as it happened, by his old friend Zach de Beer.

**D**E BEER completed the process. He compromised the party's liberalism in order to woo Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan and Sampie Terreblanche, and in the process he threw overboard the only role that Ray Swart can envisage for the party: to be a pressure group for sound liberal values.

That is where matters stand now. President De Klerk has forged the alliance of English and Afrikaans voters, in the pursuit of which the PFP abandoned the liberal idealism of its youth. Slabbert is gone, Harry Schwarz is gone, and Ray Swart has retired hurt. Eglin and De Beer stand in the wreckage of liberal politics, sadly contemplating the loss of their youth.



Observers see Mandela waning and FW left talking to 'rabble', writes Stanley Uys

# Divided ANC fumbles the ball

Stn 2/5/91.

**T**HE visits of President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela to London last week, unlike previous visits, aroused only mild interest. President de Klerk was well received by the audiences he addressed — the Institute of Directors, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Confederation of British Industries, the UK-SA Trade Association, and others — but public and media interest was scanty. Mr Mandela's visit caused even less of a stir.

The main reason for this is that most governments perceive South Africa now as a country that is mending its ways and returning to normality. The special moral condemnation that has been reserved for it for all these years is fading away. If it still has troubles, well, everyone has troubles. This is a fundamental change in South Africa's international position.

The other reasons why the media gave so little attention to the visits are that what is happening to the Kurds and Shias in Iraq and to Gorbachev in the Soviet Union is seen as being a more im-

mediate story, and that the South African situation has become so confused that distant observers have lost the thread of it.

When President de Klerk landed at Heathrow airport, he was the prodigal son returning home. He has not actually crossed the threshold yet, but he is almost there. This new situation is to his advantage and he is entitled to see it as a reward for his reforms.

Mr Mandela is in a more difficult position. The majority perception here is that the ANC, instead of taking the ball and running with it, is obstructing change in South Africa.

"On his (President de Klerk's) heels," wrote Hugo Young in *The Guardian*, "comes Nelson Mandela, a figure tarnished by events since he was last here. His Medusa-like wife is no help, but the more important lapse is the waning of his political power."

The Times in an editorial spoke of the ANC's "present chaotic state," stating that "the ANC cannot go on blaming the Government for black faction-fighting... the demands now emanating from

Mr Mandela and others are becoming more extreme and harder to abandon."

The opinion polls, *The Times* says, testify that the ANC is the most widely supported of black voices. "But its leadership is an unelected and frightened elite. It is managerially and ideologically shambolic. After June, it could well disintegrate, leaving Mr de Klerk negotiating with a divided rabble."

These are harsh words, but even more incisive comment came from John Carlin, *The Independent's* correspondent in southern Africa. He recorded the perception that Mr Mandela is seen as "a floundering figure incapable of controlling his youthful supporters, black-on-black violence and, of course, his own wife," while President de Klerk is seen in a quite different light.

President de Klerk's "political cunning and skill" at shaping public perceptions, said Carlin, exceeded the ANC's, as did his ability to maximise his influence on South African politics. The National Party had "a

strong leader, a tight Cabinet, a unanimous party", it had a broad-casting monopoly and was able to manipulate the media, and it controlled the security forces.

Neither Young nor Carlin are "enemies" of the ANC: on the contrary, they are on the side of the angels. But if they are writing in this vein, it is time the ANC sat up and realised that it has lost the battle for public perceptions. The Government is seen as being just smarter than anyone else.

President de Klerk was very persuasive in his arguments here in London. As Young notes, he is a hard man, fighting for the political lives of his generation, "and still, therefore, defending a system that does its best to mitigate if not deny the long-term destiny of the country".

But few of his listeners here found fault with his argument that the priority is to rebuild the South African economy, and rebuild it now, because in four years it may be flat on its face, and then no government, white or black, will be able even remotely to meet Black expectations.

For the ANC, therefore, to send Mr Mandela in President de Klerk's wake, trying to undo whatever he might achieve, was not only a folly — it was also humiliating to Mr Mandela, whose authority and aura cannot take much more of this kind of punishment.

The ANC does not seem to have noticed that the game has changed — that, as Dr Malan said after 1948 (with the Afrikaners in mind), South Africa is theirs once again (to be shared, of course), and they must start rebuilding it now, and not leave it until the mid-1990s when they actually get their hands on some power.

In other words, they must run with the game, not fight it.

The ANC's insistence on the retention of sanctions puzzles people here. They recognise that if the ANC walks into the Multiparty Conference stripped of the armed struggle and sanctions, it will not have much to bargain with, and they recognise, too, that the organisations' emphatic rejection (at its December conference) of the Tambo-Mbeki proposals to re-

view sanctions shows just how high militancy runs in the ranks. But, they ask, isn't there a middle way? Cannot the ANC both support the lifting of economic sanctions, while retaining, say, the symbolic sanctions, like the arms embargo? Isn't there a compromise, a subtler way of approaching the matter?

Hugo Young's solution is for the ANC to change its leader. "What the blacks need," he said, "is a leader as competent as De Klerk."

The problem with this idea is that the ANC is held together not by consensus or agreed policies, which a more competent leader could apply more successfully, but by more elusive qualities, such as history, a shared struggle, expectations, mythology — in other words, at the moment, by Nelson Mandela's aura.

Take Mr Mandela away, and South Africa really could have a "rabble" on its hands. Then there would not be a single black organisation with an established national legitimacy to sit at the conference table. □



## 'Many whites will vote for Inkatha'

By Guy Jepson

A great many whites would vote for the Inkatha Freedom Party in a future general election, claims Bruce Anderson, committee member of the IFP's Sandton branch.

Mr Anderson sat alongside several Transvaal Inkatha heavyweights at the main table at yesterday's May Day rally at George Goch Stadium.

Touching his multicoloured IFP headband after the rally, Mr Anderson said: "This is almost saying to the ANC: 'Watch

out for the day when whites start wearing the red doek'."

He claimed there were 50 000 white Inkatha members in the PWV out of a total of 100 000 white members countrywide.

Many whites shared the IFP's commitment to constitutional democracy. *Star 2/5/91*.

Mr Anderson predicted that many potential voters would be drawn from the "new reformed National Party" and the Democratic Party. IFP branches were in the process of being set up in Randburg, Hillbrow, Johannesburg and other areas.

# Negotiators brace for breakdown

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff



President De Klerk

THE government is bracing itself for a temporary breakdown in contact with the ANC when the movement's ultimatum expires on May 9.

ANC deputy leader Mr. Nelson Mandela has expressed willingness to have talks with the government up to that date but only if it takes effective action on some of the ANC's demands on steps against violence.

Today ANC sources said it was unlikely there would be a meeting between Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk as there had not been such action, only invitations to talks.

In government circles there was uncertainty about whether such a meeting would take place.

Contact between Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk can be in various ways. They recently spoke by telephone about Mr. De Klerk's proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence and a summit on violence.

## FINGER-WAGGING

In government circles there is also concern about the emotional state Mr. Mandela is in at present. They maintain he is under strong pressure from radicals and that he is not "the old Mr. Mandela we have been used to dealing with."

There is, however, a determination among Nationalist politicians that the government must be patient and correct in its responses to the ANC.

They said today the "old finger-wagging days are over."

The government had in various ways addressed ANC demands, such as the proposal for a commission on violence and moves to improve conditions in hostels.

Their feeling was that the ANC was not ready to go into the negotiation process before its congress — planned for early July — was held.

ANC sources maintained today Mr. De Klerk was acknowledging he was not in charge of the situation by the way he

kept issuing invitations to talk to him.

While Mr. De Klerk pressed willingness of the government, is some real demands, he suggested for De Klerk, Buthelezi and smoke screen.

## BUREAU

He maintains the government has spirit of the G. Pretoria Minu.

Mr. De Klerk 219 (19.8) meantime acc... 96 (92) dragging its 158 (142) freeing of po... and the grant to exiles.

A cold front, moving in from the south, will cause cloudy, cold weather with possible showers tonight.

Maximum humidity	97
Minimum humidity	52
Mean humidity	75
Mean atmospheric pressure	1016.0mb
Rainfall 8am - 8am	0
Progressive rainfall for the month	0.0 (76)
Sunshine	10.2 hour
Prevailing wind direction	SSE
Maximum hourly velocity	5.5 (NE 16.5m)
Maximum gust	12.5 (W 31.0m)

## TEMPERATURES

Bloemfontein	9am
Cape Town	
Durban	
East London	
George	
Johannesburg	
Kimberley	
Port Elizabeth	
Pretoria	
Springbok	
Ungut	

For the latest weather information and for advice on windspeed/direction (Bloubaergstrand) and (Muzenbergs).

Soccer holidays run...



What a bunch of shloeps there are in the Reform School in Cape Town, which we otherwise refer to as Parliament. This week the Speaker, the formidable and forbidding Louis le Grange, resumed his position in the Chair after a long and trying illness from which he appears to have made a remarkable recovery.

Now everybody in Parliament, without exception, is sincerely delighted that he has conquered his ailment, and it was only proper that they should say so in the chamber. But it is one thing to record such congratulations for future generations of Hansard readers, entirely another to claim one is actually *looking forward* to being ruled with a rod of iron again.

## Anecdote

The naughty boys, as usual, are the biggest culprits. They are rather like the illicit smokers of the playground who exploit to the full the absence of a feared headmaster, and then appear on his return with angelic smiles and protestations about how awful life was without him.

The leader of the House of Assembly, Dawie de Villiers, reminded such honourable members of what they were in for with an anecdote. "I am

# Hoor, hoor, ou Louis 'spare the rod and spoil the child' is back



Backchat... from the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

aware," he said to Mr le Grange, "that during your absence and hospitalisation you continued to retain an active interest in the activities of Parliament. A television

On The House  
SHAUN JOHNSON

Star 215191



304A

monitor was installed in your ward a few days after your operation to enable you to follow the proceedings, particularly the opening of Parliament.

mous uproar in the Assembly: horror at what might have happened if Speaker le Grange had actually left his bed at that time, and relief that he hadn't.

"As honourable members will recall, the events during that opening ceremony were pretty rough at one stage. I understand from the hospital staff that at that point they found Speaker le Grange, I can almost say in typical Speaker le Grange fashion, sitting up straight in his bed, with pipes and drips and all, ready to restore order."

Looks of mixed horror and relief passed over the faces of the Conservative Party culprits who had caused that fa-

Yakoob Makda, standing in for House of Delegates leader JN Reddy, told Mr le Grange he and his colleagues were "very gratified to see that you are sufficiently restored in health to be able to begin the very important duties of your office again... welcome home, Parliament was just not the same without you".

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the House of Representatives, came closer to the truth when he said, "I want to assure you that we are cer-



Speaker returns... Louis le Grange.

certainly pleased that God has spread His healing hand and has returned you to your rightful place here in Parliament. "We have certainly missed

your figure — and I can assure you that it is very difficult to miss that figure when it is present."

Now that was honesty which Mr le Grange will no doubt appreciate.

This sentiment was shared by Koos van der Merwe, the beefy Conservative Party MP for Overvaal. But he will not relish the prospect of having his incessant interjections monitored by Mr le Grange once again.

## Timorous

When Dawie de Villiers thanked Dr Helgard van Rensburg for his "distinguished performance" as Acting Speaker during Mr le Grange's indisposition, Koos let out a timorous "hoor, hoor" and then promptly shut up on receiving a withering glance from the Chair.

One has to sit right in Parliament to understand the importance of the Speaker's position in the institution. If you think of the parliamentary complex as the Vatican, then Mr Speaker is the Pope.

And, as popes go, Mr Speaker le Grange falls squarely into the no-nonsense-taken-no-quarter-given category. The loudmouths and bullies of the backbenches are in for a rough term.



THE ANC Youth League has called on the ANC to suspend talks with the government unless all the points of the May 9 deadline are met.

This was announced at a militant and enthusiastic May Day rally attended by over 4 000 people at Athlone Stadium yesterday. Youth League leader Mr Mzwonke "Whitey" Jacobs said: "We have kept our side of the Minute agreements, but the regime has dragged its feet.

"Exiles have not been able to return, political prisoners are still in jail, political trials are still in progress, nothing has been done about security legislation.

"We cannot continue talking to a regime that does not keep to its agreements."

## **'ANC must suspend talks'**

*Chf. Twp 2/5/91*

The state was also continuing to launch "one attack after the other on the living conditions of people in our country", restructuring the economy through privatisation so that the democratic movement could not meet people's needs when it came to power.

"By the end of this year it is estimated that 350 000 people will lose their jobs and join the ranks of the seven mil-

lion unemployed," Mr Jacobs said.

"We add our voice to Cosatu's call for an immediate moratorium on retrenchments and the establishment of a job creation programme." Ms Hilda Ndude of the ANC's Western Cape executive said talking would never force the government to its knees, but mass action would.

"Let us transform 1991 into the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people," she said.

Ms Rachel Beukes, Western Cape regional secretary of the SA Domestic Workers' Union, said farm and domestic workers should be covered by the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which was gazetted yesterday.

# Right-wing leader's son in suicide

CARL TINT 2/5/91 304A

PRETORIA. — Mr Rudolf Boshoff, the student son of Professor Carel Boshoff, the leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, shot himself dead here on Tuesday, a statement by the family has confirmed.

Prof Boshoff said his son, a student at the University of Pretoria, had left a note saying his decision to commit suicide was rational rather than a result of depression.

He asked them not to be disturbed by his death as the life hereafter was far better.

Reacting to the death, Prof Boshoff said his son's death raised questions about the strain placed on young people in South Africa.

Rudolf will be buried at 3pm on the family farm, Doornfontein, in the Waterberg district today, the AV leader said. — Sapa

Detention without trial stays

# Big changes in security law promised

B10ay 315/91

CAPE TOWN — The notorious Internal Security Act is to be softened and "drastically amended", but its detention without trial provision stays, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

The banning of people, preventative detention, and the consolidated list of names will all be scrapped from the Act.

De Klerk said that, in addition, provisions for detaining people for interrogation (Section 29) and declaring organisations illegal "will be amended drastically".

Justice and Correctional Services Minister Kobie Coetsee would submit legislation and provide details of the amendments "in the course of the next few days", De Klerk said.

He said the suppression of the right of any party to state its case democratically in an orderly manner was not acceptable to government. "That phase is irrevocably a thing of the past."

In terms of its undertaking in the Pretoria Minute to revise security legislation and "bring it in line with the dynamic situation



● DE KLERK

developing in SA", government had decided to scrap provisions of the Internal Security Act which provide for:

- ☐ Banning or preventative detention of persons;
- ☐ The maintenance of a consolidated list of names, including those of office-bearers, officials, members or active supporters of banned organisations and those convicted in terms of the legislation;
- ☐ The banning of publications;
- ☐ Restrictions on the registration of newspapers;
- ☐ Disqualification from membership of parliament and certain legal professions;
- ☐ Restrictions on the publication of the statements and writings of certain people; and
- ☐ The "misdemeanour" of furthering the aims of communism.

The ANC has argued that the Act makes it impossible for the organisation to carry out normal activities and mobilise its support base.

In calling for the maintenance of sanctions, it has claimed that while the legislation is on the statute book free political expression is not possible.

European parliamentarians have increasingly spoken of the Act as an inhibiting factor to lifting the pressure on SA. The Scandinavian and Nordic countries in particular have cited it as a reason for withholding outright support for De Klerk's reforms.

In recent US congressional hearings, ar-

☐ To Page 2

## Security

guments have been raised against the lifting of sanctions, especially the Gramm Amendment allowing SA access to IMF loans, because of the existence of the Act.

Diplomats in Cape Town yesterday said De Klerk's announcement was an important step in further removing obstacles to negotiations, but cautioned that it remained to be seen what the "drastic

amendments" to the rest of the Internal Security Act represented.

The preventative detention section has not been used to any great extent in SA, with security police relying far more on Section 29 to keep certain people out of circulation and also for interrogation. After the declaration of the state of emergency in 1986 the Public Safety Act was used to detain people.

☐ From Page 1



**F**OLLOWING reflection on his European tour, the positive platitudes and the warm reception he got from foreign leaders and businessmen, President F W de Klerk must now realise the honeymoon is over.

There is little scope for major international diplomatic coups and significant, dramatic breakthroughs. As international ties normalise, the successes and achievements will be low key. The focus must now turn to seeking dramatic, creative solutions to the violence threatening all De Klerk set out to build.

Prior to leaving for Europe De Klerk was in no doubt that violence would be on top of the agenda. Diplomats, businessmen and commentators had clearly conveyed this message. He also had the ANC's ultimatum, his police force, politicians, the media and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals' warnings leaving him in no doubt that action was needed to combat the violence.

Badly needed investment will not come in unless there is stability. Investors were waiting and his trip was designed to push them over the brink into action by committing investment funds to SA. Government sources and reports from abroad suggest he failed to achieve this.

**J**ust before he left, De Klerk announced his three-pronged initiative: a summit of leaders on violence; the establishment of a Standing Commission of Inquiry on Violence and the promise that security forces would launch widespread strong action from time to time where this was needed, using limited states of emergencies. He hoped this would be enough to get the ANC's support and international confidence.

Government sources confirm he spoke to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela prior to announcing the initiatives, and said Mandela had not objected to the idea. But it appears he did not consult Mandela on the summit's form, time or venue. The ANC's response has ranged from ambiguous to negative.

The message he received in Europe was: get your house in order,

# FW needs urgent solutions as SA's clock ticks on

3044

Biday 31571.

## BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town

do something to stop the violence or we will not invest. And the message that more action was needed was clear after his first weekend back home — more than 50 people dead in Alexandra and Soweto.

So when his Budget vote started on Monday, traditionally the time for major announcements and new initiatives, it was widely expected he would produce a rabbit out of the hat to get the peace process moving again.

Instead his opening address struck a depressing note. He made major announcements of a R1bn initiative for socio-economic development — poverty being a contributory reason for the violence — and an emergency relief fund for violence-stricken communities.

But woven into the 40-minute speech were elements of desperation and frustration, and reiteration of his proposals of 11 days earlier. He called, almost on bended knees, for Mandela and other community, church, trade union and political leaders to join hands with him, declare war on violence and rise above party-political interests.

He did address some of the issues raised in the ANC's April 5 ultimatum. He suggested cultural weapons

should be used only in the correct cultural environment and not in situations where they could be used as weapons of destruction; he said the hostel and migrant labour systems were receiving priority attention; and he warned he would not tolerate security forces acting partially.

But he made no concrete announcements on any of these issues. To take the first point, the security forces claim they act only within the law. As the law stands certain cultural weapons, including assegais — which police say were used in at least one killing of a policeman — may be carried in public. Why did he not outlaw these weapons? Because Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened a strong reaction, according to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

**H**owever, if the situation is as serious as De Klerk warned it is, he should have taken firmer action on some of these issues. Banning cultural weapons would be a step towards stability and would also have gone some way towards putting negotiations back on track.

His initiatives have not yet

amounted, in ANC eyes, to the significant "act of faith" they were asking for before dropping their ultimatum.

Government, in its initial reaction, apparently underestimated the strength of feeling in the ANC over the bloodshed. Driven into a corner the organisation issued what, at first sight, seemed outrageous demands.

According to government the ANC is, for the moment, more concerned with addressing its own constituency than attempting to win back the international moral high ground.

That creative, concrete and determined action needs to be taken is obvious. De Klerk himself warned of the danger that SA could slip into civil war. Other political leaders are beginning to fear the violence is out of control. Lower-level government leaders are beginning to ponder over the options, and their ideas will no doubt reach De Klerk, if they have not done so already.

Two dramatic moves — both radical in different ways — are being talked about around Parliament.

The first revolves around the presence of the police in the townships. Their activities continue to be a major point of disagreement between the ANC and government.

Whether one accepts the SAP view that the police are doing all in their power to curb the violence, or the ANC view that they are fomenting it, the fact remains the police are unpopular in the townships.

In this light, it is now seriously being asked whether it would be possible to remove the problem by getting the police out of the townships and replacing them with the army — excluding the controversial 32 Battalion. The logistics would be awesome but the situation is probably as serious as anything that has confronted the country in recent years and warrants dramatic action.

Such a move would almost certainly be welcomed in the townships, and would surely go far enough for the ANC to be able to back down, with the necessary honour, from the uncompromising stance it has adopted. It would also free policemen to get to grips with another of the serious issues plaguing the country — common, non-political crime.

Another option mooted is stepped-up security action backed, perhaps, by a limited state of emergency. De Klerk yesterday rejected talk of an emergency arguing that it would destroy foreign policy gains — it would look like a return to the old days — and may provoke more violence than it prevents. However, this does not rule out other firm "law and order" initiatives. For one thing, the "unrest areas" provisions of the Public Safety Act could be applied far more broadly than in the past. And he has already spoken of tightening up the law on intimidation.

**D**e Klerk appears aware, though, that broad support is a critical factor in implementing strong security action, and that is why he has pinned a great deal of hope on the planned summit later this month. The ANC's public reaction so far is little cause for encouragement and is unlikely to change without a fairly dramatic gesture from government.

De Klerk's debate ends today and he is expected to speak for 80 minutes. Perhaps he will have something new. The deadline is a mere week away.

# Commonwealth leaders urged to visit S Africa

304A  
3/5/91

WELLINGTON - Commonwealth leaders attending October's heads of government meeting in Zimbabwe should take the opportunity to visit South Africa, former New Zealand prime minister Sir Robert Muldoon said this week.

Muldoon, just returned from a Pretoria-sponsored visit to South Africa, noted that British Prime Minister John Major was going to South Africa from Harare and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke was considering a visit.

"New Zealand premier Jim Bolger might as well go and any other Commonwealth heads of government. In fact move the whole meeting down there," Muldoon told the National Press Club this week.

Bolger's deputy, Don McKinnon, met South African President FW de Klerk in London last week in what is thought to be the first top-level contact between the two countries for more than 30 years.

De Klerk invited Bolger to visit South Africa though Bolger has not stated his intentions.

"I think that we've got to get back on to an even keel with South Africa once they get this anti-apartheid legislation through," said Muldoon, referring to Pretoria's efforts to dismantle its system of racial separation. - Sapa-Reuter



# Debate on violence to proceed

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has vowed he will continue with his planned multiparty conference (MPC) on violence, with or without the ANC.

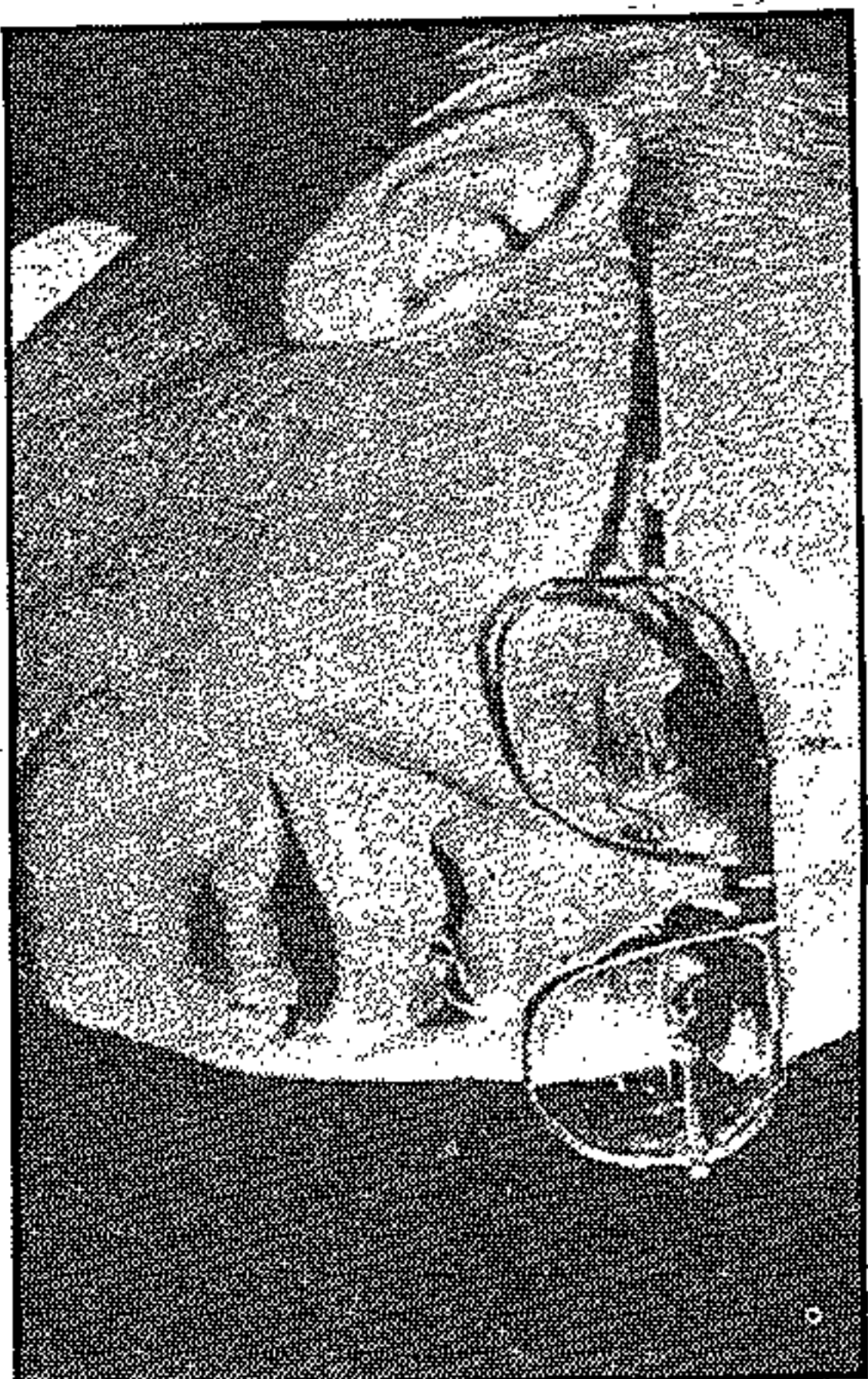
But the door would remain wide open.

"We will keep their places," he told Parliament yesterday.

At the same time, the Government seems to have accepted that there will be a temporary breakdown in negotiations with the ANC when its May 9 deadline ultimatum on violence expires.

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote, Mr de Klerk said it now appeared as if the ANC would be ready to join the negotiation process only after its national conference in July.

He said the ANC would be



President de Klerk ... we are prepared to work with every party and organisation that shares our commitment to peaceful solutions.

granted time until July — although the Government wished to express its serious concern about the radical tendency in the organisation.

However, as far as the MPC on violence was concerned, the Government could not wait for the ANC.

Mr de Klerk said his inten-

tion was not to undermine the ANC or put it in a bad light. And he had no hidden agenda, he said.

"But we want to start the multiparty conference as soon as possible, and we don't apologise for that. We are in a hurry," he said.

Referring to the ANC's ul-

timatum that it would pull out of negotiations by May 9 if seven demands were not met, he said he understood its problems.

But the negotiation process had to maintain its momentum, he said.

The ANC remained central to the process and could not escape from the demands of circumstances which it had helped create.

Mr de Klerk said the demands in the ultimatum could be dealt with at the conference on violence.

The demands are:

- The sacking of Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.
- Public dismantling of special counter-insurgency units.
- Suspension of police officers implicated in the Sebokeng massacre in March last year and the Benoni and Daveyton shootings of March

1990, pending inquiries by a commission.

- Satisfactory assurances that security forces would use civilised methods of crowd control.
- Laws be introduced to outlaw the carrying of traditional weapons.
- Steps be taken to phase out hostels and other labour compounds.

● An independent inquiry to probe complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

ANC sources suggest that a meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk — the panacea for all negotiation ills in the past — is unlikely this time.

In the run-up to the ANC national conference, Mr Mandela is under too much pressure from the grassroots who are already critical of him for giving too much away in his talks with Mr de Klerk.



# Coalition in SA essential, says UK envoy 304A

Staff Reporter

8/2/77  
3/5/91

The only way a future South African government could succeed was through a coalition of parties, outgoing British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick said last night.

He was speaking at the graduation ceremony at the University of the Witwatersrand, where an honorary doctorate of law was conferred on him by vice-chancellor Professor Robert Charlton.

Sir Robin, who said his personal opinion about a coalition was shared by many other political leaders, remarked: "If the

real black leaders — not just of one party — and leaders of the white community are able to appear together in government one day, then almost anything will become possible here."

He said he was in favour of one man, one vote, but with the checks and balances vital in "every truly democratic society".

The preservation of a free economy was one of the most important factors in determining whether a new South Africa could succeed.

The distribution of wealth had to alter or there could be no stable society, South Africa was

not a rich country and rapid economic growth would be needed, otherwise only poverty would be redistributed.

"The four horsemen of the Apocalypse — war, famine, pestilence and drought — are riding hard in Africa," he said, adding that the 19th century scramble for Africa had given way to a scramble to get out.

The struggle against apartheid was now a moral dilemma. "On the side of the oppressed there are also tendencies towards oppression; and the struggle is not only about human rights, but power."

Economic deprivation, lack of a tradition of political toler-

ance, and a long history of repression were among the causes of the high crime rate and violence. But a large part of this was due to rivalry among black parties.

Sir Robin denounced "the mindless slogan 'Pass one, pass all'," which was used in recent demonstrations at Wits.

"That represents the very antithesis of education. It is anti-democratic for any student to insist on occupying a place at the university if by doing so he is denying a place to other underprivileged students who might prove better able to take advantage of the opportunities afforded."

# FW will not wait

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## Political Staff

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is to go ahead with his plan for a summit on violence, with or without the ANC.**

At the same time he outlined a 10-point plan to combat violence.

Addressing Parliament, Mr De Klerk said the government could not give up the initiative just because the ANC was not prepared to participate.

"We regard the ANC as nothing more or less than an important potential negotiating party — as one of the many negotiators, albeit an important one," he said.

"The door for the ANC to participate will remain wide open."

Referring to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, he said the negotiation process must retain momentum and the ANC should play a constructive role.

He understood the ANC's position and the impression he gained was that the organisation would not be ready for negotiations or the multi-party conference before its July conference.

While the ANC will be given this period before embarking on multi-party negotiations, the aim of the government remained that the mo-

mentum of the negotiation process and democratisation had to continue, Mr De Klerk said.

"Nobody can expect the government to wait for the ANC before the process of peace begins. Therefore this issue (talks and democratisation) will enjoy the highest, absolute priority with or without the ANC before July 1991."

He said through bilateral and multi-lateral dialogue and negotiation, a broad consensus regarding a number of issues affecting the multi-party conference had been established among majority parties in Parliament and the self-governing states.

Good progress was also being made in the working group of the government and the ANC.

He said certain aspects of the "own affairs" concept which were possible to deal with administratively without constitutional amendments were receiving attention. The government is looking at rationalising wherever this was possible, without impinging on the principle of protecting minority rights.

Mr De Klerk said the current provisions on intimidation were inadequate and steps were being taken to

To page 5

## From page 1

strengthen the provisions, possibly broaden the definitions.

He said his plan to combat violence was "fair and positive", but could only succeed if the co-operation of the public and every political leader was obtained.

The 10 points in the plan are:

- The police, supported by the SADF, will continue to deal with the problem firmly and impartially.

- The police force will be strengthened as a high priority.

- The entire community will be involved in a strategy against violence — this is one aim of the summit in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

- A standing committee will be established under the chairmanship of a judge or senior jurist to investigate complaints of violence.

- Special programmes will be launched to promote job creation and to deal with adverse social conditions.

- Control of dangerous weapons is to be intensified.

- A special fund is to be created to help victims of violence.

- The upgrading or conversions of hostels is receiving special attention.

- Just security legislation is being maintained, but divested of elements which impede the democratic process.

- The process of reconciliation and negotiation will be continued.

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# FW LIFTS THE GAGS

An end to three  
decades of  
bannings

Weekly Mail Reporter (304A) in  
BANNING and gagging orders,  
South African symbols of the past  
three decades, are to go in a review of  
the Internal Security Act announced  
by President FW de Klerk on Thurs-  
day.

He announced the changes to the Act in  
parliament two days after the expiry  
of the deadline for the Pretoria Min-  
ute, which bound the government to  
revise the law that has imprisoned,  
banned and gagged people for ex-  
pressing their political views.

The announcement is another small  
boost for freedom of the press since it  
scraps provisions for the banning of  
publications and restrictions on the  
registration of newspapers.

However, the Publications Act still  
provides for the banning of "undesir-  
able" matter. WJman 3/5-15/91

Also to be scrapped are provisions for  
preventive detention. However, this  
will not mean the end of the era of de-  
tention without trial, as Section 29 of  
the Internal Security Act, which pro-  
vides for detention for interrogation  
purposes, is not due to be axed; al-  
though De Klerk said it would be  
drastically amended.

De Klerk said amendments would also  
be made to provisions in respect of  
declaring organisations illegal. It was  
in terms of these sections that the Af-  
rican National Congress, Pan Afri-  
canist Congress and South African  
Communist Party were banned for  
decades.

Furthering the aims of communism —  
one of the longest-standing repres-  
sive measures introduced by the Na-  
tional Party government — is also to  
go, without ceremony.



# Broad-spectrum Cabinet mooted

Star 3/5/91

3044

A transitional Cabinet, which included a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans, could merit serious consideration, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he also spelt out details of how the Government thought the multiparty conference should work, and said good progress was being made in a Government/ANC working group on issues surrounding such a conference.

He said the Government had acknowledged the need to give non-parliamentary parties and organisations a voice in important policy decisions during the transitional period to a new constitution.

"I am positive about the need for transitional arrangements. This should not, however, impair the orderly progress of good government and administration in terms of the existing Constitution.

"If consensus proves to be attainable at a multiparty conference, this idea would merit serious consideration, provided that the principles of Cabinet government under the present Constitution are not negatively affected."

Mr de Klerk said it was important that the executive under a new constitution be made up of leaders and representatives of the country's main political players.

He questioned whether a facilitator or arbiter was nec-

essary in the run-up to a new constitution.

"Why should this be necessary?" he asked. "I have no wish to use my executive position to manipulate the negotiating process in any way to the detriment of other parties or sections of the population. I have no intention of being both player and referee."

Nor did he have any intention of assuming a special or privileged role for the Government at the multiparty conference.

"Let the conference define the need, if there is a need, for facilitators. If I do it myself, it will be regarded once again as unilateral action."

Discussing calls for the abolition of own affairs, he

said the Government was attending to certain aspects of own affairs — such as rationalisation — which could be dealt with without changing the Constitution.

A multiparty conference was too close to begin amending the Constitution.

"Once again I want to say that I am open to transitional arrangements, provided they represent a broad consensus. And the multiparty conference is the vehicle for achieving such a consensus."

The Government was not prepared to allow the momentum of reform to be sabotaged by people or parties that were merely seeking to use it for selfish motives.

Mr de Klerk also said nei-

ther enmity nor amity was at issue in the Government's relationship with the ANC.

It regarded the ANC as nothing more or less than an important negotiating party.

"We are prepared to work with every party and organisation that shares our commitment to peaceful solutions and to the peaceful negotiation of a new constitution."

He repeated an earlier statement that the Government could not form an alliance or anything like a close relationship with the ANC as long as it had the SA Communist Party as an ally.

"We are anti-communist and we can't be part of an alliance of which the SACP is also part." — Sapa.

## A return to 1986 'not the solution'

Power-sharing could work, but the Conservative Party's constitutional model definitely could not, President de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

The basis of the power-sharing policy had majority support among the total South African population; the policy of racial separation had the support of only about 30 percent of the white population, he said in reply to debate on his budget vote.

If South Africa had not started getting its house in order and taking its rightful place in its part of the world, "it would just have gone worse with us — politically, economically and socially."

The country would have been on an irreversible slippery slope over the edge — "the only future the Conservative Party can offer our country and all its people."

South Africa was on the brink of a breakthrough internally and internationally.

Much progress had already been made towards the envisaged new South Africa, while overseas sanctions were crumbling.

The CP sought South Africa's redemption in a return to the past, to the separate-development policy, "at least to 1986" but a relevant question was how South Africa would have looked if the Government had not taken the initiatives of 1987 to 1991.

## Looking

Economically, the country could only have gone further backwards — over the past decade the population had grown by an annual average of 2.6 percent but the economic growth rate had been only 1.6 percent annually.

While only 1.2 million extra job opportunities had been created in the formal sector of the economy between 1974 and 1989, 4.7 million more people were looking for jobs.

Separate development had been visibly failing.

"The reality of our society forced us to the conclusion that absolute self-determination in a heterogeneous country like ours was not feasible," said Mr de Klerk.

There was no magisterial district in South Africa in which black people were not in the majority.

And, added to this, none of the self-governing territories had any interest in independence — even the TBVC countries were increasingly reconsidering the matter.

Mr de Klerk said millions of South Africans still did not have the rights which citizenship normally carried.

If the country should return to 1986, they would have no prospect whatsoever of ever attaining these rights.

This would be a certain recipe for uprising, civil war and revolution. — Sapa.



# FW plans to ease more curbs soon

DETENTION without trial, the restriction and prohibition of persons or publications, as well as the ban on the furthering of communism are among several regulations that would be removed from the statute books.

In line with agreements reached between the ANC in the Pretoria Minute on August 6 last year and in a move which clears the decks substantially in preparation for negotiations, President FW de Klerk yesterday also said the Internal Security Act would be liberalised drastically.

"The suppression of the right of any party to state its case democratically in an orderly manner is not acceptable to the Government.

"That phase is irrevocably a thing of the past," De Klerk said.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

He said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would submit the necessary legislation within days.

## Restriction

The clauses and stipulations that will be removed from the Internal Security Act are those which provide for:

- \* The restriction or preventive detention of people;

- \* The maintenance of a "consolidated list" of names of banned people;

- \* Prohibition on publications;

- \* Restrictions on the registration of newspapers;

- \* Disqualifications for membership of Parliament or for accession to certain legal professions;

- \* Restrictions on the writings of certain people; and

- \* The offence of furthering communism.

"In addition, the provisions in respect of declaring organisations illegal and detaining persons for questioning will be amended drastically," De Klerk said.

He said steps would be

taken to bolster existing legislation aimed at intimidation.

De Klerk also announced broad plans to combat the ongoing violence in black residential areas.

The SAP, supported by the SADF, would continue to deal "impartially but firmly" with the violence. Special actions would be launched from time to time.

## Violence

The police force would be strengthened in manpower and equipment and communities would be included to fight the violence "with a view to which a conference is to be held on May 24 and 25", De Klerk said.

A standing commission on violence is to be established under the chairmanship of a judge or a senior jurist to investigate complaints of violence and to advise the Government.

Employment programmes would be launched. The control of dangerous weapons would be intensified and a special fund to

aid victims of violence was being established.

De Klerk also said hostels would be upgraded and converted "according to needs".

He warned, however, that violence could be combatted successfully only with the co-operation and participation of communities and their leaders.

# FW 'owes explanation on third force operations'

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GOVERNMENT owed the people of South Africa an explanation, the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Zac de Beer, said in Parliament this week, reports IS-MAIL LAGARDIEN

In the light of continuous allegations of "a third force" operating in the ongoing violence as well as the findings of various judicial inquiries - State President FW de Klerk owed the country and explanation.

"The ANC insists that a third force, hidden somewhere within the security machinery, is a major cause of violence.

"There have in fact been a number of killings which were extremely hard to attribute to clashes between Inkatha and the ANC, which have seemed to indicate that some mysterious force is indeed at work..." De Beer said.

Referring to the recent "confession"

by a former policeman, Mr Sipho Madlala, about his involvement in the killing of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, De Beer said that the country was waiting for a confirmation or denial from Government.

"Of course, this is a police matter at this stage, but Mr Madlala is reportedly asking for the State President's assurance that he will be safe if he comes out of hiding.

"Surely he is entitled to this?" De Beer said during his comment on State President FW de Klerk's Budget Debate speech in Parliament.

"This may be a matter of first-class national importance," De Beer said.

He requested a comment from De Klerk, and said that a comment would augur well for the unity the President was trying to forge in the country.



# Govt moves to restore land to the dispossessed

Star 4/5/71.

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**BLACK** communities subjected to forced removals in "white" South Africa will probably get their land back at last.

The Government has agreed to establish an advisory land commission to consider restoring rural land to those who lost it through apartheid laws and removals.

The acceptance in principle of the need to compensate for the

wrongs of apartheid, reverses the stand taken by the Government in its White Paper on Land Reform.

## **Pushed through**

The deadlock between the Government and opposition parties in Parliament which has been holding up the processing of the five Bills accompanying the White Paper, now appears to have been broken.

It is likely now that the Bill abolishing the Group Areas Act and the Land

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
Political Correspondent

Act will be pushed through Parliament this session while the controversial Residential Environment Bill will also go through, but in an amended form.

The latter gives suburban residents wide powers when the Group Areas Act is scrapped — and has been rejected by the Labour Party and others who say it will allow white residents to

discriminate against black people indirectly.

The three remaining Bills of the land reform package will probably be shelved in this session of Parliament and discussed later this year by the land reform committee.

The decision to establish an advisory land commission was apparently taken yesterday following weeks of intense wrangling in Parliament's joint committee on land reform legislation.

It is understood that the National Party representatives on the committee accepted the idea of a land commission but the decision was overturned by the Cabinet on Tuesday.

The committee then sent the NP representatives back to senior Cabinet Ministers to plead again for the land commission.

Together they thrashed out new proposals which President de Klerk then approved, according to sources.

## **State-owned**

Under the new draft proposals the land commission will advise Mr de Klerk on restoring land to those disadvantaged by forced removals or in any other way by the Acts which are now being repealed.

But it is clear that the commission's scope will

be fairly narrow and it will not be involved in general land redistribution.

The only land that will be available for compensation will be that already owned by the State — or which could "reasonably" be acquired for the purpose.

The commission's task will be to adjudicate conflicting claims to land and determine preferential claims for those who have been disadvantaged in the past.

The main beneficiaries of the Government's decision are likely to be the black communities most recently moved by force from so-called "black spots" in "white" South Africa.

## **Beneficiaries**

Thirteen of these communities have been identified, of which 11 were removed from land which still belongs to the state.

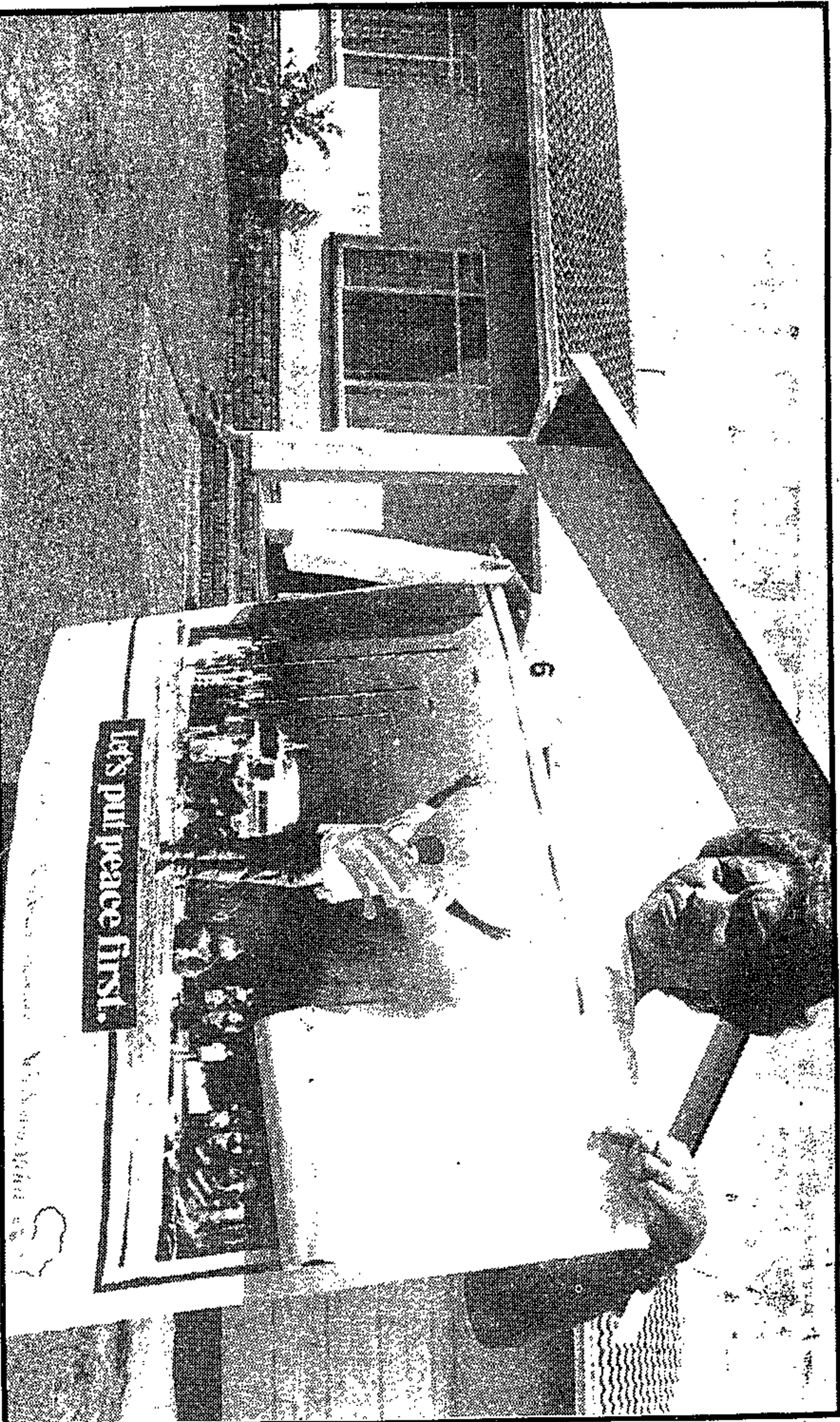
It is possible that the others — such as the Fingoes of the eastern Cape — could be compensated under the clause which allows for compensation with land that is "reasonably" acquired for the purpose.

The land commission's terms of reference are now confined to rural land — while opposition parties want urban land included too.

This may be resolved at further meetings of the commission.



# Let's vote for the Nats — they really do help!



Star 45M  
ESMARE VAN DER MERWE  
Political Reporter

bourhood.

Garbage was dumped in her yard and her gate was locked from the outside with chains and padlocks. Mr Prinsloo paid a threatening visit and held a protest meeting in the street, assuring angry neighbours that the CP would not allow black people to move in.

But the mother of four, who works as an importer of pressure cleaners, did not budge. Instead she sent President de Klerk a fax asking for help. At first there was no response — until her story appeared in The Star.

## Plight

Then Mr de Klerk's office wrote back, saying the matter would be brought to the President's personal attention. A letter from Dr van der Merwe's office followed, saying the President had instructed he and Mr Vlok to "work on the case".

Then the local police commander telephoned, saying that the President's office had brought

her plight to his attention and he offered the assistance of his men.

And Mr Vlok's office even sent her a letter saying that the Commissioner of the SAP had been instructed to attend to the matter.

It was not the first time that Mrs Woods had taken her troubles to the President.

In 1988, during a protracted teachers' boycott in Bosmont, she faxed him a letter on behalf of the Chrisjan Botha High School parents' association, and he met them personally to discuss their gripes.

Mrs Woods was also full of praise for The Star, saying there had been no further harassment from her antagonistic neighbours since her story was published.

And since its appearance she has become some kind of local — and international — celebrity. She has been interviewed by BBC radio, Swiss and Australian newspapers, Beeld, Huisgenoot/You magazine, the Sunday Star and now the Saturday Star.

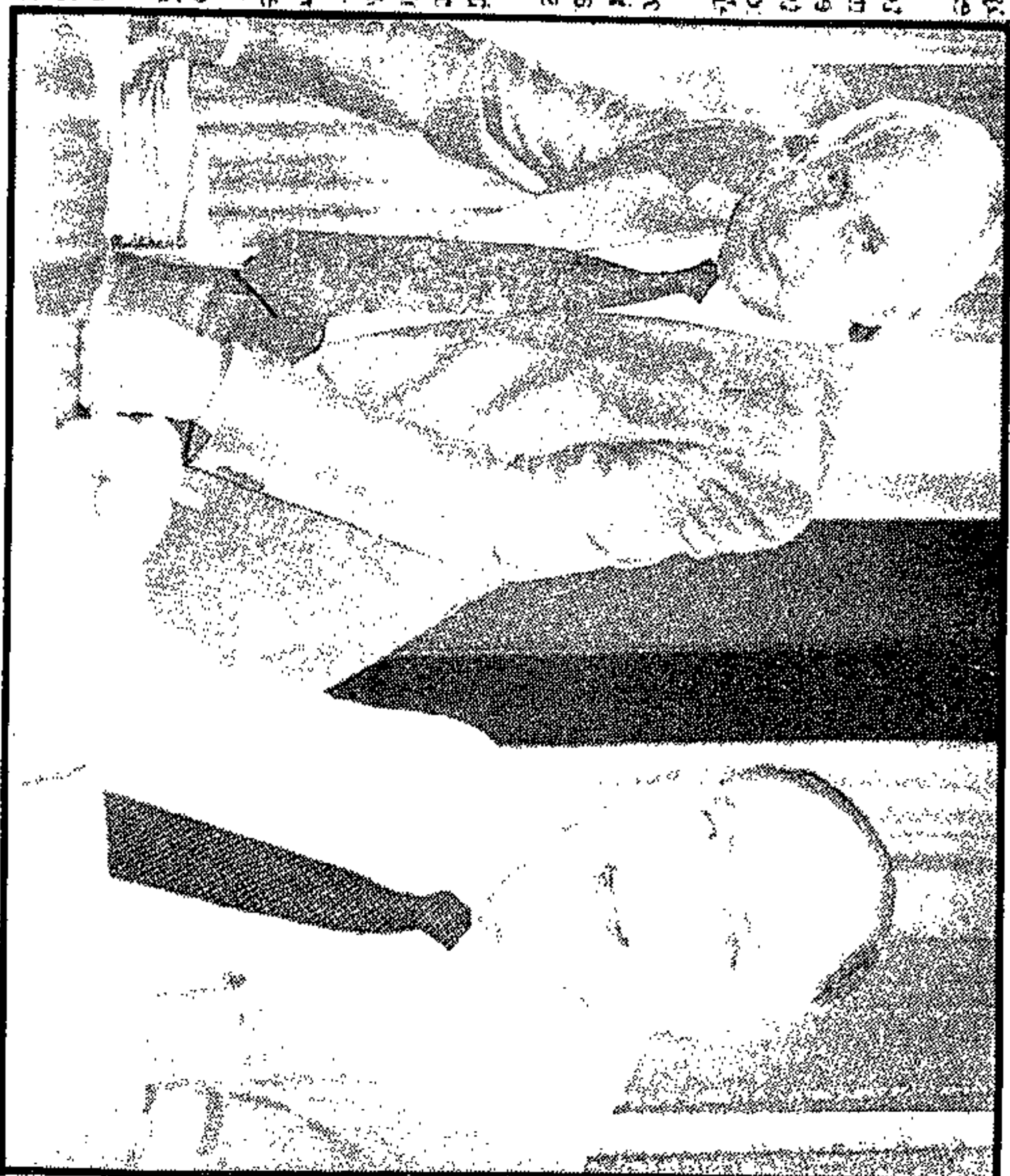
## SNAP CONVERSION:

Yumna Woods, once a victim of rightwing harassment in Roodepoort, now a celebrity, makes her feelings known. She's been impressed by the help of the President and Cabinet Ministers.



NEWS

# Pretoria aids former 'terrorist' foes



**CIVIL SERVANTS:** Mr Mike Bester (right), the co-ordinator for the repatriation of refugees, and his colleague, Mr Gerrit van der Westhuizen.

**AFRIKANER** civil servants in the heart of conservative Pretoria are extending a helping hand to the former "terrorists" and "communists" they once opposed so vigorously.

Various government departments have embarked on ambitious projects to assist in the return and settlement of South African exiles.

## New life

The paths of former foes are converging as government officials help expatriates to start a new life and find accommodation, jobs and educational opportunities for their children.

Co-ordinating state activities is an affable career official, Mike Bester — the sort of man who gives true meaning to the words "civil" and "servant".

Tucked away in a corner office in the drab Civitas building in Pretoria, this career government official has been given one of the most sensitive tasks in the run-up to the

## Officials ensure exiles get a new start

*Star 4/5/91*  
**DRIES VAN HEERDEN**

negotiations about a future democratic South Africa: that of supervising the return of the estimated 35 000 political exiles. And he is earning praise from those "on the other side" who deal with him.

Says the ANC executive responsible for repatriation, Jackie Selebi: "We have encountered a number of snags and stalling from various government agencies... but none from Mr Bester and the Department of Home Affairs."

High praise indeed for a bureaucracy whose cradle-to-grave control over the lives of all South Africans has earned it the nickname the Department for Hatching, Matching and Dispatching.

From his office Mr Bester co-ordinates the actions of 19 government departments involved in the repatriation process. "Each one is responsible for particular projects, but somewhere along the line we

have to ensure that we follow a coherent strategy," he says.

A large part of his time is spent in meeting representatives of various political and social organisations involved in the repatriations.

"People often mistakenly believe that it is only ANC supporters who want to return," he says. "But there are also large numbers aligned to the PAC, Azapo, and the Black Consciousness Movement as well as numerous non-affiliated South Africans who wish to come back. We have to treat them all equally."

Mr Bester says one of the biggest problems they are encountering is in determining how many exiles there really are. "We have to rely on guessimates... and these vary between 20 000 and 40 000."

"And we have to take into account the fact that not all of them want to return. Some have settled permanently abroad, married foreigners, accepted stable jobs," he says.

Even the ANC itself has difficulty

in determining the numbers involved. Mr Selebi says the immediate concern is to provide for the return of headquarters and administrative personnel from Zambia and Tanzania — estimated at between 10 000 and 12 000.

The large numbers of students, their families and support staff at ANC training facilities will not be brought back till the end of the year and it is doubtful whether the bulk of the estimated 15 000 to 20 000 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe will return before the negotiating process has reached an "irreversible stage".

Mr Bester hopes the proposed participation of the UN High Commission for Refugees and the International Red Cross will bring more clarity on this subject.

"We have given the strictest instructions to our officials at all points of entrance to act with great circumspection," says Mr Bester. "And if the ANC wants me to send

staff to Lusaka to help with the process, I would be glad to do so."

However, says Mr Bester, the repatriation is only a small part of a larger and vexed problem. "How do you accommodate them once they are back and how do you reintegrate them into South African society?"

As co-ordinator at large this has become part of Mr Bester's daily headaches. "Each department is doing its bit but we are hamstrung by limited budgets and strict control over state expenditure."

## Housing need

There is an urgent need for housing for exiles, but there are tens of thousands of others who have been waiting in line for years. Exiles need jobs and training and health care and pensions, but so do most others.

Mr Bester believes there is a need for huge development projects to rectify the problems. But where does the money come from? It is hoped the changing international climate will bring foreign investments.



# FW is a politician, not

STATE President F W de Klerk is a manipulative, meretricious, conniving, disingenuous and opportunistic man.

Before the lynch mobs saddle up and ride in search of a tall tree from which to hang me by the neck until dead, let me hasten to add that this is not intended as an insult.

And let me add — with equally undignified haste — that State President FW de Klerk is also a sincere, down-to-earth, straight-talking, courageous and visionary man.

The point is that he, like all the other major actors in the unfolding South African drama, is first and foremost a politician.

In our excitement about the new South Africa hovering unexpectedly into view, we appear to have forgotten this simple truth: from whence all analysis worth the name should proceed.

In the case of President de Klerk, his supporters in politics, the media and the public seem to have contracted a particularly strong dose of idolatry just now. Criticism (even gentle criticism) of the man is, as this column has discovered, to its discomfort, viewed as perfidious — a hanging offence. As a direct corollary, attempts

## the Pope

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



Star 4/5/91

2004

to understand and explain the

thinking behind ANC interventions such as the "ultimatum" (rather than simply pour scorn on them), are seen as traitorous or naive. Now this makes for extremely fuzzy thinking and can lead to quite inaccurate assessments of day-to-day political developments.

Politicians must, in order to be successful, possess the first set of "qualities" I listed. If they possess the second lot as well, we are lucky. They are not demigods and they are all *working to a hidden agenda*.

They have good weeks and bad weeks and they are professionally required to distort things to give the impression that the outcome is what they intended all along.

In South Africa today, and

among non-right-wing whites in particular, we are in danger of surrendering our critical faculties to unquestioning credulity. Unlike, say, in Britain, where loyal Tories will not hesitate to lambaste a party leader on a particular issue badly handled, De Klerkites are loath even to think of criticism, let alone to speak it out loud.

This allows the President, if he wishes, to get away with political murder — and it would be a silly politician indeed who did not exploit such latitude. The ground is fertile, in the words of one wise observer, for the growth of political "Papal tendencies".

The President's speeches to Parliament this week are a case in point. They added up to a complex combination of conciliatory and uncompromising gestures. He promised a move in the direction of the Rule of Law, he expressed genuine concern about violence and he signalled movement on the urgent matter of getting rid of township hostels.

Simultaneously he chose (interestingly, in the Afrikaans por-

tion of his address), to give inflexible endorsement to the security forces and his controversial Ministers. The positive aspects — which, it is hoped, might help efforts to curb the violence — were stressed, properly, by commentators. The negative ones — which could undercut those efforts — were, improperly in my view, played down. He was given an unnecessarily and dangerously easy ride.

It is an insidious syndrome, doing all of us a disservice. And, irony of ironies, the cult of personality, which has made so much of Africa such a tragic laughing stock, is in danger of being encouraged in South Africa not by ANC-supporting blacks, but by government-supporting whites. One may not like what the ANC grassroots are saying, but they certainly keep their leaders on their toes.

President de Klerk is a great man and history will accord him his proper place. His greatness will be more, not less, assured if those who support him adopt an intelligent, open-minded and even-handed stance to the unpredictable developments which lie ahead.

Slavish, uncritical support does an injustice to the man and, moreover, to the country.



Mr. Tarkenton  
4/5/91

# SA will solve <sup>304A</sup> its own problems — FW

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday rejected proposals that a foreigner chair the multi-party conference to prepare the way for constitutional negotiations.

Mr De Klerk told Parliament in reply to his budget debate that neither the National Party nor, he believed, other parties in Parliament would agree to the internationalisation of South Africa's problems.

"We are an independent and sovereign state and will therefore have to work out our own problems," he said.

Mr De Klerk said he had found "complete acknowledgement" internationally that South Africans would have to find their own solutions.

## Environment

Mr De Klerk emphasised that South Africa would have to be governed according to the present constitution until a new one had been negotiated.

He said that having "minority parties" as co-governors of the country was not part of the current constitutional dispensation.

Mr De Klerk said he was open to suggestions by the DP environment spokesman, Mr. Rupert Lorimer, that consideration should be given to entrenching clauses maintaining environmental standards in the new constitution.

The agenda for a constitutional conference should be open to all proposals.

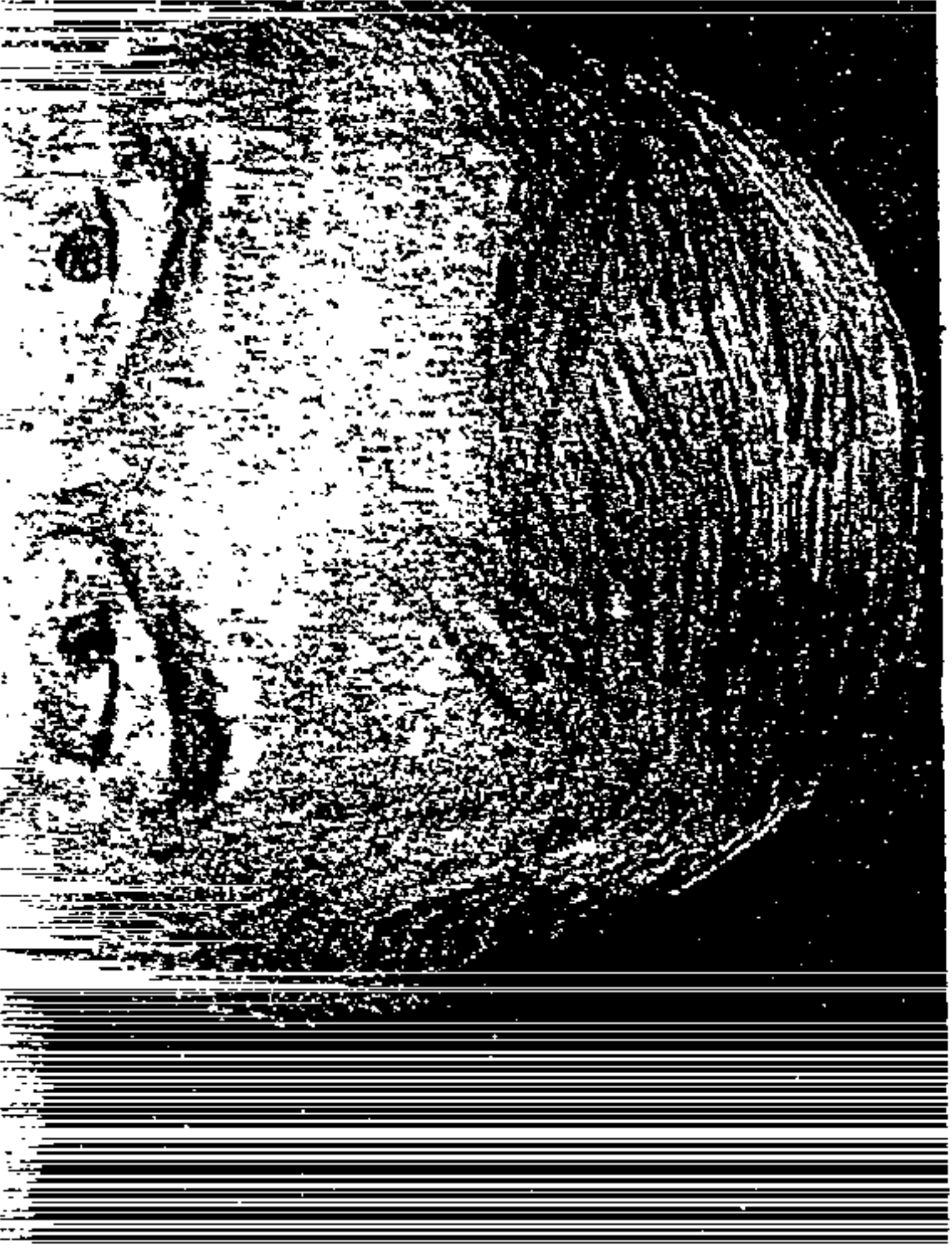
Mr De Klerk concluded by appealing to all South Africans "to stop radicalism in its tracks".

**De Klerk peace plan aims at government of national unity**

# CABINET POST 3047 FOR NINETEEN SOON? S/11 was 5/5/91.

**SUNDAY TIMES EXCLUSIVE**

## DOG-OF-WAR DENARD BREAKS HIS SILENCE



**By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING**

**PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK** has effectively offered Nelson Mandela and other black leaders a place in what amounts to a government of national unity.

His offer — hinted at in an address to Parliament this week — is part of a package with twin aims: to deal with the ANC's May 9 ultimatum on violence and, in the longer term, to lead the country towards a transitional cabinet in which all major political leaders can serve.

The ANC confirmed that members of the National Executive Committee will gather tomorrow to study the proposals.

A meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela before the expiry of the Thursday deadline is also not ruled out.

New initiatives this week include:

- Mr De Klerk's proposals for a cabinet of "competent" South Africans from all parties, including the ANC;

- Suggestions by top government sources that the soon-to-be-convened multi-party conference be given veto rights over decisions taken by Parliament;

- A series of measures, to be announced soon, aimed at addressing the ANC's violence ultimatum.

**Response**



**Telly Fur**  
cheer for  
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# ENCE

His offer — aimed at —  
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- A series of measures,  
to be announced soon,  
aimed at addressing the  
ANC's violence ultimatum.

## Response

The constitutional mea-  
sures are seen as Mr De  
Klerk's response to the  
ANC's demand for an inter-  
im government.

At the beginning of a  
week in which incidents of  
violence doubled com-  
pared with the previous  
week, Mr Mandela, the  
ANC's deputy president,  
warned that the next eight  
days would be critical for  
South Africa's future.

By the week's end, how-  
ever, there were indica-  
tions of a possible break-  
through in the deadlock.

President De Klerk sug-  
gested in his speech to Par-  
liament this week that his  
proposal to give other par-  
ties a voice in decision-  
making was a "transitional  
arrangement", but senior  
officials said the only dif-  
ference between what he  
had in mind and what the  
ANC and PAC demanded  
was the wording.

## Options

Sources said the govern-  
ment had given serious  
consideration to the need  
to include negotiating part-  
ners in executive decision-  
making in the interim  
period.

It favoured two options:  
appointing members of  
major parties to the cabi-  
net or allowing the multi-  
party conference itself to  
have a say in cabinet  
decisions.

Mr De Klerk said that so  
far the idea of including  
negotiating partners in the  
cabinet had been shot down  
as co-option. Officials said  
that if negotiating partners  
now changed their minds,  
legislation was available to  
make this possible.

Mr De Klerk also offered  
negotiating partners influ-  
ence on legislation by

□ To Page 2

rd came out of hiding in Pretoria  
Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

8/5/91

304A

P.T.O.

# CABINET POST FOR NELSON?

□ From Page 1

requiring all acts of Parliament to be approved by the multi-party conference.

The developments on the constitutional front were accompanied by moves to deal with the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

A last-minute intervention by church leaders and a frantic behind-the-scenes search for a compromise have raised hopes of averting a breakdown in negotiations before the ANC's May 9 ultimatum on violence expires.

Christian, Jewish and Muslim leaders emerged from separate meetings with President De Klerk and Mr. Mandela on Friday with a message of hope. They said they were convinced there was the will on all sides to break the deadlock.

The ANC has made seven demands:

● **Demand:** The government must pass laws this parliamentary session to outlaw the carrying of "traditional weapons" such as sticks, knobkieries and

battle-axes by groups such as Inkatha.

Mr De Klerk said in Parliament this week: "Let those who traditionally carry cultural weapons make doubly sure that the symbols they carry in their hands remain an expression of their true culture. Let them limit their use to truly cultural occasions and an environment in which they cannot be misused."

Government officials subsequently indicated that action along these lines could be expected.

● **Demand:** Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan must be dismissed.

The government has rejected this out of hand.

● **Demand:** All special counter-insurgency units must be dismantled.

The government has already announced the dismantling of the army's Civil Co-operation Bureau and integration of the security police into regular police units — but the ANC

remains unconvinced.

● **Demand:** All policemen involved in the shootings in Sebokeng on March 22 and Daveyton on March 24 must be suspended and prosecuted.

Mr De Klerk has promised that if criminal negligence is suspected, the officers will be charged.

● **Demand:** Satisfactory assurances must be given that security forces will use "acceptable and civilised" methods of riot control.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Vlok have already given the assurance that they will not tolerate police indiscipline.

● **Demand:** Steps must be taken to phase out single-sex hostels.

This week in Parliament, Mr De Klerk pledged to use extra money raised by the sale of oil to convert some hostels into family units, although there would always be a need for single accommodation.

● **Demand:** An independent commission of inquiry into police misconduct

must be set up.

President De Klerk has already announced plans for a permanent peace commission, to be chaired by a judge, which would investigate all incidents of violence — including police violence.

The ANC has made it clear that it is prepared to be "flexible" on its ultimatum if there is an indication that the government has made a sincere effort to respond to most of its demands.

The ANC's Saki Macozoma said yesterday that members of the organisation's National Executive Committee were to consider a draft response to the government tomorrow on both the interim government proposals and the violence issue.

ANC sources, however, indicate that although the organisation will almost certainly boycott the May 24 summit on violence, it may opt to attend subsequent meetings if the forum is "independently convened".



# Mandela, De Klerk meeting is now on the cards

From Page 1 304A

The initiative was taken by the SA Council of Churches, who made a late-night call on Mandela and also set up an appointment with De Klerk at short notice.

Representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Jewish and Muslim communities were included in the talks with De Klerk.

These talks, said SACC secretary Rev Frank Chikane, had been set up because it was clear that after May 9 no meeting would be possible unless the ANC's open-letter demands were met.

"There was no indication that there cannot be a meeting before the ninth," Chikane said yesterday. Some basis had to be found for justifying such a meeting.

"The key issue is finding a way both parties can avoid a deadlock happening after May 9."

The SACC view was that if the government could have acted on the "manageable" violence, confidence could be built up to finding a solution to most of the difficult issues in the ultimatum.

He said De Klerk had taken their approach in good faith and all he could say was he gained the impression from Friday evening's talks "some announcement or action" would soon follow.

"We do not want to announce something and then get the politicians to have to respond to it," he said.

The Rev Johann Heyns, deputy moderator of the NG Kerk, said it was not only the ultimatum which had created the impasse.

"It is also the fact that certain demands were made and that the State President is judged as not having met any of these."

Heyns had joined the group after the discussions the SACC component had held with Mandela and "from which arose a need to see De Klerk".

"Consequently we were able to pass on certain information to him. The exchanges were important and from his remarks I have great hope."

Certain obstacles were still in place, though, said Heyns.

The carrying of weapons, its sensitivity for the Zulus, the hostel problems and other obstacles were specifically discussed with De Klerk.

It is expected the government could take the initiative to set up a meeting within 48 hours.

According to those who spoke to the two leaders, positive initiatives and positive responses are now a distinct possibility and the looming deadlock avoidable. — Sapa

**A**S violence in our townships continues unabated and the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to the government nears, the separate realities of white and black South Africa become apparent.

On the one hand we have the affluent and orderly white suburbs where one death by violent means raises an outcry from the white community and prompts police action.

On the other hand we have the squalid and violent black townships where hundreds of deaths in one night hardly raise an eyebrow.

The contradictions of apartheid are clearly manifesting themselves.

Whites say they do not understand why blacks should slaughter each other.

They see the differences as simply tribal — Zulus against Xhosa or the ANC against Inkatha.

To black people it is not as simple as that.

Apartheid has forced us into this untenable situation. Racist legislation divided blacks ethnically for more

☐ **MY WAY**  
With Khulu Sibiba

# So near, but so far apart

Clare Simon

2044 274



effective rule.

Zulu and Xhosa hostels — a result of the migrant labour system and the homelands — went even further to divide people.

In the townships residents were also divided on ethnic lines, resulting in tribal areas like the Sotho Section, Shangaan Section and Pedi Section.

One justification by the architects of apartheid is that blacks prefer to stick to their own tribal group.

If this is the case, why have whites not been divided on tribal lines, where Portuguese or Germans are forced by law to live separately? Because of apartheid,

the mainstream white community has been aware only of its own narrow existence — a white South Africa where blacks are born to serve — and have been ignorant of life on the other side of the colour line.

They dare not open their eyes to the grim reality of black South Africa, to the poverty and humiliation of discrimination.

They prefer to live in a world of make-believe.

So it comes as no surprise to hear that many whites would back Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a black presidential candidate.

Though the fearsome

weapons wielded by Buthelezi's followers instil terror in their hearts and their sensibilities are

offended by reports of deaths between ANC and Inkatha adherents, this violence is very far removed from them.

At the end of the day, they will realise how wrong it was to allow two such polarised worlds to develop.

I was talking to a white friend about Prof Chris Barnard's announcement that he was quitting South Africa because of the escalating violence.

It was not Barnard's haughty attitude that upset him, but his cowardice

and double standards, he said.

How could Barnard have been nurtured by apartheid all these years and when the system is about to crumble, leave?

"I hate such people," confessed my friend, "they want to have their cake and eat it."

"They call for apartheid to be scrapped but they want their status and position unchanged."

It appears there is still a lot that President De Klerk and other leaders must do to redress the damage inflicted by apartheid.

It is not enough to remove apartheid from the statute books. Attitudes have to change.

And black leaders? The violence has exposed their limitations. They are either too far ahead of their followers or lagging somewhere behind.

As one observer put it: some of our leaders spend more time promoting their image rather than looking at the aspirations of the people they are supposed to lead.

This observation is not far from the truth.

☐ **NEGOTIATIONS**



# Final bid to crack deadlock

THE government is expected to make a major announcement and take action to bring about a last-ditch meeting with the ANC before the May 9 ultimatum deadline. (304A)

President FW De Klerk is expected to initiate special and urgent measures to try to resolve the crisis which has developed between the two main political players this week.

A meeting between himself and Mandela before Thursday's deadline is now a distinct possibility, provided the right "climate and conditions" are created. The government now seems ready to take the necessary action to ensure that they are.

This follows meetings of an ad-hoc group of church leaders held with both ANC, deputy president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk, to try and find a way out of the impasse.

Members of the group were all confident and positive when spoken to yesterday. They said the group was disbanded but would act again if more problems arose.

Although there was total confidentiality on the details of what was proposed and accepted, they agreed both leaders had displayed a great measure of goodwill and an eagerness to break out of the impasse.

■ To Page 2

church Reformed Church ... confirmed the ... tied around our necks and tossed over ...

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be invited to join a non-racial cabinet to run the South African government during the transitional period to a new constitution, according to what State President FW de Klerk told Parliament this week.

Although he did not mention names De Klerk said the government had acknowledged the need to give non-parliamentary parties and organisations a voice in important policy decisions during the transitional period.

Replying to debate on his Budget vote, De Klerk said: "I do not have a negative attitude towards the idea of a Cabinet which would include a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans irrespective of race or colour."

He also spelled out details of how the government thought the multi-party conference should work, and said good progress was being made in a government/ANC working group on issues surrounding such a conference.

De Klerk said he believed the multi-party conference itself was the appropriate forum to discuss the best ways to achieve transitional measures at the executive and legislative levels.

He said it was important the executive under a new constitution be made up of leaders and representatives of the country's main political players.

De Klerk questioned whether a facilitator or arbiter was necessary in the run-up to a new constitution.

"Why should this be necessary?" he asked. "I have no wish to use my executive position to manipulate the negotiating process in any way to the detriment of other parties or sections of the population. I also have no intention whatsoever of being both player and referee."

Nor did he have any intention of assuming a special or privileged role for the government at the multi-party conference, he said.

The conference should be free to discuss and decide on its own requirements, and appoint whoever it wanted in whatever position.

De Klerk revived hopes that he is still able to defuse ANC anger, and unite the main political players against violence.

Unshaken by hardening attitudes

and militant demands of the past weeks, he repeated his invitation to Mandela and Buthelezi to join him in declaring war on violence.

De Klerk said the ANC, despite its present standpoint, remained central to the process. The ANC's latest demands belonged on the agenda of the summit on violence and intimidation, and had to be discussed.

De Klerk's resurrection of the three-leader formula during his Budget vote

debate created the impression he had strong reasons for expecting Mandela's agreement.

But he still presented the invitation in a morally compelling package which, if rejected, may cost the ANC local and international sympathy.

Indications are, however, that the ANC leadership's strategy is now firmly directed by the dictates of political survival at its July congress.

The approval of its grassroots support overrules any international considerations and the NEC feels it can no longer be seen to blindly follow the lead De Klerk has thus far so obviously retained.

The "troika" with Buthelezi is regarded as a political kiss-of-death for the ANC leadership.

A compromise on the summit - also regarded by the ANC as an imperative for all parties - will restore some of the political initiative to the ANC leadership, they feel.

De Klerk is not unaware of the ANC's prob-

lems, and hopes that after its national conference in July it will be ready to participate in the proposed multi-party conference.

However, he said, the negotiating process would go ahead, with or without the ANC's participation, before July this year.

■ An ANC spokesman said yesterday the ANC was studying De Klerk's Budget vote debate and would comment this week.

He said the ANC had said there was a need for a transitional government and the mechanics for such a government would be worked out at an all-party congress asked for in the January 8 statement of the ANC. - Sapa



**Mandela ... likely to hang on till after July.**



**Buthelezi in "troika" a kiss-of-death for ANC?**

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

# FW dangles the Cabinet car



# Talks on a tightrope

By TOS WENTZEL and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

PEACE efforts were finely balanced today following efforts by church leaders to arrange a meeting between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

There are also moves towards a peace summit which could be sponsored by churches instead of Mr De Klerk or other leaders. The ANC is sympathetic to this idea.

The situation has been complicated by Inkatha's threat to deploy 250 000 men on the Reef.

An ANC spokesman said that this would increase the level of panic and fear.

A spokesman for the president's office said today that as far as was known there were no plans for a meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

An ANC source said anything was possible before the expiry of the ultimatum on Thursday. But it was unlikely that there would be a meeting with talking and no action.

The working committee of the ANC's National Executive is meeting in Johannesburg today to formulate a response to Mr De Klerk's statements in parliament last week, some of which were aimed at addressing demands in the memorandum. It is understood that the movement's national executive committee will meet tomorrow to "discuss what steps to take".

Yesterday leaders of the executive, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu discussed the statements.

## Plea over weapons

Mr De Klerk has indicated that the problem of workers' hostels was being dealt with. He made a plea about traditional weapons and said that allegations about police misconduct could be dealt with by a permanent judicial commission.

ANC sources said the national executive was likely to dismiss Mr De Klerk's statements as not going far enough to meeting the movement's demands.

Contact with the government would be broken until the new executive is elected at the ANC's July conference.

Mr De Klerk made it clear that the door was still open for the ANC as having an important role in future negotiation.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said police would not allow people to take the law into their own hands and the government was opposed to private armies.

In an advertisement published country-wide today, the South African Chamber of Business said many businessmen were deeply concerned that negotiations were in jeopardy and that violence could lead South Africans on a "downward path to poverty and despair".

## Terrorist group

The chamber trusted that all community and political leaders showed the necessary initiative and flexibility to create a consensus on ways to end the violence, said director-general Mr Raymond Parsons.

In an open letter to the ANC, due to be published as an advertisement tomorrow, a group calling itself Businessmen for Growth and Stability said it believed the ANC was a terrorist group putting pressure on South Africans "in the guise of political action and in so doing destabilising the country".

The group had looked at an ANC document entitled *Negotiations and The Struggle for a Democratic South Africa* which demanded a "constitutional assembly and interim government" to try to "gain total control before a constitution has been devised", the group said.

The bishops of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa said in a statement that the violence ravaging the land was a matter of grave concern and "an indictment of the government, political movements and the churches".

If violence was to be stopped all parties would have to commit themselves visibly at local levels to an urgent campaign against the violence.

"People are not convinced that all leaders are utterly committed to ending violence. People are not satisfied that political leaders or security forces are impartial." ● See page 4.



**CONFRONTATION:** Riot police open fire on residents of the Mandela squatter camp outside Bekkersdal, Transvaal, during a confrontation between African National Congress supporters and Inkatha Freedom Party Zulu warriors.

## 18 more bodies found

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Unrest continued unabated throughout the country last night with 18 more deaths reported and the death toll countrywide soaring well over 100 this month.

Another six bodies were found in Soweto today. Nine bodies were picked up in the sprawling township yesterday.



**DEATH CLASHES:** An African National Congress supporter was shot and killed by police at Bekkersdal during clashes between the ANC and the IFP after a rally addressed by Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



# FOUNTAIN

## Last-ditch bids for peace as deadline looms

By BARRY STREEK

WITH the deadline to the ANC's ultimatum to the government on violence just three days away, last-minute efforts for a compromise to save the negotiation process continued at the weekend.

The ANC's national executive is due to meet today to consider the issue and a meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk before the Thursday deadline appears likely.

Despite the negotiations, tensions rose again in Soweto and the Witwatersrand, with at least 34 more deaths, two violent clashes and a threat by the Inkatha Freedom Party to send 250 000 unidentified fighters into the area, including 100 000 into Soweto.

The paramilitary force would be sent into Soweto unless the ANC stopped faction fighting there within seven days, a member of the IFP cen-



**EXECUTION** ... The bodies of two young men lie outside a Soweto hostel where they were said to have gone to buy dagga and alcohol before they were brutally attacked at the weekend.

Picture: AP

tral committee, Mr Musa Myeni, told reporters.

"You won't identify them. They won't wear any uniform. But they are going to look around," he said.

However, IFP leader Chief Mango-

suthu Buthelezi, who earlier threatened to pull out of the summit on violence in Pretoria on May 24/25, said he was unaware of the plan to send men into Soweto.

The ANC warned yesterday that the

threatened deployment of 100 000 IFP men in Soweto was dangerous and would only fuel the uncontrollable violence.

It also denied it was responsible for the violence.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma added the ANC would continue talking to Inkatha to try to find a political solution to the violence.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order said the government was opposed to any private armies and would take steps against them.

The Cape Times Johannesburg correspondent reports that a major role for business in ending township violence is expected to be proposed by leaders of the alliance made up of the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

Alliance leaders were scheduled to meet yesterday at an undisclosed venue to begin developing further strategies on the violence and to consider a summit convened by "neutral" parties — probably religious and business groups.

Their initiative would provide the

**TOUGH DRAW AWAY FOR WP**  
See BACK PAGE

**NOW HERE**

**THE LIGHT THAT REAL**

**Rothmans**

To page 2

P.T.O.



# Don't score points through violence — Dhlomo

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Oscar Dhlomo, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, this weekend warned political leaders against winning political power and influence over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people.

Addressing the first day of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services' (Fabcos) annual general meeting at Nasrec on Saturday, Dr Dhlomo said leaders should resist the temptation to use the violence to score political points and entrench

their political positions. "In this regard, ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace, difficult as this is at this time."

He similarly urged the Government and the ANC to "pick up the broken pieces of reconciliation" and to engage in debate once more.

Addressing the same meeting the deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Dikgang Mosenke, reaffirmed the PAC's opposition to the Government's proposal of a multiparty conference as a forum for the creation of a new consti-

tution. The PAC would instead convene a united Patriotic Front conference in August, for attendance by all forces, groups and organisations which supported the creation of a constituent assembly, he said.

Azanian Peoples Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley, addressing a cultural day function at the Fabcos meeting, called on black South Africans to recreate their culture which had been destroyed by the "conqueror" Jan van Riebeeck, when he arrived at the Cape in 1652.

"We tried to recreate ourselves in the image of the conqueror and consequently adopted his values and value system," he said.

"He recreated our culture for us, and we believed him."

"He said: 'You are a Zulu, you are a Xhosa, you are a Sotho', and as a result people are killing each other down the road," Mr Moodley said.

The audience — colourfully dressed in traditional African garb — applauded Mr Moodley, as he lambasted the white regime for having oppressed the cultural character of blacks.

# 'No power in Cabinet for blacks'

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

ANY black leader, who accepts a Cabinet position under the present Constitution, would be ill-advised, political sources said yesterday.

The sources, after State President FW de Klerk suggested last week in Parliament that black leaders could be offered Cabinet posts, said the leaders would have no real power in the current Government.

Dissenting voices in the Cabinet are silenced by a code of discipline, which prohibits members from publicly criticising its decisions.

In his speech to Parliament, De Klerk stressed that the code would remain no matter who entered the Cabinet.

If consensus proves to be attainable at a multi-party conference, this idea (of a black leader in the Cabinet) would merit serious consideration, provided that the principles of the Cabinet under the present Constitution are not negatively affected," he said.

● To Page 2

# 'No power

From Page 1

Consequently, a Parliamentary source said yesterday that any person appointed to the Cabinet now would have "absolutely no leg to stand on".

"Besides running the risk of being co-opted, such a person would be overshadowed by portfolio-holding Cabinet members who would come to meetings with a well structured agenda and departmental reports and details," the source said.

An ANC source said that weekend reports of an im-

Should black leaders at this stage accept invitations to join the Cabinet? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

minent Cabinet offer to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela "were one person's interpretation of two remarks by De Klerk".

"Nothing definitive has come from De Klerk, therefore the ANC cannot make a decision in any direction," he said.

The idea of a black leader in the Cabinet was initially brought before Parliament when Mr PW Botha was President.

Meanwhile, last minute attempts are under way to rescue the negotiation process before the ANC's May 9 deadline to the Government to end township violence.



a decrease of 9.37% in 1990 as compared to 1989.

As regards assaults there was an increase of 5.38% in the number of cases laid against members while 21.52% less members were found guilty.

I would like to assure hon members that criminal offences are not tolerated by the Commissioner, the South African Police as a whole or myself. Steps taken against members of the Force who make themselves guilty of offences, and existing instructions on discipline in the South African Police which were reaffirmed recently, illustrate this point of view.

#### INTERPELLATION

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

#### Own Affairs:

#### New constitutional dispensation: "own affairs"

\*1. Mr F J LEROUX asked the Chairman of the Ministers' Council:

(304A)

Whether he will support and promote the concept of "own affairs", as defined in section 14 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Act No 110 of 1983, read with section 100(1)(ix) of and Schedule 1 to this Act, in a new constitutional dispensation for the Republic; if not, why not; if so, to what extent?

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\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: Mr Speaker, the idea of own affairs of a specific community is as old as the diversity of humanity, and the desire for autonomy, self-determination and self-government is as strong as and stronger than the military divisions of the world, as was proved in Soviet Russia.

This is an idea which is accepted as legitimate in many constitutions and bills of rights. What is federalism other than a form of control over own affairs? What is regionalism? What is devolution of power, to the third tier of government for example, other than a form of control over own affairs?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The Constitution Act of 1983 tried to give form to this natural and generally accepted principle. In that particular section to which the hon member referred today, own affairs was defined as way of life, culture, traditions and customs.

However, the Constitution Act of 1983 can be criticised on several grounds. The linking of own affairs to population groups, which are racially based owing to the structure of the Constitution Act, is a point of criticism. In addition the scope of Schedule 1, which in some respects goes far beyond the boundaries of essential own affairs, by including for example, health matters, facets of housing, facets of agriculture, etc, can also be criticised. This indicated an overlapping with general affairs or general interest.

(304A)

A government cannot decide for people what constitutes an own affair. The diversity in the South African community has proved that people of the same population group interpret own affairs differently, for example the CP and ourselves. Prescriptiveness by the Government or the Constitution Act clouds the issue. There must be room to accommodate the preferences of the diversity of people. In the field of health we have different religious groups, for example, who, when they find themselves in hospital, want specific food prepared in a specific way. This is respected. [Interjections.]

There are specific interests which are unique to people as regards their way of life, language, religion and culture, which must be protected. This is the answer. The question is how this can best be done without discriminating against the rights of others. As that well-known document, the Koos document, the *magnum opus* of the hon member for Overvaal, put it:

Ons moet 'n ander strategie ontwerp . . .

That is now the CP—

. . . om met die veranderde omstandighede tred te hou en irrelevantie . . .

Of the CP—

. . . af te weer. Ons moet 'n sondergange-kousule in ons planne inbou wat die einde van daardie soort apartheid oor tyd inhou.

[Interjections.] That was a fine way. I say the question is how these matters can be arranged in a new democratic constitution. [Interjections.]

Without being prescriptive and taking into account that we would like to achieve the greatest possible national consensus on this between ourselves, the CP, the DP and all extra-parliamentary groups, we are asking how this can be arranged.

(304A)

\*Mr F J LEROUX: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister will agree with me that this aspect goes back to the basis or the crux of politics of today.

This hon member was himself a member of the Constitution Committee in 1983 under the chairmanship of Mr Heunis because, as hon members know, "once upon a Heunis, there was a time". [Interjections.] It is interesting to look at what was said then. They must not tell me again that we are quoting things from the past, because at that time we said this and now we are saying that, because what we are dealing with here are facts. We are dealing with the crux of the tricameral system and therefore the matter of own affairs.

The DP said that racially based differentiation was unacceptable, because they believed in the right of free association. The CP said this was actually a sop to try to bluff the electorate that this was the remains of the right to self-determination of peoples, which eventually disappeared entirely.

It is interesting to note what the attitude of the NP was. They asked how one could protect a minority group if one could not define it. [Interjections.] This question still applies today. How are they going to protect a minority group without defining the group, or are the hon members of the NP forming groups with the DP, the LPSA or other groups? [Interjections.] Is that the dynamic matter the hon the Minister of Home Affairs spoke about?

It is interesting to note what the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development said in 1983. I am quoting from Hansard: House of Assembly, vol 108, col 12188:

We are continuing to build on what the NP has repeatedly emphasised as being its point of departure in its approach to constitutional reform, namely the fact of the diversity of peoples in this country . . . it is an indisputable fact and almost a natural phenomenon . . . that we are clearly identifiable population groups.

On the basis of what argument or magic formula can an indisputable fact now be something else in the new South Africa? An indisputable fact remains an indisputable fact. [Interjections.] It is a natural phenomenon. What tremendous bluff is this? Or are they bluffing their voters to such an extent because they now want to bid farewell to race, that they are bluffing themselves?

In this connection I also want to quote the hon the State President. His speech appears in col 12196 in Hansard. He argues that the Coloureds are an identifiable population group. He takes it amiss of my hon leader that he is suggesting that the NP does not recognise the differentiating factors . . . [Time expired.]

(304A)

\*Mr D J WORRALL: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Brakpan said the concept of own affairs was the crux of the 1983 Constitution Act. That is absolutely correct. What is, however, also correct is the fact that the concept of own affairs has failed. It has failed in this Parliament. This Parliament is moving away from the concept of own affairs. The Indians have rejected it, the Coloureds have rejected it, and many Whites have rejected it.

Now I want to ask the CP whether they are thinking in terms of own affairs for Whites or own affairs for Afrikaners. If they are talking about own affairs for Afrikaners and cultural, language and education matters, then they do have a case and this is a case they can argue in order to have it implemented in the new constitution. The fact is, if they emphasise White interests as the basis for own affairs, then they are making the same mistake as the Rhodesians made when Zimbabwe became independent.

†The Whites in Rhodesia made exactly the same mistake that the CP is making. They said that interests should be defined in terms of colour. The minute one does that, one defines oneself—given one's demographic numbers—as a minority in the future. [Interjections.]

We very largely agree with the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, who spoke in this respect, in his argument that it rather depends on how one defines groups. We in the DP say there is no basis, first of all, for the recognition of racial groups and, secondly, there is no basis for prescriptive groups in the new South Africa. [Time expired.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



\*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Berea said nothing with which I disagreed. [Interjections.] The point he was going to make was that the interests of the individual must be protected. The interests of the individual to associate with people with whom he agrees, must be protected.

That right of the individual to associate with particular individuals and particular groupings is also limited by the rights of other people. [Interjections.] That is where the CP fails. They see only one circle. They are not limited by the interests of other people. They are not prepared to provide that their rights, as they define them, as they want to claim them and want to implement them in practice, are limited by the rights of other people who also practise a religion, people who also have a specific language interest and a mother tongue interest. Every right is limited by an obligation which one must recognise, namely the rights of other people. [Interjections.]

The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe is so bitter and his face is so distorted that no panel beater could mend it. [Interjections.]

I am pointing out what a democratic constitution must look like in which these interests must be identified. I agree that we cannot protect race, but that interests are protected in the constitutions of the world. That is the basis of the bills of rights, namely the interests of people and individuals.

That is why we say that we must not allow ourselves to be led in this country by the biological fact of race, because different participants . . . [Time expired.]

\*Mr J H HOON: Mr Speaker, the basis on which the concept of own affairs rests in the present constitution, is the existence of the White group, Coloured group and Asian group.

In his *Wenfeite* of 5 August 1989—this was prior to the election—the hon member for Swellendam said the following:

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.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

He is referring to the White group. The NP also refers to the White group in its document. Further on in this document it is also stated that every group will have its own voters' roll as is the case now and that every group will decide on its own affairs as is the case now. [Interjections.]

In respect of the role of the 10 million Black people outside the self-governing states in the new South Africa the Minister of Agriculture said shortly before the election in 1989:

Net soos die Blankes, Kleurlinge, Indiiërs, Zoeloes, Xhosas, Pedi's en Tswanas dit kan doen, sal ons nog parlementêre moed bou waarin hulle hul eie sake kan hanteer. (304A)

[Interjections.] Question 9 in *Key Issues* reads: Does the NP value the protection of each group's community life and its own schools? Then the answer is:

Yes, the NP believes that the group rights of Whites, like those of every other group in South Africa, must be protected . . .

[Interjections.] It is quite clear that the NP got a mandate from its voters to ensure the own affairs, in other words the self-determination, of the Whites, and every other group, in a new constitution. [Interjections.] The hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council's reply indicates that the own affairs of the Whites, and the own affairs of every other group . . .

\*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: . . . must be protected!

\*Mr J H HOON: . . . must be thrown into the trash can of the past. [Interjections.]

\*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: . . . must be protected!

\*Mr J H HOON: They are running away from the Whites. If they say race does not play a role, the interests of the Whites will be destroyed by them. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

\*Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister need only reply to the question whether there is a diversity of peoples in South Africa and whether this reality is an indisputable fact and almost a natural phenomenon. If the hon the Minister recognises this, he must take it into account for the future. [Interjections.] On 2 February 1990 the hon the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development said race was a

thing of the past. There is no longer such a thing as an indisputable fact. It no longer exists. After 2 February . . . that hon Minister of Defence has a clear conscience. That clear conscience face of his is a bit irritating . . . [Interjections.]

According to the hon the Deputy Minister the position is as follows. In 1983, which was not that long ago, the Government believed that if one wanted to reduce conflict in the country, one had to devolve decision-making down to autonomous units which were basically aimed at the population groups. Since 2 February norms and standards have applied, however. Groups no longer apply. That is the key question about which the hon the Minister must not beat about the bush. He was in that commission and must know what is going on. [Interjections.] (304A)

\*Mr J H HOON: They must give us an election. [Time expired.]

\*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: Mr Speaker, if there is an hon member who understands these things and the lie with which we are living, it is the hon member for Overaal. [Interjections.] It is obvious that that party contested two elections—one after the other. The party was on the platform to ask that they be sent here to destroy own affairs. [Interjections.] It is on record that this was their platform. They must be sent here to destroy the Constitution. What became of the great protectors? This fact will repeatedly be brought home to them and they know it is the truth. The CP has a way of putting a matter and distorting it. Regarding this indisputable fact the hon member says a cow is a cow is a cow, but I want to tell hon members how the CP describe a cow when they want to get around something. They say:

She is a female member of the bovine species.

There are therefore different ways of saying things. [Interjections.]

Dr F HARTZENBERG: [Inaudible.]

\*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for Lichtenburg must withdraw what he said.

\*Dr F HARTZENBERG: I withdraw it, Mr Speaker.

\*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council may proceed.

\*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: Mr Speaker, we say that interests

such as language, culture, religion and mother tongue education must be protected. The question is how one manages this so that one can accommodate the political rights of all people in this country, but in such a way that they cannot assail these interests too. That is the key question for the future. The starting point is the protection of interests. I have defined them—mother tongue education, freedom of religion, etc. [Interjections.] (304A)

\*Mr S C JACOBS: How long is that going to take?

\*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: In conclusion, a sound system of division of power would seem in the final analysis to be the best protection of interests. The division of power is a matter we must debate. It is a matter we must discuss, and we cannot do this without also taking cognisance of far-right viewpoints which are raised by Mr Jaap Marais and other gentlemen, for example. [Time expired.] Debate concluded.

#### QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Admission to schools

\*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture: *Hansard* 7/5/91

- (1) Whether principals of schools which have not voted for any of the new models are obliged to refuse admission to pupil applicants who are not White; if so, (a) in terms of what statutory provision, regulation or policy directive and (b) when was it made public;

- (2) whether this statutory provision, regulation or policy directive will remain in force after the repeal of the Population Registration Act, No 30 of 1950;

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

B875E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Nats claim early lead in Ladybrand

(304A)

Political Staff

The National Party is claiming an early lead in special votes cast in the Ladybrand by-election.

Polling is on May 22, with Callie Smit (42) standing for the NP and Charl Hertzog (44) for the Conservative Party.

In the 1989 election, Petrus van Rhijn won the seat for the CP by 70 votes. He died this year.

The CP expects to hold on to Ladybrand with a

majority of at least 600.

But the latest edition of The Nationalist, mouthpiece of the NP, quotes Mr Smit as saying that after the first two days of special votes the NP had 700 and the CP 400.

President de Klerk will address a public meeting in the Ladybrand Town Hall on May 13. The CP has promised him a "hot reception".

(Report by M Challenor,  
18 Osborne Road, Durban)

# SA would also quail at choice

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Correspondent

WHILE America quakes at the thought that its uninspiring vice-president, Dan Quayle, must assume ultimate power if George Bush's racing heart fails, South Africa would have a little more choice in the same circumstances.

Lacking the office of vice-president, the South African Constitution does not specify exactly who should succeed a state president.

That is left to the state president to decide — if he is able to exercise a choice — or, failing that, to the Cabinet.

The Constitution stipulates that the state president — if he is for any reason unable to perform his duties — must nominate a Cabinet member to serve as acting state president.

If the state president is unable to nominate a member of the Cabinet — if, for instance, he dies suddenly in office — the Cabinet must designate one of its members to fill the post.

If both these procedures are impossible, the Speaker of Parliament will become acting state president.

But in any case, the acting state president shall serve only until a new state president has been elected — and this must be within one month of the previous incumbent vacating office.

Although the Constitution gives the incumbent state president or the Cabinet freedom to choose an acting state president, it is likely that the choice would be the next most senior member of the Cabinet.

At present that would be Foreign Minister Pik Botha. He has already served as acting state president in the absence abroad of Mr de Klerk.

However, if ever a Quayle were next in line, the State President or Cabinet would no doubt ignore the official pecking order. □



Last-ditch bid to rescue talks

# FW, Mandela set to meet as crisis deepens

304A (10) B1 Day 715791

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are expected to meet today in a last-minute attempt to overcome a looming deadlock over the ANC's May 9 deadline on negotiations.

High-level government sources refused to confirm the meeting, but they said they expected the two men to meet before Thursday's deadline and today appeared to be the most likely date.

Meanwhile, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan confirmed the ANC's national executive yesterday discussed church initiatives to avoid a deadlock.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation was looking at all possible measures to prevent a deadlock and further loss of life.

The ANC has threatened to call off negotiations if demands aimed at ending township violence are not met. These include the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

However, there have been strong indications that the ANC will not insist that all its demands are met in full.

Sources disclosed yesterday that behind-the-scenes meetings between ANC and government members involved in negotiations and working groups have been taking place for the past week and it is understood

BILLY PADDOCK,  
PATRICK BULGER and TIM COHEN

some progress has been made.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said he knew of no scheduled meeting but said this did not rule out the possibility of one taking place in the next couple of days.

Marcus said yesterday that while she was not aware of a De Klerk-Mandela meeting, Mandela had indicated that "anything was possible up till the deadline".

Attempts were also being made yesterday to get the derailed Inkatha-ANC peace process going again. Marcus confirmed Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma would address a joint peace rally at Umgababa on the Natal South Coast tomorrow.

Tension between the organisations reached a new high at the weekend with police raids on Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers in Johannesburg and Soweto and a remark by Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni that the organisation planned to deploy a large paramilitary force unless the ANC stopped faction fighting within seven days.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday effectively repudiated Myeni's statement and said Inkatha's Transvaal leaders had not decided to import 100 000 men from Natal to stop the violence.

Religious leaders who met both De

□ To Page 2

## FW, Mandela

B1 Day 715791

Klerk and Mandela last week were hopeful that a breakthrough would be achieved and said, while they could assist, the two leaders would have to meet to sort out the political issues keeping them apart.

Meanwhile, ANC bodies yesterday announced plans to stage marches, sit-ins and protests at government buildings tomorrow in an effort to pressure government to comply with the ANC's ultimatum.

Both the ANC Woman's League and the ANC Youth League called for a day of prayer on Thursday, Ascension Day, to focus on the violence.

The youth league declared May 8 a "day

## From Page 1

304A (10)

of marches". Members would march to police stations demanding police act to stop the violence.

Azapo announced yesterday it would hold workshops, rallies and meetings nationwide to explain its perspective on the recent wave of violence and to advise blacks on how to defend themselves.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told a media conference yesterday the organisation was convinced the violence was being "orchestrated" by government to prevent blacks making free choices about their political affiliations.

● Comment: Page 8

—MEDIA SPOT—

# Govt takes peace appeal to business

*6/Day 7/5/91*  
GOVERNMENT has distributed 40 000 "Let's put peace first" posters around the country.

Constitutional Development Service liaison and media director Marius Kleynhans said posters had been sent to businesses, factories, cafes and shebeens with a letter asking that they be displayed to promote peace.

The massive advertising campaign, which includes regular TV spots, follows government's decision last year that it had a task to perform to create a democratic culture, he said.

The first phase of the campaign, by Cape-based Pierre de Villiers (P de V) advertising, introduced the logo, jingle and main theme of "the new SA", and linked them to the essential message of peace.

The campaign was created in seven different languages.

Government launched the second phase of its campaign at the beginning of this month, with the slogan:

*304A*  
Reports by  
MARCIA KLEIN

"Let's talk justice for all."

Kleynhans said the second phase concentrated on the "talking and negotiating side" of the move towards the new SA.

The copy says it is time for all South Africans to have their say, and for the people's leaders to negotiate a just future, equal opportunity and full participation in the future.

## Encouraging

While all media categories would be used, the campaign would be strong on TV, radio and outdoor advertising, Kleynhans said.

The first phase had seen a "good reaction across the board", and a survey on how the campaign was accepted had been very encouraging.

Preliminary tests on the second phase indicated that "the message seems to get through", he said.



# Frantic bids for peace

CAI-Tint  
7/5/91  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**FRANTIC** efforts were under way last night to arrange a last-ditch meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela ahead of the ANC's May 9 deadline on breaking off all talks with the government.

There were strong indications that the two leaders might meet during the next 48

hours in a bid to break the impasse which is threatening to derail negotiations.

Both sides spent yesterday in consultations.

The working group of the ANC's executive committee met in Johannesburg yesterday to examine the government's response so far to its May 9 ultimatum on curbing the ongoing violence sweeping the country.

The ANC said afterwards that no immediate statement would be forthcoming on what was decided at the meeting. However, ANC sources said that anything was possible before the Thursday deadline.

The ANC's national executive committee

might meet today to discuss possible steps it will take if a compromise is not reached with the government by the cut-off date.

The ultimatum and the ongoing violence were also on the agenda at yesterday's State Security Council meeting in Cape Town.

Government sources were optimistic that ways might still be found to beat the deadline — particularly if last-minute

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● Violence stymies capital inflow — Page 12

turns between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela could be set up.  
The government also remains optimistic that the ANC might still be persuaded to attend Mr De Klerk's proposed violence summit in Pretoria on May 24-25.  
Church leaders involved in shuttle diplomacy between the ANC and the government for the past few days in a bid to rescue the peace process, have suggested that a neutral party convene the summit. But the proposed multi-party conference to discuss the groundwork for a new constitution now appears unlikely to take place before September at the earliest.

The ANC deadline and the continuing violence will once again come under the spotlight when the cabinet meets tomorrow.  
ANC deputy president Mr Mandela plans to brief editors and senior journalists on its ultimatum in Johannesburg on Friday — the day after the planned suspension of all talks with the government.

Meanwhile, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said in Cape Town last night that it appeared that the ANC was seeking an opportunity to discuss government proposals on a multi-party conference on violence.

He said the ANC appeared to be keen, in mutual agreement with the government, to see the conference being convened by a party not involved in the violence.

"I believe I would not be asking too much of the government if I suggested that it should offer the ANC an opportunity to discuss its reservations about the conference and the proposed commission on violence as soon as possible," he said.

Turning to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to the government, Dr Dhlomo said the government would enhance its stature if it offered to discuss its demands with the ANC on a person-to-person basis.

From page 1

304A  
CAI-Tint  
7/5/91



De Klerk is wrong to think the ANC will allow its reputation to be destroyed, writes John Matison

# Mandela's case against police

Star 8/5/91

HERE is potential for a horrifying escalation in the violence that will make the past seem mild. Perhaps there is time for white South Africa to take a last look at what is driving us towards this tragedy.

To do that it is important to try to understand what is going on in Mr Mandela's mind, because the ANC deputy president has undergone a significant shift in his perception of the situation. President de Klerk either does not understand this or believes he can ride it out until Mr Mandela is brought to heel.

Mr Mandela has not communicated the reasons for his changed view as effectively as the Government communicates its views.

The Government has by far the more sophisticated machinery and experience with getting its view across.

That is one of the problems. From where Mr Mandela sits, there is an accumulation of evidence that the Government and the police are showing bad faith.

The fact that he cannot persuade white South Africa of this does not change his perception.

Since the Pretoria Minute was signed, the ANC has seen its sympathy whittled away, first by the way the Government played cat-and-mouse with its political prisoners and exiles. When asked why prisoners are still in prison, the Government blames the ANC.

How can the prisoner be responsible for his imprisonment? If

the Government wants to release prisoners, it can, as it demonstrated in the last few weeks. Yet always there was a complaint that the ANC had agreed to different procedures. It seems that the ANC did make some foolish agreements, that were much more complicated than the Namibian indemnities, but that does not mean that Mr Mandela will let it end there.

He really expected Mr de Klerk to have the prisoners out on time. The ANC lost further prestige when it was seen in cosy meetings with Government officials, including police officers, while ANC supporters perceived the police as siding with their opponents.

There is plenty of evidence for this, as anyone who spends time in the townships soon sees. During the last week it has become apparent that the attitude of many policemen is a serious obstacle to ending the violence. Police are routinely more aggressive in removing weapons from ANC supporters than from their opponents, though their disregard for people and property often applies to both sides.

In one incident outside the Dobsonville number two hostel, which had been taken over by Inkatha supporters last week, policemen sat in their vehicles chatting while flames came out of windows and looters carried off supplies of food and drink.

As looters walked passed his car laden with goods, I asked one

constable why he was there. "In case something happens," he said.

Asked what constituted "something happening," he said: "Well, if things get more serious."

Later Colonel Tienie Halgryn, of the Soweto police, arrived. Asked the policy on weapons, he said: "If there are any weapons, we will remove them." I said I had been there all day, and hadn't seen policemen take a single weapon.

He became angry, and asked me why I had not notified the police of the problem, so they could move in. I told him he had had idle police there all day. They had communication equipment, and did not need me to warn them.

Later, when we entered the hostel, we found only about 50 Inkatha supporters. They were lightly armed, but the officers still did not order their weapons removed.

Another reporter, from the Financial Mail, was told by Soweto Colonel Jao de Vries: "I don't have to be cross-examined by you," when she asked why not a single arrest had been made, or a single weapon removed, before, during or after the Sunday funeral at which 22 people died.

The ANC had publicly warned that it had information of an impending attack after that funeral. Asked what happened after they killed the 22, he said: "We escorted them back to the hostel."

Asked why no arrests were made, since the police filmed the event, the colonel replied: "If we

had made arrests, it would have been illegal."

This attitude comes from the top. Major-General Gerrit Erasmus is Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand, which makes him the most senior officer for all the townships around Johannesburg that have been affected by the violence in the last nine months.

I have stood next to General Erasmus as troop carriers have escorted group after group of Inkatha supporters, armed with so-called traditional weapons as well as long knives, clubs and axes, to a political meeting.

When I asked his policy on weapons, he replied by asking if I wanted to take them. "Go on, you take their weapons."

On another occasion, General Erasmus insisted that the battle was tribal, between Zulu and Xhosa, and that was the way he was going to deal with it, even though people interviewed at random at the site of the conflict turned out to be Pedi and Venda or Sotho.

My experiences with the police are only unusual for a white person. They are the experiences that are haunting Mr Mandela as he squares up for his confrontation with Mr de Klerk.

Finally, Mr Mandela is aware that a man who has identified himself as a member of a combined South African Police-Defence Force death squad has claimed that on February 29 he

assassinated one of the most important Zulu chiefs identified with the ANC in Natal.

Sipho Alfred Madlala said in an affidavit that a police officer told him to kill Chief Mhlabuzama Maphumulo because "the chief was a problem to the Government."

Madlala named as one of the members of the death squad an officer in the murder and robbery squad in Maritzburg. This same officer was assigned to investigate the murder of the chief.

This is the first accusation that a death squad is operating in the "new South Africa" of President de Klerk.

The ANC may not be good at proving these cases in court, but this is the information that Mr Mandela is acting on.

He has been made a fool of, and he has seen the ANC, clearly the largest political group in the country, with a lifelong record of enmity, suffering for its opposition to apartheid, having its integrity as a Government opponent, and a leader of black South Africa, challenged by a group of men on a lifelong apartheid gravy train.

Mr Mandela has many faults, as even his supporters have begun to see. But one thing that should not be underestimated about him is his courage.

If Mr de Klerk thinks Mr Mandela will allow the reputation of the ANC to be destroyed among its own constituency because of the action or inaction of the po-

is making a mistake for which, we will all pay.

All indications are that Mr Mandela has decided that it's time for Mr de Klerk to take responsibility for his police force. The debate over whether the police are acting on orders from Mr de Klerk or not has become irrelevant. Mr Mandela has concluded that he cannot negotiate with a man while that man's police force is seen as the enemy of Mr Mandela's people.

What can be done? Behind the scenes, officials keep saying that it takes time to change the police. But that is clearly not a legitimate explanation. Only last year, in the "new South Africa", Mr de Klerk granted the right to carry traditional weapons. A one-year-old "tradition"?

That can be rescinded. At present, police troop carriers escort people carrying weapons to political meetings. They escort them while they are still in "small groups. Police can be told to remove weapons from people before they arrive at political meetings, where the numbers become large and unruly. If they don't, then it's clear the Government has made a decision.

If Mr de Klerk continues to leave the police to do business as usual, the country will pay the price. □

John Matison is southern Africa correspondent for National Public Radio in the US and for other overseas media.



Top-level talks expected before deadline expires

# Govt likely to meet key ANC demands

304A  
By Esmare Star  
van der Merwe 7/5/91.  
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Government were involved in dramatic behind-the-scenes moves yesterday to forestall the looming breakdown in constitutional talks.

This morning, informed sources said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk were expected to meet in Cape Town today, or tomorrow at the latest.

After an urgent ANC national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg, yesterday, the organisation appeared willing to reconsider its ultimatum on violence to the Government, which expires on Thursday. NEC sources indicated that the ANC would reconsider its threat to pull out of negotiations if the Government gave substantial commitment regarding three key demands. On April 5 the ANC issued a seven-point ultimatum.

## Demands may be met

Star 7/5/91

● From Page 1

ANC and the Government were eager to prevent a deadlock on negotiations, and urgent telephone discussions between the two parties took place yesterday to ascertain how much both sides were prepared to give regarding the ultimatum before the expiry of Thursday's deadline.

Since the ANC's ultimatum was announced, the Government has acted on all but the most controversial demand, the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The other three demands, and the Government's response to them, were:

● The ANC demanded the public dismantling of special counter-insurgency units. The Government announced the dismantling of the Civil Cooperation Bureau and the integration of the Security Police into regular police units.

● The ANC demanded suspension of police officers implicated in the

Sebokeng massacre and the Benoni and Daveyton shootings. President de Klerk said the police officers would be charged if criminal negligence was suspected.

● The ANC demanded that an independent commission of inquiry be set up to probe complaints of misconduct by the security forces. President de Klerk announced plans to establish a permanent peace commission to investigate all incidents of violence, including police violence.

Yesterday, the ANC Women's League and Youth League announced that demonstrations would be held country-wide tomorrow to highlight the ANC's demand that the Government take drastic steps to curb the violence.

The mass action campaign would include marches on police stations, sit-ins at Government buildings, pickets and demonstrations.

Prayer meetings would be held on Thursday (Ascension Day) to pray for peace.

The three demands highlighted yesterday were:

- The need for legislation to outlaw the carrying of traditional weapons.
- The taking of firm steps by the Government to phase out hostels and other labour compounds.
- Satisfactory assurances by the Government that the security forces would act even-handedly and use "civilised" methods of crowd control.

From Cape Town, highly placed sources indicated that the Government was prepared to consider meeting these three demands.

Since the ultimatum was announced on April 5, the Government has in any event moved substantially on these three issues.

It announced last month that pangas, axes and bush knives carried in public places would be confiscated, but the ANC seems to be pushing for the outlawing of "traditional" weapons as well such as spears, assegais and knobkerries.

## Carnage

President de Klerk last month said State funds would be used for programmes to end the township carnage, including the conversion of some single-sex hostels into family units.

The issue of police impartiality seems the most difficult to resolve. The Government has steadfastly denied that the security forces are taking sides, but the ANC has constantly accused the forces of partiality.

NEC sources said the focus of yesterday's meeting had been the proposal by Church leaders to host an anti-violence summit between the major political players. They said the NEC had endorsed this move.

It remains to be seen whether President de Klerk, whose proposal for a May 24-25 summit on the violence has been turned down by the ANC, will be willing to take part in a summit convened by Church leaders.

The NEC sources said the

● To Page 2

POLITICS

# Govt seeks to keep banning powers

GOVERNMENT has proposed that the Minister of Justice retain wide-ranging powers to ban political organisations.

Although the detention-without-trial provision for interrogation has been reduced to 14 days and may only be extended by a Supreme Court judge, detainees will still have no right of access to their families, doctors and lawyers.

Lawyers will, however, be allowed to consult detainees in connection with applications before judges relating to their continued detention or release.

Tough provisions against intimidation with fines of R40 000 and/or 10 years' imprisonment, and an extended definition of intimidation have also been proposed.

However, the Internal Security and Intimidation Bill, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday, does scrap many controversial clauses which restricted political activities.

Internal Security Act provisions for banning of publications, restriction of newspaper registration, the consolidated list of people who could not be quoted, the banning of statements and writings of certain people, the banning of individuals, preventive detention, disqualification of people from parliament or from practising as lawyers, and promoting communism, are to be scrapped.

DP law and order spokesman Tian van der Merwe said: "Generally, the Bill does represent some very significant improvements on the existing Internal Security Act, but there are a number of areas where further improvements are necessary."

The DP did not believe it was necessary

for the minister to have the power to ban organisations. It also objected to the Bill's detention provisions. It said the normal procedures should be applied, as followed with suspects in criminal cases.

The DP says the 14-day initial period is still too long; it is unacceptable that the Supreme Court should have no authority to rule initial detentions invalid; family members should be told where detainees are being held and detainees should as soon as possible have access to their own doctors, own legal representatives and family.

## Reasons

A memorandum attached to the Bill said in the present law the Minister's subjective opinion was conclusive and a legal challenge to his decision to ban an organisation was limited, but the new Bill would enable the Supreme Court to determine for itself whether there was, objectively speaking, reason to believe the jurisdictional grounds to outlaw the organisation existed.

A clause also gives office bearers of the organisation the right to ask the Minister to give reasons for his banning.

Policemen with the rank of lieutenant-colonel or above will be able to order the detention of people if they have reason to believe they had committed or intended to commit sabotage or were withholding information about such an offence.

They could be detained for more than 14 days only if this was authorised by a Supreme Court judge after he had received written representations from the police and the detainee's lawyers.

Political Staff



## Race 'an incidental factor'

The fundamental interests worth protecting could never be coupled to race — an incidental biological factor. Minister of Justice and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly Kobie Coetsee said yesterday. **ROUFA**

Speaking during an interpellation on own affairs, Mr Coetsee said race had to disappear as a determinant.

"Start with a definition of interest and not with the group. Once the

interest has been defined — for example, religion — then our people can freely join with any group. In this way the cultural and language groups will identify themselves." **2/27**

There were specific own interests such as lifestyle, language, religion and culture worth protecting. The question was, however, how they could best be protected without discriminating against the rights of others. — Sapa.

# Traitor <sup>304A</sup> label the problem

*Sowetan 8/5/91*  
THERE was still a psychological barrier against appointing black people as ambassadors for South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Replying to a debate on his department's budget vote, Botha said the department had appointed coloureds and Asians as ambassadors, but there had been a barrier for black people.

No black person could be appointed an ambassador without being regarded as a traitor.

One also had to ensure that a black appointee was not connected to a faction.

Botha <sup>said</sup> were appointments strictly on merit. The colour of an applicant played no role.

"We serve South Africa. We serve the interests of South Africans," he said - Sapa.



ANC pledges to work for peace

# Buthelezi and FW in bid to save talks

6104 8/5/91 304A 1/3

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi met last night in what was believed to be an effort to resolve the one outstanding issue — concerning "traditional" weapons — that would satisfy the ANC's ultimatum and put negotiations back on track.

Last night's meeting in Cape Town followed several days of talks between government and ANC officials during which ANC members indicated that if agreement was reached on the ANC's demand that government outlaw traditional weapons and other issues, the ANC would not act on its threat to pull out of negotiations.

Shortly after the start of the meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi, the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance released an apparently conciliatory statement, promising to work for peace.

The statement "solemnly" pledged that alliance members would do all in their power to achieve peace. It called on South Africans to "forge an overwhelming national consensus for peace" and promote a climate of political tolerance.

The pledge also restated several of the demands in the ANC's ultimatum, saying individuals must not be allowed to carry traditional or other weapons in public, that security forces should employ acceptable methods of crowd control, and that single sex hostels should be phased out.

These three issues were being focused on by the ANC in its negotiations with government.

De Klerk is believed to have satisfied

TIM COHEN

one demand by announcing that funds had been budgeted for hostels conversion and upgrading.

It is also believed that the demand that security forces should use "civilised methods" can be achieved.

Yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would not comment on the state of negotiations ahead of tomorrow's deadline, but said he was confident any impasse could be averted.

He would not comment on a possible meeting with De Klerk today, but did not rule out such a meeting.

ANC sources pointed out that the organisation was flexible on the ultimatum from the outset and it would probably not risk the deadlock that would arise if it continued to demand the resignation of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Our Durban correspondent reports that senior ANC member Joel Netshitenzhe said yesterday the ANC would withdraw from negotiations and the all-party congress tomorrow unless significant last-minute action was taken.

Netshitenzhe told an Idasa breakfast the national violence and not the ANC's ultimatum had precipitated the current crisis.

However, Netshitenzhe said the ANC would not hold government to the full letter of its demands and indicated that a meaningful indication of intent to address most of the demands would be sufficient.

□ To Page 2

## Peace talks

304A 1/3

A policy of "inaction" would be adopted from tomorrow, he said. The ANC would "announce its non-participation in the all-party congress and constitutional negotiations".

The ANC would continue with this policy until the demands were met, he said.

□ From Page 1

The ANC was not being difficult by laying down deadlines for demands to be met, but it was attempting to ensure that "negotiations do not drag on indefinitely", he said. "The ANC is also concerned at the long-term effects of violence on the economy."

# UK paper spotlights SA

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has voiced concern over the ANC's focus on strong central government, saying that while fundamentals and rules can be written into a constitution, economic policy cannot. (304A) (S)

"And inasmuch as their programme tries to do that, I don't think it is acceptable," De Klerk said in a six-page survey on SA published in the London Financial Times yesterday.

The survey also said that the investigation into alleged share dealing irregularities on the JSE and the controversy over the recent merger of four banks to form Amalgamated Banks of SA was grist to the mill of critics like the SA Communist Party and those who thought activities of the financial sector have little beneficial impact on pressing needs in the economy.

"In a country that boasts an influential and unapologetic Communist Party, such perceptions are important," said the article.

Another article looked at ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's views that the world was moving too quickly in lifting sanctions and rewarding De Klerk, and concluded that Mandela's case "lacked conviction".

To Mandela's observation that "we are the victims, yet they reward the jailer for letting a

8/5/91  
ROBERT GENTLE

little more light into our hell hole", Michael Holman wrote, "Mandela might well direct his wrath on states much closer home" — a reference to increasing SA trade with Africa.

Asked about possible alliances between the NP and other parties, De Klerk said he could not see an alliance with the ANC so long as it remained allied to the SACP.

However, KIN BENTLEY reports that De Klerk hinted at a future alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

De Klerk said a moderate alliance, which included the NP, stood an even chance of winning an election when "the real electoral process" started.

Asked whether, in terms of power sharing, he foresaw a time when the NP did not have "at least one hand on the tiller", De Klerk replied that the NP was a young and dynamic party which would play "a leading role", but "not in a dominating sense".

He said the NP, "because of its inherent strength", would have one hand on the tiller for a very long time.

## Highveld emits 50% of nation's air pollution

AIR pollution in the Transvaal Highveld amounts to almost half the national total, a new government report says.

The Environment Affairs Department commissioned the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) to undertake a study into waste management and pollution control in SA.

The report's findings, which highlight "some major inconsistencies and discrepancies", will be used as a starting point to formulate new legislation between 1992/93 to control and manage waste and pollution.

In one shocking disclosure, the 420-page report states that "one South African power station, Lethabo (in the Eastern Transvaal), will on completion produce as much fly ash annually as the whole of France".

Waste production in SA is high "because of

the special circumstances relating to mining and power generation".

Solid waste stream, excluding agricultural waste and sewage sludge, amounts to about 300 million tons a year.

"The costs (of pollution) control are high but so is the potential cost of not controlling the pollution," the report warns.

Properly supported research was needed to decide on a course of action.

About 95% of all waste in SA is disposed of on land, the report said.

"It is therefore essential that effective control and guidelines should be created for safe and acceptable land disposal practices. Problems with illegal dumping and littering require immediate attention." — Sapa.



# Some of ANC demands met — but not all

ALAN DUNN of the Political Staff reports

WITH barely a day to go to the expiry of the ANC's ultimatum, it was clear that the government was not going to be able to meet the organisation's demands.

**DEADLINE**

An analysis of government actions and utterances since the ANC first threatened in its tough open letter of April 5 to President De Klerk to withdraw from talks shows that while some of the seven demands had arguably been met, a good few others had not — and were not likely to either.

The ANC demanded:

## Weapons

● "That the government takes legislative measures during the current session of parliament to outlaw carrying of weapons, traditional or otherwise, at public assemblies, processions and rallies."

On April 16, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok banned the carrying of axes, pangas and bushknives (machetes).

Last week, Mr De Klerk said: "Let those who have a tradition to carry cultural weapons make doubly sure that the symbols they carry in their hands remain an expression of their true culture."

"Let them limit their use to truly cultural occasions and an environment in which they cannot be misused," he said.

## Dismissals

● "The dismissal of Ministers Vlok and 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."

Last Thursday, Mr de Klerk put paid to the idea: "They (Vlok and Malan), and those they lead, have a thankless task because they are only news when something goes wrong."

"At this time when every street in every township is a powderkeg because of tensions in black ranks, the country and parliament cannot expect wonders from them."



The ANC's demand for the dismissal of General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok has been rejected by the government



"We wish them strength."

## Dismantling

● "The visible public dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as Askaris, Battalion 32, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z Squad and the establishment of the multi-party commission to oversee this process."

The CCB has largely been dissolved but 32 Battalion and other crack counter-insurgency units are unlikely to be. They are highly regarded — including 32 Battalion's successful suppression of violence in the hills of Natal and other hotspots.

## Sebokeng

● "The immediate suspension from duty of all police officers and constables who were implicated in the massacres at Sebokeng on March 22 last year and the commencement of legal proceedings against them. The immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shooting in Daveyton, Benoni, on March 24 this year, pending a commission of inquiry into that incident."

Mr de Klerk, his views on this swayed by his training as a lawyer and an inbuilt regard for due process of law,

has refused in the past to impose sweeping suspensions until investigations clearly pointed to wrongdoing and culprits.

"Allegations of police bias, brutality, inaction or wrongful actions are further made almost daily by either the ANC or other individuals and organisations sympathetic to them," Mr Vlok said on April 16.

"I would like to assure the public that all such allegations are intensively investigated. Should any be found to be substantiated, the necessary steps are taken."

## Crowd control

● "Satisfactory assurances 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 shall be disallowed."

Mr de Klerk and his government have long offered those assurances. But they are highly unlikely to deprive police of their bullets.

## Hostels

● "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."

Mr de Klerk said last Tuesday: "During a visit to Soweto on September 4 last year, I expressed my concern about the social and administrative problems at black hostels."

"... A strategy is currently being developed to deal with the hostel problems, in co-operation with the residents of the surrounding areas, as part of the housing problem."

"The government regards this as a high priority problem, like housing in general. In the light of reducing the oil reserves, we must see whether projects involving hostels can also be financed from this."

## Misconduct

● 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."

In a statement issued by Tuynhuys on April 18, Mr de Klerk announced a standing commission chaired by a judge.

"The proposed commission's primary purpose will be to investigate politically inspired violence and intimidation, the identity of those involved in such violence and intimidation, and appropriate methods and steps to prevent and combat crime and intimidation."

"The purpose is not to make wild allegations or to launch a witchhunt about the past or to replace legal processes, but to establish facts on the balance of probabilities."

## "Suspend"

● "If by May 9 these demands have not been met the ANC shall: Suspend all further discussions with the government on the all-party congress; and suspend all exchanges with the government on the future constitution of our country."

How Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are going to avert that in the light of a response of 50 percent at most to the ANC's checklist, remains to be seen.



## Lightning raid

Meanwhile "Operation Stabilise" started today with hundreds of heavily armed policemen launching a lightning raid on the Mandela Park squatter settlement in Daveyton Springs, in search of illegal weapons.

The dawn operation came barely hours after Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said more policemen and troops would be deployed in violence-scarred townships on the Reef.

Mr Vlok said that "Operation Stabilise" was the first of many measures aimed at restoring law and order.

At least 133 people have died in political violence in townships across the country since May 1. Most of the killings took place on the Witwatersrand. In Soweto alone, at least 71 deaths were reported.

The townships affected by the announcement — Soweto, Alexandra, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Tembisa, Tokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus — have all already been proclaimed "unrest areas" in terms of the Public Safety Act.

The operation includes the deployment of more police and SADF reinforcements, road blocks, "cordon and search" operations, stricter enforcement of the 9pm to 4am curfew and a ban on open air gatherings for 14 days.

## Controversial

This last measure — undoubtedly the most controversial — excludes "bona fide church and sports gatherings as well as funerals".

Permission to hold other gatherings can be granted by regional police commissioners.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had taken note of Mr Vlok's measures and would react to them "in due course".

Welcoming the measures, Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela said South Africans of all walks of life were paying too high a price.

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela resume talks today amid hopeful signs that real negotiations may start soon.

The talks between the two follow a marathon session yesterday at a secret venue and are aimed at preventing a breakdown in negotiations between the government and the ANC.

After yesterday's meeting, Mr De Klerk said only a few outstanding matters had to be resolved.

"We have reached a stage where, if we solve a few outstanding problems, we are very near a situation where real negotiations can start.

## Newsmaker award

"As a result of developments over the past few weeks, we are able and definitely willing to ensure that we will not be immobilised by the present deadlock situation," he told the Pretoria Press Club.

Mr De Klerk, who arrived more than an hour late to receive his Newsmaker of the Year award last night, said an announcement of the outcome of the discussions could be made later today.

The ANC leader did not attend the function to receive his award as runner-up newsmaker.

Mr De Klerk cautioned the media not to over-dramatise current political events. No-one had expected the process of negotiations to be easy.

new hope for  
talks restart  
Chance of real negotiations starting soon — F W

Argus

204A





ARMS 8/5/91

# Alliance issues 5-point plan to work for peace

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — As tension mounted ahead of tomorrow's expiry date of the ANC's ultimatum to the government, the ANC and its main allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, yesterday issued a joint five-point declaration to work for peace.

The general secretaries of the three organisations are Mr Alfred Nzo of the ANC, Mr Joe Slovo of the SACP and Mr Jay Naidoo of Cosatu.

## Demands

They said in a statement released last night that they pledged to work for peace, political tolerance, impartial security forces, to build peace in their communities and to work for a just and prosperous South Africa.

The declaration focused on most of the demands contained in the ANC's ultimatum to the government to take drastic ac-



Mr Carl Niehaus

tion by tomorrow to end the township violence or face the ANC's withdrawal from constitutional talks.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the declaration was a "general statement to confirm our position, also in terms of the violence".

Asked if the declaration was issued as a last-minute commitment sought by government

as part of the sensitive negotiations on the ANC's ultimatum, Mr Niehaus said: "It has nothing to do with that."

In the statement, the alliance said the real possibility for a negotiated settlement to end apartheid now existed for the first time. Yet, at the same time, there were forces bent on dragging the country down into a spiral of destruction.

"The overwhelming majority of South Africans want peace. Our society yearns for the recognition of basic human rights for all, for a climate of free political expression and tolerance."

"We call on the people of South Africa, black and white, regardless of differences in culture, creed or political belief, to work for the resolution of problems by peaceful means."

"We pledge to do everything in our power to bring about peace and a speedy end to the system of apartheid."

Calling for political toler-

ance, the organisations said it was essential that they should recognise the right of all citizens to participate in peaceful political activity and to join political parties of their choice.

Dealing with the security forces, they reiterated their belief that the government had a duty to protect all citizens and that the security forces should not favour any organisation.

"They must at all times act to reduce the potential for violence. Individuals must not be allowed to carry weapons in public, traditional or otherwise."

"In dealing with mass activities, security forces must relate to the people in a civilised manner. They should employ acceptable methods of crowd control, and must not be issued with live ammunition."

The alliance called on communities to resolve conflict peacefully. Residents should identify the individuals responsible for violence and "those who refuse to mend their ways must be exposed".

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# NP's hand on the tiller 'long-term'

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — President F W de Klerk believes his National Party will have a "hand on the tiller" of government in South Africa for "a very long time" to come.

In an interview with the London Financial Times for a special six-page supplement on South Africa yesterday, Mr De Klerk also hinted that the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party could form a future alliance.

But he ruled out any similar links with the ANC so long as it was allied to the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Mr De Klerk said a "moderate alliance", which included the NP, would stand an

"even chance" of winning an election when the "real electoral process" starts.

Asked whether, in terms of power sharing, he foresaw a time when the NP did not have "at least one hand on the tiller", Mr De Klerk replied: "In essence a political party exists because it believes in its policy. And the main goal of a political party is to be a winner at the polls."

It would play "a leading role", he said, but "not in a dominating sense".

"I think that because of its inherent strength, the NP will have one hand on the tiller for a very long time."

On whether he would consider the IFP a "natural partner" in a future alliance, Mr

De Klerk said: "It's quite possible that the IFP and the NP can move into an alliance, but I don't think they will be alone."

According to the correspondent, SA government officials are now speaking openly of a "Christian democrat" alliance or coalition, to claim the middle ground in SA politics and to oppose a "socialist coalition" led by the ANC and the SACP.

Mr De Klerk said he believed the NP had "the potential to attract wide support across colour lines. But I also believe we must bring together those who share the same principles ... but we're not pressing now for alliances ... any impression of gangling up at this stage will threaten the negotiation process itself."



**IN POWER**  
F W de Klerk



# Envoy appointments strictly on merit – Pik

Blacks still felt a psychological barrier against being appointed as ambassadors for South Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to debate on his department's budget vote, he said the department had appointed coloureds and Asians as ambassadors, but there had been a barrier for black people.

This was a psychological barrier that they felt against defending South Africa's policies overseas.

No black person could have done this in the past without being regarded by his people as a traitor.

The other consideration was that one had to be careful to ensure that a black appointee was not connected to a particular faction. He should not be seen as representing organisation A against organisation B.

Mr Botha said appointments to posts in the department were strictly on merit. The colour of an applicant played no role.

"We serve South Afri-

Parliament

1991



Pik Botha . . . department serves all.

ca. We serve the interests of South Africans."

Mr Botha added that former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe and his wife

were still in Pretoria but negotiations were well advanced regarding his wish to return home.

The Foreign Minister said the Government had heard rumours about arms caches in Transkei but these allegations had been denied by the homeland government.

He added that relations with African states, particularly in the southern African region, were receiving top priority.

One of the difficult tasks South Africa would accomplish in time was to become accepted by groups such as the Organisation of African Unity and the UN.

Acceptance into these circles had been hampered by anti-apartheid groups.

Mr Botha also confirmed that applications had been received by the South African Embassy in Umtata for the extradition to Transkei of businessmen Sol Kerzner and David Bloomberg.

He said the application would be forwarded to the Ministry of Justice, and eventually to a magistrate for his decision in terms of the Extradition Act. — Sapa.

# We're not here to serve men, say top SA women

Star 8/5/71

By Bronwyn Wilkinson



Marike de Klerk . . . the role of women is to serve, heal and inspire men.

Women insisted yesterday they were powerful individuals in their own right and said they were appalled by the opinion of Marike de Klerk, wife of the State President, that women were "not important".

Mrs de Klerk, speaking at the opening of the new International Pentecostal Church building in Zuurbekom at the weekend, said the role of women was to serve, heal and inspire men.

Susie Jordan, editor of *Femme* magazine, said laughingly: "Why on earth should we serve men? That's the silliest thing I've ever heard!"

Dr Wendy Orr said: "Wo-

men have as important a role as men. Even if their role is seen as a supporting one, it is flabbergasting that inspiring and giving love are seen as unimportant."

Radio 702 deejay Shado Twala said: "I believe women can run the world, because we run families so successfully. We can do it because we don't get power-drunk. Women in management don't spend time pinching men's bums."

Black Sash national president Mary Burton said: "I think women do have a special talent for healing — both society and individuals."

"They are concerned about the well-being of others, something which does get overlooked in public

life. That in itself is an important role."

Veteran politician Helen Suzman said she hoped "women will play a more positive role in the life of the country than just being an appendage of their menfolk".

Tribute magazine editor Nokwanda Sithole laughed for quite a while before commenting: "That is rubbish. What does bother me is that even some of the most powerful women have yet to rise above the position of being wives and mothers to really be individuals. So what she says is, sadly, widely true."

Maritzburg mayor Pat Rainier has sent a letter to the State President's office querying Mrs de Klerk's comments about women.



## Racial references to go from Acts

Star 8/5/91  
Seven Acts are to be amended to delete reference to race in the Further Abolitions to the Racially Based Measures Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday.

References to "blacks and Asiatics" are to be deleted from the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Unemployment Insurance Act.

Special arrangements

304A  
regarding property, diet and accommodation of "non-whites" are to be deleted from the Merchant Shipping Act and references to "European" are to be deleted from the National Parks Act.

The provision for the appointment of marriage officers for the different population groups is to be taken from the Mar-

riages Act, and special provisions regarding blacks and Indian immigrants are to be deleted from the Births, Marriages and Deaths Registration Act.

The Identification Act is to be amended to end the inclusion of a person's race in the population register by omitting the birth entry number.

— Sapa.

Crisis talks resume today

# FW: we've made good progress

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Top-level talks between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are scheduled to continue today as the Government and the ANC attempt to prevent a breakdown in negotiations.

This announcement was made by Mr de Klerk last night after marathon discussions at a secret venue in Pretoria which lasted almost five hours.

On the eve of the ANC's ultimatum to break off negotiations if the Government did not take drastic steps to stop the township violence,

Mr de Klerk said only a few outstanding matters had to be resolved and that good progress had been made.

"We have reached a stage where, if we solve a few outstanding problems, we are very near to a situation where real negotiations can start.

"As a result of developments over the past few weeks, we are able and definitely willing to ensure that we will not be immobilised by the present deadlock situation," he told the Pretoria Press Club.

Mr de Klerk, who arrived more than an hour late to receive his Newsmaker of the Year Award at a banquet in Verwoerdburg last night, said an announcement of the outcome of the discussions

could be made later today.

He had been assisted at the meeting by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerriit Viljoen, and Mr Mandela by the ANC's head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC leader did not attend the function to receive his award as runner-up newsmaker.

Mr de Klerk cautioned the media not to over-dramatise current political events.

No one had expected the process of negotiations to be easy, he said.

Yesterday's talks remained a tight secret, despite scores of journalists roaming around Pretoria to stalk out the venue.

In his official address at the banquet, Mr de Klerk cautioned that the culture of violence and intimidation had become the most serious obstacle in the way to constitutional negotiations.

It also inhibited the restoring of business confidence and foreign investment.

## Invitation

Despite the ANC's objection to his proposed May 24-25 peace summit, he reiterated his invitation to all concerned parties to attend.

Speaking on the proposal by church leaders for an independently arranged peace summit, Mr de Klerk asked that the issue of a summit should not be politicised.

"Don't make a negative issue out of the Government's call for a conference. It was intended without any ulterior motive."

All parties were welcome to attend the summit and could criticise and make suggestions on how the Government should fulfil its responsibility to maintain law and order.

Mr de Klerk said the media, as Fourth Force, had to become directly involved in the quest for democracy which included a free press.

He raised doubts about the ANC's commitment to a free press and asked whether the media would tolerate ANC intimidation.

## Stringent new unrest measures announced

Staff Reporter

Stringent new unrest measures including a ban on all air meetings for 14 days and intensified security operations, will go into effect in Johannesburg, Durban and Witwatersrand today.

The security measures were announced last night, Minister of Police Mr Vlok said.

Mr Vlok also appealed to all leaders to urge their followers to refrain from violence "and to take firm steps to ensure this message reaches all their supporters".

Reacting to the announcement, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC had taken note of the new measures and would react "in due course".

Welcoming the measures, a Freedom Party committee member said: "We believe South Africa is so high on the responsible leadership needs to their power

search" operations, stricter enforcement of the 9 pm to 4 am curfew and a 14-day ban on open air meetings.

This last measure excludes "bona fide church and sports gatherings as well as funerals".

Permission to hold other open air gatherings can be granted by the Regional Commissioners of Police.

Mr Vlok also appealed to all leaders to urge their followers to refrain from violence "and to take firm steps to ensure this message reaches all their supporters".

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Marike de Klerk.

**I was quoted out  
of context — Marike**

Marike de Klerk says it was "bitterly unfair" that she was quoted out of context after telling women at a church gathering at Zuurbekom on Sunday: "We are not important, the cause is much more important after all."

In a statement yesterday, Mrs de Klerk said: "I was speaking from a Christian perspective at a Christian gathering about rendering service in which the person is not more important than the cause. For if one seeks to advance one's ego, the cause will naturally suffer."

"This is true of anybody — be they men, women, children or institutions. I was speaking to women, that is why I said: 'We are not important, the cause (peace) is much more important after all!'"

She said the correct interpretation was that "by virtue of me saying that women can inspire men to do almost anything, I actually emphasised how significant women are".

"I am not prepared to become involved any further in a controversy surrounding such a wonderful occasion which was characterised, in particular, by a strong call for peace," Mrs de Klerk stated. — Sapa.

# Roll up to watch 'em pass the bucket <sup>Star 9/5/91</sup> while you can <sub>304A</sub>

"Visitors are reminded," says a stern note on the back of the official Guide for Visitors to Parliament, "that they may not make notes of the proceedings in Parliament or in any way disturb these proceedings."

Now that applies to you, which is precisely why you need gallery scribes like me. We are allowed to make notes of the proceedings, and these frequently have the effect of disturbing them. MPs do not balk at denouncing, in Parliament, journalists who have written something about them to which they do not take, shall we say, entirely kindly.

There is an interesting relationship between MPs and the members of the Press Gallery. It is symbiotic, in the sense that we need each other for our very survival.

But it is fraught, in that those parts of an MP's speech (or behaviour in the chamber) that make a good story are usually not what said MP would like reported. This makes it dangerous, volatile work, but somebody's got to do it.

Take Soheir Hoosen, the honourable member for Tafelberg in the House of Representatives. Followers of this space will recall that she, the Egyptian-born leader of the "Freedom Party" and its only member in Parliament, is one of On The House's favourites.

Mrs Hoosen made another speech recently. This occurrence is rare, and is in itself sufficient to send your correspondent scurrying through the warren of newspaper offices abutting the House of Assembly into the "joint chamber" (which we fondly refer to as the "Great Hall of the Minorities") to see Madame in the flesh and full cry.

Needless to say, I would not

On  
The  
House

SHAUN  
JOHNSON



put myself out thus for a debate on the second reading of the Mining Titles Registration Amendment Bill.

On this occasion Mrs H was making some undoubtedly substantial points about (if memory serves) the lack of understanding among other South Africans about the country's Muslim community.

But is that what caught the attention of this scribbler? Oh no. I was taken by her unfailingly magnificent subversion of the English idiom. "What this amounts to," she was saying, "is a passing of the bucket".

And here I am telling you about that, when she would prefer that I summarise the contents of her painstakingly constructed presentation. Do you wonder that they hate us? Of course you don't.

My point is that the personality of Parliament comprises much more than just interminable prepared speeches. And although we do our best to convey its extraordinary complexity — and frequent hilarity — there's nothing quite like going there yourself.

I cannot recommend highly enough a visit to Parliament. It is an institution whose character will, before we know it, change beyond all recognition. You should see it before that, and I'll tell you how.

First, and most importantly, come to Cape Town. Then proceed up Parliament Street to the entrance of the House of Assembly. Inform the guards

that you wish to obtain a ticket to the Public Gallery. Pick a Tuesday, when interpellations — a pretentious word for "mini-debates" — take place in the aforementioned chamber.

Then (of course), without making notes of the proceedings or in any way disturbing those proceedings, settle in for some fun.

The all-star cast is usually present in full on a Tuesday. You will see President FW on a bench of his own (the one at which Dr Verwoerd was assassinated), flanked by some interesting partnerships: Magnus and Pik, Dawie and Gerrie, Kobie and Barend, Piet and Adriaan.

Across the gangway you will find Andries and Ferdi, Zach and Colin, etcetera. On Tuesdays they let rip at each other.

(A minor digression: MPs get very territorial about their seats, and don't like it a bit when they have to break up into committee sessions, and get moved about. The CP is particularly unhappy about the fact that Labour Party bottoms get plonked, briefly, on otherwise racially pure CP seats.)

But a visit will bring to you other profound truths, too. Like the fact that the first design for the Houses of Parliament (a picture of which hangs in the stairwell above the lobby) could not be built because it was architecturally unsound.

Or that the first Republican flag (I call it the Driekleur) was, for reasons too complicated and bizarre to recount here, first flown in Havana, Cuba. Or, further, that the "joint chamber", opened in 1988, features woodwork of yellowwood, afrormosia and sera-jera, and seats of English leather.

So — see you in Parliament. You haven't much time.



Mark Suzman talks to scenario planner Clem Sunter about the future

# Growth, order must interlock

Star 10/5/71

3044

**N**EARLY five years ago Anglo American's chief scenario planner, Clem Sunter, launched a book, video and series of speeches on South Africa's future which brought a new vocabulary into domestic political discourse.

Setting out an analysis of possible and probable trends in South Africa and the wider world, Mr Sunter drew a distinction between a "high road" of reform and economic growth and a "low road" of co-optation, repression and a declining economy — terms which have become almost obligatory in assessing broader developments today.

In recent years, however, political changes have left the dichotomy between prosperous democracy and an authoritarian "wasteland" rather less clear-cut. In a climate of increasing violence and a weak economy, uncertainty rather than success or failure seems to be the order of the day.

Acknowledging these shifts, Mr Sunter, now chairman of Anglo's gold and uranium division, agrees that his scenario requires some updating, although he insists that its central insights remain valid.

In particular he observes that the "rules of the game" — the guiding parameters within which

all political and economic development within South Africa must take place — have remained essentially unchanged. These comprise:

- The imbalance of military power prevents the possibility of revolution by force of arms.
- With no negotiated settlement, violence will rise in South Africa.
- South Africa is an industrialised society whose economy, together with the jobs it supports, act as a counterbalance to revolutionary scenarios.
- South Africa cannot fully satisfy the world agenda.
- Statutory apartheid will go.

Given this framework, Mr Sunter observes that at the moment we are tentatively heading in the right direction for a successful outcome.

"There are signs of both roads in today's South Africa. Negotiations are certainly the key to unlocking the door to the high road of growth and democracy, but there are still many difficulties ahead," he observes.

In particular, Mr Sunter cautions that the major partners in the negotiations process are not yet ready to enter a genuine process of give and take.

"I am not convinced that all parties realise that negotiations are a sharing process that re-

quires real concessions, and until that happens genuine progress will not be made," he warns.

And despite the fact that South Africa remains far from the 5-10 percent growth rates that Mr Sunter said would be necessary to pull the country into "high growth mode", he now feels that the current economic downturn has a very substantial silver lining.

"Tough times are no bad thing because they have brought expectations down," he asserts. "There is now a much more realistic philosophy among the trade unions and the left wing about the economy."

In addition, he feels that this greater realism will provide an excellent springboard for a huge expansion in entrepreneurship in the future as the recession ends — somewhat analogous to the situation in Germany and Japan after the war.

"If we can reach a growth level above 5 percent now, it will be seen as a reward for negotiations, helping the whole process along."

Nevertheless, Mr Sunter has to stress that this attitude should not be interpreted as support for sanctions, which he continues to oppose.

"The trigger is crucially important: sanctions are divisive and prompt a divisive reaction within the population while a recession, which affects everybody, can bring people together in adversity," he says.

As before, he feels that a massive economic upswing depends primarily on unlocking the entrepreneurial spirit contained in the informal sector and concentrating on a move towards an export-led economy that is centred on manufactured goods. Given the current crisis in the gold industry, moreover, he asserts that such a shift in industrial priorities has become particularly important.

But to ensure the long-term success of such an endeavour, Mr Sunter now feels that the incubation of a new value system among South Africans is crucial. While this would incorporate the "work ethic" originally propounded in his book, it would also encompass certain social and political norms to ensure democratic stability.

In conjunction with this he emphasises that one key issue he neglected in his earlier scenario was the environment. Expanding in a second book on ideas he set out, Mr Sunter now insists that a sound environmental policy is essential to a successful long-term future — and the only way of securing that is the creation of an "environmental ethic" within society.

In addition he notes that pro-

perity and environmentalism are dependent on one another. Rather than destroying the environment, industrialisation (if properly managed) is necessary to generate sufficient wealth to prevent the indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources.

Mr Sunter also points to a second modification he would now make to his original scenario with regard to the concept of leadership. While the original scenario stressed the need for strong leaders able to formulate a vision and carry it out, Mr Sunter now gives equal emphasis to the importance of leaders who act as facilitators rather than despots.

"The real leadership we need is the ability to turn ordinary people into champions — to liberate their spirit rather than control them," he asserts, citing Switzerland and Japan as countries which have successfully done this.

However, although he still sees the high road on the horizon, Mr Sunter remains wary of potential pitfalls along the way. Describing the current violence and complications in the negotiations process as to some extent inevitable in a society undergoing radical transition, he admits that these two factors could potentially lead the country down some variant of the

low road.

"An emphasis on jobs, law and order, and economic growth is the only solution," he asserts, highlighting the interdependence of the issues: growth will ensure stability while stability will accelerate growth.

And in another new insight, he now worries about the dangers of nationalism. Noting the example of Eastern Europe, another area undergoing transition, he warns that nationalism, aggravated by ethnicity, could become a major catalyst for instability.

"What is needed is a broader national sentiment. People must learn to feel good about being South African," he says.

Nevertheless, he notes that such a broader loyalty cannot be forced on people.

"It grows with rising living standards, economic interdependence and national success in pastimes such as sport," he observes.

And while he admits we are not there yet, Mr Sunter continues to feel optimistic that the high road is still well within South Africa's grasp.

But as he warned in his book, to get there we have to walk through a "vale of tears" first, and if the vale is too long it may yet end in permanent misery. □



Dangerous weapons are outlawed in unrest areas

# Talks Critical

Source for

10/5/91

304A

# Saved



NELSON MANDELA

After threats of a deadlock, the negotiations process is continuing. How do you feel about that? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KHz.



## Boy's belly ripped

YESTERDAY, the deadline for the ANC's ultimatum to the Government, turned into a day of consultation rather than confrontation. And it has been agreed that from now nobody may carry dangerous weapons - excluding spears - in public in so-called unrest areas. ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela held talks for six hours with a Government team headed by President F.W. de Klerk in Pretoria on Wednesday. Advisers from both sides continued the talks

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, Political Correspondent, and Staff Reporters

yesterday, a statement from De Klerk's office said last night.

The statement said: "Good progress was made. However, we have agreed that some issues need to be discussed further on an urgent basis."

De Klerk said that at Wednesday's meeting he had repeated the Government's policy regarding "professionalism and absolute impartiality of the

To Page 2

P.T.O



# Talks collapse crisis averted

From Page 1

police in maintaining law and order".

The most senior man, besides De Klerk, on the Government's side was Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

At Stellenbosch University on Wednesday Viljoen told students that the ANC's ultimatum to break off all further talks with the Government by yesterday unless it responded satisfactorily to the ANC's pleas had had a "shock effect".

"It was completely at odds with the existing culture of negotiation. The Government realises that a return to normal politics will not be without stresses and strains," he said.

Sources within the ANC said they were pleased to see that now, for the first time, the Government was taking the ANC seriously.

De Klerk's statement last night continued: "The Government is also reviewing existing legislation to address the issue of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public in the country as a whole.

"The Government will act without hesitation against any misuse of cultural weapons, such as spears, for criminal or non-cultural purposes."

But in a statement yesterday, the PWV region of the ANC Women's League, led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, said: "We cannot accept that assegais and sticks are cultural weapons. These are instruments of death and must be destroyed."

The statement said the ANCWL would continue with the campaign to have these weapons outlawed as long as its demands were not met.

And in Soweto, top-level delegations of the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress met yesterday in a follow-up to their historic meeting

in Harare, Zimbabwe, last month.

The two organisations agreed to form a standing liaison committee to consolidate mutual interests and trust.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said his organisation would meet the ANC next week but did not elaborate on the issues likely to be discussed.

The PAC is also scheduled to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party, the organisation's Mr Barney Desai said.

Central to yesterday's Azapo and PAC talks, observers said, was the question of the "patriotic front", which has been agreed upon by the PAC and ANC.

Commenting on yesterday's talks with the Government, ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said the organisation would respond to the talks after a meeting of its national executive committee, possibly today.

Meanwhile, De Klerk told the Pretoria Press Club, where he was awarded the Newsmaker of the Year Award on Wednesday night, that good progress had been made at Wednesday's meeting with the ANC, which continued to yesterday.

However, some problems needed further discussion. ANC sources said among the problems was the question of the violence and what the ANC saw as the Government's unwillingness to resolve it.

Also under discussion, sources said, was De Klerk's "peace indaba" called for May 24 and 25 in Pretoria.

In the light of the importance of the violence in the current situation, it is likely that both Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with whom De Klerk held talks in Cape Town on Tuesday night, and Mandela will attend the indaba.



PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke and Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe at yesterday's talks between the two groups.

Still no ban on spears, but . . .

# Govt, ANC reach 'broad consensus'

THE ANC and government reached "broad consensus" in top-level talks yesterday, almost certainly averting a crisis over negotiations as the ANC's ultimatum expired.

President F W de Klerk said in a statement that he, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and their advisers spent six hours discussing the violence on Wednesday. The advisers continued talks yesterday, achieving an "outline agreement".

"Good progress was made," De Klerk said last night, reiterating his earlier evaluation of Wednesday's talks on the eve of yesterday's ANC deadline. The ANC last month threatened to pull out of negotiations unless government met seven demands aimed at ending township violence.

Despite the progress yesterday, De Klerk's statement said both sides agreed that some issues had to be further discussed "on an urgent basis".

It is understood that Mandela took a hard line during the talks, although according to some sources the ANC would no longer insist on the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The statement made no mention of government's proposed conference on violence. The ANC is refusing to attend if the summit is convened by government, while Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is unwilling to attend a conference convened by church groups, which he apparently considers too closely linked to the ANC.

To overcome this impasse, government yesterday proposed a peace conference convened jointly by itself, the ANC and

TIM COHEN

Inkatha, but held under the auspices of church groupings.

This is understood to be one of the remaining issues to be resolved.

De Klerk's statement said that in addition to the measures he had already announced, government had decided to implement others to end or drastically curb "intimidation, fighting and killing".

"Crucial among these is an immediate prohibition in unrest areas of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, excluding at this stage, spears.

"The government is also reviewing existing legislation to address the issue of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public in the country as a whole."

These measures were announced by Vlok on Wednesday and came into effect yesterday.

It appeared that the two sides had deferred taking any firm decision on the carrying of cultural weapons, with government arguing that whether political meetings constituted cultural gatherings was a question for the conference on violence.

The statement said there was still a need to achieve an agreed and acceptable definition of cultural occasions. It said government was still consulting all interested parties on the issue.

De Klerk said government would act without hesitation against any misuse of cultural weapons, such as spears, for criminal or non-cultural purposes.

He reiterated government's policy requiring professionalism and impartiality of the police.

□ To Page 2

## Govt, ANC

He also repeated government's policy to upgrade hostels and convert existing facilities into family units. However, it remained important to provide acceptable single-sex accommodation.

This programme would be carried out in close consultation with the communities concerned.

De Klerk appealed to all South Africans

to find a way of removing "the curse of violence from our society".

Government sources indicated De Klerk was expected to discuss the meetings with the Cabinet next week, while Mandela would raise agreements reached and outstanding issues with the ANC's national executive committee, probably today.

● Comment: Page 12

□ From Page 1



**T**HE debate about bills of rights, group rights and constitutional courts in the new SA is exciting and challenging. It is impossible to single out one aspect of human rights as being more important than the others, but one cannot but remark on what appears to be a lack of concern about the important issue of freedom of communication and freedom of assembly.

It can be strongly argued that no other civil rights can be secure while these are curtailed. SA is in a uniquely fortunate position of being able to assess the disastrous effect of the 40-year period of suppression of freedom in this area. Let us look, simply, at a few Acts.

Firstly, the Suppression of Communism Act which gave way to the Unlawful Organisations Act and which in turn gave way to the Internal Security Act aimed principally at limiting the spread of communist and African nationalist doctrine, limited the natural political development of the country so that its population and its leaders must now try to make a superhuman leap of 40 years in their political thinking to adapt themselves to present realities. Unless they are able to do so, the chances of realistic approaches to the present challenges are remote.

**S**econdly, when the Rand Daily Mail in the '60s attempted to reveal some of the realities of life in SA prisons, a vicious campaign was launched against it founded on the provisions of the Prisons Act, which visited criminal penalties on publishing an untrue statement about a prison without taking reasonable steps to verify such statement.

The expenditure on the defence of a series of criminal and civil trials could well have contributed to the ultimate demise of that newspaper. Certainly the government, headed at the time by John Vorster, went far towards discrediting as a troublemaker a newspaper which simply

# Past misdeeds show free expression is essential in new SA

By  
1991.

WILLIAM LANE

3047

tried to perform the duty of informing the public.

Thirdly, the harm done by the protection of the prisons from exposure of intolerable conditions pales into insignificance when compared with the harm done by the blanket of secrecy thrown over actions of the police by provisions such as Section 27b of the Police Act which visits criminal penalties upon a person who publishes untrue matter in relation to a police action without having reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true.

This provision has its counterpart in the Defence Act and in the Official Secrets Act (now called the Protection of Information Act) which virtually casts a blanket of secrecy over all military and other official activity.

We now know that, under these blankets, or, indeed elderdowns, of secrecy:

□ The SADF invaded Angola and almost reached Luanda without the SA public knowing anything about it;  
□ SA also intervened in Angola by supporting the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi;

□ Hit squads operated in SA and elsewhere to eliminate opponents of the government such as Jeanette

Schoon, Ruth First, Griffiths Mxenge and others; and

□ Untold millions of rands have been spent on these unlawful and discreditable activities which have brought nothing but calumny and which are now generally accepted as having been a total waste of time and money.

played and must always in future play in the development of our civilisation.

In spite of the general relaxation of the application of the various laws complained of, many remain on the statute books and can be brought into force at the whim of a Minister, even after the Internal Security and Intimidation Bill tabled in Parliament this week becomes law. Marching with all its consequent disruption of traffic is permitted, possibly because it gives vent to energies. Public open air meetings, where matters can be reasonably debated and views exchanged, have only recently been permitted.

Two generations of policemen have grown up that cannot remember the days when the likes of Trevor Huddleston and Bram Fischer addressed lunch-hour meetings on the city hall steps. The city fathers themselves do not appear to remember those days as is witnessed by their redeveloping the civic spine with scant regard for the role it should fulfil as a place for orderly public meetings. The current generation of policemen, unaware of the historic value of public assemblies and of techniques which can be ap-

plied to keep them under control, knows no remedy other than teargas and rubber bullets to control such events.

It is more than apparent that one of the most crying needs is for the creation of a sense of the real value of free exchanges of views. One of the possible reasons for the reluctance to proclaim a dedication to freedom of speech or freedom of assembly is that each one of the actors has a list, of varying degrees of secrecy, of beliefs and philosophies which he would like to see proscribed.

At a recent debate between Prof John Dugard and SACP leader Joe Slovo, Slovo insisted that freedom of speech would have to be curtailed if only to ensure that there was no possibility of a platform being given for the propagation of racism.

His desire is to outlaw the propagation of racism, anti-semitism and other forms of unreasoning prejudice which, quite simply, are not matters for legislation. Such matters must surely be controlled by inducing in the public a healthy sense of fairness. To attempt to restrict racial remarks would, for example, limit discussions on the outstanding academic performance in the US of children and students of Oriental origin. And will it be a practical possibility to resolve the current disputes between the members of Inkatha and the members of the ANC without referring to the presence of an ethnic element in the make up of the respective contestants?

**R**acism must be vigorously countered in all its aspects and in all its manifestations. Do not let us allow the existence of this evil to blind us to the overwhelming necessity for the promotion of freedom of speech, of communication, of ideas, of assembly, of free inquiry and of demanding from public officers an open accounting for all their actions.

□ Lane is an attorney and a partner in Bell, Dewar & Hall. This article is reprinted from a recent newsletter published by the firm.



# Crises to be tested

By ROS WENZEL  
Political Staff

THE crisis between the government and the African National Congress has been defused and a breakdown in contact averted.

Broad agreement has been reached in talks between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela and their advisers — and the way may be open to a multi-party conference.

Mr De Klerk said he trusted it would be possible for all parties to come together soon to discuss the road towards a common goal of a new democratic constitution.

Some difficulties remain but it seems the ANC's ultimatum to the government, which expired yesterday, has been temporarily suspended.

Much will depend on a meeting of the national executive of the ANC, which will have to ratify any understanding reached at the latest talks in Pretoria.

The two leaders met on Wednesday and their advisers continued their talks yesterday.

Mr De Klerk said afterwards that broad consensus had been reached on most issues — but that some issues needed to be discussed further.

In political circles the impression was that the meetings had "talked through" the ultimatum.

An indication of a softening of the ANC stance was that the demand in its ultimatum that the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan must both be fired was not mentioned at the talks.

The ANC will not be happy about Mr De Klerk's announcement that, while the carrying of dangerous weapons will immediately be prohibited in unrest areas, spears will be excluded "at this stage".

But there is a feeling in ANC circles that the government is at long last taking a really serious view of the unrest situation and the ANC's concerns.

Three main issues emerged at the talks.

Apart from the cultural weapons issue they concerned workers' hostels and police behaviour.

Mr De Klerk said hostel facilities were being upgraded and some were being converted into family units.

About the police, he said it was standing government policy that professionalism and absolute impartiality were required from the force.

## Violence summit

There are now hopes that the ANC could attend the summit on violence later this month.

The talks were seen today as having cleared the way for the rebuilding of trust — and that this could prepare the ground for a multi-party conference.

ANC sources indicated today that although the immediate crisis in negotiation between it and the government had passed, it would not be properly resolved until the government placed a firm ban on the carrying of "cultural" weapons at political meetings.

Tembilisa violence — page 57

● What is a dangerous weapon? See page 17.



**NEARLY five years ago, Anglo American chief scenario planner Mr Clem Sunter launched a book, video and series of speeches on South Africa's future which brought a new vocabulary into political discourse.**

Sunter then drew a distinction between a "high road" of reform and economic growth and a "low road" of co-option, repression and a declining economy.

In recent years, political changes have left the dichotomy between a prosperous democracy and an authoritarian "wasteland" rather less clear cut.

In a climate of increasing violence and a weak economy, uncertainty rather than success or failure seems to be the order of the day.

Acknowledging these shifts, Sunter, now chairman of Anglo's gold and uranium division, agrees that his scenario requires some updating.

But he insists that its central insights remain valid.

In particular, he observes that the "rules of the game" - the guiding parameters within which all political and economic development within South Africa must take place - have remained essentially unchanged.

According to Sunter:

- \* The imbalance of military power prevents the possibility of revolution by force of arms;
- \* With no negotiated settlement, violence will rise in South Africa;
- \* South Africa is an industrialised society whose economy, together with the jobs it supports, act as a counterbalance to revolutionary scenarios;
- \* South Africa cannot fully satisfy the world agenda; and

# A 'high road' to reform

\* Statutory apartheid will go.

Given this framework, Sunter observes that at the moment we are tentatively heading in the right direction for a successful outcome.

"There are signs of both roads in today's South Africa. Negotiations are certainly the key to unlocking the door to the high road of growth and democracy, but there are still many difficulties ahead."

In particular, Sunter cautions that the major partners in the negotiations process are not yet ready to enter a genuine process of give and take.

## Progress

"I am not convinced that all parties realise that negotiations are a sharing process that require real concessions and until that happens genuine progress will not be made."

Yet despite the fact that South Africa remains far from the five to 10 percent growth rates that Sunter feels is necessary to pull the country into "high growth mode", he says that the current economic downturn has a very substantial silver lining.

"Tough times are no bad thing because they have brought expectations down."

"There is now a much more realistic philosophy among the trade unions and the left wing about the economy."

In addition, he feels that this greater realism will provide an excellent springboard for a huge expansion in entrepreneurship as the recession ends - somewhat analogous to the situa-

tion in Germany and Japan after the war.

"If we can reach a growth level above five percent now, it will be seen as a reward for negotiations, helping the whole process along."

Nevertheless, Sunter hastens to stress that this attitude should not be interpreted as support for sanctions, which he continues to oppose.

"The trigger is crucially important: sanctions are divisive and prompt a divisive reaction within the population while a recession, which affects everybody, can bring people together in adversity."

As before, he feels that a massive economic upswing depends primarily on unlocking the entrepreneurship contained in the informal sector and concentrating on a move towards an export-led economy centered around manufactured goods.

Given the current crisis in the gold industry, moreover, he asserts that such a shift in industrial priorities has become particularly important.

But to ensure the long-term success of such an endeavour, Sunter now feels that the development

of a new value system among South Africans is crucial.

While this would incorporate the work ethic originally propounded in his book, it would also encompass certain social and political norms to ensure democratic stability.

In conjunction with this, he emphasises that one key issue he neglected in his earlier scenario was the environment.

Expanding on ideas he set out in a second book, Sunter insists that a sound environmental policy is essential to a successful long-term future.

The only way of securing that, he says, is the creation of an 'environmental ethic' within society.

In addition, he notes that prosperity and environmentalism are dependent on one another.

Rather than destroying the environment, industrialisation - if properly managed - is necessary to generate sufficient wealth to prevent the indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources.

Sunter also points to a second modification of his original scenario.

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While the original scenario stressed the need for strong leaders able to formulate a vision and carry it out, Sunter now gives equal emphasis to the importance of leaders who act as facilitators rather than despots.

## Pitfalls

"The real leadership we need is the ability to turn ordinary people into champions, to liberate their spirit rather than control them," he asserts.

Switzerland and Japan have successfully done this, he says.

However, although he still sees the high road on the horizon, Sunter remains wary of potential pitfalls along the way. Describing the current

violence and complications in the negotiations process as to some extent inevitable in a society undergoing radical transition, he says that these two factors could nonetheless lead the country down some variant of the low road.

"An emphasis on jobs, law and order, and economic growth is the only solution," he says.

Sunter highlights the interdependence of these issues: growth will ensure stability while stability will accelerate growth.

And in another new insight, he now worries about the dangers of nationalism.

Noting the example of Eastern Europe, another area undergoing transition, he warns that nation-

alism, aggravated by ethnicity, could become a major catalyst for instability.

"What is needed is a broader national sentiment."

"People must learn to feel good about being South African."

Nevertheless, he notes that such a broader loyalty cannot be forced on people.

"It grows with rising living standards, economic interdependence and national success in pastimes such as sport."

And while he admits we are not there yet, Sunter continues to feel optimistic that the high road is still well within South Africa's grasp.

But as he warned in his book, to get there we have to walk through a 'vale of tears' first. And if the vale is too long, it may yet end in permanent misery. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



# New law still has flaws

**T**hree things are clear about the planned overhaul of the Internal Security Act: it's better than it was; it's still quite unacceptable.

It will also turn out to be at best, an interim measure, because any new government is likely to adopt a Bill of Rights which outlaws detention.

The proposed changes to the law are embodied in the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Bill, introduced in parliament this week by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The memorandum explaining the intention of the changes notes that it was aimed at "(bringing) security legislation into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities".

Coetsee also said in preparing the changes, "consideration was given to the manner in which security issues are dealt with in other Western countries".

However, the resulting Bill is far from reaching that standard. For example new proposals would allow police to hold detainees for 14 days after which they would have to be brought before a judge, who may order the detainee to be released, or extend the detention order for an unlimited period. Compare this with the ruling of the European Court. It found British provisions in Northern Ireland, allowing for seven day non-extendable detention, at odds with fundamental freedoms and with the European convention on human rights, and that two or three days would be the maximum acceptable period.

Although the new Bill deals with many issues including bannings of organisations, it is the detention provisions which will be the touchstone.

It is proposed that a senior police officer who "has reason to believe" that someone has committed certain crimes or is withholding information about these crimes may detain such a person for interrogation

## LAW & THE COURTS

3048 Carmel Rickard

for 14 days. The detainee's family must be advised of the detention — but only if the detainee wishes, and, more ominously, only if the police believe telling the family will not jeopardise their investigations.

If the police want to continue holding the detainee beyond the 14 days, they must make an application to a judge at least 48 hours before the 14 days expire, stating in writing why they want to continue holding the detainee. Detainees may oppose being further detained, and for this purpose may be assisted by a lawyer. The police will then be given the right to reply to the written representations made on behalf of a detainee.

Finally the judge will consider the application, making a decision on whether to authorise the continued detention based on the written statements from the two sides.

The system has a number of unacceptable elements.

The provision that relatives will not be informed if it interferes with a police investigation would allow people to disappear without trace. It also appears from the proposed Bill that detainees would not be informed of the reasons being advanced by police for their continued detention. How then, can they be expected to make meaningful representations for their release?

There is some ambiguity in the Bill about whether the judge would be able to hear oral evidence. The situation will probably arise that the statements by the police and detainee will be contradictory. Under normal circumstances, the court would resolve such conflict by hearing oral evidence from both parties. But what will be

the reaction of judges who feel the law does not entitle them to hear the detainee?

The new Bill, while apparently giving judges power with one hand, takes away from the power of the courts with the other: there is a provision that "no court of law shall have jurisdiction to pronounce upon the validity of any action taken in terms of this section, or to order the release of any person detained in terms of this section".

Human rights lawyers are concerned because the new Bill continues to deny detainees access to legal counsel (except for making representations to a judge at the end of the 14 days).

Among the critics of the new Bill is law professor Kader Asmal, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee. He commented that torture of detainees tended to take place soon after detention. Fourteen days without access to counsel was therefore unacceptable.

He also predicted the proposed changes would be marketed overseas, highlighting the involvement of the judiciary. However concealed flaws which might reduce the judiciary to a rubber stamp, would not be revealed.

Human rights legal expert at Natal University Tony Mathews agreed. "Once again this Bill gives no adequate control over what happens in the cells." He also said the changes to the law "still did not give the police the message that they must go over to efficient professional methods instead of using coercion to elicit information".

National director of Lawyers for Human Rights Brian Currin said he would prefer to be a detainee under the new provisions than under the old law, but that the Bill was still "fundamentally flawed".

He too was concerned the government could manipulate the courts by claiming that "detention is no longer an arbitrary act, but that it has judicial sanction. This will protect the government from criticism on the grounds of human rights violations."



# Government softens on restitution

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

PRETORIA'S initial strong line against any restitution for people thrown off their land by apartheid appears to be softening — due at least in part to international pressure and action by affected communities.

When the government unveiled its proposals for scrapping the Group Areas and Land Acts earlier this year, officials made it clear there

would be no further compensation or restitution for land confiscated under apartheid laws.

But there has recently been a detectable easing on the issue.

Over the last few months, several Natal communities have attempted to reoccupy the land from which they were evicted during the days of grand apartheid.

Although they were paid some

compensation for the land at the time they were forced out, it was inadequate and particularly those people who had legal title deeds for their properties lost heavily. (304A)

Virtually since their removal, these communities have said they intended to go back, but when they actually tried to do so over the past months, they were met by strong-arm tactics, and police arrested some people.

However the publicity, coupled with international pressure on the subject, seems to have had an effect.

This week senior Natal provincial officials including MEC Tino Volker and the head of the Development and Services Board, met representatives of two of the affected communities, Criemen and Charlestown.

Volker promised to make representations on behalf of both once the Group Areas and Land Acts were official repealed. However, he said the claim of the people from Charlestown would be given preferential treatment because the government still owned the land taken from the people. The case of Criemen was more difficult because the land was now owned by a white farmer.

This argument has not impressed the former Criemen owners, however. They said the government had no hesitation in overriding their legal title to the land when it suited its purposes. 10/5-16/5/91

Another sign of government softening — or at least sensitivity on the issue — is that the community of Roosboom which reoccupied part of its land last December, squatting where they had once lived legally, is still there. Court action was threatened.

And in another significant development, it has been revealed that State President FW de Klerk himself appears to be softening on the subject.

In an interview with the London *Financial Times*, published this week, he said the government was "not unapproachable" on the issue of restitution for victims of apartheid.

## NP, DRP <sup>304A</sup> men to meet

Political Staff

CAPE NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers will meet Mr Nic Isaacs, leader of the Democratic Reform Party, tomorrow to discuss possible membership of the NP for members of the DRP which voted to disband at the weekend.

The DRP currently has four MPs. At its Cape Congress on Saturday it voted against linking up with the Labour Party or the ANC, opting instead to approach the NP.



# Pressures on Talks

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Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and the government reached "broad consensus" in top-level talks yesterday, almost certainly averting a crisis over negotiations as the ANC's ultimatum expired.**

President F W de Klerk said in a statement that he, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and their advisers spent six hours discussing the violence on Wednesday. The advisers continued talks yesterday, achieving an "outline agreement".

"Good progress was made," Mr De Klerk said last night, reiterating his earlier evaluation of Wednesday's talks on the eve of yesterday's ANC deadline. The ANC last month threatened to pull out of negotiations unless

the government met seven demands aimed at ending township violence.

Despite the progress yesterday, Mr De Klerk's statement said both sides agreed that some issues had to be further discussed urgently.

## Hard line

It is understood that Mr Mandela took a hard line during the talks, although according to some sources the ANC would no longer insist on the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

The statement made no mention of the government's proposed conference on violence. The ANC is refusing to attend if the summit is convened by the government, and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is unwilling to attend a conference convened by

church groups, which he apparently considers too closely linked to the ANC.

To overcome this, impasse the government yesterday proposed a peace conference convened jointly by itself, the ANC and Inkatha, but held under the auspices of church groupings.

This is understood to be one of the remaining issues to be resolved.

Mr De Klerk's statement said that in addition to the measures he had already announced, the government had decided to implement others to end or drastically curb "intimidation, fighting and killing".

"Crucial among these is an immediate prohibition in unrest areas of the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, excluding at this stage, spears.

"The government is also reviewing existing legislation to address the issue of the carry-

ing of dangerous weapons in public in the country as a whole.

These measures were announced by Mr Vlok on Wednesday and came into effect yesterday.

## Cultural weapons

It appeared that the two sides had deferred taking any firm decision on the carrying of cultural weapons, with the government arguing that whether political meetings constituted cultural gatherings was a question for the conference on violence.

Mr De Klerk's statement said the government would act "without hesitation against any misuse of cultural weapons, such as spears, for criminal or non-cultural purposes".

There was a need to agree on an acceptable

To page 2



# Overseas groups will assist SA

*Sowetan* 10/5/91

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**NEW YORK** - The abolition of apartheid in a "new" South Africa has spawned a new movement in the US and Canada of "South African Americans" and "South African Canadians" who hope to contribute to the growth and development of the country they have left behind.

The movement has been started by a former University of the Witwatersrand political science lecturer, Ronald Goldman, and a former Wits student, Larry Shore, both of whom have lived in the United States for several years.

Neither plans to return to South Africa to live, but say that like many other South Africans who have shaped new lives for themselves abroad, they believe now is the time for them to help to contribute to a "new South Africa."

"With all the dramatic developments in South Africa, it seems an appropriate time to think of doing for South Africa what Italian Americans, Hungarian Americans and

## SOWETAN Correspondent

The two men, who plan to establish links with credible South African organisations and individuals, stress that their organisation will be politically non-partisan, though its members would, of course, talk to representatives of political organisations as and when this was necessary.

Shore, who grew up in Johannesburg, graduated from Wits in 1971 and left South Africa in 1973. He holds a PhD in Communications from Stanford University and has lived in New York since 1980, where he teaches in the Communications Department at Hunter College.

Goldman, also from Johannesburg, did his undergraduate studies in the United States and after obtaining a masters degree from Fordham Uni-

versity taught in the Political Science Department at Wits University in 1969 and 1970.

He returned to the US in 1971. He has lived in Boston since 1981, where he is Associate Dean and a faculty member in the College of Communications at Boston University.

Shore said that while it was still too early to be specific, the response to their appeal to South Africans living in North America.



Three men run past a wrecked liquor store in northwest Washington during disturbances in which youths threw rocks and bottles at police and looted stores in the predominantly Hispanic area.



PARLIAMENT FM 10/5/91

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# WEATHERING THE STORM

President F W de Klerk was keeping his cool this week as the deadline for the ANC's ultimatum to end the violence approached. A senior government source said the President viewed the crisis as one of the many difficulties he had expected in the prenegotiation phase.

De Klerk was apparently confident that the planned summit on violence would go ahead on May 24-25 and insisted that he — rather than someone outside government — would convene it.

The President's approach in the face of what is widely seen as the most serious threat so far to the reform process follows a week of parliamentary debate in which he called repeatedly for an end to violence and for participation by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in peace talks.

It is clear that ending the violence has become De Klerk's priority but attaining it still seems elusive.

In parliament this week Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the police were doing all they could under difficult circumstances to contain the conflict.

Without naming specific organisations, he accused "political opportunists" of making scapegoats of the SAP, which undermined police morale to the detriment of the whole country.

He warned that the SAP was SA's only police force and would be the "new South Africa's" only force. "We need every policeman and woman — today, tomorrow and in the future," said Vlok.

Despite perceptions to the contrary, Vlok told parliament that the number of unrest incidents in the first four months of this year were down by an average of 50% compared with the corresponding period last year. However, the number of unrest deaths was up from 754 in the first four months of last year to 771 this year.

But Vlok had no new ideas on how to stop the killing and simply pledged SAP support for De Klerk's calls for an end to the violence.

During the debate on his budget vote in parliament last week, De Klerk himself gave the impression of a man with his head down plodding on resolutely in the face of a bitter storm. He seemed determined not to be put off by the crisis.

As one of his Cabinet colleagues said this week: "Now is not the time to lose one's nerve."

Suggestions that De Klerk was ready to offer Mandela and other leaders Cabinet seats in an effort to defuse the tension have been dismissed by senior government officials as incorrect interpretations. Both De Klerk and Constitutional Development Min-

ister Gerrit Viljoen have previously indicated a willingness to consider a joint executive body — or super Cabinet — but flowing out of a multiparty conference rather than preceding it.

However, there is growing feeling in parliament and in church and business circles that a new initiative is needed to break what is seen as a serious logjam in the process. It is possible De Klerk will heed some of their calls.

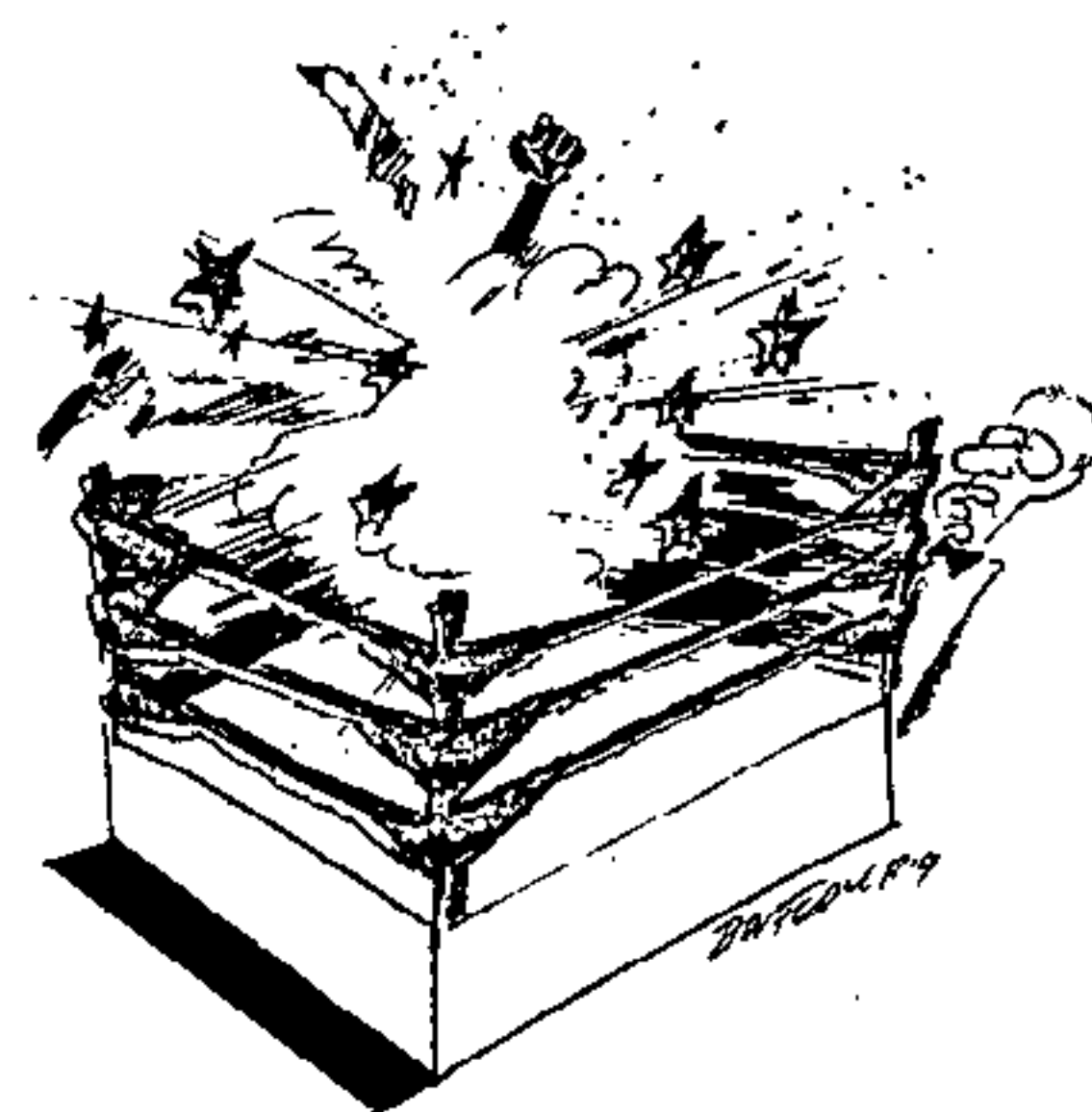
Church leaders who met De Klerk in Cape Town last week were outwardly optimistic about an early end to the crisis (possibly reflecting De Klerk's own optimism), and some of them are in contact with Mandela in an attempt to reconcile the two leaders. There are indications that the churches see an important role for themselves to break the political stalemate retarding moves towards ending the township conflict.

In newspaper advertisements this week the SA Chamber of Business expressed the business community's "deep concern" at the level of violence and its consequent threat to the negotiation process. It described the situation as critical and called for a "total strategy" to tackle the many causes of violence.

The chamber called for "narrow sectoral interests" to be put aside to achieve peace and stability. "We believe a starting point would be nationwide support for the State President's conference on violence to be held on May 24 and 25 at which the foundations for a new strategy against violence must be laid."

But some opposition parliamentarians believe efforts to get the peace and negotiations processes back on track require fundamental change of both attitude and action at executive level.

The DP's Colin Eglin called on government to consider seriously a wide-ranging



package aimed at creating the right atmosphere for reform. His proposals, put to De Klerk in parliament last week, included adapting the current administration to provide "bridging mechanisms" sufficiently flexible "to absorb the pressures" of the transitional phase.

"The question is whether we want to use the period of transition to broaden participation in decision-making, to remove mistrust by creating opportunities for joint responsibility, to promote confidence and to promote nation-building.

"Or is the exclusion inherent in the tricameral constitution and the apartheid that is inherent in 'own affairs' going to continue right up to the day the Constitution is scrapped and replaced by a new one? Or is there going to be a transition mechanism?"

Eglin called for a government undertaking not to pass new legislation without first consulting extra-parliamentary leaders.

He also argued for a constitutional change to scrap "own affairs" and suggested that government could contribute to national reconciliation by moving immediately towards the recruitment and training of a public service more representative of SA's national make up. He accused the State of falling way behind the private sector in the recruitment and training of blacks.

Other actions could include the appointment of more blacks to statutory boards such as that of the SABC and the Economic Advisory Council to give them a "true national character."



De Klerk ... 'no time to lose one's nerve'



# ANC should score from spears ban

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

**DEMANDS** by the ANC for a ban, within seven days, on the carrying of "traditional" spears at political meetings seems likely to be met.

This will ensure that the ANC continues constitutional talks with the government — and will represent a substantial victory for the ANC's controversial tactic of presenting the government with an ultimatum of seven demands for action against the township violence.

Together with other concessions made by the government, it will enable the ANC to argue that the government has at last moved seriously to rein in the Inkatha impis — even though some demands such as the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, have not been met.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is believed to have

put the new deadline to Mr De Klerk when they met in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Another intense round of shuttle diplomacy will probably take place over the next few days as the government tries to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on spears, and then finalises the deal with the ANC.

An all-day meeting of the extended National Executive Committee of the ANC will be held on Monday to consider this week's discussions between Mr Mandela and President De Klerk. The meeting will as well be attended by all regional chairpersons and delegations from the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The government's agreement at this week's talks to impose an immediate ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons — excluding spears — in the Reef unrest areas, helped temporarily to avert the ANC's threat to call off negotiations on May 9.

It is understood that the ANC

also accepted Mr De Klerk's promises to upgrade and convert township hostels and his assurances that police would act impartially in township violence.

There are suggestions that the government also agreed that police should not use live ammunition against township demonstrators — in response to a specific demand in the ANC's ultimatum.

But despite these concessions, Mr Mandela in effect extended the deadline, threatening to pull out of talks unless the government took action on the carrying of spears on political occasions within seven days, according to ANC sources.

His view is that the ANC has no objection to "cultural" weapons such as spears and fighting sticks being carried on truly cultural occasions such as Shaka Day but that political meetings are not such occasions.

Government and police sources acknowledge that they will probably have to meet this demand, although it will be difficult to persuade Chief Buthelezi. Mr De Klerk failed to do so when he met the Inkatha leader in Cape Town early this week.

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After intense talks this week between President De Klerk and two key black leaders — at separate sessions — a fragile peace was achieved after the expiry of the ANC's May 9 deadline for government action to curb violence. What are the prospects now for a lasting peace? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports.

# A fragile peace, but uncertainties remain

**T**HE good news from this week's balancing act by key political leaders is that they managed to pull back from the edge of the abyss. A single false move could have been catastrophic for South Africa's peace process.

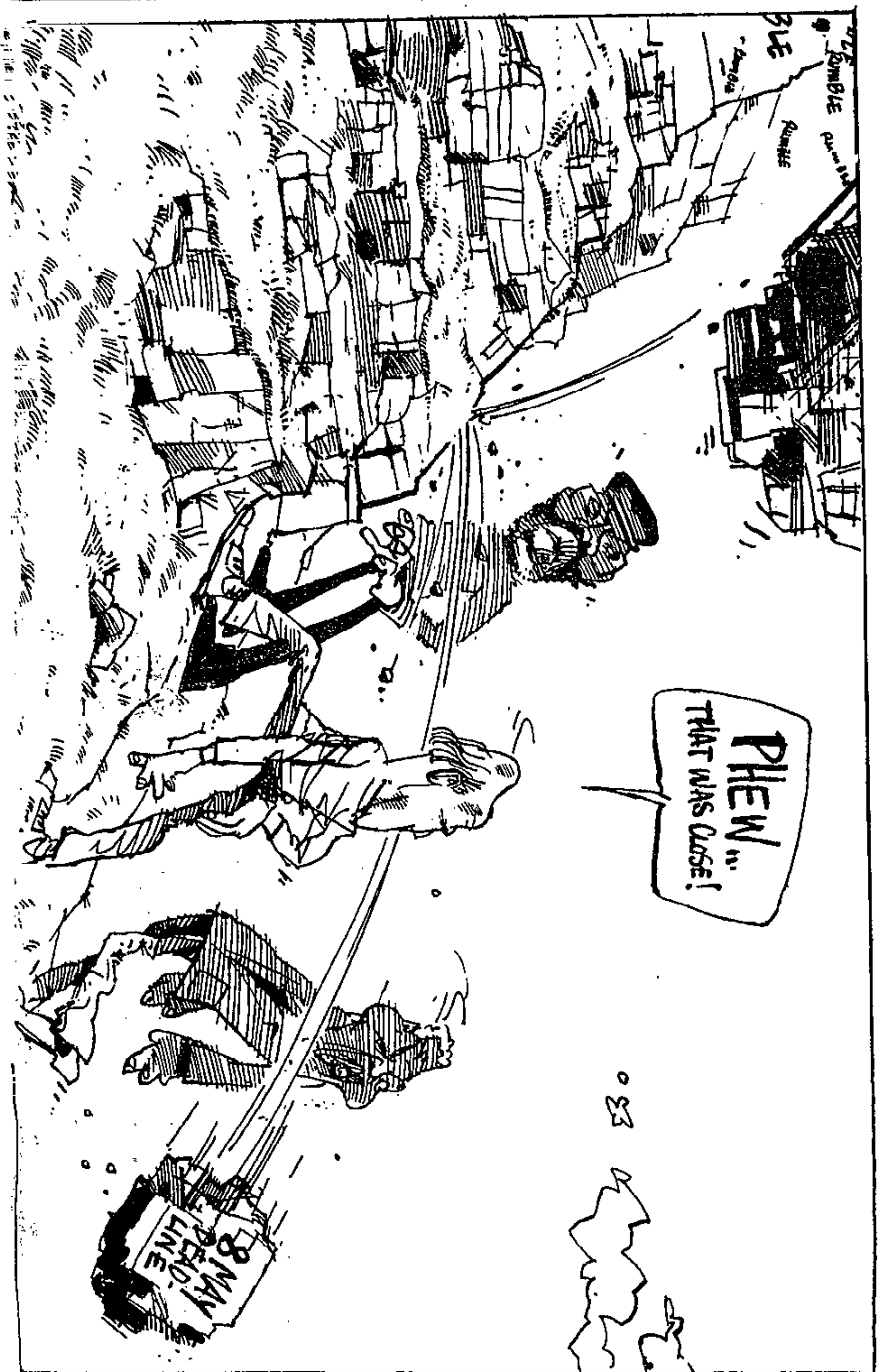
The leaders — President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had to steer their way over the perilous path created by the ANC's May 9 deadline for government compliance with its ultimatum on violence — and somehow they averted a breakdown of peace moves.

Whatever peace accord — if any — was reached, appears to be fragile as certain differences remained after many hours of talking.

The big achievement is that at least among the key leaders there appears to be full agreement on the urgency of bringing an end to violence.

But how long will such agreement last? And are the leaders really in control of the situation? Such uncertainties remain.

All eyes are now on the peace summit set for May 24/25.



→ cont



Box A

11/5/91

The big question after initial stop-go responses from some of the potential key players is whether all of them will now take part and whether the summit will, in fact, get off the ground.

That summit may well prove to be a more crucial test than this week's crisis talks.

Not only will the new summit enable the main players to come to grips with remaining differences about violence, but it is also likely to set the scene for a full-scale multi-party conference and the start of formal constitutional negotiations later this year.

All this may augur well for future progress towards peace, but the bad news this week was that horrifying violence continued on an almost unprecedented scale during and even after the top-level peace talks.

Ironically, while top leaders were being praised for surviving the crisis of violence and for reaching "broad agreement" on important issues, many of their followers in the townships were involved in fighting, violence and brutal killings.

From the police came long lists of unrest-related incidents of violence, including fierce fighting between ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters at Tembisa, for example.

Observers in the major trouble areas in the Transvaal and Natal see little hope of an early end to the township violence between black groups.

Pretoria political consultant Mr Wim Booysse, who monitors events in township trouble spots, told Weekend Argus this

week that he saw "no easy road to peace".

He says a major factor behind the ANC-Inkatha clashes is still a "jockeying for position" with a view to the coming multi-party conference and constitutional negotiations.

The fighting is said to be a way of seeking support for the respective movements — by a show of strength, fierce rivalry and terrorising of opponents in order to claim superiority.

A formidable problem for black political leaders, according to Mr Booysse, is the growing power of the township youth, including many unemployed young people who live by violence and refuse to listen to the older generation.

"They are the generation of young people who grew up in the age of township violence and the state of emergency, especially between 1984 and 1988. In some areas they are virtually in control."

Mr Booysse predicts that the present conflict between black groupings will increasingly become an ideological struggle between the ANC's socialist ideas and the Inkatha Freedom Party's market-oriented ideology.

It seems inevitable, he says, that the present government, whether it likes it or not, will increasingly be driven into the position of "manager" of the reform process.

Meanwhile, intense negotiations are reported to be continuing behind the scenes to curb the continuing violence and bloodshed in many areas.

From the initial outcome of this week's crisis talks it became clear that the Zulu

assegai or spear, especially its role as a cultural or killing instrument, may hold the key to the success or failure of further peace talks.

After long talks with the two black leaders and their advisers this week, it was clear that the highly contentious issue of "cultural weapons" had still not been fully resolved.

Mr De Klerk was obviously in a dilemma. In the face of tremendous pressures on him from the ANC and other sources to ban all dangerous weapons, the President had to make it clear after this week's talks that he was not yet prepared to ban spears outright.

He said in a statement: new actions were planned against dangerous weapons, "at this stage excluding spears". (Only days earlier a Sunday newspaper had published dramatic pictures showing a man who had been speared to death during township violence.)

A further ominous sign that the new peace may be fragile came from ANC sources soon after the talks between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela. The sources made it clear that the ANC was not willing to compromise on the issue of "cultural weapons".

After six hours of talks, Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk failed to produce a joint statement and it was announced that Mr Mandela would have to consult his national executive committee. This is a sure sign of remaining differences or uncertainty after exhaustive discussions.

It is now expected that further talks between Mr De Klerk and Dr Buthelezi

will be held to seek ways of confining the public brandishing of lethal spears to cultural occasions only — and certainly to stop the use of such weapons in running battles and political confrontations.

A problem that could still bedevil Mr De Klerk's bid for securing full participation of all significant black leaders in multi-party talks is the issue of his control of the security system and continuing allegations of malpractices and death squad activities.

Critics have warned repeatedly that no negotiated settlement is possible until the security system — including the police and defence force — can command the confidence of all the negotiating parties. Whether such confidence exists or can be achieved will be a crucial test for the government at all future talks or negotiations where the issue of violence is discussed.

The success of this month's summit on violence and of all future talks will also depend heavily on whether all the key leaders are willing to join in. The absence of any one of the two key black players — the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party — could wreck peace talks and plunge the government into a new dilemma of threatened conflict with those withdrawing from the peace process.

Much can happen in the next days and weeks, but at this point there is optimism on all sides that all the key leaders will take their seats at the important May 24/25 summit which could be the beginning of a major breakthrough to peace.



# Meeting of equals

Star 11/5/91

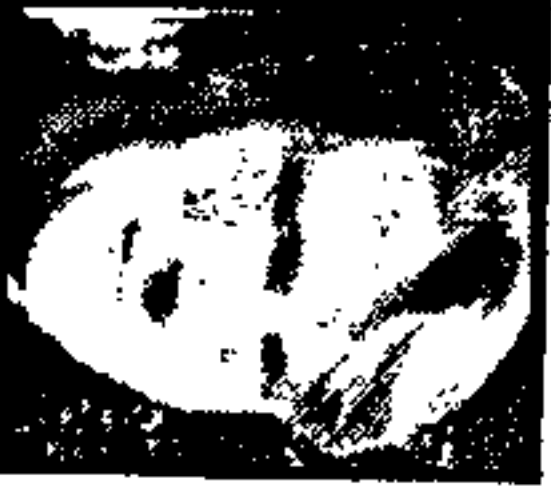
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The best-kept secret in South Africa this week was the venue for the marathon crisis talks between the Government and the ANC. The entire local press corps, plus the dwindling band of foreign scribes, was for once outfoxed. They knew (or rather believed they knew) that it was happening in Pretoria — and Pretoria, as we know, is no megalopolis. But could they find hide or hair of anyone resembling a negotiator? Not a bit of it.

One doesn't really know how to respond to this. On the one hand, it signals a meeting of minds of sorts: both teams insist that their task was made easier by the absence of a loitering, eavesdropping hack pack. On the other, those who are concerned that a political "deal" might be struck in secret, smoke-filled rooms and then simply imposed on the country will not like the imagery conveyed by this week's 007 tactics. It is not, one hopes, a precedent.

But all of this pales before the broader import of the long-awaited meeting. It is too early to try to read the tea-leaves and announce

Undercurrent Affairs  
SHAUN JOHNSON



hard-and-fast gains and losses, or confidently predict their effect on the negotiating process writ large. But it is possible to report a pronounced and very significant change in the mood of the ANC.

There are those who now believe that the much-maligned "ultimatum", far from being an ill-considered intervention which painted the ANC into a corner, has been the most effective political initiative undertaken by the organisation since Mr Mandela's historic letter to President P W Botha in 1988, when he first proposed a negotiated settlement. This is a strong claim, but it deserves careful consideration.

ANC leaders believe that after long months of trailing in President de Klerk's wake, they have succeeded in forcing the Government to respond to their agenda.

While they do not expect the president to concede openly that his recently-announced moves to quell violence are a direct response to their challenge, they believe this palpably to be the case. They have regained self-respect that was being steadily eroded by a perception of impotence.

Thus it is not really important that General Malan and Mr Vlok still have their jobs. What is important is that the Government finally seems to have been made to recognise the gravity of the violence, and its own urgent responsibility for helping to end it.

Further, President de Klerk has finally — albeit obliquely — sounded warnings to Inkatha, instead of reflexively putting all the blame on the ANC. This is long overdue, and should herald greater evenhandedness in the future.

The ANC cannot hold up its seven-point "shopping list" of demands and claim satisfaction on all counts, but it can present to its beleaguered constituents some gains which it has extracted through its own efforts. These gains, particularly in the form of a hoped-for improvement in the per-

formance of the security forces as far as Inkatha is concerned and in the beginning of the end of the pernicious hostel system, will be felt on the ground, where it matters.

There is, in the aftermath of the May 9 trauma, a sense of greater equality between the chief negotiating partners. It would in all likelihood not have been achieved without that trauma. Whether it realises it or not, the Government needs a self-assured ANC at the multiparty conference — not a dispirited, outmanoeuvred and vindictive one.

The new mood in the ANC is best reflected in the latest edition of Mayibuye, the organisation's official journal. It features a front-page cartoon of President de Klerk as a circus juggler on a unicycle. He is struggling to keep several balls in the air. Mr Mandela, along with others dressed in black, green and gold, is looking on. "Well," the ANC leader is saying, "the ball is certainly in his court now." Another figure adds: "Looks like he's pedalling backwards."

There is a new atmosphere in the ANC. The Government ignores it at its peril.

# In which two rivals scored as winners

**W**E started this week with much anxiety not knowing what was to become of ANC-Government relations after May 9, and whether each party would manage to rise above party political expediency and act in the interest of the nation. We end the week not only with much needed emotional relief but with heads held high in the knowledge that the Government and the ANC are at least talking about their differences.

What is important is that both sides have emerged as winners. The ANC set out to convince the Government about the gravity of the situation pertaining to violence.

The Government on the other side took the ANC seriously and offered to engage in discussions aimed at addressing the ANC's concerns.

I am aware that the Government had to resist the temptation of playing politics with this grave national issue.

There were those who held the view that the ANC had painted itself into a so-called corner and that it should be left to scream and squirm in that corner.

## Innocent

Credit must go to both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela for refusing to play politics over the dead bodies of innocent people.

Although we can say that the transition process is now almost back on track there are still many challenges ahead for both sides.

The Government must seriously note that there is a perception within ANC ranks that the Government is attempting to either destroy or weaken the ANC before negotiations begin while strengthening those parties that the ANC sees as its opposition.

If the Government was in

Through  
My Eyes  
Stew 11/5/91  
OSCAR  
DHLOMO



fact doing that, this would be the most short sighted, if not politically suicidal, strategy.

It is a strategy that failed in Zimbabwe and in Namibia. It would also fail here because instead of strengthening those parties it purports to strengthen, it actually weakens them and deprives them of all credibility in the eyes of the voteless majority.

## Partiality

The Government must also take note of ANC concerns about the alleged partiality of the police and certain elements of the defence force.

It also does not help the situation for the Ministers of Law and Order and Defence to be the ones who remind us that it is the ANC that started the violence. With that publicly stated attitude towards the ANC from the political heads of the departments of Law And Order and Defence it would be a miracle if their men in the field acted differently towards the ANC!

The ANC also faces its own challenges. It does no credit to the ANC to continue to pretend that the Government and Inkatha are solely responsible for all the violence, thus implying that all ANC members and supporters are angels.

The fact is that people are dying on both sides. Until the ANC accepts that some of its members and supporters are also involved in the violence and should be restrained and counselled by the leadership, the violence will continue.



# ANC-Govt link is still fragile

The ANC has given President F W de Klerk seven days to include spears on the list of dangerous weapons which may not be carried in public.

If he does not do so, discussions to settle differences between the Government and the NC — which began on Wednesday and ended temporarily on Thursday only hours before the ANC's May 9 deadline — could be in jeopardy.

Winnie Mandela is often perceived as reflecting a militant position in the ANC but her remarks on the outcome of the last talks accurately mirror feelings in the ANC.

Commenting on President de Klerk's decision to exclude spears "at this stage" from the list of prohibited dangerous weapons, Mrs Mandela said: "We not accept that assegais and spears are cultural weapons. These are instruments of death."

Assuming that Mr de Klerk satisfies the ANC on the question of spears, then the seven demands presented by the ANC to President de Klerk in its open letter of April 5 will be back on the table.

## Concern

The ANC does not see its approach as unreasonable but rather as a measure of its concern over the township violence and its conviction that negotiations amidst on-going violence is a contradiction in terms.

The seven demands were: no "traditional weapons" at public meetings; assurances on police neutrality and "civilised methods of crowd control"; phasing out of the hostel system; dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan; disbanding of "secret" counter-insurgency units; suspension of all policemen implicated in "massacre" of black civilians; and appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into misconduct by security forces.

## FW faces deadline on 'instruments of death'

The May 9 deadline passed without a break in ANC-Government contact but the crisis is not yet over. PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the view from the ANC.

Mr de Klerk's statement on Wednesday's and Thursday's discussions reflected progress on the first three of these demands, although his promise of action on dangerous weapons falls short of the ANC's call for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC wants the Government to comply "substantially" on the seven points before it will agree to renewed contact and exchanges on the proposed all-party congress and a new constitution.

Reading between the lines it

seems that the ANC will not insist on complete and immediate fulfilment of all its demands.

The lines blur on dismissal of Mr Vlok and General Malan. The ANC appears to be keeping its options open on that demand.

Its general position is articulated in the words used by Mr Mandela on April 16.

"If the Government shows a reasonable response to our reasonable demands we, on our side, will not be found wanting."

There is no question, however, of the ANC attending the all-

party conference on violence called by Mr de Klerk for May 24 and 25.

The ANC labels that initiative a "unilateral action" by Mr de Klerk.

A conference convened by the religious leaders — a product of last week's peace odyssey by religious notables — is a different matter, however.

## Violence

The ANC, which was consulted by religious leaders, will happily attend a conference under their aegis.

The ANC still attaches greater importance to working with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to end the violence.

ANC leaders refer pointedly to the pending joint ANC-IFP rally on Sunday near Port Shepstone, an area which has seen bloody clashes in recent weeks.

On the question of whether it

still regards Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity, the ANC replies that there is no point in conducting negotiations on the assumption that the interlocutor across the table is dishonest.

But Mr de Klerk's personal integrity has to be balanced against his position as leader of the National Party, with its abysmal history as the progenitor, and propagator for decades, of apartheid.

Acceptance of his personal honesty has to be balanced, too, with his difficulties in controlling elements in his security forces.

There is still talk in ANC ranks, however, of a government of national unity after the first one person, one vote elections.

It believes it will win the elections and thus earn the democratic right to form a government.

But its leaders recognise the wisdom of including representatives of minority parties in the first post-apartheid government.

## UK praise for SA's 'inconceivable' progress

# Thatcher here in 4 days

Star 11/5/91.

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### FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON - Sir Alan Walters, former economic adviser to Maggie Thatcher, has praised what he sees as the "inconceivable" progress made towards reform in South Africa.

And he adds: "It may end in disaster... but we must live in hope. While the great reform proceeds, we in the West must do everything we can to applaud and promote this progress."

He points to the "towering political genius of F W de Klerk", who is "building a potentially winning coalition", the "remarkable" way ANC policies have progressed, and the joint commitment to "change,

as pointers to a peaceful transition.

The economic decline may be magnified by political uncertainties, he says, "but we must live in hope."

Mrs Thatcher is scheduled to arrive in South Africa next Wednesday for her long-awaited visit as the personal guest of President de Klerk, Sapa reports.

A tight security network will surround her from the moment she touches South African

soil in view of promises by the African National Congress and other opposition organisations to wreck her visit on the grounds she is not welcome by the majority.

Because of the security aspect, sources close to Mrs Thatcher declined to be any more specific about her arrival than "the middle of next week".

They indicated the visit would last "about a week". Mrs Thatcher would, however, be more

than happy to speak to the media, or even give a press conference during her visit if there was a suitable break in her schedule.

Mrs Thatcher will be accompanied by her husband Denis, a retired businessman who still holds substantial interests in South and southern Africa.

Visits to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and possibly other centres, as well as a short spell at a private game reserve in the Transvaal, are likely to be on Mrs Thatcher's

schedule.

While no confirmation could be officially obtained yesterday, a symbolic visit to the Umtata capital of KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, is also on the cards.

A surprise visit to a township might also be arranged at very short notice in a move to avoid organised demonstrations by opponents of her visit.

Mrs Thatcher was a staunch opponent of international sanctions moves in the 1980s against South Africa, arguing they were counter-productive. This gained her the enmity of the African National Congress.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited a host of other countries and leaders after his release in February 1990 before accepting her invitation to Downing Street last June. — Sapa.

### Changed mind

In a lengthy article headlined "Why I Changed My Mind on South Africa" in the London Evening Standard yesterday, Sir Alan says as recently as a month ago he would have agreed that white rule in South Africa would come to a bloody end with



urday, May 11 1991

# Spears crux of peace talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela has put the negotiation process on hold — with the government having seven days to ban the public brandishing of spears or once again face the suspension of talks.

The new deadline for government action to curb violence in strife-torn areas emerged yesterday.

Inkatha boss Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the government earlier this week that any ban on spears would not be tolerated by Zulus and could spark even greater violence.

Mr Mandela indicated yesterday that the ANC was prepared to see Inkatha supporters carrying items like spears at bona fide cultural celebrations — like Chaka's Day — but would not abide the carrying of lethal weapons to political rallies and meetings.

The future of talks between the government and the ANC would depend on Mr De Klerk's response to the vexed question — probably next week.

Government negotiators are now striving to arrive at a deal whereby spears may be allowed at strictly cultural occasions but not at political rallies or marches.

Mr Mandela indicated yesterday that the

ANC was unlikely to attend the peace summit proposed by Mr De Klerk for May 24-25 in Pretoria, — but that the organisation could well throw its weight behind a peace summit organised by churches.

As the government yesterday began a fresh round of urgent shuttle diplomacy in a bid to find a compromise on the sensitive weapons issue, the increasingly powerful ANC Youth League issued a hardline statement giving "unqualified support" to the ANC's earlier seven-point ultimatum to the government on ending violence.

One of the demands in the ultimatum is the firing of cabinet ministers General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok — an issue which was not even raised during

two marathon talks sessions between the ANC and government negotiators in Pretoria earlier this week.

Complicating efforts to break the deadlock is the apparent unwillingness of the ANC to meet Inkatha to thrash out their differences on the sensitive issue.

Government sources indicated that its negotiators would remain in close contact with both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela in coming days in a bid to find a way round the impasse.

This week's crisis talks in Cape Town and Pretoria appear to have eased most of the misgivings on the thorny issues of police behaviour and single-sex hostels.

2 Cape Times, Sat

## Axes may still be carried, govt rules

Political Staff

A COMPREHENSIVE list of "dangerous weapons" which cannot be carried in public in unrest areas was published in yesterday's Government Gazette.

It includes weapons such as sharpened sticks and irons, frequently brandished in recent unrest, and pangas, axes, stones, sickles, screwdrivers, tyres and a variety of garden utensils.

However, it excludes spears and "ceremonial axes", are which apparently regarded as genuine "cultural weapons".

The ban, ordered by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in terms of the Public Safety Act, will apply immediately in the nine Reef townships recently declared unrest areas.

Anyone found guilty of carrying the weapons can be fined R20 000 or jailed for up to 10 years.

Workers who are required to carry some of the objects at their jobs will also be exempted.

Provision is made for exceptions if written permission is obtained.



## Zulu chiefs <sup>204A</sup>vow to 'never compromise'

JOHANNESBURG. — Zulu chiefs, in a strongly worded statement issued by the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday in a reaction to the proposed ban on "cultural weapons", vowed they would never compromise on the issue.

The reaction follows a proposed ban on such weapons in an attempt to stem the prevailing carnage on the Reef, which has claimed more than 1 000 lives since August last year.

The reaction followed a meeting yesterday of Zulu chiefs and "leading dignitaries" in Ulundi.

The government this week imposed a ban on many dangerous weapons in unrest-affected areas on the Reef. The ban did not include assagais.

After yesterday's Ulundi meeting, the chiefs, Inkatha said, passed numerous resolutions, described as "a challenge to Mr Nelson Mandela". — Sapa

115/91

## 7 NP branches set up in M Plain

SEVEN National Party branches have been established in Mitchells Plain, five of them under the chairmanship of members of the local Management Committee or their wives.

Spokesmen for the NP office said yesterday that an NP branch could be set up wherever there were 15 members within one small area.

Mr Desmond Barnes, acting chairperson of the Mitchells Plain Co-ordinating Committee, said yesterday: "We have been saying for years that the management committee people are government lackeys, so it does not surprise us at all that they have now become bedfellows of the ruling party."

Ms Veronica Simmers, a prominent ANC member, said yesterday that the ANC had just six branches in Mitchells Plain — but it required 100 members before a branch could be set up.

The chairmen of the various National Party branches in Mitchells Plain are: The Rev William Bantom (Rocklands), Mr John Brydon (Westridge), Mr Lionel Pietersen (Portlands), The Rev Willem Scheepers (Woodlands), his wife Mrs Lorna Scheepers (Lentegeur), Mr Arthur Davids (Westgate) and Mr Russel Patience (Tafelsig).



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# The violence that sets our worlds apart

NELSON MANDELA TALKS  
EXCLUSIVELY TO THE  
SUNDAY TIMES: PAGE 21

## Talks still survive on the tip of an assegai

STimes 12/5/91

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

By Mike Robertson  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE ANC's May 9 ultimatum has come and gone and negotiations are still on track. That is if President FW de Klerk can this week persuade Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha to accept a ban on the carrying of spears at political rallies.

The challenge facing Mr De Klerk will not have been made any easier following a weekend decision by Zulu chiefs to "never compromise" on the carrying of traditional weapons.

Government spokesmen said this week's talks with Chief Buthelezi "necessarily demanded fairly tough talking". An official insisted that no one was trying to defend the carrying of spears except on genuine cultural occasions.

But it is finding a definition of "cultural occasion" that is now absorbing energies on all sides.

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12/5/91

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But it is finding a definition of "cultural occasion" that is now absorbing energies on all sides.

The ANC's National Executive Committee meets soon to discuss progress made on its ultimatum. Further talks between De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela are also scheduled.

Speaking to the Sunday Times the day after the expiry of the May 9 ultimatum, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said that in this week's talks he found the government's response to the organisation's demands "very encouraging".

The ANC, he said, was continuing to talk to the government but would halt talks immediately unless a ban on the carrying of spears was implemented within seven days.

Cabinet ministers declined to comment on this, but a government spokesman said that, as far as it was concerned, no deadline had been set. It was, however, agreed that the matter would have to be dealt with urgently.

Mr Mandela said the talks with Mr De Klerk had focused on the banning of so-called cultural weapons, the conduct of police and the phasing out of hostels.

### Crucial

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A "bit of progress" had been made on the carrying of cultural weapons in that "the government has come out with a long list of dangerous weapons, the carrying of which in public has been banned".

The length of the list only became apparent on Friday night when Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok gazetted the measures: it included a prohibition on pangas, daggers, swords, pointed sticks, stones, crossbows, pick handles, pitchforks, spades, sickles, spanners, screwdrivers, hoes, tubes and tyres.

But, observed Mr Mandela, the crucial item was still missing: assegais.

"The government feels that these are cultural weapons which must be excluded from the banned list. We don't agree.

"We are saying that for whatever reason weapons of death are carried, they must be banned and spears in this particular case have become one of the most dangerous weapons of death.

"There is no reason why the government should allow the carrying of assegais and sticks when going to political rallies. We understand very clearly that people are entitled to carry them on cultural occasions but political rallies are not cultural occasions."

On the other two issues, he said, the government and the ANC were now in agreement.

"The government has agreed to phase out the hostels and to transform them into family units, but they argue that there are also single migrants who have to be accommodated and we have accepted that."

In future the local communities would be consulted about the development of the hostels.

It was also quite clear, he said, that the govern-

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P.T.O



# Talks still on track

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From Page 1

ment had responded positively to the ANC's insistence that the police observe "the same conduct of action in dealing with black crowds as they do with whites. The use of live ammunition when dealing with unarmed and defenceless people is completely unacceptable and the government has accepted this".

Mr Mandela said that even if government this week announced a ban on the carrying of spears, the ANC would not attend the May 24-25 summit on violence.

The reason for this was that the summit had been called unilaterally by Mr De Klerk. "We have warned them in the past that if you want to involve us then you must discuss the project with us first and foremost. In so far as the attempt to normalise the situation in the country we are equal partners. Mr De Klerk, of course, did phone me before he announced the idea. But that was not to consult me, but to tell me what they have decided."

The question of the May violence summit will also be on the agenda of the NEC tomorrow — and it

not clear whether the decision not to attend is cast in stone.

Joe Slovo, who was invited to the summit by Mr De Klerk in his capacity as general secretary of the South African Communist Party, said he did not want to express an opinion on whether he would be attending until the matter had been discussed by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu tomorrow.

Mr Mandela stressed that the ANC would only continue talking to the government if there continued to be evidence that Mr De Klerk was "addressing" the rest of its demands.

But other senior ANC members indicated that the organisation was by and large satisfied with Mr De Klerk's response to the remaining demands.

While the "nitty-gritty" needed to be sorted out, the ANC thought he had shown good intentions.

Mr Mandela, in public, is insistent that the call for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan remains. Other senior members have conceded, in private, that the organisation accepts that it is politically impossible for Mr De Klerk to accept this demand.

But perhaps the most important indicator to come from the ANC this week was a document issued on Tuesday.

Whereas before the ANC listed its "demands", in the new document they merely "pledged" to work for a resolution of the problems. Mr Vlok and Gen. Malan were not even mentioned.

# Purge of hated

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's commitment to scrap all apartheid laws gained new impetus this week with the publication of two Bills aimed at ridding the country of race-based statutes.

Mr De Klerk has given his overseas counterparts including President George Bush — an undertaking that all apartheid laws will be scrapped this parliamentary session.

And in return, heads of state in the First World have promised to reward Mr De Klerk's reformist approach with the relaxing or abolition of punitive economic sanctions against South Africa.

## Marriage

Both the The Further Abolition of Racially-Based Measures Bill and the Universities Amendment Bill are aimed at scrapping remnants of apartheid legislation.

The acts affected by the proposed new Bills are:

- The Workmen's Compensation Act, which refers to blacks and Asiatics;
- The Merchant Shipping Act, which makes special arrangements for diet and accommodation of "non-whites";
- The Marriage Act, which makes provision for

# racial laws gains pace

marriage officers for particular population groups;

● The Births, Marriages and Deaths Registration Act, which makes special provision for black and Indian immigrants; Amendments will also be made because of the repeal of the Population Registration Act;

● The Unemployment Insurance Act, which makes reference to Asiatics and Blacks;

● The National Parks Act, which refers to "Europeans";

● The Identification Act, which legislates for the inclusion of a person's race in the population register.

The Bills will only take effect when a new constitution is in place.

The Universities Amendment Bill will scrap the controversial "quota" system which prescribed how many people of various races could attend universities.

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SI Times 12/5/91



# Dhlomo's appeal on negotiations

IT is high time that political parties in South Africa realise that most of their problems can be solved by accelerating, not delaying, the process of negotiations, said Dr Oscar Dhlomo this week.

The executive director of the recently formed Institute for Multi-Party Democracy was commenting on the ANC ultimatum to the government and the recent talks surrounding it. "It appears to me that the major problem facing extra-parliamentary groups, like the ANC, is that they are not part of any legislative or executive process at this time.

"This means they are still powerless to influence policy direction, even on issues that involve and influence them. Many of the tensions we see arise out of this.

## Urged

The sooner parties get heavily involved in negotiations, the sooner we will have a fully representative and democratic government, and the sooner extra-parliamentary groups will have the power to direct.

"At the moment they are shouting from outside," he said.

The former Inkatha sec-

By RYAN CRESSWELL

retary general urged political leaders not to avoid meetings and conferences aimed at ending the violence in the country.

"We need to encourage political leaders to associate themselves with these meetings."

Dr Dhlomo also called on grassroots supporters to stop the fighting.

"We can't deny apartheid has done grave harm to our people, but it doesn't help to blame every problem on it."

He also added that he was concerned by the government's slow reaction on calls to investigate a third force because it "weakened their stand on law enforcement".

CT 13/5/91

## Reluctance over ban considered

JOHANNESBURG

Zulus were reluctant to surrender "cultural weapons" and their sensitivity about this should be considered, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said in Soweto on Saturday.

"It is better to negotiate than to use force to solve the weapons crisis."

"It is not the SAP who propagate the carrying of cultural weapons, but we must take into consideration the sensitivity of the Zulus when taking the weapons," Mr Vlok said.

Zulu chiefs, in a strongly worded statement issued by the IFP on Friday, vowed they would "never" compromise on the issue.

Mr Vlok said security action alone could not solve the root problem of the unrest, which he described as volatile.

Other actions were needed and all leaders should come together and act collectively against violence. — Sapa



# Tension as Nats woo LP voters

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

TENSION mounted between the National Party and the Labour Party as the two went into open competition in Mitchell's Plain.

As the NP yesterday proudly revealed it had set up seven branches in the suburb and was about to establish three more, the LP hit out at its former members who have opted for President De Klerk's team, claiming they lacked discipline and had not fulfilled their financial obligation to the party.

However, Cape Peninsula chairman of the LP Mr Gerald Morkel, said in a statement: "The LP wants to state for the record that it has no objections to any party canvassing members in any community."

"The LP has for years had members across the colour, cultural, religious and race lines and considers all its members as members and not as white and black members."

## Shock

What must, nevertheless, have been a shock to the LP was the resignation of its Mitchell's Plain MP, Mr Stan Fisher, in a move clearly linked with the establishment of NP branches in Westgate, Westridge, Portlands, Rocklands, Tafelsig, Woodlands and Lentegur. There are plans to establish three more branches — in Strandfontein, Beacon Valley and Eastridge.

Significantly, six of the chairmen of the new NP branches are former LP members. What must be of more concern to the LP is that the NP moved in after being approached from within the coloured community.

And chief secretary of the NP in the Cape, Mr Carel Greyling, said yesterday that support for the NP within the coloured community was evident throughout the Cape.

For the time being, Mr Fisher has decided to remain in parliament as an independent, but has promised to spell out his position in more detail soon.

## Clear police collusion — ANC

THE ANC issued a statement today about the Swanesville massacre.

It reads:

"The African National Congress condemns the brutal massacre of scores of innocent people at Swanesville squatter camp. The eyewitness accounts of the killings are chilling and indicate that there was clear police collusion in the massacre."

"Swanesville and Kagiso were declared unrest areas on Saturday May 11 because the police believed there was going to be trouble. Yet it would appear that in spite of such knowledge about 800 men, wearing red headbands and armed with spears, pangas and guns, were able to walk the 5 km from the Kagiso hostel to Swanesville undetected."

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"Eyewitnesses report that the invading army was escorted into the camp by two armoured vehicles. The attack raged on for two hours, during which time at least 28 people died, more than 30 were injured and a quarter of the camp was destroyed."

"It is beyond belief that all this can take place in an 'unrest' area without the knowledge of the police. The fact that the police then escorted the armed men back to the hostel, and used teargas on residents gathering in the aftermath of the massacre, reinforces the perception that police aid the perpetrators of such massacres and act against defenceless residents."

"This incident should bring home to the entire nation the need for urgent action to prevent arms of any kind being carried in public."



# Warnings and counter-warnings

ARBUS 13/5/91  
304A

## Political Staff

**WARNINGS** and counter-warnings thundered across the political spectrum today after a bloody weekend during which violence spilled from the black townships on to Western Transvaal farm land.

At least 34 people died and 30 were wounded in townships yesterday and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok warned the government would consider reimposing a state of emergency and banning political organisations if negotiations failed to end the carnage.

Farmers were warned not to take the law into their own hands after the right wing attack on squatters on Goedgevonden farm near Ventersdorp, while black residents of the town warned they were planning a consumer boycott of white businesses in retaliation.

The ANC condemned the massacre of 28 people in Swanieville squatter camp near Krugersdorp, claiming that eyewitness accounts indicated "clear police collusion".

## Went on rampage

A statement from the Transvaal region of the South African Communist Party also accused police of helping the attackers.

Police have denied the allegations.

Zulu hostel dwellers from Kagiso township, widely described as Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, went on the rampage with firearms and an assortment of dangerous weapons yesterday, killing 28 people. At least 112 shacks were set alight.

Six men were arrested during a raid on Kagiso Hostel, during which police seized four pistols, an AK 47 assault rifle and ammunition.

Three people, including two policemen, were wounded in Kagiso township, police confirmed.

The policemen were wounded when angry crowds flung petrol bombs and stones at their vehicles. A third man was shot and wounded, while two lorries were torched, police said.

Government negotiators will continue meetings with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week in an effort to try to curb the violence.

## Meeting postponed

The ANC has given the government until Thursday to ban dangerous and traditional weapons, including spears.

Inkatha leaders object to the banning of all Zulu "traditional" weapons.

A meeting of the ANC's national executive scheduled for today has been postponed until Friday.

Following the confrontation between right-wingers, police and squatters on Goedgevonden farm, Transvaal farmers were warned by Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Tlan van der Merwe today that they risked violence on their own farms by taking the law into their own hands.

"If they contribute to a cycle of violence, they will end up in a situation where nobody is safe."

"They will not be safe even on their own farms. One cannot break the rules and unilaterally determine a new set of rules."

Residents of Tshing township at Ventersdorp are to stage a three-day stayaway in protest against the attack on the squatter and warned that a consumer

(Turn to page 4, col 1)

## Warnings against rightwing action

(Cont from page 1)

er boycott of white businesses in the town was likely.

Right-wingers countered with warnings of "spontaneous action".

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder branded the government an enemy of the Boere.

Mr Van Tonder warned that further resistance could be expected and that if the police fired on members of the "Boer nation", their fire would be returned.

Mr Van Tonder said the government had to realise that the Transvaal and Free State were Boer territory and they could not expect Boere to stand by while their land was taken over by illegal squatters.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), said he could not predict right-winger's "spontaneous action".

He said no political parties were involved and that the attempted eviction of the squatters was as a result of right-wing anger at the government's apathy.

"There is so much lawlessness, people just take things into their own hands," said Mr Marais.

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze appealed to farmers not to take action which would place them on a collision course with the security forces.

"Under no circumstances will anyone, anywhere in this country be allowed to take the law in his own hands," he said.

Nobody was above the law. This included the farmers. "They should know we will enforce the law against whoever breaks it... This kind of action will never be allowed."

Captain Kotze said it was unfortunate that the farmers had chosen this time to place an extra burden on the security forces, when their hands were full combating violence in the townships.

The squatters whose shacks were smashed by right-wing farmers at the weekend are demanding that President De Klerk himself decide whether they have a right to remain there.

"We are writing to the president to tell him he must make a decision. If he feels we must move from Goedgevonden, he should rather come and kill us there. But he must make this decision himself," said Mr Levy Segopolo, chairman of the Goedgevonden Committee.

About 80 families, who were removed from Goedgevonden in 1978, reoccupied the farm on April 11.

At the weekend hundreds of right-wing farmers — carrying out a threat voiced by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche at a public meeting on April 18 — attacked the small settlement.

They were driven back by police, who opened fire on the eviction mob. At least two farmers were injured and needed medical treatment.

Many more black people were hurt at Goedgevonden and in another attack on the squatter camp adjacent to the Ventersdorp township of Tshing. They were treated by an army medical unit and at Ventersdorp and Klerksdorp hospitals.

According to Mr Segopolo, there were two attacks on Goedgevonden — one carried out by a mounted posse about 1 am on Saturday and the second about 7 am.

Between these two events, the farmers savagely attacked the settlement at Tshing, smashing shacks and slashing at residents.

# More talks this week to seek ways of peace

ARGUS 13/5/91  
274 3044

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

GOVERNMENT negotiators will meet the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week to try to curb the violence.

The ANC has given the government until Thursday to ban dangerous and traditional weapons, including spears.

Inkatha leaders object to the banning of Zulu "traditional" weapons.

The government has prohibited the carrying of dangerous weapons in unrest areas with the exclusion of spears.

A meeting of the ANC's national executive scheduled for today has been postponed until Friday.

An ANC spokesman said some members were not available. Some have been at a meeting in Lusaka.

Today's meeting would mainly have been a report-back by Mr Nelson Mandela on his meeting with President De Klerk last week when ANC demands were discussed on issues such as the display of dangerous weapons in public, police behaviour and workers' hostels.

A meeting of the NEC on Friday will consider whether there has been a satisfactory response from the government, especially on the question of spears which the ANC wants banned.

The movement also opposes the ban on open-air meetings in some areas.

The ultimatum to the government which expired on Thursday has in effect been suspended for a week.

Mr Mandela's attitude is that if Mr De Klerk gives a satisfactory response the two of them can meet again.

It seems unlikely that the ANC will attend the summit on violence on May 24 and 25.

The ANC leadership feels that Mr De Klerk took a unilateral decision to hold the summit without consulting it. There is now the possibility of a similar meeting organised by churches.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the problem of violence had to be solved between the conflicting parties. Leaders had to get together and this had to work through to ground level.



Ster 13/5/91

## Tight security in place for De Klerk in Ladybrand

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Strict security measures are being made to prevent right-wingers from breaking up President de Klerk's address in the Ladybrand Town Hall tonight.

Mr de Klerk's public address is part of a series of meetings by the National Party in the build-up to the parliamentary by-election on May 22, to be contested by the NP's Callie Smit and the Conservative Party's Charl Hertzog.

NP election worker Casper Kriel said the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "has been doing its best" to disrupt the NP's public meetings.

"We have had very ugly meetings. Hecklers have been removed by police on several occasions.

"But I don't think they will dare try to disrupt this meeting because it will be a huge Nationalist gathering," Mr Kriel said.

The CP's Free State chief secretary Gustav Claassens said the CP had not been involved in disrupting NP meetings and would not do so tonight.

CP supporters had attended the NP's meetings "to ask questions".

The CP won the seat by 70 votes in a three-way contest in the 1989 general election.

Mr Claassens said since the Democratic Party was not contesting the seat, the CP was effectively 471 votes behind — the number of votes polled by the DP in the previous election.

"But I am convinced we will take the seat again," he said.

(Report by E van der Merwe,  
47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000)



President F W de Klerk accepts the Public Relations Institute of SA's gold medal, for outstanding public relations service, in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Make our country the giant it can be <sup>FW</sup>

<sup>3.10 am 14/5/91</sup>  
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday called on South Africans to rise above petty political differences and strive to make SA the "giant" it could be.

Accepting the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa's gold medal in Pretoria for outstanding public relations service, De Klerk said the overwhelming majority of SA's population wanted political groupings to reach an understanding with one another.

This understanding should succeed in bringing about a constitutional model which would enable participation for all in

TIM COHEN #

such a way that there would not be a devastating power struggle.

"I foresee the day, not that far into the future, when the full and tremendous potential of this country will be attained; where on the basis of co-operation we will together start building this country into the giant it can and will be."

South Africans would achieve the luxury of having normal political differences and of practising politics as it was practised in other countries.

All had to put across a clear message.





Mr F W de Klerk

# De Klerk rejects single-party rule in future SA

## Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA should never again have a constitution which puts power in the hands of only one political party, President De Klerk said.

White minority rule could not persist because it had become a certain recipe for a massive revolution with active or tacit international support, he said last night.

"Holding on to it, as the CP is trying to do, is a suicidal path of growing conflict, isolation and chaos."

Mr De Klerk addressed a capacity crowd at the Ladybrand Town Hall at a public meeting in support of NP candidate Mr Calie Smit in the May 22 parliamentary by-election.

His opponent is the CP's Mr. Charl Hertzog. Mr De Klerk, who devoted much of his speech to allaying white fears of reform, labelled the CP's policies as unworkable.

In the early evening he and his wife, Marike, attended a festive dinner hosted by the Ladybrand NP organisation. Arriving in an army helicopter, the De Klerks were welcomed by several Cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament and white drum majorettes dressed in green, black and gold (ANC colours).

Urging the constituency's 14 000 voters to support the National Party, he said the NP had the ability to prevent the adoption of a constitution which went against its values.

No party, including the ANC, was in a position to force its will on the country, he said.

The NP's policy had attracted widespread support across racial lines. The party was consolidating that support, which could develop into the strongest political force in the country.

"The reform programme of the government must be seen for what it really is — not a process of succumbing to pressure, as is alleged by the CP, but an initiative aimed at saving South Africa from a terrible fate, a process of ensuring long-term security for individuals and all minorities and a process of working out an accord which is fair to all the component parts of our population."

## LP under attack for 'political posturing'

Political Correspondent

204A  
AUG 14/5/91

THE Labour Party has earned a sharp rebuke for indulging in "political posturing" by forcing the government to use the President's Council to approve the Post Office Amendment Bill.

Voting 45 to 12, with the LP and the Conservative Party opposing, the PC yesterday decided to send the Bill for presidential assent.

But during the debate, Democratic Party councillor Mr David Gant attacked the LP for its strategy of forcing the government to use the council to rubber-stamp legislation.

He said: "With this sort of behaviour, politicians and their affiliated support groups are in great danger of throwing out the proverbial baby with the bath water."



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## Strive for security, urges FW

President de Klerk said yesterday he was confident South Africa would reach a system of political decision-making which would not result in a "devastating power struggle".

But in the meantime South Africans had to rise above differences and strive together for the common goal of making the land secure in the long term.

He was accepting the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa's Gold Medal for outstanding public relations service.

"We won't create a heaven on earth, but we will be able to move back to the luxury of practising politics as it is in other countries," he said. — Sapa.

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## New civic organisation welcomed

Political Staff

NS (304A)

The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) yesterday welcomed the announcement at the weekend of the launch of a national civic structure following the disbanding of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

FFF publicity secretary Hanlie van Dyk said in a statement that her organisation believed the newly-created organisation and other

civic structures could make a significant contribution to the establishment and protection of democratic practices and principles in the country.

"A strong civic society, operating independently but not necessarily in conflict with existing political parties and movements, could afford the opportunity for a broad range of citizens to participate in a more meaningful way in the transition process," Ms van Dyk said.

to his colleagues, the police criminal record centre in Vereeniging said he



## Thumbs-up for bill of rights

DURBAN — There is broad consensus within the ANC and among democratic South Africans that a bill of rights is essential for a democratic South Africa. *Star 14/5/77*

This emerged in a statement yesterday after a weekend conference in Salt Rock, north of Durban, on a bill of rights, hosted by the ANC's constitutional committee and the Centre for Socio-legal Studies at the University of Natal.

The statement said a bill of rights would guarantee political and civil rights and address the basic social and economic needs of all South Africans.

Issues which received special attention were: the protection of gender equality; rights to education, health and land; and citizen's rights. — Sapa.

# S Africans abroad rally to their country's cause

By Ramsay Milne  
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The abolition of apartheid in a "new" South Africa has spawned a new movement in the United States and Canada of "South African Americans" and "South African Canadians" who hope to contribute to the growth and development of the country they have left behind.

The movement has been started by a former University of the Witwatersrand political science lecturer, Ronald Goldman, and a former Wits student, Larry Shore, both of whom have lived in the United States for several years.

Neither plans to return to South Africa to live, but they believe now is the time for them to help contribute to a "new South Africa".

"With all the dramatic developments in South Africa, it seems an appropriate time to think of doing for South Africa

what Italian Americans, Hungarian Americans and Asian Americans have done for their countries of origin," they say.

"This group of South Africans abroad has the potential to make a significant contribution to the new South Africa. Many did not want to get involved so long as apartheid remained firmly in place. Others have felt reluctant to get involved in South African affairs as long as it seemed to require strong political allegiances of one kind or another. Still others have been involved with SA-related issues and organisations in the US and Canada, but feel the need to also build new networks with new ideas."

The two men, who plan to establish links with credible South African organisations and individuals, stress that their organisation will be politically non-partisan, though its members would talk to representatives of political organi-

sations when necessary.

Mr Shore, who grew up in Johannesburg, graduated from Wits in 1971 and left South Africa in 1973. He holds a PhD in communications from Stanford University and has lived in New York since 1980, where he teaches in the communications department at Hunter College.

Mr Goldman, also from Johannesburg, did his undergraduate studies in the US and, after obtaining a masters degree from Fordham University, taught in the political science department at Wits in 1969 and 1970. He returned to the US in 1971. He has lived in Boston since 1981, where he is associate dean and a faculty member in the College of Communications at Boston University.

Mr Shore said the response to their appeal for South Africans living in North America to join their organisation had been "highly encouraging".



# DP candidate seeks more active governmental role for women

By Shirley Woodgate

Women's rights, the preservation of public ridges and open spaces and commercial development in the Northcliff area are the priorities of Democratic Party candidate Elsabe Brink in Johannesburg's Ward 2 by-election.

Backed by an MA thesis in 1987 entitled "The role of women in the Garment Workers' Union", she says it is vital that more women should be active in local and national government.

"They should not be underestimated. History has shown what women have achieved, when things happen they are often the moving force."

According to a DP-Na-

tional Party electoral agreement, it is unlikely she will be opposed on June 19 for the seat vacated by Hans Strydom, which means the tally of female councillors could grow to 10, a fifth of the total. If elected, she plans to focus on mothers who stay at home bringing up their children, believing they can do much to address "sub-urban isolation".

The mother of two, married to architect Basil, was educated at Jan van Riebeeck High School in Cape Town, then studied at the Universities of Stellenbosch, South Africa and the Witwatersrand and later lectured at Rand Afrikaans University.

History and the environment are her pas-

sions — which naturally leads to an involvement in efforts to preserve the historic ridges and open spaces in the area.

She has given the nod to public participation in traffic calming efforts and said: "Northcliff Hill and Melville Koppies do not even feature in some local guide books. We must make people aware of their historical heritage from even before 1886 when Johannesburg was founded."

Commercial intrusion is increasingly becoming an issue in Northcliff where major developments are taking place.

"It must be welcomed but controlled so that it goes where the residents want this kind of change to go," she said.

# It's time to adjust to new reality, says Tyson

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

A new democratically elected nonracial government will not come into power in South Africa within the next five or six years, according to a director of Argus Newspapers and former editor-in-chief of The Star, Harvey Tyson.

Addressing a group of 250 senior executives at a Quality Management Associates conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr. Tyson said any transition normally took a period of five to six years before results could be seen, and this would also apply to the unfolding political reality in SA.

The time to begin adjusting to the new reality, Mr. Tyson said, "was yesterday". Big business had not only to accept this reality, but also to help make it smoother by planning ahead.

Mr. Tyson said that although there would be numerous crises during the transitional period, these were "natural and inevitable" and would always be overcome.

Speaking on "national politics and the transitional process", Mr. Tyson said there were at least six alternative scenarios facing South Africa.

These were: the co-option of blacks into Government, a national unity government led by the ANC, a shifting coalition government, a Zimbabwean-style black government with co-opted white Cabinet Ministers, a complete breakdown of negotiations and a resultant Government clampdown, and rebellion.

The former newspaper editor said businessmen could hope for a shifting coalition government in the short term and plan for a black government "similar to Botswana's".

The most important requirement for a successful transitional process, he said, was stability, which had to be maintained by "a legitimate force".

Mr. Tyson, who listed a number of socio-economic problems facing South Africa, said the transitional process would be affected by extremists on the Right and the Left, the role played by commerce and industry, Cosatu and the SACP, as well as by foreign interests.



# White rule (304A) recipe for

## revolt - FW

Star 14/5/91  
By Esmare van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

LADYBRAND — South Africa should never again have a constitution which puts power in the hands of a single political party only, President F W de Klerk said last night.

White minority rule could not persist because it had become a certain recipe for a massive revolution with active or tacit international support.

"Holding on to it, as the CP is trying to do, is a suicidal path of growing conflict, isolation and chaos," he said.

Mr de Klerk was addressing a public meeting at the Ladybrand Town Hall in support of NP candidate Calie Smit in the May 22 parliamentary by-elections.

Mr Smit's opponent is the CP's Charl Hertzog.

### Mandate

In the early evening he and his wife Marike attended a dinner hosted by the local NP.

Arriving in an army helicopter, the De Klerks were welcomed by several Cabinet Ministers, members of Parliament and white drum-majorettes dressed in green, black and gold — the colours of the ANC.

Urging the constituency's approximately 14 000 voters to support the National Party, he said the NP had the ability to prevent the adoption of a constitution which went against its values.

No party, including the ANC, was in a position to force its will upon the country, he said.

"At no time has the National Party asked for a mandate to hand over power to the ANC."

Mr de Klerk also assured farmers that the Government would not succumb to a system of land nationalisation.

Rural communities would also get their rightful share of funds allocated for housing, urbanisation and the upgrading of squatter communities.

# ANC firm on refusal to attend summit

CT 14/5/91  
304A

## Political Staff

THE ANC remains implacably opposed to joining President F W de Klerk's summit on violence in Pretoria on May 24 and 25 in spite of recent government concessions on the issue.

Instead, the organisation has thrown its weight behind the conference proposed by a group of religious leaders headed by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Mr De Klerk has indicated that the conference will go ahead even if the ANC does not attend. Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he will take part.

Meanwhile, an all-day meeting of the extended National Executive Committee of the ANC — due to have taken place yesterday to consider last week's discussions between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk — has been put off till Friday.

The ANC has also appealed to the security forces in a message of "peace and reconciliation" to look forward to the future and create a better South Africa for all people.

The message, released in Johannesburg yesterday and addressed to members of the SADF and SAP, also said leaders of the ANC and the government had met and agreed to clear problems so that negotiations could start. Soon discussions about a democratic constitution and the most suitable path to this goal would start. — Political Staff and Sapa



**POLITICS**

# Mandela's excuse a poor one — FW

810am 15/5/91

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Those invited to the summit on violence had been asked to take part in the planning of the agenda and programme, President F W de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

But important role players were using the violence for political mileage and prevaricating on whether or not they would attend, he said during an interpellation brought by Tony Leon (DP Houghton).

Leon wanted to know if the summit would go ahead despite important role players indicating they would not attend.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had said in news reports he was not going to attend because De Klerk had called the meeting unilaterally.

"That is not a good reason, because if the final responsibility is upon us, if I am blamed every time anything goes wrong with regard to violence, then it is I as spokesman for this government, and this government, who must take the initiative.

"And to now shoot it down is playing politics with the issue of violence," he said.

"We are going out of our way to have the maximum attendance at the summit. I would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there. I would also like to see the CP there. But you can't force them to be there," De Klerk said.

He said the concept that as many leaders as possible must come together at the summit was fundamental and government,

therefore, would go ahead with the conference but "not in the sense of confrontation, not with any arrogance".

He repeated his plea for all those who had not yet decided to attend, or those who were on the point of refusing, to reconsider.

Government was not abrogating its responsibility to end the violence, but there was an obligation on all leaders and those who were serious about ending the violence to come together to discuss the best way to end "the single biggest problem in the country".

Those declining to do so were either not serious about ending the violence and intimidation, or were subjecting this grave situation to their own desire for party political gain or power.

He said this could only serve to discredit them.

During the mini-debate, DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin pleaded for Mandela, "who is so important in the process of national reconciliation", to be there.

"Equally we ask the government to do everything possible to enable this to happen."

He said this conference should be one where the actions of government and its agents were open to scrutiny as much as those of anyone else.

both the verdicts and

He was told of the sentence minutes after addressing a rowdy meeting at Stellenbosch University.

dictated" To page

# Whites need not fear Mandela

30/4/77  
15/6/77

Political Staff

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has assured whites that "structural guarantees" would be written into an ANC constitution to ensure that they were not dominated by blacks.

Mr Mandela, addressing about 1 000 students at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday, said the ANC had to address the fears of whites about its policy of "one person, one vote".

"We should go beyond mere rhetorical assurances in order to address the question of structural guarantees which will ensure that this principle will not lead to the domination of whites by blacks," he said.

Mr Mandela had been elaborating on the principles of a constitution under an ANC government.

Mr Mandela repeated the ANC demand for a constituent assembly and said the economic disparity in the land could not be left unaltered.

## 'Growth clause'

But he gave an indication of fresh thinking from the ANC on this, saying that a "new growth clause" that linked growth with redistribution would have to be part of the constitution.

He also assured the students that Afrikaans would be part of the new South Africa.

Speaking in Afrikaans, he said that although blacks saw it as the language of oppression, a lot of white Afrikaaners were not racists. An "Afrikaans of the new South Africa" was evolving.

Mr Mandela pledged that the culture and religious beliefs of various groups would be respected.

He said that if this was what the government meant when it referred to group rights then the ANC would respect it. "But if it is meant to be some disguised racism then we will not tolerate that."

Turning to negotiations, he said they could not

# Maties in political brawl

By DAVE MARRS

MR Nelson Mandela watched impassively as Conservative Party youth and AWB supporters slugged it out with ANC-supporting students before he had a chance to address a gathering at Stellenbosch University yesterday.

About 20 khaki-clad right-wingers who had prevented him from speaking for 15 minutes by singing songs and chanting "AWB" were forcibly removed after a pitched battle in which one of their number was knocked unconscious.

Black ANC "bodyguards" joined white left-wing students and Western Cape ANC officials as unofficial bouncers sent chairs flying and wide-eyed Maties scrambled to avoid being dragged into the skirmish.

At least three of the right-wingers received bloody noses in the clash, which occurred after the organisers had unsuccessfully tried to negotiate a "truce" during which the outnumbered group was supposed to leave the hall so Mr Mandela could speak.

After speaking to the group inside the hall, Mr Mandela repeated his speech to a crowd of some 2 000 students assembled outside.

To page 2

● Pictures — Page 2

P.T.O



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From page 1

# Mandela speech

proceed when people were not free to hold meetings or consult and meet other members.

"There is no possibility of negotiations while security laws are used against one organisation to the benefit of others," he said.

The violence was the most serious obstacle to negotiations and the ANC believed the state had the power to stop it. However, it seemed a section of government believed it could derive an advantage from the violence because it weakened the ANC.



**LEFT:** A Conservative Party youth member is punched as he struggles with an ANC-supporting Matie student. **RIGHT:** The right-winger recovers on the floor after being knocked in the brawl.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

# Leaders 'to plan summit'

OT 15/5/91 304R

## Political Staff

THOSE invited to the summit on violence had been asked to take part in planning the agenda and programme, President F W de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

However, important role players were using the violence for political mileage and prevaricating about attending, Mr De Klerk said during an interpellation by Mr Tony Leon, DP, Houghton.

Mr Leon asked if the summit would go ahead despite important role players indicating they would not attend.

He said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had been quoted as saying he would not attend because Mr De Klerk had called the meeting unilaterally.

"That is not a good reason because if the final responsibility is upon us — if I am blamed every time anything goes wrong with regard to violence — then it is I as spokesman for this government and this government who must take the initiative," Mr De Klerk said.

"To shoot it down now is playing politics with the issue of violence.

"We are going out of our way to have maximum attendance at the summit.

"I would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there. I would also like to see the Conservative Party there. But you can't force them to be there."

It was fundamental that as many leaders as possible should meet.

The government would go ahead with the summit — but "not in the sense of confrontation, not with any arrogance".

Mr De Klerk repeated his plea that those who had not yet decided or were on the point of refusing to attend, should reconsider.

All parties had an obligation to discuss the best way to solve "the single biggest problem in the country".

The Democratic Party's caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, pleaded for Mr Mandela, "who is so important in the process of national reconciliation", to attend.

"Equally we ask the government to do everything possible to enable this to happen."



# Apartheid by other means

Star 15/5/71

304A



The South African Government has been accused, in an article published in the New York Times, of using surrogate killers to save white rule, reports RAMSAY MILNE of The Star Foreign Service.

**T**HE Government has been accused in a prominently featured article in the New York Times of substituting a new form of violence — the use of surrogate killers — to save white rule.

The attack came from Matthew Phosa, legal adviser to the ANC, who said that though the ANC was loath to make the "shocking claim" that the South African Government had instigated or condoned the black-on-black violence in South Africa, it had no alternative.

The article, which contained detailed criticism of President de Klerk's handling of the township violence, was illustrated by "a dismembered black hand, holding a dagger, being grasped by a white hand above the wrist, the dagger being driven downwards as in a death blow."

The article was published under the headline "Apartheid by other means: how Pretoria incites violence among blacks".

Mr Phosa said the violence was being depicted by the white regime as an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between "tribes", or between the ANC and Inkatha, with an implication that blacks are not fit to rule their country.



**How Pretoria incites violence among blacks.**

Taking a stab at South Africa . . . the graphic used to illustrate the article published on the New York Times's 'Briefing' page on Monday.

But the ANC, he said, had evidence that "paints a more sinister picture of the so-called black-on-black violence".

The Government's overnight transformation was accepted by the ANC, its violent past forgotten. But it may have simply substituted a new form of violence to save white rule, "turning to surrogates to avoid blatant displays of repression".

The surrogates, Mr Phosa said, included gangs such as the Black Cats and Three Million Gang, mercenary troops such as the Koevoet of Namibia, hit squads and some In-

katha members.

"We have testimony from the groups' members detailing police contacts. We gave this information to the Government, but nothing has been done."

More evidence of police collusion intended to create or worsen the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha came from confessions by Sipho Madlala, a former South African Defence Force agent, who told how his unit had assassinated Chief Maphumulo. His charges had not so far been investigated.

Assassinations of ANC ac-

tivists, he said, had risen dramatically and youths recruited by the security forces had told the ANC that other leaders were targets.

Mr Phosa concluded: "We believe the Government's actions last week are not nearly enough. Hit squads must be dissolved, and the police and defence Ministers fired."

"We want an independent investigation of the murder of Chief Maphumulo and other atrocities."

He added: "A lack of action would be further evidence that the white State sanctions — and instigates — violence." □



# FW adamant on violence talks

Star 15/5/91

3047

"I urge again that those who are considering declining attending, as well as those who have reservations, to reconsider their attitude in the interest of all in our country."

Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said a requirement for the success of the summit was that all representative leaders attended.

In addition, it should be part of a visible, active, determined campaign against violence that had to be waged on all fronts.

"A summit on violence is no substitute for an effective police force, which through its discipline, skill and impartiality enjoys the confidence of the communities it serves.

"And given the tragic and gruesome circumstances in which we find ourselves, a summit is no substitute for the banning of the carrying of all dangerous or lethal weapons."

Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said he hoped the Government would allow the broadest possible degree of co-partnership in the security management of the country, and that this process would begin at the summit.

Moolman Meentz (CP Ermelo) said his party did not seek violence.

"We all want peace. Our position is that power-sharing necessarily leads to conflict and continuing strife." — Sapa.

1991

Parliament



its final responsibility for maintaining law and order and protecting lives and property.

The Government was going out of its way to ensure that as many people as possible would be at the summit. It would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there, as well as the CP.

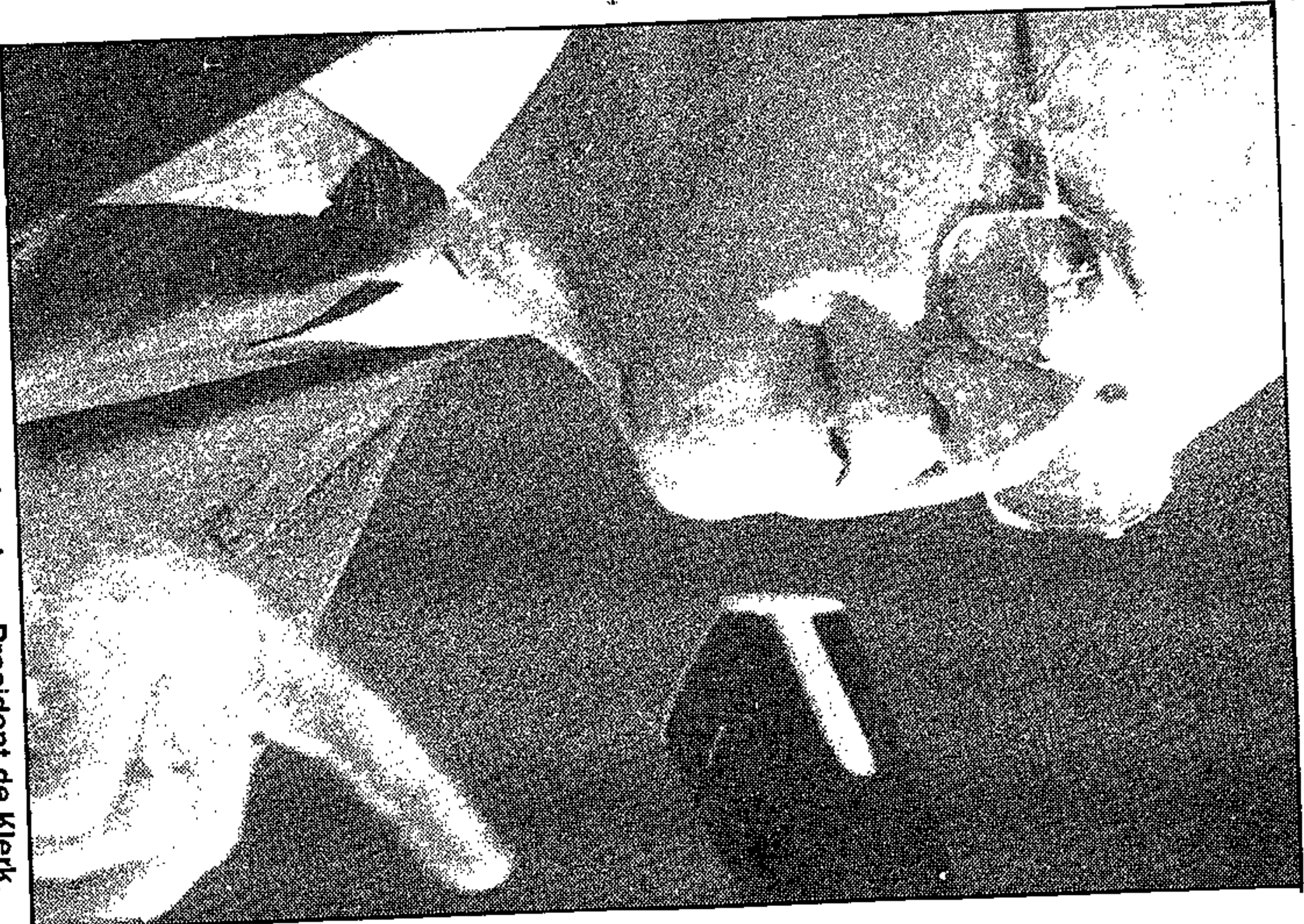
Mr de Klerk repeated his plea for all leaders who had doubts to reconsider, because the meeting offered a golden opportunity for them and the Government to put their energies and talent together and work out a solution to the biggest problem in the country.

Ending violence called for a concerted effort by all in positions of leadership in South Africa.

There was an obligation on them all to join forces in this endeavour. Those who did not do so were either not serious about ending violence or were playing party political games and manoeuvring for power.

Ultimately this would only discredit them in the eyes of South African society and the world.

"This conference has to go ahead," he said.



Summit on violence will go ahead . . . President de Klerk.



# Buthelezi, FW in crisis impasse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held another round of crisis talks at Tuynhuys yesterday with just one day remaining before the expiry of the ANC's deadline for a ban on cultural weapons.

The 11th-hour talks, which were also attended by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, were set up amid great secrecy in a bid to break the deadlock on the row surrounding the public brandishing of spears.

However, a brief joint statement issued last night after a marathon negotiation session indicated that a way round the impasse had not yet been reached.

The statement, issued after the Cape Times had got wind of the meeting, said: "We had a constructive and friendly meeting today. The discussions mainly focused on the need to combat violence and intimidation as well

as the issue of firearms and other dangerous weapons.

"It was decided that further discussion will take place."

Government sources declined to say when the next round of talks would take place but it appeared from the terse statement that Chief Buthelezi had raised objections about the ANC's access to firearms at a time when it was insisting that Inkatha supporters be disarmed of traditional weapons.

## Defiance vow

The ANC has threatened to break off all talks with the government tomorrow if its demand for a ban on carrying spears and ceremonial axes — except on strictly cultural occasions — is not met by the government.

For their part, traditional Zulu chiefs have vowed to defy any government instruction for their followers to forgo carrying traditional weapons like spears.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told journalists yesterday that Mr De Klerk had not contacted him since their marathon meeting in Pretoria last week to find a way round the impasse.

However, a full meeting of the ANC national executive committee will meet on Friday to consider the government's response to the postponement of its ultimatum on violence.

Mr Vlok, who spoke to Chief Buthelezi by telephone earlier this week about the vexed issue, had to break away from yesterday's crunch Tuynhuys talks to participate in debates in Parliament on clashes between right-wing farmers and squatters.

It is not clear when the major players in the controversy — the government, Inkatha and the ANC — will resume talks on the weapons issue.

Today Mr De Klerk has to chair a cabinet meeting and host former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.



THE is peace today where the fight between whites and blacks for South Africa began 212 years ago, but all around is confusion and fear for the future.

European settlers won the "Kaffir wars" against Xhosa along the banks of this muddy river in the Eastern Cape, but the black struggle against white rule never ceased and may be about to prevail.

Little but the lonely cry of a fish eagle stirs the wilderness here now, but elsewhere in the country white supremacy is dying in a frenzy of black bloodletting.

President FW de Klerk, a descendant of the 18th century Afrikaner settlers who first probed this frontier, and Nelson Mandela, whose Xhosa forebears fiercely resisted, are trying to negotiate a peaceful end to the long black-white conflict.

But blacks who at last may aspire to power are dying daily in black township violence which spreads fear from the gold fields of the Transvaal to the Cape of Good Hope where Africa ends.

In the Karoo, editor Arthur Knott-Craig of the *Graaff-Reinet Advertiser*, South Africa's third

## White supremacy dies as black bloodletting goes on

# Wounds fester under a blanket of fear

3041

60 weeks 16/5/91

oldest newspaper, says whites accept the inevitability of black rule but worry about corruption and inefficiency.

Graaff-Reinet, a postcard-perfect sheep-and-tourist town founded by Europeans in 1786, is beset by drought and recession and resultant black unemployment.

### Boots

The modern black freedom struggle has roots in the region. The first guerilla arms cache was found there in 1961.

Knott-Craig says white living standards are still falling and blacks are hungry.

He says the black-on-black fighting creates dread of the kind of chaos that has afflicted African states and demonstrates that no one group can be allowed to dominate a new South Africa.

Blacks must be trained to rule - and that, he says, could take 20 years.



### FW DE KLERK

Few blacks would concede that long a transition after waiting so many years.

Transkei and Ciskei, nominally "independent" black homelands created by apartheid north of the

"white" ports of East London and Port Elizabeth are bubbling with a potent brew of volatile politics, overt and covert South African security force activities, black vigilantism and white extremism - all vying for advantage as apartheid's iron grip relaxes.

They fear for their jobs, schools and hospitals as they watch township wars on television and lift their eyes to nearby hills once known as Kaffaria, a line of bitter contention between blacks and white settlers.

### Restless

What happens to the thousands of blacks on the bleak homeland moonscapes when segregation goes?

Now those parched hills are covered by thousands of restless, jobless blacks in tin and plastic shacks.

Will they join the hopeless crush on the cities that has been blamed for feeding the socio-economic unrest behind the township wars?

To the south lies the old, perfectly-ordered Afrikaner university town of Stellenbosch.

Worried white blue-collar workers pack meetings of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner resistance movement, from conviction or curiosity. They hear white extremists say only war can solve their problems.

A colleague, Hennie Kotze, notes De Klerk is despised by many fellow-Afrikaners for dismantling apartheid.

In a play on his initials

### Crush

That, he says, would be a sure recipe for civil war.

Western diplomats say no one predicted an easy end to white rule, but that the violence has been worse than anyone expected and badly damaged the trust necessary for negotiations.

"The wounds of apartheid are deep and maybe we forgot that," said one.

- Sapa-Reuter.

Great Fish River, are hotbeds of support for Mandela's African National Congress which wants black government now.

Locals say the homelands around the

# Portugal bids to



## Van Zyl Slabbert to lead new chamber

IDASA director Van Zyl Slabbert was unanimously elected chairman of the fledgling Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber last night.

Parties in the multiracial chamber said they regarded Slabbert as well qualified for the task of guiding the chamber.

At the chamber's first meeting since its launch last month, Slabbert said he was confident the chamber would play an important path-finding role in the new constitutional dispensation.

The position is the first public post Slabbert has held since his resignation as PFP leader in February 1986.

He said the varied backgrounds of the

TANIA LEVY

Bloom 16/5/91  
groups represented on the chamber could lead to them making an important breakthrough. He said the local and regional level negotiations would be linked to wider negotiations in SA. (255) (304A)

Slabbert said his election as chairman did not signal a return to politics as he had been active in politics all along. He felt his role would be to facilitate a consensus on a model for a new government.

He did not foresee a clash of interest between the chamber and Idasa and would not resign his directorship of the institute.

# Thatcher in Cape Town

CAPE TOWN — The world was hoping President FW de Klerk, ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would join forces to deal with the violence threatening negotiations, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher said last night.

SA had never needed leadership more than now, and leadership "means shouldering responsibility for difficult and perhaps unpopular decisions", she said in a speech prepared for delivery at a private banquet at which De Klerk presented her with the Order of Good Hope.

In a speech filled with lavish praise for De Klerk, Thatcher said: "It is surely providential that at such a time as this SA has

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(304A)  
BILLY PADDOCK

a president of outstanding wisdom, vision and courage."

Other leaders such as Buthelezi and Mandela had in their different ways also striven to make "SA's hour possible".

Thatcher, who arrived in SA yesterday, said she was proud that the UK had in recent years been at the forefront of those associated with SA's reform process. As a candid friend, Britain had urged the SA government forward; and as a loyal friend it had striven to give SA the room and time to bring reform into effect.

These were momentous times for SA,

□ To Page 2

## Thatcher

810am  
16/5/91  
and it sometimes happened that in the affairs of nations that which was morally right "suddenly and dramatically converges with what is politically necessary".

Thatcher was given the award for the leading role she played in international affairs and particularly her "constructive encouragement of the steps taken by SA towards the creation of a new society".

In presenting her with the order, De Klerk said he was happy to share the moment with a proven friend of SA, and wanted to assure her she was among friends.

(304A) □ From Page 1

"Of all the world's statesmen, Mrs Thatcher displayed by far the greatest understanding of the complexities of the SA situation. She had faith in our innate ability and disposition to solve our problems ourselves."

Thatcher arrived at Cape Town's D F Malan on board the private jet of Rembrandt chairman Anton Rupert yesterday, to be met by Foreign Minister Pik Botha bearing a single red rose.

● Picture: Page 3  
● See Page 15



304A  
B/day 16/5/91  
**'Broad consensus  
on constitution'**

CAPE TOWN — Government, the ANC, the DP and many others enjoyed a broad consensus on the constitutional guidelines for a new SA, MP for Berea and former DP co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitutional Development budget, Worrall said principles accepted by these groups were that:

- ☐ SA should be an undivided country, under one government and with one common citizenship;
- ☐ Independent homelands should be reincorporated;
- ☐ The constitution should be supreme and there should be an independent judiciary to interpret it;
- ☐ There should be universal franchise and an electoral system based on proportional representation;
- ☐ Racially defined groups should not receive constitutional or institutional recognition;
- ☐ A Bill of Rights should exist which would include religious, cultural and linguistic rights;
- ☐ There should be a multi-party system; and

**Political Staff**

☐ A high degree of decentralisation.

Worrall said what distinguished the DP was its commitment to federalism which the party supported not simply as a constitutional mechanism but as a particular philosophy of democracy.

He said federalism vested political sovereignty in the people and encouraged multiple centres of power.

**Gratified**

This provided for centralisation and decentralisation — but always within a framework where all power was exercised in terms of the law and citizens' rights.

Worrall said the DP was gratified that so many parties and organisations, including the ANC, were committed to decentralisation which was one of the key features of federalism.

He warned, however, that the road to democracy was not going to be easy as there was no "culture of democracy" in SA yet.

# Do not let political goals undermine freedoms

IS SA sliding inexorably to enervating, perhaps everlasting, chaos? Are the institutions of our society — the courts of law, the centres of educational excellence, the industrial engines of growth — condemned to the same funeral pyre as the vile and the ugly of apartheid society?

Just as democracy is neither the inevitable nor automatic destination of SA in transition, neither is anarchy and ruination the automatic terminal of our interregnum.

We have a choice, and universities can assist in choosing the "road not taken". We must subject each idea, no less than every political movement, to rigorous scrutiny. We should not be mesmerised by a fraudulent course of action simply because it is authored by an "heroic" organisation.

We must equally not doubt our own principles if formerly oppressive parties embrace them.

Learned commentators contend that a social and economic transformation of our society to eliminate some if not most inequalities is the

necessary prior condition to the transfer of power. But events have overtaken this view.

Today there are demands for summits to negotiate about everything from the composition of next year's Budget and the distribution of the social harvest to the ending of violence. These calls are, in one sense, admirable — but in another, misdirected since it is precisely these issues which await the deliberation of a democratic government.

This is where a properly designed constitution enters, a necessary requirement as James Madison reminded us, "because men are not angels".

Should conditions on the ground continue to make a democratic election impossible, then we need, soon, a government of national reconstruction. Such an instrument will have the clout and, hopefully, the political courage to administer the harsh medicine which SA urgently requires.

This government of national reconstruction will succeed if it is

TONY LEON

underpinned by a "political compact" which will bind all parties to its decisions.

Now that apartheid is ending at the hand of the very government which perfected it, an identity crisis engulfs opponents of the system. Some would continue submerging the differences between liberalism and socialism; others dismiss liberals as an abstraction between the forces of racism and liberation. Liberalism is the only viable barrier between apartheid and communism. Both these systems depend on the enslavement of the conscience to the creed of the collective.

Liberalism is the ideal creed for today's SA.

It offers a durable bridge to span the great divides. Liberal values are not weak, watered-down bourgeois versions of other greater, more compelling truths. They are values which

must apply now — and after the creation of the new SA.

Contemporary liberalism has moved beyond a simple statement of classical rights.

Rights exist as a weapon against a central authority. Since they are inalienable, they do not lie in the gift of government, to be removed either on whim or for some urgent "public good".

Liberalism thus requires power to be tamed through the establishment of countervailing power. This is why federalism, for example, provides a creative accommodation in the search for constitutional security.

Democratic government is not just about winners and majorities. It is primarily about the successful containment of differences through the protection of minorities and the accommodation of electoral losers.

But in transforming our skewed system of privilege into a more level playing field, we must guard against policies which begin by talking the language of liberty, but end in promoting a national equality which de-

stroy one freedom after another.

Those who invaded the vice-chancellor's office at Wits this year to demand reinstatement were suggesting that the struggle of the street needs to be brought to campus. But they do so at fearsome cost.

If a university is reduced to the point where the political goal becomes the end of life, where the intellect is simply a tool to be fashioned and sharpened as a "cultural weapon", then it ceases to be a centre of academic excellence.

Adapting our institutions to new demands must be undertaken. But to imagine that standards, freedom of speech, tolerance and rigid scholarship are "obfuscations" increases the problems for our country, rather than reduces them.

If universities do not guard the ramparts of society in defence of these ideals, who else will?

□ Leon is DP MP for Houghton. This is an excerpt from his Edgar Brookes Memorial Academic and Human Freedom lecture at Natal University, Maritzburg, last night.

LETTERS





Mrs Thatcher and Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys last night.

## ANC women vow to rock Maggie

Political Staff

THE ANC Women's League has vowed to make the visit to South Africa of former British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher as uncomfortable as possible.

The league said: "We certainly don't think that she belongs to the same sex as us and will have her know that."

"We say: Margaret Thatcher go home. We do not need you here."

Mrs Thatcher will be conferred with an honorary doctorate at a special ceremony at the Rand Afrikaans University on Monday.

RAU vice-chancellor Professor Cas Crouse refused confirm or deny that Mrs Thatcher would be honoured at a function to be addressed by "an important speaker".

Angry students and staff spoke of invitations that were given to "a selected few" for the occasion.

"The university is not playing it fair with us because only a selected few have been told about Mrs Thatcher's visit to the campus," said a student.

● Mrs Thatcher was due to meet Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of the Independent Development Trust, in Cape Town today — the second day of her visit.

● See page 6.



# Keep order during change — Maggie



**AWARD:** Mrs Thatcher with President De Klerk after being honoured at a State dinner at Tuynhuys last night.

## SA thanks Thatcher — with top award

Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT** De Klerk last night bestowed on former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross class in recognition of her "constructive encouragement" of the reform process in South Africa.

The Order is the highest honour in South Africa for citizens of foreign countries for "contributing significantly" to the well-being of South Africans.

The award was presented to Mrs Thatcher at the State dinner in her honour at Tuynhuys last night.

The citation pays tribute to her political wisdom and recognises her "outstanding role" in contributing to the resolution of disputes in southern Africa.

By **MICHAEL MORRIS**, Political Correspondent  
SOUTH Africa needs to overcome its problems fast enough to "retain the confidence and curb the impatience" of people who have suffered under apartheid, says former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Speaking at a State dinner at Tuynhuys last night — the first official engagement of her week-long tour — Mrs Thatcher said it was equally important that order was maintained "in this era of transition".

The country needed strong leadership now more than ever.

The world was hoping all leaders would combine their efforts "as indeed you must, effectively to deal with the violence that is threatening negotiations".

In a speech in which she touched on the far-reaching changes in South Africa, the country's improved relations with the international community and the vital role it played in Africa, Mrs Thatcher said: "It is in the interests of Africa and indeed the whole of the wider world that South Africa should succeed in resolving her problems."

"And we are very much aware that she needs to overcome them fast enough to retain the confidence and curb the impatience of those who bear the scars of past sufferings and injustice."

"Yet order has to be maintained in this period of transition and for that the government will need goodwill and co-operation from all who bear responsibility in South Africa today. That is in the interest of all South Africans."

She told guests at the dinner that it was "surely providential" that the country had a president "of outstanding wisdom, vision and courage".

She added: "Other leaders too — Chief Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, each in their different ways, have striven to make this, South Africa's hour, possible."

The world was hoping these leaders would combine their efforts to tackle the violence.

Reminding her audience of her previous visit to South Africa in 1972, she said: "The pleasure of returning... is increased for me by the events of the last two years."



ARGUS 16/5/91

## Urgent need to start multi-party talks — Worrall

Political Correspondent

3044

THE perceived lack of progress on serious constitutional talks was among the reasons for violence between competing black organisations and underlined the need to start talks soon, said the Democratic Party's constitutional spokesman, Dr Denis Worrall.

Speaking during the constitutional budget debate yesterday, he said that while the road to democracy was not easy it was necessary that "we start out with a wide area of agreement on fundamental principles".

These included common citizenship and universal franchise in an undivided country, reincorporation of the homelands, a supreme constitution and an independent judiciary, a multi-party system, non-racism and a Bill of Rights.

The DP was committed to these principles and an "encouraging feature" of the present situation was that most political parties shared them too. However, uncertainty and anxiety about the future was heightened by a perceived lack of progress on serious constitutional talks.

"The sooner therefore the multi-party talks take place the better."

Dr Worrall and fellow DP MP Mr Peter Soal advocated federalism.

Mr Soal said federalism would ensure efficient and productive administration and that South Africa "with its regional differences and cultural diversity is eminently suitable as a candidate".

# Thatcher's peace poles

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**FORMER British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher last night appealed to President F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "combine your efforts" to stamp out the violence threatening negotiations.**

The "Iron Lady" was addressing a state dinner at Tuynhuys after receiving the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class — the highest award with which South Africa honours citizens of other countries.

The award — for which Mrs Thatcher had to receive Queen Elizabeth's consent — crowned a day in which she was given a red-carpet welcome befitting a head of state and lavished with praise by the South African government. And despite repeated threats by the ANC and the PAC to make the visit as uncomfortable as possible, Mrs Thatcher has yet to see her first demonstrator in South Africa.

## 'Long overture'

Mrs Thatcher was greeted on the terrace at D F Mahan Air 1-4 by Mr. Pit both bearing a single long-stemmed red rose — the South African Foreign Minister's trade mark.

Mrs Thatcher, clearly tired from her 14-hour flight from London, said it was "wonderful" to return to South Africa and added: "I feel it's long overdue."

After resting at Westbrooke, she told a "white tie" banquet last night that the world was hoping South Africa's political leadership would succeed in effectively addressing the violence threatening negotiations.

"South Africa has never needed leadership more than now," she said. It was in the interests of Africa



**GLITTER AT BANQUET** ... Guests and hosts at last night's state banquet, from the left, Mr Denis Thatcher, Mrs Manike de Klerk, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President F W de Klerk.

"and indeed the whole of the wider world" that the Republic should now succeed in resolving its problems.

"We are very much aware that she needs to overcome them fast enough to retain the confidence and curb the impatience of those who bear the scars of past sufferings and injustice."

"Yet order has to be maintained in this period of transition and for that the government will need goodwill and co-operation from all

who bear responsibility in South Africa today."

Mrs Thatcher said Mr De Klerk would "undoubtedly go down as one of the very greatest statesmen ... who has created new hope for South Africa."

She said: "We are now seeing reforms which will both create a framework for prosperity and guarantee human rights."

In his address, Mr De Klerk said that of all the world's statesmen, Mrs Thatcher had displayed "by

far the greatest understanding for the complexities of the South African situation."

He thanked her for "injecting a degree of realism" into attitudes towards South Africa in the United Nations, the European Community, the Commonwealth — "often espousing a minority view."

Mr De Klerk, who awarded Mrs Thatcher the Order of Good Hope, said South Africa's fortunes had been closely linked to the attitudes

of the British government during her tenure of office as prime minister.

Mrs Thatcher will hold a series of "private meetings" in Cape Town this morning and will leave for an undisclosed inland venue this afternoon.

She will attend a dinner hosted by the British ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick, this evening. She is expected to leave for the Transvaal at the weekend.

Picture: RICHARD SELL

## Can on cigarette sales to children?

Political Staff

THE government plans to make a law banning the sale of cigarettes to children.

Minister of Health Dr Rina Venter yesterday warned that draft legislation which recommends the banning of cigarettes sales to children and the strengthening of the existing code of advertising is scheduled to be introduced in Parliament next year.

It apparently stops short of banning tobacco advertisements.

The tobacco industry has responded with stony silence to the warning.

Anti-smoking organisations, such as the Council Against Smoking (CAS), are campaigning for a total ban on advertising.

Figures provided by the CAS show that 46% of Cape Town children are regular smokers by the age of 14.

## Blanket ban

The South African tobacco industry sells about R3bn worth of tobacco products annually, according to the CAS, and statistics on child smoking habits indicate that sales to children make up a considerable proportion of this.

The European Commission yesterday proposed a blanket ban on all tobacco advertising in the European Community, Sapa-Renter reports. The plan, which would have to be approved by a majority of the 12 EC governments to go into effect, would halt tobacco advertising through television, newspapers, billboards and cinemas before the mid-1990s.

EC health policy Commissioner Vasso Papandreu said: "Two million people under 25 today ... will be dead by 2025" because of smoking.

## Rupert's jet fetched Maggie

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN industrialists Dr Anton Rupert provided — and paid for — the jet which Mrs Margaret Thatcher will be using for her week-long trip around the country, well-placed sources said yesterday.

Dr Rupert's giant tobacco, liquor and leisure enterprise, Rembrandt, has a stable of five jets — including the Luxembourg-registered Falcon 800 which brought the former British prime minister and her entourage to the city yesterday.

The British embassy said yesterday that Mrs Thatcher would meet a "prominent local figure" this morning but declined to disclose details.



# LP members to join white Nat caucus

CAPE TOWN — Five former members of the Labour Party's parliamentary caucus are set to make history by becoming the first coloured members of the hitherto exclusively white National Party caucus.

President's Councillors Peter Marais and Billy Ross, with House of Representatives MPs Stan Fisher (Mitchell's Plain), Abraham Balie (Steinkopf) and Moritz Friedburg (Springbok) are holding discussions with Cape NP leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

A spokesman added that good progress was being

made in their move to join the NP.

Mr Marais caused a stir at the President's Council sitting on Monday afternoon when, as chief Labour Party spokesman in the debate on the Post Office Amendment Bill, he announced his resignation from the LP.

Mr Marais yesterday said the NP without its apartheid policy was the natural political home for the majority of the coloured community, from both cultural and Christian aspects.

The possible crossing-over of Mr Marais could lead to

● To Page 3



Peter Marais . . . new NP natural home for coloureds.

ved to be much higher.

## LP members moving to NP

● From Page 1  
at least another 500 LP members from the Bishop Lavis constituency following suit.

"For us to join the NP is like a divided family reuniting," said Mr Marais.

In Parliament yesterday, the LP leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the media regarded the spate of resignations from the LP as the downfall of the LP rather than as a purifying process.

"The deserters (we-lopers) are looking for security in the National Party. But you will be judged according to the company you keep."

Sapa.

# Far cry from fiery Boadicea

Star 16/5/91

304A

**S**OUTH Africa this week joins the select list of countries visited by Margaret Thatcher since her dethronement last November. But the Margaret Thatcher South Africans will see is a far cry from the woman who, Boadicea-like, defied most of the world by opposing the total isolation of Pretoria over apartheid.

For her less-than-graceful resignation from both the Tory Party leadership and the British premiership has cast Mrs Thatcher into the political wilderness, with no prospect of regaining her former position as one of the world's most powerful women.

Indeed, even as she flew to SA, Mrs Thatcher was aware of growing pressure, even from her staunchest supporters, for her to relinquish her parliamentary seat — the last formal position of influence she holds.

**The Margaret Thatcher South Africans will see during her visit here is a far cry from the woman who defied most of the world by opposing the complete isolation of South Africa. MIKE SILUMA of The Star Bureau reports.**

Friends reportedly believe her role as an MP, as well as dreams of reclaiming Downing Street, is holding up any plans she may have to carve out a new political role, possibly as an international elder-statesman.

Her supporters feel Mrs Thatcher should devote her energies to the Thatcher Foundation, which would promote ideas forged over a decade at the Tory Party helm.

Mrs Thatcher has instead drawn up a schedule of international tours.

Her choice of South Africa

is no surprise. Apartheid was one of the issues over which she had her most bitter clashes with other leaders, notably those in the Commonwealth.

With the clamour for stricter sanctions growing with every outrage committed by Pretoria in the late 1980s, Britain increasingly became the Commonwealth's odd-man-out.

Bearing Mrs Thatcher's stamp of partial approval, Commonwealth communiques on South Africa routinely included refrains excluding

Britain from some of the decisions taken.

Asked once whether she regretted so frequently being in a minority of one in the then 49-member body, she replied: "If it's one against 48 I am very sorry for the 48."

Rejecting suggestions that she was out of step with the majority of South Africans, she retorted: "When there is a new government and apartheid has gone, that government will have cause to thank one person in the Commonwealth that it inherits a strong economy — Great Britain."

Taking umbrage at accusations by African leaders that her stand on sanctions was racist, she said: "They know full well that I am as against apartheid as they are."

During her visit Mrs Thatcher will find that apartheid is not yet dead. But she will be hoping to find evidence that it is on its last legs. □



# Thatcher (304A) awarded Star 1615791. highest SA order

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk last night thanked former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher for her support for the South African Government by presenting her with the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class — SA's highest honour for foreigners.

The award was made at a state banquet given in her honour at Tuynhuys hours after Mr Thatcher's arrival in South Africa as his guest.

The citation for the award included mention of "her constructive encouragement of the steps taken by South Africans towards the creation of a new society".

Mrs Thatcher said she was proud that in recent years Britain had been at the forefront of those associated with reform in South Africa.

"As candid friends we have urged the South African Government forward, and as loyal friends we have striven to give South Africans the room and time to bring reform into effect."

It was providential that at this critical time South Africa had a State President of "outstanding wisdom, vision and courage".

She also praised Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for what they had done to bring about the present moment.

Mr de Klerk thanked Mrs Thatcher for her role in keeping relations between South Africa and Britain on a sound basis.

"More particularly we thank you for injecting a degree of realism into attitudes towards South Africa. You did so in the United Nations, the European Community, the Commonwealth, often espousing a minority view.

"Your staunch determination to resist international punishment of South Africa, inter alia at several meetings of the top echelons of the Commonwealth, and your steadfast resistance to the adoption of extreme economic sanctions is something we shall not forget.

"Yours was the perception that encouragement, not punishment, was the correct recipe for South Africa.

"Your faith that South Africa would work out her own salvation ... has been vindicated."

● Far cry from fiery  
Boadicea — Page 13



Welcome to South Africa ... former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher admires the Herbert Baker-designed Groote Schuur Estate with Foreign Minister P. W. Botha shortly after her arrival yesterday.  
Picture: Associated Press

# New Resolutions Board will handle all kinds of conflicts

By Shareen Singh

Star 16/5/91  
(304A)

A conflict resolutions board, the first of its kind in South Africa, under the chairmanship of Professor Nic Wiehahn, was launched in Pretoria yesterday.

The Resolutions Board, which will operate as a company, would deal with all types of conflict — from divorce to industrial relations — in a cheaper and quicker way than going to court, Professor Wiehahn said.

There was an urgent need for alternative dispute-resolution mechanisms in order to alleviate the burden on the courts, he pointed out.

Not only would it be cheaper and quicker to resolve conflict through mediation and arbitration, but these mechanisms would also take into account ec-

onomic and social factors, not only legal principles, Professor Wiehahn said.

He pointed out that the need for such conflict resolution mechanisms were greater than ever in the context of current changes and increase in conflict.

"Conflict is as inherent in societies as it is healthy and necessary. Something new always emerges from conflict. We have to live with conflict all our lives, so it is important to have access to conflict resolution mechanisms," Professor Wiehahn said.

The Resolutions Board would provide mediators and arbitrators from a panel of more than 40 experts in various fields.

Plans were being made for offices to be set up in other countries in southern Africa.



# Viljoen gives picture of future

Star 16/5/91

304A

CAPE TOWN — The Government's view on the constitutional future was that South Africa would continue to exist as a state, although a new constitution would come into operation, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the debate on his department's budget vote, he said: "There is thus no question of the formation of a new state, rather of the fundamental renewal of this republic."

Dr Viljoen warned that ill-considered attempts to bring about forced or artificial nation-building would risk failure.

He said South Africa dared not run this risk.

It was possible that parties, either through lack of understanding or for political convenience, would reduce the concept of nation-building to superficial rhetoric or to a political catch-phrase.

It was clear that the nation-building process was essentially linked to the negotiating process, and that it had to be a result of that process.

"There is a need for structures and opportunities to meet and learn to know, understand and accept one another, identify one another's sore points, and help solve them."

The Government wanted to facilitate local initiatives at inter-community level in the coming year, and it invited community leaders to

come forward with initiatives.

Dr Viljoen said the structures for the self-determination of communities had to serve as a fundamental constitutional building-block on a nonracial basis.

"Where a local community identifies itself in the prescribed nonracial manner through voluntary association within determined geographical boundaries, such a community must be permitted to create its own community structure if it wishes.

"This structure would be formed with an eye on self-determination in community affairs such as aspects of education, welfare, residential environment and culture."

— Sapa.

# Viljoen hails Inkatha's role

304A  
16/5/91

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
Political Correspondent

**CHIEF** government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen yesterday lavished praise on Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for the role they have played in South African politics.

Dr Viljoen said Inkatha had not only been a major political player in the past, but would continue to retain this status in the future political dispensation.

Introducing his constitutional affairs budget vote in Parliament, Dr Viljoen criticised the ANC for refusing to attend the proposed summit on violence and complained that some or-

ganisations — he did not name them — were engaging in "petty politics".

He said he wished to refer to Inkatha's lengthy record of rejecting violence and commitment to the peaceful dismantling of apartheid.

Dr Viljoen said Inkatha had extracted maximum benefit through its use of existing structures.

Inkatha had been consistently positive in its contribution to constitutional development and change as was evident from its contribution to the Buthelezi Commission and the Kwa/Natal Indaba.

"All along they have openly avowed their commitment to

Christian principles in politics," he said.

Dr Viljoen said he would also like to recall that after President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech last year, Chief Buthelezi and other Chief Ministers had immediately said they accepted Mr De Klerk's integrity and had indicated they were ready to join real negotiations.

Inkatha had also consistently stood for a free-market system and had opposed sanctions both at home and abroad.

Dr Viljoen concluded his eulogy to Inkatha by saying that the organisation's leaders had suffered a heavy toll in the violence sweeping the country.



# No date for more talks



DE KLERK

NO date has been set for further talks between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President FW de Klerk, according to the chief's private secretary Mr Amos Ngema.

Soweto  
16/5/91

## Combat violence

The two leaders met on Tuesday and agreed to meet again.

A statement after the Tuesday meeting said the leaders had held a "constructive and friendly meeting", adding that discussions had focused on "the need to combat violence and intimidation as well as on the issue of firearms and other dangerous weapons". - Sapa.



BUTHELEZI

304A

# Viljoen condemns 'nit-picking' over talks

CAPE TOWN — Government was definitely proceeding with its summit on violence next Friday, with or without the ANC, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Viljoen told a news conference there were enough important representatives from a wide spectrum of political organisations to make the summit succeed.

Yesterday, chances of government and the ANC agreeing on the controversial summit appeared small, as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated his organisation would not attend a government-convened conference.

Taking a hard line, Viljoen said the ANC

BILLY PADDOCK  
and TIM COHEN

was "nit-picking" about President F W de Klerk having publicly initiated the summit without prior consultation with the ANC. However, the chairmanship and the agenda were open for discussion.

ANC sources present at last week's meeting between De Klerk and Mandela have said they could not sell this compromise to their national executive committee (NEC) without a ban on cultural weapons, particularly spears.

Viljoen also indicated government would attend a conference on violence or-

ganised by the churches at some future date after next week's summit.

He said he had attended De Klerk's meeting with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tuesday where progress on banning assegais had been made. But De Klerk would not respond to ultimatums and had stated he needed to enter full consultations prior to taking any steps on the assegai issue.

Meanwhile, Buthelezi said last night weapons of the kind the ANC held both inside and outside SA, particularly AK-47s, were the principal killing weapons in SA townships.

□ To Page 2

## Viljoen

Speaking at the SA Institute of Mechanical Engineers' general meeting last night, Buthelezi said reliable research showed that over 80% of all deaths in the current violence resulted from AK-47s, pistols and other weaponry.

Of the remaining 20%, spears played a negligible role.

"One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted with serious drug abuse problems. One does not call for the banning of matches when you are campaigning against smoking.

"The ANC's call for the banning of cul-

tural weapons is of this order," Buthelezi said.

In another development, an extended ANC NEC, which will include representatives from alliance partners, takes form today to discuss government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

The ultimatum was unofficially extended by a week after the meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

The issue of cultural weapons will also feature high on the agenda at the 140-strong Inkatha central committee meeting, which is due to take place in Ulundi tomorrow.

From Page 1



FW's summit 'should go ahead'

# ANC briefing disappoints businessmen

304A  
Bipany 17/5/91

BUSINESS leaders indicated they would prefer President F W de Klerk's summit on violence to go ahead without the ANC after they emerged disappointed and sceptical from a high-level briefing by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on violence yesterday.

The briefing, the biggest meeting between business and the ANC since last year's Carlton conference, was at the ANC's request and was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.

It was attended by 107 top businessmen at Premier Group's Killarney, Johannesburg headquarters. Its main purpose was to allow Mandela to explain his organisation's April 30 ultimatum.

Prominent business sources said Mandela, by portraying the ANC as the innocent victim of the violence, "blew" his opportunity to win some understanding and sympathy from business.

"You cannot treat businessmen like fools. Many present ... had put a lot of energy into the violence issues. They are



● MANDELA

PATRICK BULGER  
and THEO RAWANA

well-informed and know the explanation for the violence is not that simple.

"They will not accept pious exclamations of innocence."

Among those present were Neil Chapman (Southern Life), Kevin de Villiers (Allied), Murray Hofmeyer (retired JCI chairman), Mervyn King (Frame), Gavin Relly and Michael Spicer (Anglo), Leon Cohen (PG Bison) and Peter Wrighton (Premier).

Mandela's delegation included ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and national executive committee member Stanley Mabizela.

Business sources at the meeting told Business Day that Mandela admitted the ANC had erred by imposing an ultimatum on government before briefing the SA business community.

Sources said Mandela had reiterated that government was to blame for not quelling the violence and for not being firm with Inkatha.

Mandela was adamant that the ANC would not attend a government-initiated peace conference as it should have been consulted beforehand on the conference.

One informant said Mandela said he did not see how he could be blamed for the violence because he had warned about it while he was still in prison.

Mandela, however, sounded a conciliatory note towards Law and Order Minister

□ To Page 2

## Summit

Bipany 17/5/91

Adriaan Vlok, saying that he was attempting to do something about the violence, but that the Cabinet was holding him back.

One delegate said while the Mandela tone was conciliatory the discussion was disappointing because he had failed to explain why it was that people in the townships were killing each other. It seemed as if the ANC wished to distance itself from the violence, the delegate said.

Mandela said business had a direct responsibility to get involved in attempts to end the violence by throwing its weight

behind the ANC and other organisations in putting pressure on government to take concrete steps to address the issue.

Sacob had warned the ANC soon after the publication of its open letter that the weak level of confidence in SA was likely to plummet further as a result of its ultimatum.

Sacob also forecast that potential new investment from overseas would be affected if political talks collapsed.

● Picture: Page 3  
● Comment: Page 10

From Page 1

# Thatcher starts top-level talks

B10am 17/5/91

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher signalled yesterday that she would be doing more than just sight-seeing during her SA visit as she threw her weight behind efforts to get negotiations going.

Thatcher met DP leader Zach de Beer and CP leader Andries Treurnicht on the second day of her tour yesterday and is expected to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi next week.

The "Iron Lady" told Treurnicht his reasons for the CP refusing to take part in negotiations were unacceptable.

Treurnicht said after their meeting at his parliamentary office that Thatcher be-

lieved "very strongly" that the CP should enter negotiations.

He said she thought in terms of one country with one people and not in terms of a country with ethnic groups.

"We told her we were not against negotiations in principle and we would enter negotiations under certain conditions and certain non-negotiables. Her point of view is that everything should be negotiable and negotiated," he said.

Earlier yesterday she met senior DP members at Westbrooke for breakfast.

She advised De Beer, MPs Colin Eglin,

□ To Page 2

## Thatcher

B10am 17/5/91

304A

□ From Page 1

Tiaan van der Merwe and Denis Worrall to drop their proposal that a system of proportional representation should be introduced into a new SA.

She also met IDT chairman Jan Steyn, after which she went on an unplanned walkabout and was cheered by a crowd of about 150 people who had gathered to get a glimpse of her.

Later, during a tour of a Stellenbosch fruit farm, she was presented with a new nectarine variety, "Margaret's Pride", which was named in her honour.

Meanwhile TIM COHEN reports that the chorus of protest against Thatcher's visit reverberated in the eastern Transvaal and on the Rand Afrikaans University campus

yesterday.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal regional branch called for a stayaway in the Lowveld today in response to reports that Thatcher would visit the area.

The branch described Thatcher as the "main friend and funder of the apartheid system" and vowed to make her trip as uncomfortable as possible. It advised her to "immediately pack her bags".

At RAU, the university's branch of the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa) disassociated itself from an award Thatcher is due to receive on Monday. Udusa criticised the secrecy with which the RAU authorities were handling the visit.



**T**HE great debate over SA's future is stirring up a host of mini-debates, dissension and outright schisms in every major political group and ideological movement.

Rifts within the black left and the white right have featured prominently in the media, but similar upheavals are occurring in smaller, less high-profile groups. This is true even of the libertarian/free market movement, which has traditionally accommodated and welcomed internal differences of opinion.

All libertarians subscribe to a number of general principles, including the right of every individual to be free from coercion (whether by other persons or by government), the inviolability of personal and property rights, freedom of association, contract, speech and movement. But they strongly reject any form of dogmatism, and there have always been numerous issues that are guaranteed to provoke vigorous debate within libertarian ranks.

**F**or example, libertarians may be found on both sides of the abortion and capital punishment debates. Opinion on political issues is also divided: while some libertarians espouse anarchism, others advocate limited government.

Among the latter, there is disagreement over the extent to which it should be limited, and by what means. Some believe in restricting government powers through a rigid constitution strictly applied. Others believe government power is best limited by devolving power to numerous centres and encouraging maximum public participation in decision-making.

Another contentious subject is that of strategy. Some libertarians refuse to become involved in any form of activism and focus on attaining freedom in their personal lives.

Then there are the "ivory tower" libertarians who limit themselves to debating esoteric questions that are of little interest to the general public. Some of these adopt a purist, all-

# Libertarians, too, risk imprisonment in dogma's dungeon

By Dan 175771, 304A

**It is not only the extreme left and right that are prone to political intolerance. LIBBY HUSEMEYER examines similar problems in the ranks of free marketeers.**

or-nothing approach that makes no concessions to political realities. Whereas many libertarians would favour a state-financed but privately run education system, at least as a first step to a totally private system, the purists would regard this as an unacceptable compromise of libertarian principles.

Others concentrate on disseminating and promoting free market ideas in the broad community in order to create a groundswell of support for political and economic freedom. Still others try to influence policy by lobbying governments directly to deregulate and to adopt market-oriented programmes.

In the US and some European countries such as Norway, libertarians have formed political parties and put up candidates for election. In these groups there is widespread acceptance that movement toward the libertarian ideal will be incremental and that it will involve some compromises along the way.

Although these different strategies are hotly debated in libertarian

circles, most free marketeers accept that they all play an important and valuable role in furthering the creation of a free society.

In SA, as a consequence, each individual has tended to adopt the approach that is best suited to his or her temperament, and there have been no rifts within the movement — until recently.

**T**he discussion in the letters column of Business Day regarding an article by Frances Kendall which proposes the use of smart cards for the provision of welfare belongs to this perennial strategy debate. However, there was a new element of animosity in some of the letters, which attacked not only the proposal but also the libertarian credentials of the author.

In her article Kendall was developing an idea first advocated by Milton Friedman. He argued that since some government involvement in social programmes is virtually inevi-

table, free marketeers should urge governments to restrict their involvement to financing these programmes, while leaving the provision of welfare services to the private sector.

Friedman's reasoning was that this would minimise the negative consequences of government intervention. In other words, it would reduce costs, improve efficiency, and minimise opportunities for fraud and abuse.

However, one of the letter writers (a fellow libertarian) argued that Kendall, by advocating the use of smart cards and thus accepting a degree of government involvement in welfare, could no longer be considered a free marketeer.

This is not the first time a pragmatic approach has elicited accusations of ideological unsoundness from within the movement: there have been several similar episodes in internal debates in recent months.

This is a disturbing development which shows how easily even libertarians, who place a high value on

independent thought, may fall into the trap of dogmatism.

Although it is a new phenomenon in SA free market circles, there have been precedents overseas, the most famous example being the late Ayn Rand, founder of the free-market Objectivist movement in the US, who regularly "excommunicated" followers for merely questioning any of her pronouncements.

In his autobiography, *The Invisible Writing*, Arthur Koestler described the deadly effects of ideological dogmatism. Koestler, who was a member of the Communist Party during the thirties and later became a committed libertarian, explained how Marxism locked its adherents into a "closed system" which "reconditioned" all feelings and attitudes and rejected all individual forms of expression.

Language, and with it thought, underwent a process of dehydration, and crystallised in the ready-made schemata of Marxist jargon.

There were perhaps a dozen or two adjectives whose use was both safe and mandatory, such as: decadent, hypocritical, morbid (for the capitalist bourgeoisie); heroic, disciplined, class-conscious (for the revolutionary proletariat); petit-bourgeois, romantic, sentimental (for humanitarian scruples); mechanistic, metaphysical, mystical (for the wrong intellectual approach); and dialectical, concrete (for the right approach).

**W**hile Marxism and a number of other philosophies espouse a rigid body of thought and regard any deviations as heretical, this is diametrically opposed to the libertarian tradition of openness and free inquiry.

The libertarian movement can make a valuable contribution to solving SA's problems. It would be a pity if, at a time when open debate and open minds are more important than ever before, some libertarians should become trapped in a closed system of their own making.

□ **Husemeyer is Consulting Editor for the Free Market Foundation.**



# Slabbert positioned to rise in national politics

B1 Day 171591

304A

**MICHAEL ACOTT and TANIA LEVY**

AFTER years of work behind the scenes, Van Zyl Slabbert is where he wanted to be. He's in a public post where he can help to forge the new SA, and that might only be the start of his comeback.

The chairmanship of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber is a small but important beginning. It is the fledgling negotiating forum for a new municipal order, where rich white towns and poor black ones start looking at becoming non-racial ones, with joint needs and common interests.

It wasn't a job Slabbert expected. He was only informed on Wednesday morning that he was in the running, he was in the chair that afternoon.

His role will be a crucial one, and it may lead to an offer to chair the negotiations between government, the ANC and other parties when the hard bargaining eventually starts. There are rumours that Slabbert is among those who may be asked to referee the constitutional scrap.

Other contenders are said to include former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who was also considered for the Metropolitan Chamber job. The third candidate this week was Soweto community leader Ntatho Motlana.

Slabbert's unanimous election by

white and black councillors, and representatives of the ANC-aligned civic associations, must favour a move by him from regional to national affairs.

These are the sort of developments for which Slabbert hoped when he quit the PFP leadership, and Parliament, suddenly in 1986. He left his colleagues dumbfounded, and his party in disarray, when he announced he was getting out because Parliament, and white politics, were on a road to nowhere.

Slabbert was the white knight on whom the party's hopes were pinned. He came to Parliament in 1974 and the former professor proved an astute politician.

He baffled Nationalist MPs by urging the abolition of the Race Classification Act, now headed for repeal. After taking over the PFP leadership, he argued forcefully and successfully for influx control to be replaced.

And he identified the heart of his own problem when he accused government of not consulting Parliament; he said the real SA debate was between an extra-parliamentary

government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

In the end Slabbert tired of it all. He turned his back on the adulation, the political bickering and what he saw as the futility of white parliamentary debate when government's focus was on suppressing black nationalism, not accommodating it.

He left to form the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa). It was not only a think-tank, but an active promoter of contact and understanding between the races, between government and distressed black communities, between whites and the ANC.

Slabbert set out to form a bridge between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics; for the past five years he has been quietly involved in the problems of deprivation, aspiration and reconciliation.

He denies he is re-entering politics; he says he has never left. But his fellow politicians are convinced he is publicly on the way up again.

It is believed that government, which sees the Metropolitan Chamber as a local negotiation guinea pig, was consulted before Slabbert was



□ SLABBERT

approached for the job this week. Government realised that, by agreeing to Slabbert's appointment, it would implicitly approve the concept of an independent chairman for future national negotiations.

Slabbert was nominated by a Met-

ropolitan Chamber committee consisting of Johannesburg City Council chairman Ian Davidson, Soweto People's Delegation spokesman Cyril Ramaphosa, TPA MEC Olaus van Zyl, Diepsmeadow mayor the late Moses Khumalo and Soweto Civic Association chairman Isaac Mogase.

Yesterday Johannesburg Nationalist councillor and chamber delegate Hein Kruger said the choice of Slabbert had been unanimous because he was seen as strong enough to act as an arbitrator between the chamber's divergent members.

Davidson said Slabbert's election as chairman heightened the chamber's status as a credible instrument in the formulation of new local government structures. Slabbert had been chosen because he was perceived to be non-partisan, highly credible and experienced in the political process. He was also dedicated to the ideal of negotiating new, non-racial local and regional government structures.

Davidson believes this commitment will make Slabbert more than an umpire; he expects the new chairman to stimulate and drive members and working groups, ensuring that stagnation does not set in.

That might be just what's required when national negotiations start.

**LETTERS**



# Negotiations poised on the edge of a spear

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

TALKS between the government and the African National Congress are poised on the edge of a spear as the movement's National Executive Committee meets today to consider President FW de Klerk's response to its ultimatum on violence.

Well-placed sources indicated yesterday that De Klerk was prepared to accede to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's demand that spears be included on the list of dangerous weapons banned in unrest areas.

However, an international press conference held by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen last night failed to produce an expected major announcement on the subject.

Viljoen merely announced details of next week's planned peace conference which is in danger of seriously bombing without the participation of the ANC.

ANC sources indicated they would have been prepared to attend the conference if the government made it clear that it was simply a preliminary meeting to plan a much more extensive peace conference hosted by a neutral party or co-hosted by all the major parties.

It appeared, judging from Viljoen's performance yesterday, that the government is determined to press on with the conference.

In talks that led to the ultimatum, which was originally set to expire on May 9, being extended by one week, Mandela last week gave De Klerk seven days to ban "traditional" Zulu spears or the ANC would break off negotiations.

The IFP central committee will also meet in the next few days, but judging by Buthelezi's statements this week — as well as those from King Goodwill Zwelithini — there has been little softening of the IFP position.

# 150 may be at violence summit

(3044) 17/5/91 AFRS

## Political Staff

THE government has invited many leaders to a summit on violence and intimidation — but will not at this stage say who they are.

The conference will be held in Pretoria next Friday and Saturday.

Political, church, educational, academic and trade union leaders have been invited, along with leaders of women's organisations and youth movements. Homeland leaders have also been invited.

A Department of Constitutional Development source said today names were not being announced because replies had not been received to all the invitations.

Invitations were also being followed up with personal telephone calls.

A further announcement might be made early next week.

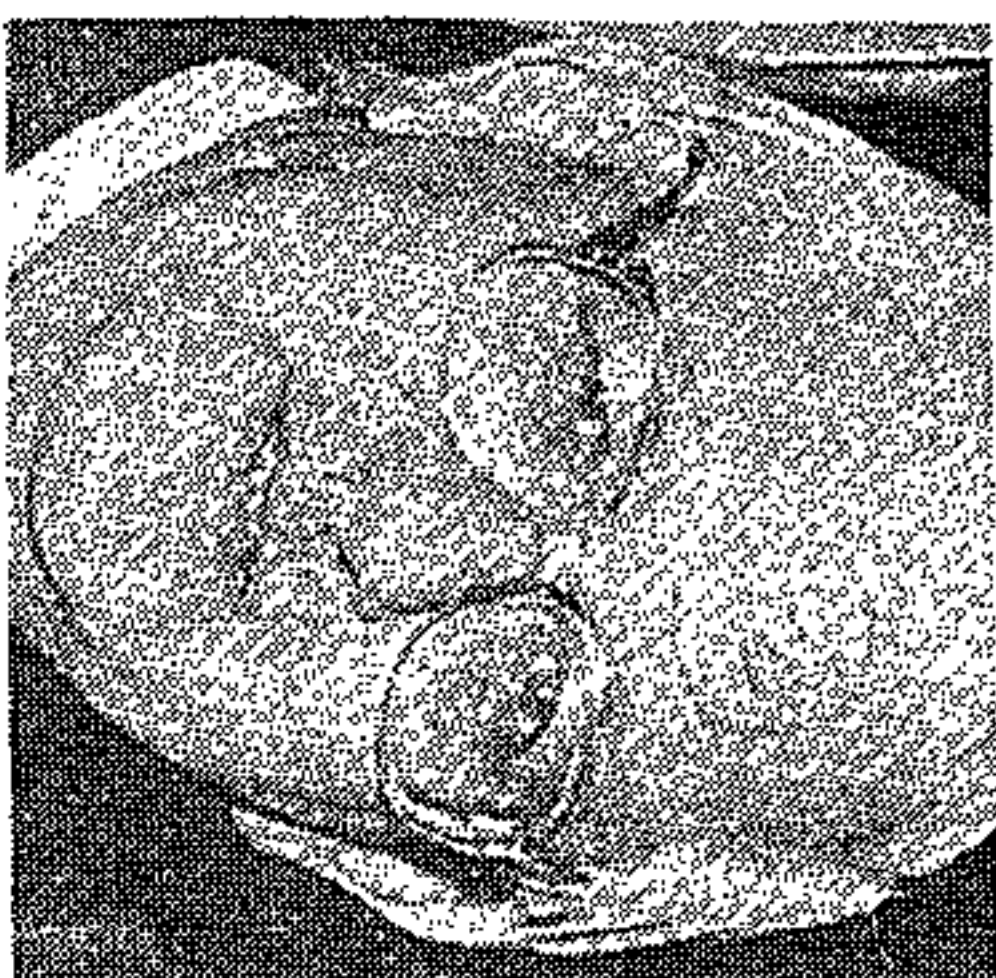
About 150 leaders were expected to attend.

● The government's chief negotiator, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, last night fired his toughest broadside against the ANC, accusing the movement of being "demonstratively unco-operative" and describing its ultimatum strategy as "ill-judged and unfortunate".

And he said that if the ANC did not attend this month's government-initiated peace summit, it would have to account for its absence from so crucial a debate.

Dr Viljoen's tough criticism of the ANC was delivered during a Press conference to announce the opening to the media of the plenary sessions of the peace summit, to be held at the CSIR's conference centre outside Pretoria.

Coming on the eve of today's



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

national executive meeting of the ANC in Johannesburg to decide on a response to the government's latest steps, Dr Viljoen's statements cast in sharp relief the government's position on the movement's strategy and its attitude to the peace meeting.

He said the ANC had taken a "deviant line" by opting for an ultimatum strategy and it was

not clear whether the movement would attend the summit. It had not yet responded to the invitation.

Asked if the opening of the summit to the media might encourage the ANC to attend, he said it was not for him to suggest what the movement's likely reaction would be.

He added: "Our primary objective is to get people involved and to avoid creating the impression that this will be a secret conclave where leaders will be working out solutions without informing the public."

He said he hoped the ANC — with the other "most important role players" — would attend the summit.

The more important the participants, the more "significant and penetrating" the debate would be.

He was confident the summit would "not be a waste of time" if the ANC did not attend, but added: "If people do not turn up, then they have something to account for, especially if they have been calling for clear and urgent measures."

"Nobody can stay away without giving a proper account of why, and not just nit-picking about procedures, because this is a serious question for South Africa."

The ANC's position was unclear because "it changes views and its spokesmen frequently". "In view of the alternating emphases laid by ANC spokesmen, we have no clear view."

Dr Viljoen was particularly critical of the ANC's deadline strategy.

He believed if the government responded to ultimatums it "would probably have a new ultimatum every day."



# Summit to go on regardless

11/5/91  
304A

## Political Staff

THE government will go ahead with its summit on violence next week — whether the ANC and Inkatha attend or not.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said last night that there were enough important players who would attend to ensure that the conference would make a contribution to addressing violence.

The response received by the government to date had indicated a "wide interest" from across the political spectrum, Dr Viljoen told a press conference.

However, asked if the government would, in an effort to draw in the ANC, consider allowing a "non-government person" to convene the conference, he said: "In the planning so far the approach has been not to impose condi-

tions on the conference, but rather to invite initiatives or suggestions from the conference about the way things should be set out."

He said the government had invited a number of church leaders — acceptable to Mr Nelson Mandela — and asked them to formulate suggestions and make contributions.

Mr Mandela has indicated that the ANC would not attend the meeting because it had not been consulted — merely told it would be taking place.

The summit will take place at the CSIR conference centre in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

There are, however, increasing indications that, in the absence of the ANC or Inkatha, it may be used as a "pilot" for a later conference hosted by church leaders with a neutral chairman.

The ANC would attend such a conference and Dr Viljoen last

night did not rule out the government being there.

He added, however, that the government "has a fundamental responsibility to take initiatives".

A major issue hanging over the participation of either the ANC or Inkatha is the carrying of spears in public. This has become a major obstacle to negotiations and on Tuesday this week President F W de Klerk met Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the issue.

Dr Viljoen's comments on Inkatha last night might indicate it is resisting attending the summit while the issue is unresolved.

He attacked the ANC's position on the conference, saying a variety of spokesmen had given contradictory responses. He pointed out that Mr Mandela had initially sounded positive about the talks.



# Battling for the Afrikaner's soul

Star 17/5/91

304A

True to tradition, next week's Ladybrand parliamentary by-election will be a close battle for the soul of Afrikanerdom. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reports.

**I**N THE bustling town of Ladybrand, there is a chill in the air which has nothing to do with the arrival of those bitter Free State winters.

It's election time again, when neighbours treat each other with a frosty politeness which belies the famous Free State hospitality.

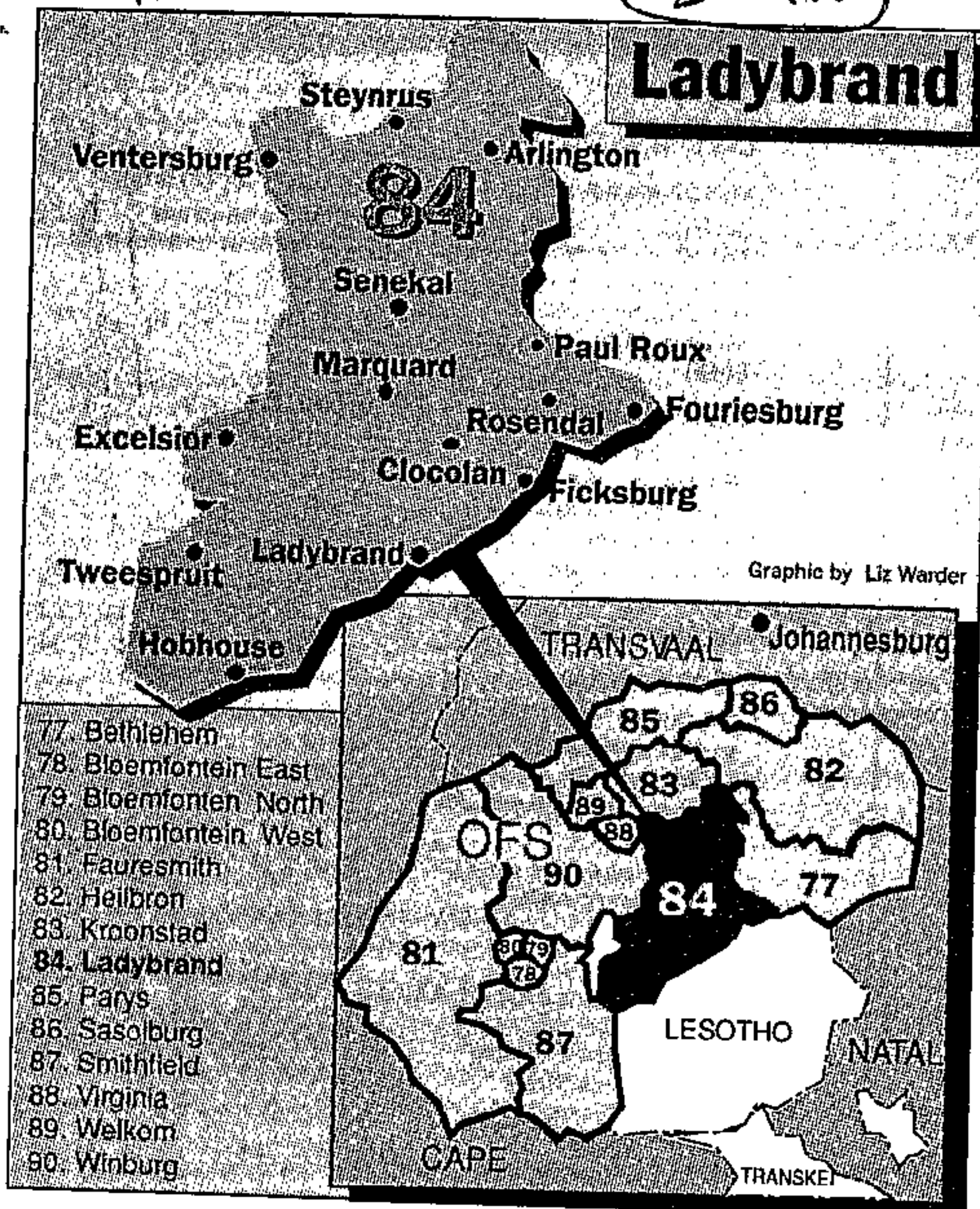
But, as is the way of Afrikaner politics, things do hot up from time to time. In Excelsior, one of the 14 towns in the sprawling constituency, right-wingers recently spray-painted "Traitors" and "Boerestaat" on the NP's offices.

Several Cabinet Ministers, called in to address public meetings in support of candidate Cali Smit, an attorney, have come up against hecklers who had to be removed by the police.

The constituency's approximately 14 000 voters take their politics seriously, more so because of the narrow 70-vote victory the CP achieved in the 1989 general election.

Counting in the NP's favour this time is the DP's decision not to contest the seat, which the NP lost for the first time in 1989 on a split NP/DP vote.

The CP is painfully aware that most of the 471 votes polled



then by the DP could go to the NP, although both contesting parties agree that many die-hard Democrats might stay away from the polls on Wednesday.

CP candidate Charl Hertzog — his grandfather was the brother of former prime minister General J B M Hertzog — could not be interviewed because all inquiries have been referred to the provincial chief secretary, Gustaf Claassens.

He predicted a CP victory in a close contest.

"The swing will not be as huge as in Umlazi or Maitland. This is a settled community where people have made the switch (to the CP) a long time ago. In urban constituencies, the swing has been dramatic because people experience more vividly the effects of a bad economy and escalating crime," Mr Claassens said.

Mr Smit refuses to make a

prediction. "If you take into account the enthusiasm with which we are canvassing, things look good. But let's wait for the scoreboard," he predicted.

The by-election, the result of the death of previous CP MP Piet van Rhijn in February, will be fought on national issues, the parties say.

The NP is campaigning on the positive aspects of constitutional reform — an improved economy, a return to the international fold, regained respectability, the fairness of extending the vote to all South Africans.

The CP, while stressing its views that separate development is workable, focuses on increasing crime, unrest and violence; open schools; the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts — a sore point among the roughly 3 000 white farmers — squatting; deteriorating living-standards; and the party's view that the Government does not have a mandate for reform.

Yet petty politics, like always, comes into play.

The NP, its opposition says, makes much of the "Koos document", the fact that Mr Hertzog farms outside the constituency in the Petrusburg district and that he has lost seven elections under the HNP banner and one standing for the CP.

The CP, claim the Nats, tells the aged that they could wake up the next morning sleeping next to a black and warns farmers that their land will be given away to blacks.

The outcome of the election is awaited with eager anticipation in the House. The battle for the heart and soul of Afrikanerdom is on again. □



304A  
Star 17/5/91  
**Phase out own  
affairs - Eglin**

The use of the transitional period to a new constitution was of critical importance, Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the constitutional development budget vote, he asked whether it could be contemplated that the own affairs system remain intact right up to the introduction of a new constitution.

The DP proposed that the present Constitution be altered to allow the State President to phase out own affairs during the transition period.

Myburgh Streicher (NP De Kuilen) said apartheid had done South Africa immense harm, but its failure had brought South Africans closer together. It had also brought violence and strife. — Sapa.

## Stop blaming one another — Leon

South Africa needed a government of national reconstruction, Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the constitutional development vote, he said its aim would be twofold: to draw in all the players to the political process and to make each political faction responsible for joint decision-making.

"There is a distressing tendency for everyone to blame each other, or, when that fails, to blame the State President or the ANC, depending on which side of the barricade you are standing (304A)

"Blame-placing subverts the urgent task of rescuing our country," he said.

However, the DP welcomed the NP's conversion to aspects of liberal democracy. — Sapa.



# SA must be one nation - Viljoen

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The multinational character of South Africa had to be built into one nation, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his department's budget vote, he said various nationalities in the Soviet Union were divided into geographic groups.

It was an impractical and romantic notion that the same could be done for the various national groups in South Africa, as propounded by the Conservative Party.

"We must accept the permanence of the black people as part of the South African nation," he said.

The divisions within the CP were similar to the "clashing alliance" between the ANC and the SACP.

Parliament

1991



The CP had already decided to go to war but still had to decide on which issue to go to war about.

Dr Viljoen said the rationalisation of own affairs departments could not take place immediately as this could pre-empt the legitimate process of constitutional negotiation.

He said the Government did not favour tinkering with the present Constitution while negotiations were in progress.

"Interim adjustments to the legislative and executive

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bodies would be experimental, would not necessarily improve either the quality of the government of a nation in transition, nor necessarily enhance the successful conduct of constitutional negotiations."

The moves combining own affairs departments would also overtax the resources of those involved in this as they would be same people busy with the constitutional negotiations.

Pieter Mulder (CP Schweizer-Reneke) said the success of the Government's policy depended on its ability to create one nation with common values.

This was wishful thinking on the part of Dr Viljoen, he said.

The Government was wasting time looking for unworkable solutions. — Sapa.

# Apartheid is dead!

## Long live apartheid!

w/Mail 17/5 - 23/5/91 w/Mail

**T**HE good news is that the legal keystone of apartheid is set to be a thing of the past in the next five weeks.

The bad news is the Act to repeal the Population Registration Act will change absolutely nothing for at least another year or two.

The Repeal Bill is being rushed through the joint standing committee stage and could be tabled before parliament later this month. The idea is that by speeding up the scrapping of the Act the government will provide a major boost for the anti-sanctions drive, and will secure South Africa's place in the Barcelona Olympics.

One provision in the Bill states that "notwithstanding the repeal of the Population Registration Act of 1950 anything done in terms thereof shall for the purposes of the provisions of any Act remain in force as if the repeal had not taken place".

One of South Africa's top senior counsels told *The Weekly Mail* this was merely a "saving clause", which would only apply to past decisions taken in terms of the Act, and would not affect future government actions.

But Wynberg MP Robin Carlyle, who is the Democratic Party's representative on the parliamentary committee, notes that the Act will ensure that race classification, own affairs provisions and everything else relating to the current tri-cameral parliament remains in force until a new constitution is negotiated or they are changed administratively.

The government attitude is that the clause is necessary to retain the electoral and own affairs provisions of the new constitution in order to govern until a new constitution is signed and sealed.

The Democratic Party accepted the electoral provisions were necessary to enable the government to continue governing, but argued against the retention of any own affairs measures.

"Our attitude is that we welcome any diminution of Population Registration, and this Bill does this in the sense that all new registrations of births and immigrants will be free of race classification — although this has already been happening over the past few months. We also recognise the symbolic significance of the repeal.

"We will therefore support the Bill but note our regret that it does not go further in eliminating apartheid provisions."

The approach of the government seems to

The Repeal Bill, which is being rushed through parliament, will scrap the legal keystone of apartheid. However, in reality, it changes absolutely nothing.

**GAVIN EVANS reports**



be that while the Repeal Bill will do little to eliminate apartheid, apartheid laws can be eroded through administrative measures in the transition period before a new government, elected in terms of a negotiated constitution, begins business.

For example, significant measures eliminating apartheid in the realm of health care were announced by Dr Rina Venter in the health vote this week.

And in addition to the repeal of the group areas and land Acts, the government is set to table an umbrella Bill to remove the apartheid provisions from eight other minor Acts, dealing, for example, with apartheid in technikons.

This, however, is a long way from doing

away with apartheid. Everyone except new-born babies and immigrants will continue to have key rights and privileges defined by their current racial categorisation.

What this means is that the following will still exist after the repeal of the Population Registration Act:

- The current modified apartheid model of schooling will still exist, with three separate education departments, differentiated spending on white and black schoolchildren, and the present limited, three-model approach to open schooling. This means, for instance, that white schools and colleges will continue to close and white teachers lose their jobs at a time when there is a desperate shortage of schools and teachers for blacks.

- Ultra-conservative white education Minister Piet Clase — one of his parliamentary colleagues described him as a man "so narrow-minded he can see through a keyhole with both eyes" — insisted recently that the present system could form the basis of a new education system under a new constitution in a "new" South Africa.

- The South African Defence Force may still be able to restrict their call-up to white males, though *The Weekly Mail* has learnt from defence sources that this is currently under review in the SADF's Van Loggerenberg Committee.

- Conscription lawyers say that once the Population Registration Act is repealed this may be open to challenge in terms of administrative law — depending on the precise wording of the enabling clause.

- The current disparity in pensions (R225 per month for Africans, R263 for coloureds and Indians and R304 for whites) will be untouched by the repeal. Similarly black orphans, foster children and old age home residents will get less state money than whites.

- One of the bulwarks of Verwoerdian apartheid — the four "independent" and six "non-independent" ethnic homelands, will remain in existence until they are negotiated back into South Africa.

- Parliamentary by-elections will still take place on a racial basis — and will continue to exclude the majority of South Africans.

- Other areas of apartheid — such as the continued segregation of South African prisons and police training — are expected to be gradually phased out, but nevertheless will continue to exist for some time after the repeal of the Act.



# Join talks, forthright Iron Lady tells Dr T

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

(3049)

Star 17/5/91

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday "experienced the full force of the Iron Lady in full flight" when former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher called on him in his office in Parliament.

In a forthright half-hour meeting, Mrs Thatcher typically told him exactly what he ought to do.

She told him it was wrong to define people by race and urged him to join in the constitutional negotiations because, whether or not he took part in negotiations, they would continue.

Dr Treurnicht said afterwards that he had told Mrs Thatcher that the CP had not ruled out participation in negotiations but that its position would emerge during debate, especially in Parliament.

He said he had stood firm on the CP's insistence on the right to self-determination of people.

Dr Treurnicht had illustrated CP policy by referring to the rise of nationalism in Eastern Europe.

Sources close to Mrs Thatcher said she had shot back that the situations were not comparable as Eastern European states were geographic entities, while the different peoples of South Africa did not occupy geographically discrete territories.

Dr Treurnicht said the atmosphere of the meeting was very relaxed.

"It was a friendly tete-a-tete. But she was very forthright."

Sources close to Mrs Thatcher said Dr Treurnicht had "experienced the full force of the Iron Lady in full flight" but there had been "no meeting of minds".

Dr Treurnicht was supported by his deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, chief whip Frank le Roux and foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley.

Mrs Thatcher and her husband, Sir Denis, were taken on a guided tour of Parliament by the Speaker, Louis le Grange.

Earlier Mrs Thatcher had breakfast at Westbrooke, where she is staying, with Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, caucus chairman Colin Eglin, national chairman Tian van der Merwe and vice-chairman of the national executive Dr Denis Worrall.



Friendly tete-a-tete . . . former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday. Dr Treurnicht said the atmosphere at the meeting was very relaxed.



# UK press jibe at SA visit by 'iron person'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British media yesterday delighted in the irony of Mrs Margaret Thatcher's secretary-shrouded visit to South Africa at the invitation of President F.W. de Klerk.

The headline to an article in the Guardian, which noted the ANC Women's League claim that Mrs Thatcher did not belong to the same sex as them, read: "ANC women scoff as Iron Person descends on Cape Town."

Even the Financial Times, in its "Observer" column, found the visit worthy of some fairly unflattering remarks.

Under the heading "Muted matriarch", it noted that the last time she was in Southern Africa she "stopped a war".

"With a combination of charm and the authority of office, she kept the two warring factions (South Africa and Swaziland) apart in what has since — with her help — become Namibia."

"Now she is back in the region, having arrived at Cape Town yesterday with neither much authority

nor charm at her disposal."

To waiting South African journalists, "busy commenting on how closely she now resembled her Spitting Image puppet", the Financial Times columnist wrote, "she snarled she was not going to answer questions after 14 hours in an aircraft".

The paper noted that she "will not have much of a platform in South Africa for her irascible matriarch act. She is being bundled from venue to venue with minimum publicity, for fear that the ANC will carry out its threats to disrupt the visit."

But it also had a jibe for the ANC, noting that Mr Nelson Mandela was "planning to accord her a private audience" (The London office of the ANC yesterday declined to confirm that Mr Mandela also met Mrs Thatcher when he was in London last month.)

The Financial Times said "although she is the world's most consistent opponent of the ANC's sanctions strategy, he — like so many other radical black leaders in Africa — seems to hold her in the highest esteem".

John Carlin in the Independent said Mr De Klerk

was hoping some of Mrs Thatcher's "krugadigheid" would rub off on him, as he basks in her "reflected glory". This would "boost his ratings among a white electorate fearful of political change — that after all, was the purpose of inviting her over".

When Mrs Thatcher meets Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Carlin wrote, it was hoped that "her fading majesty might yet inspire sufficient awe in him to do what no one else has persuaded him to do — namely accept that it is not in the interests of the peace process for Inkatha's supporters to rampage through the townships carrying spears".

Even the Daily Mail, Mrs Thatcher's strongest supporter during her days in Downing Street, wrote of opposition to her visit.

The Mail wrote that when asked whether she knew the ANC opposed her visit, Mrs Thatcher treated the unwanted question "with her customary technique: she ignored it".

A second question was met with a refusal to hold a press conference, followed by that "familiar warm glare".

★ Cape Times, Friday, May 17 1991 5



MEETING MAGGIE ... Mr Jan Steyn of the Independent Development Trust greets Mrs Thatcher when she visited his organisation's offices yesterday.



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# Mandela 'blew his chance to win over business'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Business leaders indicated they would prefer President F W de Klerk's summit on violence to go ahead without the ANC after emerging disappointed and sceptical from a high-level briefing on violence by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday.

The briefing, the biggest meeting between business and the ANC since last year's Carlton conference, was at the ANC's request and was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.

Attended by 107 top businessmen at Premier Group's headquarters, its main purpose was to allow Mr Mandela to explain the ANC's April 30 ultimatum.

Prominent business sources said Mr Mandela "blew" his chance to win understanding and sympathy by portraying the ANC as innocent victim of the violence and failing to explain why people were killing each other.

"You cannot treat businessmen like fools. Many present... had put a lot of energy into the violence issues. They are well informed and know the explanation is not that simple.

"They will not accept pious exclamations of innocence."

## Afrikaans 'must stay an official language'

CIT 17/5/9 Political Correspondent (3041)

THE National Party would strenuously oppose any moves to have the status of Afrikaans as an official language downgraded in a new South Africa, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Dr Viljoen was responding to suggestions by Labour Party speakers during his budget vote debate that English be made the sole official language once a new constitution was settled.

He warned that attempts to follow the Namibian model would open a Pandora's Box in South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said Namibia's official language — English — could only be understood by a small minority of that country's people.

Those who advocated that there be a single official language in a new South Africa were walking into a minefield.

It was "unnecessary and stupid" to make existing problems facing SA even more complex, he said.



Political Correspondent

DR NO felt "the full force of the Iron Lady in full flight" when the two best-known figures in the South African and British Conservative parties met in Parliament yesterday.

Sources close to the talks said that during the 40-minute encounter Mrs Margaret Thatcher was sharply critical of Dr Andries Treurnicht's partition policies and the CP's anti-negotiation stance.

However, both sides said that despite the serious topics covered during the meeting in Dr Treurnicht's office, the atmosphere was cordial.

During the encounter, Mrs Thatcher said she

## Maggie gives <sup>(304A)</sup> Dr No a hard time

found it impossible to understand the CP's reluctance to enter negotiations and submitted that the arguments advanced by Dr Treurnicht simply did not stand up.

Dr Treurnicht said afterwards that he and Mrs Thatcher had differed on political philosophy. "We stood firm on self-determination and she had a different view," he said.



"FULL FORCE" Dr Andries Treurnicht

# Maggie melts city hearts

3044  
CT 17/5/91

Staff Reporter

IRON Lady Mrs Maggie Thatcher melted the hearts of an applauding crowd of mainly black people yesterday, when she spontaneously crossed Keerom Street and shook their hands.

Shouts of "there she is" came from the crowd, as a heavily guarded and unsmiling Mrs Thatcher left the Rembrandt Building housing the Independent Development Trust, which she visited for nearly an hour yesterday morning.

At the first sight of the distinctive blonde coiffure and exquisitely groomed figure, the crowd cheered and clapped.

A smile lit Mrs Thatcher's face and she swooped across the street, to the dismay of security guards, and shook hands with eager people, some of whom squealed with delight.

There was not a single boo or jeer from the crowd.





**MAGGIE IN MATIELAND** ... Mrs Thatcher speaks to students on the Stellenbosch University campus yesterday.

(304A)

17/5/91

Picture: AP

**STELLENBOSCH.** — Former British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher toured the Stellenbosch winelands yesterday — and had a new nectarine variety named after her.

"Margaret's Pride" was presented to her at the plant-enhancement farm Fleur Baix, outside Stellenbosch, and was claimed by its proud producers to echo the excellent qualities of the former prime minister.

## Peachy Boland visit for Maggie

Mr Louis Kriel, managing director of Unifruco, said: "The fruit is attractive and well-shaped, with fresh smooth skin

and rosy cheeks. The taste is pleasant, robust and flavourful, the flesh firm with strong fibre. The core is strong, iron-hard."

Margaret's Pride can endure rough handling, retaining its flavour during prolonged chilling, and travelled well.

Responding, Mrs Thatcher said: "I am very pleased. One is forever fresh and dry and sweet and, as one gets older, one becomes more valuable and influential." — Sapa

# Thatcher to meet Mandela

or 17/5/91  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MRS Margaret Thatcher is to meet Mr Nelson Mandela in the next few days — despite the ANC's threat to disrupt the former British Prime Minister's visit to South Africa and make her life a misery during her week-long stay.

Arrangement are also going ahead for Mrs Thatcher to meet the ANC's arch-foe — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — next week.

After spending her second day in Cape Town yesterday in a frenetic whirl of social engagements and intensive political discussions, Mrs Thatcher flies to the Transvaal this morning to continue her hectic schedule.

After an hour-long working breakfast at Westbrooke with Democratic Party parliamentarians, Mrs Thatcher discussed development problems with Independent Development Trust chairman Mr Jan Steyn.

After a brief walkabout in Keerom Street where she was cheered by blacks, Mrs Thatcher visited Parliament for a tour of the premises and a meeting with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

According to sources close to the meeting, Dr No — as the CP leader is

commonly known — “felt the full force of the Iron Lady in full flight”.

After attending a garden party at British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick's residence, Mrs Thatcher was whisked off to Rembrandt supremo Dr Anton Rupert's Fleur du Cap estate outside Somerset West for lunch.

She later visited Stellenbosch.

The British embassy hosted yet another reception for Mrs Thatcher and her husband, Sir Denis, before the entourage jetted off to Johannesburg early this morning.

## Vilification

Arrangements are being made for Mrs Thatcher to meet Mr Mandela and a senior ANC delegation in Johannesburg, despite the vilification of Mrs Thatcher by the ANC's Women's League and the organisation in general.

The contradiction appeared to escape ANC spokespersons yesterday who noted that Mr Mandela and Mrs Thatcher — who was in the forefront of the campaign for the ANC deputy president's release from prison — had a good personal rapport.

Mrs Thatcher, who is expected to receive an honorary doctorate from Rand Afrikaans University on Monday, is likely to see Chief Buthelezi next Tuesday.



# Move to woo ANC to talks

THE Government is making a bold move to get the ANC to the peace summit despite the organisation's emphatic refusal to do so.

Invitations have been sent to church leaders who the Government thinks would represent or even draw the ANC to the summit.

When President FW de Klerk first raised the issue of a peace summit the ANC was ambiguous over whether it would attend. *Sowetan 17/5/91*

In subsequent media reports, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela stressed that on issues of "national interest", he felt that the movement had to be consulted.

Mandela indicated that he would agree to a peace initiative being arranged by the churches.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrie

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

Viljoen said in Cape Town last night that "church leaders" had been invited to contribute towards organising the conference. (304H) (H)

"We have asked them to make suggestions and, if they wish, to meet with us," Viljoen said.

He said that while no responses had been received from the ANC or Inkatha, he hoped both parties would attend. Organisations which did not attend the summit would be held accountable.

The absence of leading groups at the peace summit would influence argument and consultation there, Viljoen said.



Former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher receives the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class from State President FW de Klerk at a banquet held in her honour at Tuynhuis. The Order of Good Hope is the highest award given by South Africa in honouring citizens of other countries.

## Thatcher gets prestigious order for SA 'contribution'

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night bestowed on former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross class in recognition of her "constructive encouragement" of the reform process in South Africa. *Sowetan 17/5/91*

The Order is the highest honour in South Africa for citizens of foreign countries for "contributing significantly" to the well-being of South Africans.

The award was presented to Mrs Thatcher at a State dinner at Tuynhuys last night. *(15) (3041)*

De Klerk paid tribute to her political wisdom and her "outstanding role" in contributing to the resolution of disputes in Southern Africa.

He said the order was "in acknowledgement of the leading role played by her in international affairs; her insight in international politics; her far-sighted early recognition and encouragement of fundamental political change in Eastern and Central Europe; her determined ad-

vocacy of democratic values and market orientated economic principles as the key factors in those changes.

"And especially in recognition of... her constructive encouragement of the steps taken by South Africa towards the creation of a new society; her vision that South Africa must serve as the economic power-house of the region; and her determination, with due recognition of the principle of non-interference, to help South Africans find a negotiated solution acceptable to all the people of this country.

"And whereas the Order of Good Hope was instituted by the State President of the Republic of South Africa in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa as a tribute to citizens of foreign countries who had distinguished themselves by contributing significantly towards the well-being of the people of the Republic of South Africa and who thereby deserve respect and recognition by the Republic of South Africa." - *Sowetan Correspondent*

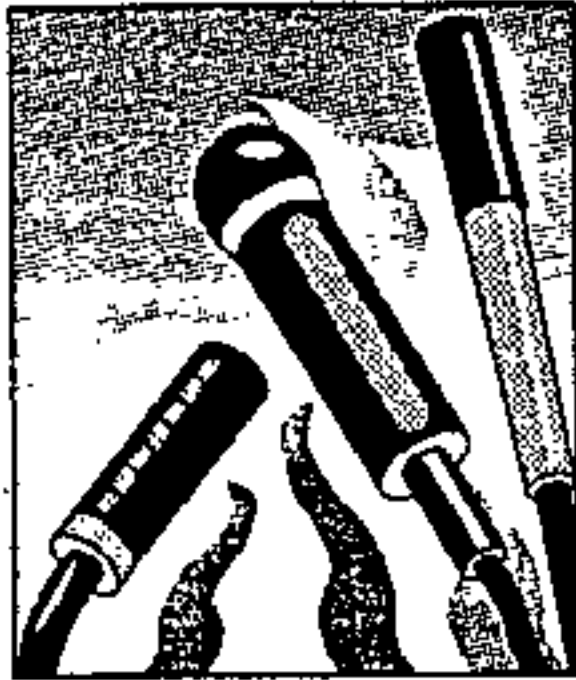


THE PRESIDENCY

# SHOW US SOME STEEL

FM 1715791.

DE KLERK'S OPTIONS FOR ENDING THE VIOLENCE



**"Give us chaos!"** That was Gandhi's mad demand for India after World War 2. The British tried at first to avoid partition and ensure an orderly transition to independence. Patience turned to despair. In

1946 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, wrote of the endless talks with Indian leaders: "Continual hard work, and almost continual failure. No rest, no success." Eventually the British simply set a random date and pulled out. Gandhi got his chaos and half-a-million people died.

Wavell's remark calls to mind the predicament of President F W de Klerk.

De Klerk has made it clear that he is prepared to negotiate the end of white minority rule. He has refused to make apartheid a bargaining chip and is determined to abolish it completely. He has even said he would be prepared to serve in a Cabinet under ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — the gesture of a statesman rather than a mere party hack.

De Klerk's commitment is shared by his Cabinet. His NP caucus has not suffered one defection since he started on radical reform. Ministers like Barend du Plessis and Gerrit Viljoen are visibly eager to get negotiations off the ground.

But De Klerk and his team ("bristling with car phones and fax machines," as a UK newspaper put it) are all dressed up with no one to talk to. "No rest, no success," indeed.

This is the latest twist in a weird political history: that when white men finally announce that they are prepared to give up exclusive power, black men are too busy carving one another up to respond appropriately.

Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the two most important black leaders, have not been so stupid as to emulate Gandhi's call for chaos (though ANC strongman Chris Hani has come close to it.)

But they might as well have, when you consider the violence that flares continually and which, if not stopped, will scare off investment and eventually make SA a wasteland.

There are vital social and economic aspects to violence: poverty, unemployment, lack of access to basic resources, appalling conditions in some hostels and squatter camps. But when one

group attacks another, there is almost always a political split, a tacit acknowledgment that one side is ANC and the other Inkatha. Revenge is exacted along these lines, and so the spiral continues. Both sides have shown utter contempt for the rule of law.

Buthelezi and Mandela have shown a personal willingness to make peace with each other — which suggests that, as leaders of stature, they should be able to stop the killing.

One theory is that, simply, their supporters are out of control, pursuing their own agendas and reacting purely to local conditions. Neither leader can afford to admit this, of course. The implication is that the police will have to stop violence on their own. The situation is complicated by common criminals who take advantage of general lawlessness; tribal rivalry between Xhosas and Zulus can be an inflammatory factor.

The second theory is more sinister: that it is in the interests of both the ANC and Inkatha to bid for power, and that each is trying to fill the enormous black political

vacuum left by decades of apartheid. For both, the stakes are high.

The ANC is generally regarded — probably by the Nats as well — as the major black party in negotiations, and it wants to retain that indefinable but powerful mandate. Inkatha, in turn, resents this perception: Buthelezi claims support from and beyond the Zulu millions, and wants equal status at the talks table.

This is why each takes every opportunity to weaken the other, and intimidate the township residents into support. Divisions and prejudices in the townships — between squatters and hostel dwellers, for instance — are exploited accordingly.

The third theory, even more sinister, is often aired by the ANC: that agents of the State are deliberately favouring Inkatha in the violence, to weaken the ANC and enable whites — even after the vote has been granted to all — to keep effective control over divided black factions.

The more charitable version of this theory is that the NP leadership and SAP generals may well be trying to ensure that the police act impartially — but commanders on the ground see matters differently.

It is, of course, possible that all of these theories have elements of truth; but what matters more is that people *believe* they are true. Politics is as much about perception as reality. For instance: those who refuse to see nasty motives on the part of any of the players will prefer the first view; many worried whites go for the second; and the ANC certainly believes the third version.

We guess there is some truth in the first two views — but with enormous variations according to local conditions. But while there may be maverick policemen who for some reason are not executing stated policy, we have difficulty accepting that De Klerk deliberately intends by the use of clandestine agents and a deliberately biased force to weaken the ANC. We have no proof. It is our judgment of the man from his actions since he has been in office.

What is abundantly clear, however, is that De Klerk needs a strong ANC to make a negotiated settlement stick. He knows that it

would serve no purpose to Balkanise the country, depriving Mandela of popular support. Simply put, despite the fears of leftwing conspiracy theorists, it is not in whites' interest to weaken the ANC. (Cynics would say that the ANC is show-



Victim of violence ...  
one of too many



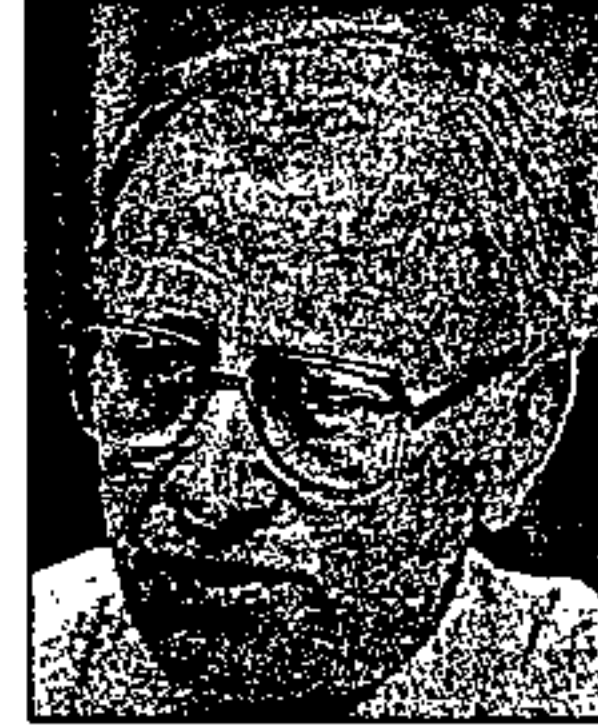
Buthelezi



De Klerk



Mandela



Vlok

# Viljoen slams, praises Mandela

Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday mixed severe criticism of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela — for warning that black violence could spill over into white areas — with praise for his “reasonableness” on constitutional issues.

He said Mr Mandela’s statement that township residents might go into white areas and kill people was “disconcerting” and “irresponsible”.

In spite of Mr Mandela’s “protestation” that the ANC, PAC and Azapo would not indulge in such activity, it was a “highly suggestive” comment.

He said he regarded Mr Mandela as a “very serious leader” and such a statement from him did not contribute to solving problems.

But he felt Mr Mandela’s statements at the University of Stellenbosch this week were encouraging.

Mr Mandela had said that “structural guarantees” should be written into any future constitution, to prevent whites being dominated by blacks.

Such statements pointed to common ground from which negotiations could develop, said the minister.

He added that Mr Mandela’s comments on group rights at this meeting and elsewhere indicated that there could be an “accommodation of diversities” in future. This was what the government had been arguing for, he said.



# SA 'needs only one minister of housing'

Weekend Argus Reporter

304A 18/5/91  
SOUTH Africa should have one minister of housing, says Mr David Curry, minister of local government in the House of Representatives.

Mr Curry was speaking in Cape Town at the National Association of Homebuilders' conference.

At present ministers handle the issue in separate group areas in the three-tier parliamentary system, he said.

He was the "minister of squatting in coloured areas", he said, and he had a "squatting" minister counterpart in white and in Indian areas. He urged the State to provide subsidies to provide urgent housing.

Earlier, outgoing managing director of the Permanent Build-

ing Society Mr Bob Tucker emphasised the importance of getting the economy going.

He said South Africa was behaving like a country with a colonial economy.

The need to redirect resources to a huge education programme and the need to develop people's skills, along with projects to provide people with cheap affordable housing, was critical.

No other alternative existed and South Africans were faced with the challenging situation of re-directing financial resources.

He said violence in squatter camps had brought home the disintegration of the social fabric of communities and was not a political issue.

# '5th column' not fanciful, says Van Eck

ARG 18/5/91

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MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CLAIMS in parliament of a "fifth column" resisting President De Klerk, have provoked a furious government reaction — but Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck, who started the row, is confident his sources are accurate and stands by his claims.

An unrepentant Mr Van Eck told Weekend Argus that there were "other names I could have mentioned, but could not confirm the information. There are many more ordinary MPs involved, but those I have named I am convinced are involved," he said.

He said that while he did not believe the group ever consulted or met formally, they were at one in their opposition "to the way the negotiation and transition process is being handled".

He said they were not "opposed to the process itself, per se".

Mr Van Eck added that if his claims were "all nonsense", they would have been laughed at and ignored.

Responding yesterday, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen declared Mr van Eck a "daydreamer" and said his speech contrasted sharply with the attitudes of his fellow DP MPs. He added that none of Mr Van Eck's colleagues had "moved a finger" to show they had agreed with him.

Mr van Eck reacted: "Dr Viljoen's only response was to attempt to draw a distinction between my attitudes and those of my colleagues. This comes at a time when the NP is courting the DP.

"The fact is that I discussed the speech informally with a

number of my colleagues before making it."

He said he based his speech on more than one source, adding: "I am happy with my story."

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis — one of those mentioned by Mr Van Eck as a fifth columnist — reacted: "I reject it as totally ridiculous."

Mr Van Eck said: "Mr Du Plessis' very angry response is enough proof that I was actually spot on."

He claimed that a "fifth column" including Mr du Plessis, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hernus Kriel, one of President De Klerk's right-hand men, Dr Jannie Roux, National Intelligence Service chief Mr Niel Barnard and former Chief of the Army, General Constand Viljoen expected negotiations to fail and were ready to take over if this happened.

He told parliament that the group believed that "only they and the army can handle the present transition process, and they point to the countrywide violence as proof of this".

He said they believed "they must use the negotiation process to manipulate the result of a new non-racial election and to neutralise the ANC".

He said all these men had had close ties with former President Mr P W Botha "and most of them are still seen frequently at his house".

Mr Van Eck said the group favoured "a stronger role by the security forces, and a nationwide clampdown to restore a semblance of order and retain control of the negotiation process".



# Labour's love rapidly being lost

304A

ARGUS 18/5/91

PRESIDENT De Klerk's new-look National Party is attracting growing interest from jittery MPs in the House of Representatives who are considering defecting to the government to boost their chances in the new South Africa.

But it's a headache for the NP.

One of the most ironic consequences of President De Klerk's political success is the attractiveness with which it has endowed his party.

If the Nats are relishing the extent to which opinion polls reflect growing support in the black, coloured and Indian communities — and celebrating the launch of pioneering branches in suburbs like Mitchell's Plain — the eagerness with which many MPs in the House of Representatives are viewing the party as a haven in uncertain times is filling them with unease.

## As many as 30

Some say as many as 30 Labour MPs are considering leaving the party — and most are considering the NP option.

Only last weekend, the Democratic Reform Party decided to disband and its three MPs elected to seek NP membership.

Party leader Mr Nic Isaacs indicated at the party's annual congress that the NP was the only future option worth considering.

Discussions have been held with Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers in which, he said, progress had been made.

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The sudden interest from trica-

## MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

meral MPs is almost an embarrassment for the NP.

The imminent demise of the tricameral system and the widely discredited — and often prodigal — House of Representatives and House of Delegates has concentrated the minds of coloured and Indian MPs, many of whom won their seats with pitifully small tallies.

They have been earning substantial salaries, receiving car and other allowances and are in line for attractive pensions.

Having braved accusations of being sell-outs — as well as threats to their lives and property — they defended their decision to become so-called "system" MPs by arguing that they could more affectively exert pressure for change from within.

Now, with the unbanning of the ANC and other groupings, political activity outside parliament, outside the "system", has become the most acute focus of opposition.

For coloured and Indian MPs, the political future looks bleak.

A few might have earned a measure of credibility among some constituents, but the parties themselves have been all but dwarfed in the wider political debate.

One option, if they are to leave the sinking ship, remains: the old foe, the National Party.

The truth is few of the MPs from the "system" parties would be welcome anywhere else.

And the fact is that they are not automatically welcome in the NP either.

Having opened its ranks to all

last year to give conviction to its policy for a non-racial future, the National Party cannot turn anyone away in the ordinary course of events.

But the MPs are different.

Some of them have staked their claim to credibility on the basis of the vituperation they have hurled at the NP. Now that they're looking for a political home in the governing party, their past might count against them.

Equally, the NP does not want simply to inherit all the problems that have bedevilled the tricameral politicians.

It is, as one observer put it, a "political prickly pear for FW".

One party source said: "We are looking to the new South Africa now and we have to be careful that we don't end up just picking up the pieces."

## Jeopardise

"We don't want to jeopardise the chances of gaining wide support outside parliament among people who have been reluctant to support the tricameral system, but are in favour of joining the NP under a new constitution."

He added: "When it comes to the MPs who want to join us, we are not interested in opportunists. The guideline will be: what is in the best interests of the NP. As in any party, there must be some sort of screening process."

What emerges clearly is that the National Party is more interested in gaining fresh, widespread support among people of colour than in simply inheriting the relatively scant support of tricameral-sympathetic voters.

The feeling in party circles is that the NP will resist becoming a safe haven for harassed MPs whose time has come.

## NP, ANC meet over conditions in Hillbrow

Star

18/5/71

STAFF REPORTER

204A

THE executives of the National Party and the African National Congress in Hillbrow met last night to discuss socio-economic conditions in the constituency.

A joint statement issued by the two parties said the meeting, held in a "friendly atmosphere", was "useful, informative and constructive" although there was disagreement about the way living conditions could be improved.

It was generally accepted that Hillbrow could become a "good example of a future non-racial community".



# Coloured, Indian MPs set sights on embarrassed NP

8 Apr 18/5/91

304A

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

IRONICALLY, one of the consequences of President de Klerk's political success is the attractiveness with which it has endowed his party.

If the Nats are relishing the extent to which opinion polls reflect growing support in the black, coloured and Indian communities — and celebrating the launch of pioneering branches in suburbs like Mitchell's Plain — the eagerness with which scores of MPs in the House of Representatives are viewing the party as a haven in uncertain times is filling them with unease.

Some say as many as 30 Labour MPs are considering leaving the party — and most are considering the NP option.

## **Party to disband**

Only last weekend, the Democratic Reform Party decided to disband and its three MPs elected to seek NP membership.

Party leader Mr Nic Isaacs indicated at the party's annual congress that the NP was the only future option worth considering.

Discussions have been held with Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers in which, he said, progress had been made.

He hoped soon to be able to take MPs who had applied to join the party for discussions with President De Klerk. The sudden interest from tricameral MPs is almost an

embarrassment for the NP.

The imminent demise of the tricameral system and the widely discredited — and often prodigal — House of Representatives and House of Delegates has concentrated the minds of coloured and Indian MPs, many of whom won seats with pitifully small tallies.

Having braved accusations of being sell-outs, they defended their decision to become "system" MPs by arguing that they could exert pressure for change from within.

Now, with the unbanning of the ANC and other groupings, political activity outside parliament has become the most acute focus of opposition.

## Multi-party Cabinet possible

Star 18/5/91

PARLIAMENT — The National Party was giving serious consideration to a multi-party Cabinet or executive authority, and a two-chamber legislature, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen,

said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his Vote, he said this type of Cabinet contrasted with the traditional British unqualified majority system and was closer to the European system.

304A



# Govt 'aims at class power' in new SA

Staff Reporter

THE government wanted to make the transition from racial to class power, while the ANC wanted "a substantial transformation of society".

This was said by Dr Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's constitutional affairs, at the National Association of Home-builders' conference yesterday.

His speech was poorly received and he was faced with a barrage of seemingly hostile questions afterwards.

Many of the questions focused on boycotts of bond repayments and others reflected home-builders' concerns with vandalism and the ANC's approach to private sector housing developments during the transition to majority rule.

Dr Skweyiya said steps the government had taken in the 1950s to provide houses for poor whites fell squarely into his definition of affirmative action which he advocated.

He said housing subsidies could be given to blacks in the same way they are given to whites.

Dr Skweyiya admitted that race and class divisions would remain in South Africa "for decades to come", and the ANC would also take decades to fulfil its Freedom Charter promise of "homes and security for all".



DOES SOUTH AFRICA NEED A FOREIGN "REFEREE" TO FACILITATE AND UNDERPIN THE NEGOTIATION OF A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION? PROFESSOR SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE OF THE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT AT STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY DISCUSSES THE CONCEPT.

# Time for us to face the foreign music

3044  
ARGUS 18/5/91

**F**OR many people, the idea of an outsider refereeing the internal negotiating process is almost too ghastly to contemplate.

Adversaries of the idea are quick to advance the argument that South Africa is not a colony but a sovereign and independent country with full international legality. They demand that South Africa's constitutional problem should be regarded as an entirely-domestic matter to be settled by South Africans alone — without any foreign intervention or participation.

These arguments sound very familiar and convincing. But can we really "go it alone" constitutionally?

We probably have no choice but to consider the possibility that the "South African problem" — in all its multiple dimensions — has become, for several reasons and over a long period of time, internationalised to such a high degree that an international legitimacy crisis has already developed. If the negotiations do not proceed as expected, this crisis may become critical.

The danger exists that the international community may eventually question not only the legitimacy, but also the legality of the South African state. If negotiations should break down for the umpteenth time and if violence escalates to levels unacceptable for the international community, even the legality of the South African state may become a contentious matter.

It is ironic that it was the policies of all Nationalist governments since 1948 that internationalised "the South African problem" in the first place. These governments persisted with their racist policies in the face of almost unanimous and worldwide opposition and condemnation.

In addition, after decades of apartheid, there is a legacy of social inequality which has attained massive proportions, generating endemic political conflict.

As a result, the contention cannot be discounted that it will be impossible to resolve the constitutional disputes without some foreign participation in both the economy and in the negotiation process.

Nationalist government persistence with apartheid also led in other ways to an internationalisation of the South African problem. It provoked international sanctions and disinvestment and these actions led to the situation of economic stagnation. Indeed, no single act made a greater contribution to the internationalisation of the South African problem than President P W Botha's Rubicon speech in August 1985.

One possible manner to resolve the difficult question of the chairmanship of the negotiations is to grant the request of the ANC and the PAC for a constituent assembly. A body fairly chosen by all South Africans can then appoint its own chairman or develop a system of rotating chairmen.

Although the idea of a constituent assembly makes a lot of sense, it may also not succeed in resolving the structural imbalances and conflicts without foreign participation. It is also highly unlikely that the NP government would grant the request for a constituent assembly — in any case not within the next five years.

It seems as if the government at this stage hopes that a group of independent



and neutral constitutional "brokers" or "referees" can be put together and that this group will be acceptable to all the negotiation partners. But, to be effective, such a group of "referees" should not only be neutral; it would also need some authority to enforce its decisions. Where and from whom would this body of attain authority? The only possibility is that the NP government must invest it with authority. But then we would be back to square one with the NP as player and referee.

At present, the NP is controlling the legislative process in Cape Town. It controls (and manipulates) the bureaucratic processes (including the security processes) in Pretoria. It maintains closer contact with the capitalistic establishment in Johannesburg than any other NP government since 1948 and is openly committed to protect the vested interests of its own middle-class constituency. The NP controls and manipulates a large part of the mainstream media and maintains good relations with part of the rest of this media.

Consequently, the NP is in the position to play a dominating role in the important "propaganda game" which is an integral part of the negotiation process. On top of this, the NP is one of the two senior partners in the negotiation process.

To want also to play the role of referee or arbitrator — if not directly then indirectly through a "neutral" group of constitutional brokers — is a bit thick! To make matters worse, it should be remembered that the NP has always been — and still is — very much inclined to regard the national interests as equivalent to the interest of the National Party. Its judgment is therefore suspect in matters of true national interest.

For these reasons, the credibility of the NP — not only as a negotiation partner but mainly as the potential "referee" in the negotiations — must be scrutinised carefully. Added to which, its record of justifying institutionalised apartheid for decades leaves it under a cloud of moral suspicion.

Yet the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is still not prepared fully to acknowledge the truth about the exploitative effects of apartheid nor to commit his government to restitution for suffering it has caused. He promises a democratisation process for all South Africans yet states emphatically that he is only prepared to negotiate about "power-sharing" that will enable the NP to keep its grip on a substantial "share" of political power!

If we consider the unlikelihood of a non-racial democratic constitution within the

next 5 years, together with the poor state of the economy, the escalating violence and other potential conflicts, then perhaps it is not too early to contemplate the possibility of, or need for, a foreign referee. If a group of seven or nine nations can be put together for this purpose, the international community may hopefully also be prepared to offer South Africa a "package deal" that may in any case prove to be indispensable to reach a sustainable constitutional solution.

Such a "package deal" could include some highly needed development aid.

The foreign "referees" would hopefully also manage to "lock in" all the senior and junior partners in a continuous negotiation process. Such a group can also "monitor" the "guarantees" the negotiation partners would have to promise to each other as part and parcel of a settlement. If necessary it could also be instrumental in providing an "Untag"-like security.

At this stage, the idea of a foreign referee may be nothing but future music. But if South African politicians do not succeed in making dramatic breakthroughs in the negotiation process within the next 12 months — and end the violence — there may possibly be no other choice than to face this "foreign" music.



# Govt outcry over fifth column claim

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

CLAIMS in Parliament yesterday that a "fifth column" in the government was bent on ousting President F W de Klerk stirred up a hornets' nest in the National Party.

The Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, sparked an outcry from Nationalist benches yesterday when he told Parliament he had "reliable information" that Mr Barend du Plessis was heading up the dissident group which was "basically disloyal" to the president.

Mr Du Plessis was former President P W Botha's choice in the struggle for the presidency but the Finance Minister lost by five votes, he said.

The group had close links with the security establishment and maintained contacts with Mr P W Botha, Mr Van Eck said to howls of angry interjections from Nationalists.

"You're cowardly!" shouted an visibly shaken Mr Du Plessis as Mr Van Eck began reading a lists of names allegedly belonging to the "fifth column".

Others named were: Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Planning Mr Hernus Kriel, the former head of the Army General Constand Viljoen, the head of the National Intelligence Service Mr Neil Barnard, and the former Commissioner of Prisons and current director-general of the State President's office, Dr Jannie Roux.

He said that there were also

other members of the group — but did not name them.

Mr Van Eck said afterwards that many of his sources came from within the National Party itself.

During the parliamentary debate, he said that this group kept in regular contact with the former president or visited him at his home in the Wilderness.

Mr Van Eck said the anti-De Klerk group believed that the State President's negotiation initiatives were going to fail and they were ready to take over from him when this happened.

He said the group, which had strong links with the security establishment, believed that only they and the Defence Force could handle the current transition process.

The dissident group, he submitted, believed that the negotiation process should be used to manipulate the outcome of a non-racial election and outmanoeuvre the ANC.

Mr Van Eck said that if it was true that the fifth column was trying, along with the securocrats, to manipulate the political process — and his sources were reliable — they formed a real threat to the whole negotiation process.

Responding to Mr Van Eck's charges later in the debate, the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that the MP for Claremont was a "day-dreamer".

The NP's MP for Alberton, Mr Dries Oosthuizen, said Mr Van Eck was indulging in childlike flights of imagination.

## No meeting for Maggie, Mandela? <sup>(20/11/87)</sup>

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had "no knowledge" of a possible weekend meeting between its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and visiting former British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Carl Niehaus also said he could not comment on whether Mr Mandela would be prepared to see Mrs Thatcher, whom he has previously criticised for her anti-sanctions stance.

Mrs Thatcher visited the Rio Tinto copper mine at Phalaborwa yesterday before spending the weekend at "a private retreat" in the Eastern Transvaal. — Sapa



# Forging a new foreign policy

SI Times 19/5/91

SOUTH AFRICAN politics has always been marked by cruel irony: this unruly transition is proving no exception. Terrible violence has near incapacitated the country at the very moment when international doors are opening.

Exactly how the domestic strife will be halted — as it must, of course — is a matter for conjecture; what is certain is that our foreign relations have entered heady times.

For more than 40 years, the international aspects of our political life were subservient to domestic considerations. Apartheid all but paralysed the country's formal foreign policy, while the ANC's status as a liberation movement enabled it to conduct a modest foreign policy of its own.

But changing times have brought new openings and, with these, the need for greater convergence of foreign policy positions on the part of all South Africa's people.

It will not be easy to find agreement, however. For the past 18 months, for instance, there has been a lively struggle between the government and the ANC for control of the agenda on South Africa's international future.

Judged on any criteria, this has not been a constructive encounter. It turned the debate over sanctions from a strategic to an emotional one and, in this process, cost the country much goodwill.

More importantly, perhaps, politicians have turned South Africa's re-entry into international life into a grubby exercise. For example, how many foreign visits Mr Mandela made abroad were tallied-up against the number Mr De Klerk had made and suitably political inferences drawn? While this may have satisfied the hustings, it has brought the country

## PETER VALE calls for a reappraisal of South Africa's foreign policy



few friends.

It is, nevertheless, true that foreign policy — like any policy — can only flourish if contested. It is important, therefore, that the foreign policy in the new South Africa should be vigorously argued in the press and elsewhere.

As opening salvos in a debate on a post-apartheid foreign policy, consider three issues: composition of the foreign service, membership of the Commonwealth and Africa policy.

### Mischief

● As presently constituted, the Department of Foreign Affairs goes nowhere near reflecting the demographic realities of the country. Notwithstanding energetic efforts to recruit outside its traditional pool of candidates, the department — as its minister admitted this week — has only attracted 70-odd members from beyond the white community. While most of these are in the administrative section, it is true some have been appointed to ambassadorial positions.

For their part, the ANC's representatives abroad and its Department of International Affairs in Johannesburg can boast few white faces.

Can these two departments (and representatives of other groupings, like the PAC) be drawn together into a single entity? Logic suggests that this is possible, but there are no guarantees as the fate of the East German diplomatic service demonstrated. In that case, the West

German government, on the amalgamation of the two countries, simply terminated the services of East German diplomats.

While considerations of secrecy obviously influenced the German decision, it seems unlikely that South Africa can afford to throw away years of experience and contacts, let alone a powerful foreign language capacity.

● There is a compelling case to be made for membership of the Commonwealth. That organisation's membership most nearly represents the rich diversity of this country's people; it is often forgotten that symbolism of this kind is a powerful force in international relations. But the Commonwealth also provides entrée to necessary development expertise and a network which can help rebuild and sustain this country's most respected international institutions, particularly its universities.

Still there remains a deep suspicion of the Commonwealth in influential quarters. In government circles, a belief persists that Commonwealth mischief-making helped sustain the isolation which has dogged the country's path.

While the Department of Foreign Affairs has not made a formal statement on the issue, it would be perfectly understandable if it was especially sceptical of the Commonwealth.

● There is a seductive view, especially in influential business circles, that the only way South Africa can avoid the "African experience" is to turn its back on

the continent. Fortunately, both the government and the ANC have recognised that this is not only short-sighted but impossible.

Aside from the sheer physical link to the continent, South Africa has at its disposal expertise which might help stem the decline of our continent's fortunes. Despite this agreement, there is division over the conditions under which South Africa will conduct its relations with the continent.

The government seems confident that its relative strength in Africa can be used to show the world its good faith both at home and abroad. For their part, its opponents are more in tune with the spirit of established African international relations and their reliance on the Organisation of African Unity as the chief instrument of continental diplomacy.

Frankly, there is no certainty that either of these positions can bear fruit in the long-term: the continent is in great flux and the emergence of South Africa will itself considerably touch African affairs.

### Mayhem

Discussion of the country's foreign policy does not mean that the townships can be ignored. Indeed, quite the opposite is true; in the world's press, the current South African story is the mayhem in the townships. But the international community recognises that South Africa is perched on the edge of becoming a full-time player again.

If we are to live up to their expectations, the debate on foreign policy has to transcend old divides.

● Professor Peter Vale is attached to the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

# Brown MPs flock to join Nats

STW 19/5/79 3047

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE National Party may have as many as 25 new MPs within weeks — all of them in the House of Representatives.

President F.W. de Klerk's party is also about to become the official Opposition in the coloured house.

This weekend the five MPs from the official opposition's United Democratic Party voted to disband and join the National Party.

UDP leader Jac Rabie confirmed yesterday that the decision to disband and join the NP was unanimously endorsed by all 48 NPEC members at a special meeting at Klerksdorp in the Western Transvaal. The UDP claims a membership of

40 000.

Other recent acquisitions by the NP include four MPs from the Democratic Reform Party and a number of independents who originally deserted the Labour Party.

President De Klerk will meet all the former members of the House of Representatives who have joined the Nats and is expected to make an announcement on the matter this week.

Early next week, at a joint session of Parliament where the Land Reform Bill is to be debated, the "brown Nats" will make a historic crossing of the floor to

take their seats with white colleagues. The MPs who are to join the Nats said they had made their decision because they were "fed up" with "ethnic politics". They said President De Klerk was a leader of stature who reflected the ideal of a non-racial South Africa.

They added that their branches and constituencies had given them the green light to join the Nats rather than the ANC.

Their voters had been persuaded by President De Klerk's positive and "correct" image, rather than by the NP itself, they said.

It is understood that all those accepted as NP MPs will be subject to the strict merit selection procedures of the Nats

and, as members of that party's caucus, will be subject to caucus discipline and confidentiality.

The NP has indicated it will not automatically accept every application for membership.

There are also signs that some MPs in the Indian House of Delegates, particularly members of Dr J.N. Reddy's Solidarity Party, are keen to join the NP — although none have yet applied for membership.

So far this year, eight Labour Party MPs have resigned from the party, bringing to 11 the number of former LP members who are now independents. Reliable sources said that most of them had inquired about joining the Nationalist Party.

It is also known that some members of the LP caucus have made application for NP membership.

Last week two LP members of the President's Council, Peter Marais and Billy Ross, resigned and are now independent members of the PC. The two have indicated they intend applying to join the Nats.

The first "white" party to have Indian MPs as members is the Democratic Party in the House of Assembly.

In terms of the present Constitution, coloured and Indian MPs may only participate in their "Own Affairs" Houses.

## Debates

They take part in joint debates on matters of "General Affairs" in the Chamber of Parliament — but even then their votes are recorded separately.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse is clearly upset about the "deserters" from his Labour Party and the intention of other coloured MPs to join the NP.

He has warned them to beware of "leaving the nest of the hen" to fall prey to the "vultures".

He claimed most had resigned from Labour because they had failed to meet their financial obligations, and he revealed in Parliament this week how much they owed the party in arrears pledges.

Yesterday another Labour MP, Anwar Ismail, announced his resignation from the party and said he intended joining the Nats.



Now it's more boycotts — and a two-day general strike

# ANC SNUBS TV BOYCOTT APPEAL

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

THE African National Congress yesterday pulled out of constitutional talks with the government and announced it would boycott President De Klerk's "peace summit" in Pretoria next week.

ANC leaders brushed aside a last-minute appeal from President De Klerk to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for more time to overcome the difficulties perceived by the ANC to be obstacles to negotiation.

Instead, a meeting of the ANC's "expanded" National Executive Committee, including youth leaders and women's leaders, decided on Friday to declare a two-day general strike, mass protests on June 15, a consumer boycott, and a day of fasting in support of political prisoners on May 22. At the same time, said secretary-general Alfred Nzo, the ANC would continue to negotiate for controls on the carrying of "traditional weapons", better policing and the dismissal of two cabinet ministers.

The ANC's willingness to continue discussion on these points, and to continue to take part in the joint committees on prisoner release, exile return and the suspension of armed struggle, suggested that the rift was not absolute.

Last night the government declared the ANC's actions to be "unjustifiable and irresponsible" and warned that mass actions would only lead to an aggravation of violence.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the government's peace conference would go ahead, but he expressed disappointment that the ANC — the most knowledgeable group on political violence — would not be attending. He said all the issues raised by the ANC would have been discussed at the peace conference.

President De Klerk met Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

**Lawyers**  
**say: We**  
**know**  
**Webster**  
**killer**

By MARTIN WELZ

LAWYERS representing the Webster Family Trust, believe they know the identity of one of the men involved in the murder of Dr David Webster on May Day in 1989.



Look  
who's  
become  
a mum

By BILL KRIGE

THE country's favourite gymslip teenager has become a mother.

Petite, raven-haired Clara Jonbert — better known as the winsome schoolgirl Hess van Tonder in the hit TV series *Orkney Shark Nite* — this week showed off her baby son.

"We've named him Lomo, which is short for Solomon. He really is the most fantastic baby in the whole world," bubbled Clara, an Eastern Cape housewife whose private life is at odds with her TV personality.

Admitting to being "somewhere between 25 and 40", Clara is married to land surveyor "St" Maarschalk.

Orkney Shark Nite is being rerun on TV1 on Friday nights and a new series begins shooting in September.

"There are some 18 episodes and the whole gang is there. Tim in the last episode was the most important part of the course," Clara said in an elegant home on the outskirts of "Trompsburg". Despite the fact that she is a



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# Lawyers say: We know Webster killer

By MARTIN WELZ

LAWYERS representing the Webster Family Trust believe they know the identity of one of the men involved in the murder of Dr David Webster on May Day in 1989.

But they want certain personal assurances from President De Klerk before they reveal what they know about the murderer of one of the country's leading left-wing academics.

They are afraid of what might happen once they disclose the nature or source of the evidence to the police.

Two weeks ago Idasa leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert saw Mr De Klerk at his office in Parliament and conveyed a top-secret message from the lawyers.

Dr Slabbert had an appointment to see Mr De Klerk about other matters, and agreed to use part of the time to convey the lawyers' request.

## Fear

The Sunday Times has been told the lawyers fear interference from military quarters. The lawyers point to the open defiance shown by senior military officers last year when they were ordered by President De Klerk and Defence Minister Magnus Malan to produce records of the notorious CCB.

Dr Slabbert confirmed this week that he had seen Mr De Klerk in Cape Town. "I had one of my rare interviews with him and wanted to invite him to address a meeting. He was unable to accept the invitation."

Told that the Sunday Times knew of the lawyers' request, Dr Slabbert confirmed that he had agreed to convey a message from "certain lawyers" to Mr De Klerk.

the same time, said secretary-general Alfred Nzo, the ANC would continue to negotiate for controls on the carrying of "traditional weapons", better policing and the dismissal of two cabinet ministers.

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President De Klerk met Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-



HARD LINE ... Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo yesterday Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

lezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, on Tuesday in an effort to persuade him to accept curbs on traditional weapons. The meeting ended inconclusively, and Mr De Klerk telephoned Mr Mandela to tell him he believed a compromise was in sight. He asked the ANC National Executive Committee to bear this in mind at its meeting on Friday.

It was also suggested that the ANC attend a preparatory meeting early in the week with church leaders and Inkatha in an effort to overcome the ANC's objections to attending the peace summit.

This was rejected at the extended ANC NEC meeting.

This week, diplomats report, Mr De Klerk is to meet King Goodwill Zwelithini in another attempt to persuade the Zulus to accept controls on weapons, despite a decision by the Inkatha central committee yesterday not to bow on the issue. The committee did agree, however, that Inkatha should attend the peace summit in Pretoria.

Tough new measures are expected to be announced within days, government officials have indicated.

## Urgent meeting

Other effects of yesterday's ANC announcement are:

- While the ANC will boycott Mr De Klerk's summit, it is willing to take part in a church-initiated attempt to convene another peace conference.

The South African Council of Churches is to meet Chief Buthelezi tomorrow and will hold an urgent meeting on Tuesday to discuss the stalemate over the peace summit;

- The ANC will continue to take part in joint committees;

- It will not, however, continue discussions through the so-called Paragraph 9 working group which is debating the establishment of a multi-party conference for constitutional negotiations.

SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo said at a press conference yesterday that the ANC was not

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# ANC rejects FW's peace appeal

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ish in refusing  
the government's  
peace conference.

"The convening of the peace conference by President FW de Klerk has implicit in it the inference that the state is an impartial body standing above the violence and is calling all those connected with it plus a broader section of the community to discuss it. We dismiss that implication."

The ANC response yesterday quashed government attempts to reach an eleventh-hour compromise

with the ANC on its boycott of the peace conference.

Mr De Klerk proposed to Mr Mandela in his telephone conversation that the ANC attend a smaller preparatory meeting between itself, church leaders and Inkatha. It was hoped that after such a meeting the ANC would agree to attend the peace conference on Friday and Saturday.

But the ANC said yesterday it would take part in a church-initiated peace conference which would be prepared for by all political parties, the govern-

ment, unions and employers.

Even though the government would continue with its own peace conference on Friday, ANC sources said the government would take part in the church initiative.

Dr Viljoen indicated at a press conference in Cape Town this week that the government expected that whatever was decided at the peace summit, there would have to be follow-up meetings.

He said the government had an open mind about attending a conference

organised by church leaders.

Dr Viljoen would not disclose which or how many organisations and individuals had accepted invitations to attend.

However, it is understood that by Friday, 90 had accepted invitations. President De Klerk is believed to have issued about 150 invitations.

The SA Chamber of Business said in a statement yesterday that it believed many businessmen deeply regretted the ANC's decision to suspend formal negotiations and

not to attend.

The recourse to consumer boycotts and stayaways could only aggravate the serious economic recession, the statement said.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer called the ANC's announcement "bad news" for South Africa and for the ANC.

● The ANC hard line coincides with an ominous new surge in urban violence. Fourteen people were injured in 48 hours in central Johannesburg when two limpet mines exploded. The ANC condemned the blasts.



## Sunday Profile

WHEN Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert walked out of Parliament in February 1986 he confided to some colleagues that he preferred to go with a bang rather than a whimper. He refused to be "in the slipstream of the government's repression and incompetence".

This week he resumed public office — as chairman of a government-sponsored forum aimed at creating a non-racial local government for the Witwatersrand. Slabbert's return to office is not unexpected.

He insists he has never left politics. Only Parliament. His problem, he suggests, was not with politics but with old-style politicians. It was thus only a question of time before he again took up some form of public office.

Slabbert has a justified reputation of being one of the most gifted of South African public figures.

His prediction that political reform could not begin without a prior commitment by the government to scrap apartheid and unban the resistance groups proved correct. President De Klerk certainly bought the idea.

Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa has also done important work in beginning the negotiations with the ANC which the government belatedly, but adeptly, embraced.

Yet Slabbert comes with a history: a man who despairs quickly and bruises easily.

His autobiography, *The Last White Parliament*, published in 1985, reveals the characteristic cycles of his political life: reluctance, enthusiasm, disillusionment. He was persuaded to run for Parliament in 1974 only after a hard night's

# Bruises forgotten, Slabbert dusts himself off and answers the bell for another round

drinking with members of the Progressive Party.

He fought the election with flair and dedication and was able to capitalise on his Afrikanerness and boyish charm. But he was still left wondering on the night of his election "Sweet suffering grace, what am I going to do now?".

In Parliament he was intellectual, incisive and devastating. National Party backbenchers complained they could not understand him.

The ferocious PW Botha began by treating him indulgently, like a wayward Afrikaner son. It soon ended and, after Slabbert became Leader of the Opposition, the clashes became progressively more bitter. So did Slabbert's disillusionment with Parliament. Yet he still supported the idea of serving in the tricameral Parliament.

A little over a year later he had completely changed his mind. He had decided

to walk out of Parliament, taking as many members of the PFP as possible. The institution, he believed, was becoming an irrelevancy to the far larger struggles emerging.

In a confidential document motivating his plan in early January 1986 he observed: "Secrecy is of the utmost importance. Consequently it is not only the government but, unfortunately, many in the party will be caught by surprise."

He did concede, however, that the PFP would eventually have to give its blessing to the strategy "in some way or the other".

But he soon became aware that very few in the party would join him.

On February 7 1986, while Parliament was still electric with PW Botha's re-election of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement that a black man could one day become president, Slabbert announced his resignation.

His caucus had heard of his decision only an hour before.

**READY FOR BATTLE ... Van Zyl Slabbert who despairs quickly but is still one of SA's most gifted public figures**

Harry Oppenheimer, a generous donor to the PFP, accused Slabbert of subjecting the party to a "severe and undeserved ordeal". Helen Suzman was more

forthright. She called it "betrayal". Natal leader Roy Swart says it was perhaps "a terminal blow" to the PFP.

It was not so much the fact of his departure as the manner that wounded. For one of South Africa's most gifted politicians, it was a grave mistake which

was to lead to enduring questions on the part of many about his trustworthiness. As partial justification for his departure, Slabbert said a private interview with Botha had so disillusioned him that he had decided to leave. Botha, seizing this last opportunity to state his opponent, promptly released transcripts of surreptitious tapings of the conversation. They showed a different Slabbert: difficult, even ingratiating.

"Mr President, I think, I honestly think, and this I say with my experience of the thing, I still think you can pull out the teeth of the whole ANC story."

But Slabbert does not volunteer how to "pull these teeth". He asks, instead, to speak privately to Dr Niel Barnard.

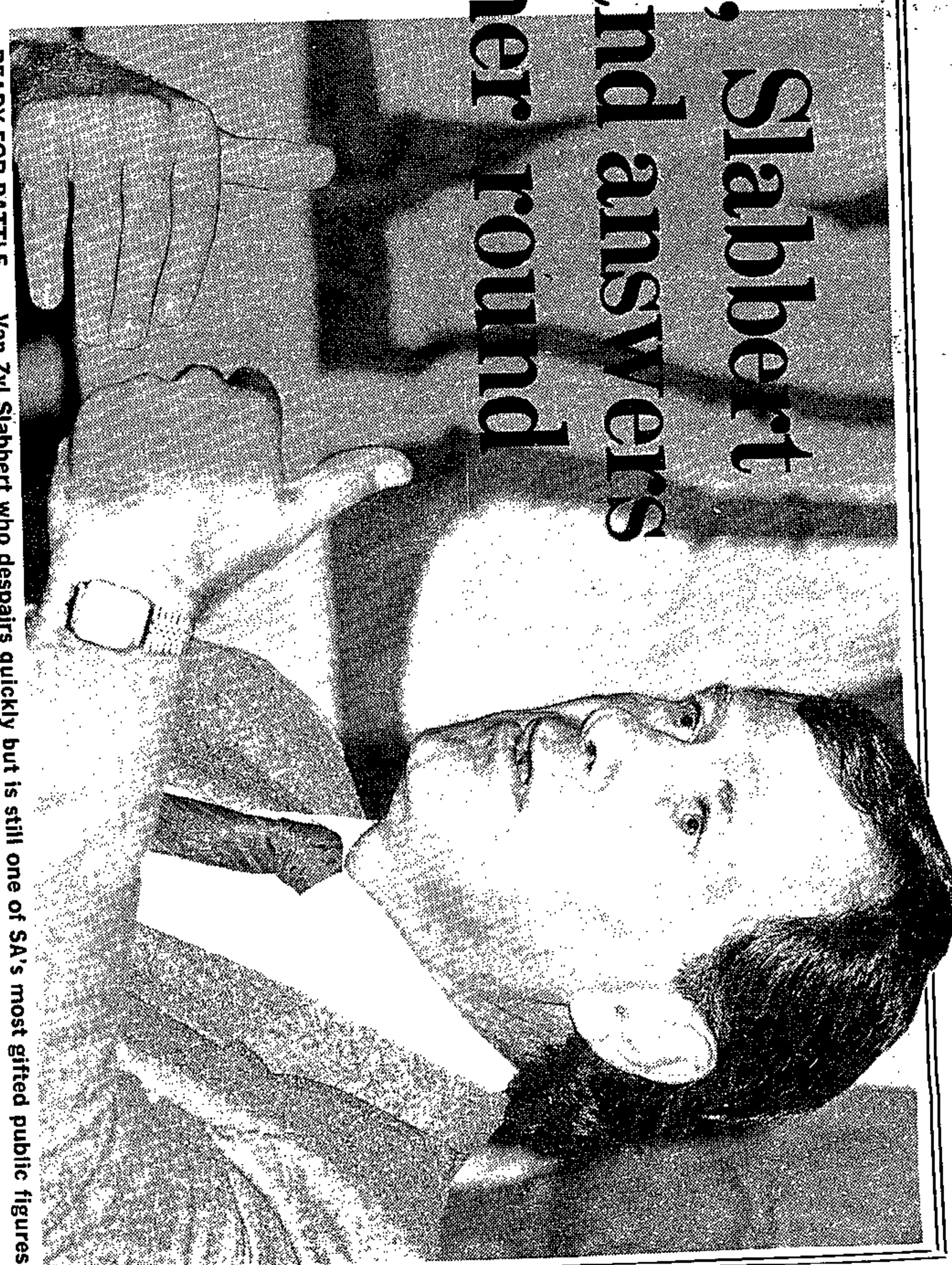
It was an ignominious departure, fraught with bitterness and confusion and hardly made easier by his dogmatic

assertion at the Cape Town Press Club soon afterwards that change in South Africa would not occur without violence. In this of course, he was correct — but, in politics, the anticipation can so often contribute to the deed.

In the intervening years Slabbert started Idasa together with his fellow defector from Parliament, Alex Boraine, and began an intricate, meticulous process of shuttle diplomacy aimed at bringing the powerless (the resistance groups) together with the empowered (white businessmen, academics, journalists, artists, soldiers and politicians). Slabbert emerged this week from five years of such efforts to accept the post of chairman of the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber — a tentative experiment aimed at forging a single, non-racial local authority on the Reef.

The former leader of the Official Opposition seized the invitation with alacrity. It was offered to him unanimously by a group as divergent as National Party officials and township radicals. He has expressed enthusiasm. Can he this time transcend the disillusionment?

Brian Pottinger





IT WAS our great historian C.W. de Kiewiet who said that South Africa advanced politically by disasters and economically by windfalls. Having come to the end of at least one political disaster — apartheid — South Africa is now ready for a windfall.

Within the next two months, if the plans of the Bush administration are realised, sanctions will be completely lifted.

For South Africans who have lived with the threat or reality of sanctions for years, this may give rise to a sense of incredulity.

Of course, as Assistant Secretary of State Hank Cohen told subcommittee hearings at the end of April, this action would apply only to sanctions imposed by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and would not affect the arms embargo or the prohibition on US support for IMF loans. But the remaining sanctions are almost irrelevant — a temporary expedient used to ease the way to the repeal of the CAAA and likely to be dropped in due course.

President Bush may be the person most determined to lift sanc-

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

### by John Chettle

tions. Last year, at the time of the De Klerk visit, he surprised his advisers by saying publicly, in the Rose Garden, that he had no intention of moving the goalposts, and if he has shown one characteristic in the course of his presidency, it is his resolve in matters of foreign policy.

Moreover, highly-placed sources in the administration believe that South Africa has probably already met the condition requiring the release of "all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial", a more limited definition than that agreed upon between the government and the ANC. By the end of June, when parliament repeals the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, the government will have met all five CAAA conditions.

The State Department is taking soundings on the Hill and, next month, Secretary of State James Baker will consult the congressional leadership. Unless there is a totally unexpected reversal of fortune, the administration will lift all sanctions shortly thereafter.

Of course, this will be opposed by the black caucus and hence by some important liberal Democrats. Republican Mervyn Dymally, the chairman of the black caucus, is trying not so much to shift the goalposts as to move the game on to a different field. But this issue no longer arouses the passions it once did and even some of its partisans seemed to be going through the motions last month.

The question now is no longer whether sanctions will be repealed, but what South Africa will do after that. South Africans, who have been knocking piteously at the door for years, asking for admission, may be stunned by their reception.

American business is eager to invest in South Africa again once new investment is allowed, and the Rangel Amendment which im-

# As apartheid barriers fall, SA should prepare for a windfall

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poses a double taxation on American companies doing business in South Africa — is repealed.

Many of the economic problems which concern South Africans are almost inconsequential as far as American business is concerned. Inflation is a minor irritant by South American standards. Unemployment means that there is an available pool of labour.

Institutions which have been closed to South Africa are now studying the potential for investment. The World Bank, for instance, now has 70 officers engaged in researching the South African social and economic structure and some officials think that the first project could be consid-

ered soon.

South African companies are now welcome to quote for World Bank projects throughout the continent and more than 20 of them have completed the process of registration with the bank. The scale of this opportunity can be indicated by the fact that the bank's 1990 lending commitments generated more than \$50-billion (R135-billion) in total project investment, nearly 20 percent of it in Africa.

For US business, the opportunities in the next few years could be more immediate in South Africa than in Eastern Europe, where a new economic system has to be established. By comparison, in South Africa a functioning,

relatively efficient system is already in operation. It is a moment of immense promise.

This, of course, is the good news. It would be surprising if there were not some bad. The main problem for American businesses is sanctions imposed by state and local governments. When I last counted, there were more than 120 pieces of legislation imposed by states, counties and cities regulating or prohibiting investment in, or procurement from, companies doing business in South Africa.

Many of these local governments are controlled by those who are no fans of the Bush administration and they will be in no hurry in the absence of any guidance by the

ANC, to dismantle their sanctions. And when a small state like Maryland has an economy bigger than South Africa, and New York City a budget as large, businesses have to pay attention.

Nor should one underrate the importance of what Dr Samuel Johnson once described as pure ignorance. The State Department was obliged two months ago to contact state and local governments who had apparently overlooked the fact that Namibia was now independent.

It is going to take a well-thought-out and developed strategy to diminish the power of state and local governments to frustrate the effects of the end of sanctions.

The other major problem arises from continuing violence in South Africa. Americans tend to be over-anxious on the subject of violence anyway. But to that concern is added the feeling that in South Africa at the moment, no-one is really in charge or, at the least, that the government is not doing what any ordinarily constituted government could do to stop the violence.

This would be a bad mistake, for what is remarkable to observe here is how much has been accomplished in so short a time. The government has shown great skill in keeping ahead of the demands made on it. It is on the way to ridding South Africa of the internal and the external limitations on its economy. The windfall suggested by De Kiewiet may be at hand. All that may be necessary is to keep the ship on course.

John Chettle is a former director for North and South America of the South African Foundation. He is now a partner and director of the international legal practice of the Washington firm Friedman, Levy, Kroll & Simonds.



## HOUSE OF DELEGATES

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

## Sydenham police station: offences

3. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) burglary of residential premises, (g) robbery with aggravating circumstances, (h) robbery, (i) common theft, (j) theft of vehicles and cycles, (k) possession of drugs and (l) dealing in drugs were reported at the Sydenham police station in the Durban police district of the Port Natal Division in 1990? D31E

## The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Sydenham

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i) (j) (k) (l)  
41 32 136 288 34 403 121 8 449 173 0 0

Note:

As the South African Police is not satisfied with the crime situation in the Republic of South Africa, drastic measures are being taken to combat the occurrence of crime in the country. In this regard I wish to draw the hon member's attention to Operation Sentry, including Operation Thunderbolt and other similar operations during the past twelve months. These operations have proved to be very successful. The situation, however, is continuously being monitored and I wish to assure hon members that everything possible is being done to prevent crime.

I also wish to draw the attention of the hon member to the fact that the Port Natal Division no longer exists, but is now part of the greater Natal Police Region.

## Suburban trains: crime

5. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Law and Order:

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

(1) Whether there has recently been an increasing tendency in crime on suburban trains between (a) Phoenix and Durban and (b) Chatsworth and Durban; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether any steps are being taken to combat such crime; if so, what steps? D33E

## The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, since November 1990 there has been a decrease in the number of crimes committed on trains.

(a) On the Phoenix to Durban section, serious crimes decreased from seven in November 1990 to three in February 1991.

(b) On the Chatsworth to Durban section the number of serious crimes decreased from nine in November 1990 to two in February 1991.

(2) Yes, the upgrading of railway stations, as well as co-operation between the South African Police and the South African Rail Commuter Corporation Limited regarding security on trains, ensures safer journeys.

The policing of the trains appears to be effective and the South African Police will continue to render a service so that law and order can be maintained on trains and railway stations.

## Cabinet Committees: own affairs Ministers

9. Mr S PACHAJ asked the State President:

(1) Whether own affairs ministers serve on Cabinet Committees; if not, why not; if so, on which Cabinet Committees does each such minister serve; (304A)

(2) whether any own affairs ministers and/or deputy ministers serve on any State committees other than Cabinet Committees; if not, why not; if so, what are the names of (a) these committees and (b) the ministers and deputy ministers serving on each such committee? D91E

## The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Yes. All of the own affairs ministers are serving on one or more of the four

Cabinet Committees, as well as on a few Ministerial Committees. However, it is not customary to disclose particulars concerning the composition of committees of the Cabinet. (304A)

(2) Apart from the Cabinet Committees and Ministerial Committees which are appointed by the State President, no list is kept of the committees on which ministers and deputy ministers serve.

## Certain offences: statistics

10. Mr S PACHAJ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many cases of offences relating to (a) liquor laws, (b) drug abuse and (c) child abuse were investigated in (i) Ladysmith, (ii) Estcourt, (iii) Greytown and (iv) Howick during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available;

(2) in respect of each of the above-mentioned offences and areas, how many persons (a) were charged, (b) had the charges against them withdrawn, (c) were fined, (d) paid admission of guilt fines and (e) were found (i) not guilty and (ii) guilty in court? D102E.1

## The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) (i) 960

(ii) 63

(iii) 252

(iv) 18

(b) (i) 200

(ii) 0

(iii) 61

(iv) 48

(c) (i) 2

(ii) 0

(iii) 10

(iv) 1  
(2) (i) Ladysmith

(a) (b) (c)  
Liquor laws Drug abuse Child abuse

(a) Charged 960 200 2  
(b) Withdrawn 188 60 —  
(c) Fined — — —  
(d) Paid admission of guilt 500 — —

(e) (i) Not guilty 2 18 2  
(ii) Guilty 270 122 —

(ii) Estcourt

(a) (b) (c)  
(a) 63 — —  
(b) 15 — —  
(c) — — —  
(d) — — —  
(e) (i) 4 — —  
(ii) 44 — —

(iii) Greytown

(a) (b) (c)  
(a) 252 61 10  
(b) 94 5 6  
(c) — — —  
(d) 121 35 —  
(e) (i) 7 4 —  
(ii) 4 5 —

Trials not yet concluded: 26 12 4

(iv) Howick

(a) (b) (c)  
(a) 18 48 1  
(b) — 2 —  
(c) — — —  
(d) 8 — —  
(e) (i) 1 2 —  
(ii) 9 44 —

Note:

As regards (2)(c) and (d) it is brought to the attention of the hon member that in all instances where an admission of guilt was paid, the persons were regarded as being fined.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES



ANC decision ends first phase of negotiations

# New deal in talks looms

~~304H~~ (304H)  
Sowetan 20/5/91.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE ANC's decision to hold no more constitutional talks with the Government opens the way for a new and broader-based phase of negotiations.

When talks start again, the Government will face not just the ANC but a united "patriotic front".

It has not been ruled out that talks between the Government and a "patriotic front" would be at a multiparty conference.

What is your opinion of the ANC's decision to hold no more constitutional talks with the Government?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576KHz.

However, bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC on constitutional matters will not take place, the movement said at the weekend.

● To Page 2



P.T.O.

# New deal on future talks looms

From Page 1

The ANC has for more than a year been involved in preliminary talks with the Government about the removal of obstacles before the start of actual negotiations on the country's constitutional future.

A well-placed source within the ANC, yesterday said that "there has been substantial movement" with regard to the removal of obstacles - particularly the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the review of security legislation.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice yesterday corroborated this and said that of 7 103 applications for indemnity, only 23 had been refused.

Earlier this month the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, tabled legislation in Parliament to purge the internal security act of "draconian measures".

The department also confirmed that more applications requesting release from prison were still flowing in and were being dealt with.

The ANC has identified a new obstacle - violence in the country.

The ANC's Mr Joe Slovo said on Saturday that for Government to imply, as it does by calling a peace summit without consulting the ANC and other political movements, that it was not part of the violence, was unacceptable.

ANC sources yesterday confirmed this.

"We accept that progress has been made with regard to the obstacles first identified (the release of prisoners and return of exiles)". What we will not do is enter discussions on a future constitution, a source said.

On Saturday, the ANC also announced that it would not take part in a multiparty conference before the Government addressed the fundamental problems surrounding the current violence.

In an open letter - relating to the violence - which was sent to the Government on April 5, the ANC called for, among other things, the dismissal of two Ministers, the blanket banning of "dangerous weapons" and absolute impartiality of the police.

"The Government banned a whole lot of them, but people can still carry spears in public," the source said.

The ANC holds its national congress in six weeks' time and within a month later it will enter into a formal "patriotic front" with the PAC, Azapo and other political organisations as well as a host of cultural, religious and business groups.



# Weapons the key to talks, says ANC

Political Staff

THE breakdown in constitutional talks between the government and the ANC could be patched up within days by the imposition of controls on "cultural" spears and axes.

However, there is little chance that anything can be done to reverse the ANC's decision not to attend the government's summit on violence which starts on Friday.

But top ANC sources said that last Friday's decision by its National Executive Committee to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the government imposed a ban on cultural spears and axes at political meetings.

The government's failure to ban these weapons was the reason for the talks breakdown.

The decision should be seen largely as a measure to increase pressure on the government to impose a ban, an ANC source said.

Although the ANC is officially sticking to its seven April 5 ultimatum demands — including the sacking of ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan — it is clear it will be satisfied by a ban on spears and axes at political meetings.

Senior government sources said measures to curb these weapons could be announced within days.

This would probably be done by declaring that cultural weapons could be carried only on cultural occasions — and that political meetings were not such events.

The government is encouraged because it believes the ANC "left the door open" for a return to constitutional talks if the the conditions of the ANC's ultimatum are met.

"It is significant that the ANC's statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions," a senior government source said.

# Tricameral defectors a headache for Nats

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Staff

**P**RESIDENT de Klerk's new-look National Party is attracting growing interest from jittery MPs in the House of Representatives who are considering defecting to the Government to boost their chances in the new SA.

But it's a headache for the National Party.

One of the most ironic consequences of Mr de Klerk's political success is the attractiveness with which it has endowed his party.

If the Nats are relishing the extent to which opinion polls reflect growing support in the

black, coloured and Indian communities, the eagerness with which many MPs in the House of Representatives are viewing the party as a haven in uncertain times is filling them with unease.

Some say as many as 30 La-bour MPs are considering leaving the party — and most are considering the NP option. A week ago, the Democratic Reform Party decided to disband and its three MPs elected to seek NP membership.

The sudden interest from tricameral MPs is almost an embarrassment for the NP. The imminent demise of the tricameral system and the widely discredited — and

often prodigal — House of Representatives and House of Delegates have concentrated the minds of coloured and Indian MPs, many of whom won their seats with pitifully small tallies.

Now, with the unbanning of the ANC and other groupings, political activity outside Parliament, outside the "system", has become the most acute focus of opposition.

For coloured and Indian MPs, the political future looks bleak.

One option, if they are to leave the sinking ship, remains: the old foe, the NP. Having opened its ranks to all last year to give conviction

to its policy for a nonracial future, the National Party cannot turn anyone away in the ordinary course of events.

But the MPs are different. Some of them have staked their claim to credibility on the basis of the vituperation they have hurled at the NP.

Equally, the NP does not want simply to inherit all the problems that have bedevilled the tricameral politicians.

It is, as one observer put it, a "political prickly pear for FW".

One party source said: "We are looking to the new South Africa now and we have to be careful that we don't end up just picking up the pieces.

"We don't want to jeopardise the chances of gaining wide support outside Parliament among people who have been reluctant to support the tricameral system but are in favour of joining the NP under a new constitution."

What emerges clearly is that the National Party is more interested in gaining fresh, widespread support among people of colour than in simply inheriting the relatively scant support of tricameral-sympathetic voters.

The feeling in party circles is that the NP will resist becoming a safe haven for harassed MPs whose time has come. □



South Africans must formulate shared goals to resolve conflict, says Hermann Giliomee

# Important truths to learn

Star 2015/1/11

304/1



**T**HE person who does not believe in the impossible is no realist. Israel's founding father, David Ben Gurion, was fond of quoting these words whenever the ideal of a Jewish homeland in Palestine looked all but unattainable. South Africans would do well to remember these words if they feel overcome by despair in view of horrific violence and a faltering negotiating process.

For a brief period last year normally sensible people believed that there would be a bumpy but straight road to a settlement which would be underpinned by a remarkable accommodation between the leadership of the ANC and the NP. Negotiations would work out a modification of the social contract in terms of which South Africa has been ruled since 1948. Blacks would take over from the Afrikaners in running the state while a white-run private sector would be the engine of growth and prosperity.

Non-racialism would be the creed binding all South Africans together. What this creed meant in concrete terms nobody spelled

out, but it was considered impolite to ask or to point to the possibility that deep-seated communal loyalties and resentments could wreck any leadership settlement which fundamentally restructured the socio-political order.

The burgeoning literature on transitions in southern and Eastern Europe and Latin America fuelled the unrealistic expectations. If Chile or Nicaragua or East Germany could transform into a democracy within a short period, why not South Africa, whose commercial and financial infrastructure is comparatively speaking much more sophisticated?

By now these perspectives on a smooth transition to a non-racial or non-ethnic form of rule should be recognised for what they are: dangerously inappropriate and misleading. There are at least three reasons why the negotiating process in South Africa is quite unlike that of any other country and infinitely more difficult to manage.

Firstly, South Africa, unlike any other country, which has made the transition, is divided first of all by

race, ethnic group or community and not by class or income group. Numerous studies conducted over the past 30 years point to this reality. A black businessman or teacher is more likely to side with blacks than with businessmen or teachers.

His perception of the violence on the Rand and Natal is likely to be shaped (not determined) by his ethnic background. To say that these ethnic perceptions are the product of apartheid is simply to turn a blind eye to what has happened in ethnically divided societies in the rest of Africa and south-eastern Europe.

The South Africa transition is also unique in the world in that the ruling party, the NP, insists on playing an important role in whatever new order is negotiated. In a recent interview, President de Klerk indicated in the clearest possible terms that he expects the NP, in alliance with other parties, to play a leading, if not dominating role, in government and the state for a long time to come.

At the same time, the ANC as the dominant opposing force is expected to do what no other politi-

cal movement has achieved in modern times: to make the transition from a liberation movement to a normal political party competing peacefully for power.

Thirdly, South Africa is making its transition at least 20 years too late. No political transition in the world has been successful unless it was accompanied economically by rising incomes per head for the entire population. Since 1974 the South African economy has been stagnating, and over the past 10 years there has been an annual decline of one percent in the per capita GDP.

Add to this a population growth much higher than other middle-income countries, an unemployment rate of 25 to 40 percent of the total economically active urban black population and a too strong trade union movement — and one has virtually unshakeable arguments for the case that it is impossible for the transition to a functioning democracy to succeed.

By this one means that parties would compete vigorously against each other but that all would accept the final result.

So on what grounds could realists accept that the impossible could happen and that South Africa could surmount its political problems and embark on sustained economic growth?

The answer is briefly this: The violence and the continuing economic stagnation help to confront South Africans with some truths which are very unpalatable but are nevertheless very important to learn. These truths have long been obscured by the State's false aura of invincibility and the hollow rhetoric of a non-racial liberation.

These truths are: The only workable government would be one in which all the major parties would feel themselves securely represented. The State would have to become much more representative than it presently is, but this will have to happen as a result of a gradual broadening rather than an abrupt take-over.

Competitive democratic elections which could augur a take-over can now be seen as the kind of cataclysmic event which could turn the entire society on its head.

It is difficult to believe that it would offer anything but an open invitation for parties to settle old accounts brutally and decisively.

The biggest bond all South Africans have is that they are totally dependent on this State to protect them and this economy to feed them. The immediate task is to make both more responsive and inclusive.

John Burton, the most original thinker in the world on conflict resolution, has suggested that conflicts can be resolved once parties formulate shared goals and once they make the solving of a conflict the highest value, instead of allowing themselves to be driven apart by differences over the appropriate means of settling the conflict.

If the current spate of violence could hammer home this message there is no reason why South Africa should not attain the miracle of inter-ethnic accommodation and sustained economic growth.

● Professor Giliomee is head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town. □



# Govt's tough line on land reform package

Star 20/5/91  
By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

All five Bills in the Government's controversial land reform package are likely to be pushed through Parliament this year — despite strong opposition from various parties in Parliament to some of the legislation.

The Government has apparently taken a tough line, overturning compromises reached with opposition parliamentary parties to drop or postpone four of the bills.

Parliamentary sources last night forecast an uproar and said some of the Bills might have to be bulldozed through by the President's Council because the Houses of Representatives and Delegates would not support them.

But the Government is also likely to disclose a significant concession — that it has agreed to establish a Land Commission to consider reparations for people who were forced off their land by apartheid laws.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel and Development Aid and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers are scheduled to address a press conference today on the Government's land reform policy.

One of the five Bills in the package repeals the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and other discriminatory laws and measures, the Residential Environment Bill stipulates measures to maintain living standards when the Group Areas Act is gone, while the remaining three Bills deal with other as-

pects of land reform such as improving black land tenure and establishing small black farmers.

While only the Conservative Party has opposed the abolition Bill, the Labour Party has led an attack on the Residential Environment Bill, claiming that it is inherently racist and will give white neighbourhood councils "Draconian" powers to enforce unrealistic residential standards.

They and other opposition parties also oppose the remaining three Bills which they consider ill-conceived and overly-bureaucratic.

The Joint Committee on Land Reform has met about 25 times during the last seven weeks trying to work out compromises.

## Diluted

After disagreements between the Cabinet and the National Party members on the committee, provisional agreement was reached to push through only the abolition Bill this year, to drop the Residential Environment Bill and include some of its provisions in diluted form in the abolition Bill, and to postpone the other three Bills until next year.

The other parties also managed to persuade the National Party to agree to the principle of granting reparations through a Land Commission — reversing one of the key points of the White Paper.

However, the Labour Party caucus apparently dug in its heels and refused to support any measures to maintain residential standards.

The National Party insisted on some measures — largely to fulfil President de Klerk's

promise to the white electorate to allay their fears about the repeal of the Group Areas Act.

Parliamentary and official sources said yesterday that the Labour Party's refusal to accept a compromise had provoked the Government to go back to its original plan to continue with all five Bills.

However, it is not clear whether or not these Bills will be amended to take account of some of the suggested compromises.

Government sources are sure that the Land Commission idea has not been dropped and will be incorporated as an amendment to the abolition Bill.

Opposition land reform specialists will be especially keen to know how much the controversial residential standards proposals have been softened.

And they have also expressed fears that the scope of the Land Commission's powers to advise on reparations might be narrowly circumscribed.

Parliamentary sources say the content of the remaining three Bills has not been discussed in the land reform committee and that there will be an uproar if the Government tries to bulldoze them through without proper discussion.

The Government needs at least the abolition Bill to go through Parliament this year to meet one of the conditions for the main American sanctions to be lifted.

The Conservative Party stormed out of the land reform committee early on because of its implacable opposition to the repeal of the Land Acts and Group Areas Act.



# Top-level steps to restart talks

Star 20/5/91

Political Staff

A hurried series of top-level meetings between the main figures in South Africa's latest political crisis are scheduled for this week.

The twin aims of the meetings are reaching agreements aimed at curbing township violence, and getting the negotiating process back on the rails after the ANC's withdrawal at the weekend.

At the centre of the dispute which has led to the breakdown in constitutional talks between the Government and the ANC is the carrying of "cultural" spears and axes by Inkatha supporters.

Talks scheduled for this week include:

- President F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini within the next two days, following the President's meeting last week with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The President, faced with the main ANC demand that weapons be banned at political rallies, is expected to announce a ban this week.

His meeting with the King is seen as a bid to gain some compromise, possibly that "cultural" weapons would be carried on cultural occasions only — excluding political meetings.

- The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to meet Chief Buthelezi in a bid to boost the stalled peace process.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Mr Chikane would meet Chief Buthelezi later today.

Mr Chikane would seek the Inkatha leader's support for a church-sponsored peace conference aimed at stopping township violence.

"All the church leaders will be going to Johannesburg tomorrow for an emergency meeting about ways we might be able to help to get things going again," Archbishop Tutu said.

## Alternative

The proposed church peace conference is strongly regarded as an alternative to the Government peace talks scheduled for Friday and Saturday in Pretoria.

Major extra-parliamentary parties, apart from Inkatha, have said they will boycott the Government talks, while there are indications a meeting of the main players under the auspices of the churches is possible.

However, the ANC is to arrange a two-day general strike, mass protests on June 15, consumer boycotts and a day of fasting on Wednesday to support political prisoners on hunger strike.

Top ANC sources said yesterday that the ANC decision to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the Government imposed a ban on "cultural" spears and axes at political meetings.

The Government believes the ANC, in its statement after Friday's meeting of the extended NEC, "left the door open" for a return to constitutional talks if the Government made progress towards meeting the ANC's demands for action against violence in its original ultimatum of April 5.

"It is significant that the ANC's statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions," a senior Government source said.

- Margaret Thatcher held a 40-minute telephone conversation with Nelson Mandela yesterday, Sapa reports.

She is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi before returning home this week.

# Major players shun summit

By Kaizer Nyatsumba  
Political Staff Star

20/5/77  
President de Klerk's two-day peace summit in Pretoria this week will go ahead without the major extra-parliamentary organisations.

The May 24-25 multi-party conference to deal with violence, announced by President de Klerk in Parliament last month, was shot down by most left-wing and right-wing extra-parliamentary organisations as soon as it was announced. Most of them said they would not attend.

Those who indicated at the weekend that they would not attend included the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the

Azanian People's Organisation and the Boerestaat Party.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has still not decided whether to attend.

The ANC leadership decided at a meeting on Friday that it and its allies — the SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions — would not attend the peace summit.

The only two major parties to embrace the peace summit are the Democratic Party, whose leader Dr Zach de Beer promised full support for it when it was first announced, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party, whose leadership

voted at the weekend to attend the conference.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai told The Star his organisation had received the Government's invitation on Friday and would not attend the conference.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said Azapo would hold a press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday to give details proving the Government's alleged involvement in the violence. (304A)

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the summit would not address the main cause of the violence, which was "the intermingling of all races".



## There's just no Opposition . . .

CAPE TOWN — The House of Representatives will today consider an own-affairs debate without an official Opposition.

On Saturday the five MPs of Jac Rabie's official Opposition party, the United Democratic Party, decided to disband and seek National Party membership.

A week ago the four Democratic Reform Party MPs disbanded to join the NP.

This means there will now be 22 independent MPs in the House against Labour's 38.

At least three more LP MPs are expected to defect and cross benches today.

● Defectors a headache  
for Nats — Page 9



# Black man gives NP a thumbs-up

*Sowetan*  
20/5/71 (304A)  
**FOCUS**

THE National Party made black businessman Mr Dan Makhanya a second-class citizen, but in a multiracial election it would get his vote.

"I am no Uncle Tom," said Makhanya, one of the first blacks to join the party which invented the system of racial segregation that became known to the world as apartheid.

"President FW de Klerk has done what none of his predecessors could do.

"He is very brave because he has successfully challenged the wrath of Afrikaners who for years imbibed apartheid from cradle to grave," said Makhanya, who runs a small industrial relations consultancy.

"De Klerk has been criticised left and right, but he has simply invited people to come forward with solutions. I feel this man needs support."

## Figures

No figures are available for the number of blacks who have joined the National Party since it opened its doors to all races last July but political analysts believe a sizeable number would support De Klerk in a non-racial election.

Two non-white National Party branches have been formed recently, one in the coloured township of Eersterus near Pretoria and the other in Tembisa.

Plans for more branches in black areas are in an advanced stage.

"The National Party does not go out of its way to recruit members," said Mr Joggie Boers, the party's regional secretary for Pretoria.

"People come to us to join. And if people in the area want it, we form a branch. I am astounded by the brotherly love which our

new black members have shown."

Makhanya believes the National Party and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress have a lot in common.

"It is only their strategy which differs, their direction is much the same, so I have opted for the National Party which has an advantage because it is the government of the day," he said.

## Wrong

"What is wrong with what I have done? Blacks send their children to white schools, some have white people fronting their businesses.

"I have just engaged in white politics. I wish to teach my white colleagues something about black aspirations and perceptions."

In Eersterus, about 200 coloureds signed up in two weeks after the NP branch was formed and applications are flooding in, Mr Gershwin Jones, the branch's treasurer, said.

## Peace

"I would like to see many Eersterus residents joining the National Party so we can prosper.

"The National Party is the only party which can give the country peace and stability," said Jones, a businessman.

"I am very optimistic about the future of this country. Mr De Klerk has taken the bull by the horns and is doing what we have always asked."

Political scientist Willie Breytenbach said National Party policies could be acceptable to most blacks.

"Opening National Party bran-



FW DE KLERK

ches in black areas is a logical move for the party, taking into account the results of most recent opinion surveys.

"The opinion polls have been showing all along that De Klerk is the second most popular leader in the country after Mandela," Breytenbach said.

"The National Party has three times more support among coloureds and Indians than among whites.

## Mistake

"Now that the pillars of apartheid are going, there is nothing standing in the way of canvassing support among people of other races," he said.

"But it would be a mistake for the National Party 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."

One recent survey said the ANC would win most votes in South Africa's first democratic election, but would fail to get an outright majority.

Research Surveys said the Nationalists could emerge as the biggest multiracial party and could pick up a significant number of votes from blacks, who were disenfranchised under apartheid.

Makhanya said that although many blacks would vote for the National Party, few would actually join.

"I know blacks, they are usually reluctant to jump into something new.

"They say 'we will tiptoe to look around the corner to see what is in store for us'." - Sapa-Reuter.

**Sowetan's cartoonist Len Sak is on leave. His work will reappear when he returns.**

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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# UDP MPs disband their party, join the Nats

FIVE House of Representatives MPs decided at the weekend to disband their United Democratic Party (UDP) and join the National Party.

The decision was unanimously endorsed by the 48 national executive members at a special meeting.

The party was also in the process of enrolling its 40 000 members with the NP, the UDP said in a statement yesterday.

Meanwhile the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, says he is not aware that any members of his Solidarity Party are poised to join the National Party.

This follows weekend reports that some MPs in the House of Delegates, particularly from Solidarity, were keen to join the NP.

Dr Reddy said that it was the democratic right of anybody to join whichever party they wanted

to, but Solidarity was going strong and had been gaining support.

No MP from the HoD has yet applied for NP membership.

It has also been suggested that more opposition MPs in the House of Representatives will join the NP within weeks.

President F W de Klerk is expected to comment on this matter during the week. — Sapa and Political Staff

# Ministers to keep 'wasteful positions'

## Political Staff

THE three House of Delegates "ministerial representatives" are to hang on to their jobs — which cost the taxpayer an estimated R1.2-million annually — despite charges of inefficiency.

This follows the weekend intervention by the HoD's Ministers' Council.

Dr J N Reddy, chairman of the Ministers' Council, said yesterday the performance of the ministerial representatives had been doing the work required of them.

The three men — Mr Solly Mansoor, the Rev Chin Reddy and Mr Nelson Raju — enjoy the status of deputy ministers and receive annual salaries of R96 000 each, housing allowances and a Mercedes Benz 230 official car.

Their position came under scrutiny last week when the HoD's Minister of the Budget, Mr Raman Bhana, admitted their positions were "wasteful" and should be scrapped.



# Moves to keep talks on track

Political Staff

304A

THE government is to press ahead with talks with Zulu leaders in an attempt to ease the mounting problems confronting negotiations with the first expected to be a meeting between President F.W. de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelithini this week.

A spokesman for the State President's Office said yesterday the possibility of a meeting between the two "is not excluded".

Inkatha signalled after a central committee meeting at the weekend it would be attending this week's summit on violence, called by Mr De Klerk.

Meanwhile a South African Council of Churches delegation is expected to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the peace process.

This follows the weekend decision of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) to call off talks on a new constitution and not to attend the violence summit on Friday and Saturday.

The NEC decisions referred to its open letter, which included a demand for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and his Defence counterpart General Magnus Malan — a demand the government has flatly dismissed.

● A joint ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party rally attended by more than 2 000 people went off peacefully at Mpumalanga in Natal on Saturday.

● Several thousand Natal Zulu hostel dwellers at a rally in Durban yesterday expressed their opposition to ending the single-sex hostel system.

new category of taxpayer will fund R76 million in the hon the Minister's Budget of the R220 million that he has given out.

This drop in the ocean will not solve many problems. Identified delivery systems of relief and aid are clearly not yet in place, and it would be true to say that the conditions for the average Black South African are even worse today than they were 16 months ago when the transition process started. The underprivileged are fast losing hope, and to this extent I wish to put forward several constructive proposals to help restore personal dignity and our social fabric.

Firstly, the State should create new employment programmes to create site-and-service stands, housing, electricity and other infrastructural projects. This could be handled by the State or tendered out to private enterprise. Prescribed asset requirements may be necessary to fund such projects. Although this is not an optimal situation, it is certainly the lesser of evils, as our tax base, as the hon the Minister has already said, is too small because of years of low economic growth. This type of programme was successfully introduced during the Great Depression in both the USA and in this country, and it could be started virtually immediately. Only the State has the resources to kick-start such a programme. [Time expired.]

Mr J J WALSH: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister correctly referred to the restrictions placed on him as far as the tax base is concerned, but I believe we need to be constructive and look for alternative forms of financing. This party, earlier in the session, raised the whole question of a State lottery, which I believe, as a matter of grave importance, should be looked at and a decision taken.

Secondly, we as a party have for many, many years been critical of the own affairs Administrations and the duplications, of facilities in that area. Yesterday the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council indicated that there was scope for rationalisation, and we would ask: Is now not the time to look at that rationalisation very carefully, saving expenditure where we can. Admittedly many, many staff members are involved, but maybe we should be looking at

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

retraining those people for re-employment in job creation and development priorities.

With regard to the whole question of pension parity, which would cause a further drain, we have lodged pleas for, as we believe it is imperative that that should be done as soon as possible. [Time expired.]

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:** Mr Chairman, the hon member himself referred to high expectations. I want to issue a word of caution. So many people have talked about a lottery as a possible alternative source of revenue that, really, even if it should happen, there is no way that that source of revenue could ever address the question of hospitals, etc.

Secondly, with regard to the rationalisation of own affairs we are certainly not talking about the scale of funding that is necessary to address the poverty issue in the short term. I do not think that we should raise too high a level of real expectations.

As far as the hon member for Bezuidenhout's comments are concerned, he took a percentage which really, in itself, is a drop in the ocean, but that is additional to what is already being spent according to the Estimates of Expenditure. With great respect, that is the maximum that could have been done right now.

The hon member for Pinelands referred earlier to the whole question of various sources of funds. That is the situation as it obtains now. We have our normal sources. Certainly we are very loath to even contemplate a return to the whole issue of prescribed assets, because it gives rise to a lot of distortions in our economy. However, right now one has one's normal sources, but one has an additional source, which is the conversion of a sterilised amount of capital, lying there dormant in the way of a strategic fund, to a different kind of application altogether. This is why one cannot make it part of one's normal budget. Therefore, one needs a certain degree of arithmetic logistics in order to find out exactly what the expenditure is.

I want to reiterate: The extent of need is such today that we can do what we like, but a shifting of priorities, a rationalisation, even a state lottery—all of those things put together—will be

of no avail whatsoever without very rapid return to high economic growth. [Time expired.]  
Debate concluded.

#### QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

#### Day of peace and reconciliation

\*1. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the State President:

Whether the Government will consider designing a special day in the near future, after consultation with religious leaders, to be known as a day of peace and reconciliation in South Africa, when churches of all denominations and women's, youth and other community organisations will be asked to arrange prayer meetings to be held throughout the country with a view to mobilising all citizens of goodwill to join in an endeavour to end the violence and to seek peace and reconciliation; if not, why not; if so, when?

B998E

**THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT** (for the State President):

The custom in South Africa has been for many years that churches take the lead in setting aside special days of supplication, and that they then submit a request to that effect to the Government.

Since we are on the eve of a Conference on Violence and Intimidation, which is to be held in Pretoria on 24 and 25 May 1991, and which will be attended by key leaders from church circles of various denominations, that would be a good opportunity to make such a request to the Government, which would be sympathetic towards it in principle.

Mr D H M GIBSON: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply by the hon the State President I would like to ask whether the Government is aware that ordinary people in South Africa are desperate to find a solution to the violence in South Africa and that they believe that people of

goodwill must take the initiative and, if the initiative has not come from anybody else, that the Government must take the initiative.

In this regard I would like to ask whether the hon the State President would consider placing the matter on the agenda at the peace conference himself, as a matter that could be discussed.

**THE MINISTER:** Mr Chairman, I would like to make it very clear that the Government shares the concern of all responsible South Africans about the tragic and shocking level of violence, of death and of damage that is taking place. [Interjections.]

The Government, on the other hand, has never in the past taken initiatives with regard to religious matters. It has relied on the leadership of the churches in that respect, and I am quite sure that at the forthcoming conference the churches will take the initiative. If they do not, I am sure that all of us who may be in the privileged position of attending would certainly promote that idea very strongly.

Ministers:

#### Exiles: number returned to SA

\*1. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many members of the ANC, the SACP and other previously prohibited organisations that were banned from South Africa or that fled or left South Africa after these organisations had been declared prohibited, (a) returned to South Africa in the 1990 calendar year, (b)(i) may still apply to return to South Africa and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished and (c) what are the names of the other previously prohibited organisations?

B936E

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

(a) The Department has no record of members of previously prohibited organisations that returned to South Africa on their own on an individual basis. No members returned to South Africa on an organised basis during 1990.

(b) (i) and (ii) There is no definitive indication of how many exiles there are aboard and how many of them would

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Govt preparing to hand over services

CAPE TOWN — Government is preparing to rationalise and decentralise some of the basic services it provides to ensure that the transfer of these services to a new government will be as smooth as possible.

Speaking in the House of Assembly Budget debate yesterday, Justice Minister and Ministers' Council chairman Kobie Coetsee said the white own affairs' administration was preparing "policy positions and approaches" to deal with the transition of the management of services it provided.

Although the present constitutional structures would have to be maintained until new structures had been negotiated, the House of Assembly was prepared to relinquish some of its functions to other bodies.

"The envisaged handing over of primary health care to local authorities is a case in point," Coetsee said.

The administration was also prepared to make its services and facilities

LESLEY LAMBERT

ties available to other population groups, he said.

"Although the administration has been constitutionally charged to look after the needs of a particular population group, it is more than willing to make its services and facilities available to all, where this is possible."

An additional measure, said Coetsee, was for the House of Assembly to prepare for the rationalisation of other services in order to ensure a quick and effective changeover to a new constitutional structure.

The future of the white own affairs administration was limited. The cornerstone on which it stood — that of a statutorily prescribed race group — was expected to be omitted from the new constitution, Coetsee said.

But while it remained in existence, the administration would gladly co-operate with other own affairs administrations, the general affairs departments and the provincial administrations.

The specialised expertise it had in certain areas would be made available to all.

The administration was keen to be part of the reform process and welcomed every opportunity granted to it to make a contribution, he said.



● COETSEE

## Politicians pay tribute to Tian van der Merwe

CAPE TOWN — Warm tribute was paid by all parties in the House of Assembly yesterday to DP chairman and Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe, who died after a car accident on Sunday evening.

A red rose lay on Van der Merwe's empty seat as all three houses paid tribute to him and observed a minute's silence, Sapa reports.

The Speaker, Louis le Grange, started formal proceedings by saying he regretted to announce a vacancy in the Green Point constituency from May 19.

A number of senior NP members shook DP leader Zach de Beer's hand in condolence. De Beer moved that the House express its deep bereavement at Van der Merwe's death and its appreciation for his "inestimable service" over more than 13 years as an MP.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said government and the NP identified themselves with great empathy with De Beer's motion. During his time in Parliament, Van der Merwe had developed into a formidable debater and common ground had existed between him and such opponents as the NP on issues such as righteousness.

Our Political Staff report that DP Western Cape chairman Jannie Momborg said it was tragic Van der Merwe died before his dream of an apartheid-free democracy had become a reality.

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said Van der Merwe would be remembered as "a worthy parliamentarian who commanded esteem and respect".

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse praised Van der Merwe's contribution and commitment to change in SA.

Extra-parliamentary politicians also paid tribute.

ANC spokesman Trevor Manuel said Van der Merwe's commitment to justice was deeply admired, while SACP spokesman Cheryl Carolus said Van der Merwe would have made a wonderful contribution to the restructuring of SA because of his honesty, integrity and humility.

● See Page 11



# Land deal part of Tian's legacy

CAPE TOWN — In a tragic irony yesterday, the day after Tian van der Merwe (DP Greenpoint) died in a car accident, government announced a new land reform package incorporating a number of his suggestions.

Only last week he confided to us that he had proposed to NP MPs that they accept the call for a land commission, scrap the controversial Residential Environment Bill and incorporate some of its less contentious provisions in the bill abolishing the Group Areas Act and Land Acts.

Although he had serious reservations about the stipulations for preservation of standards in particular residential areas, and wondered whether his compromise proposal might have gone too far, he hoped that this would allow the abolition bill to be passed by Parliament with little opposition.

It remains to be seen whether the Labour Party will support the compromise deal.

Van der Merwe's role in the delicate land reform debate was typical of his style and reflected the wide-spread credibility he enjoyed within Parliament and beyond.

He was uncompromising in his commitment to justice, civil liberties and an SA in which everyone had equal rights. Indeed, as many

of the tributes to the former DP chairman pointed out yesterday, he was very much part of the process of building the new SA.

His willingness to work tirelessly within the often frustrating constraints of parliamentary procedures and structures demonstrated a pragmatism which became evident in the behind-the-scenes negotiations in the Joint Committee on the land bills.

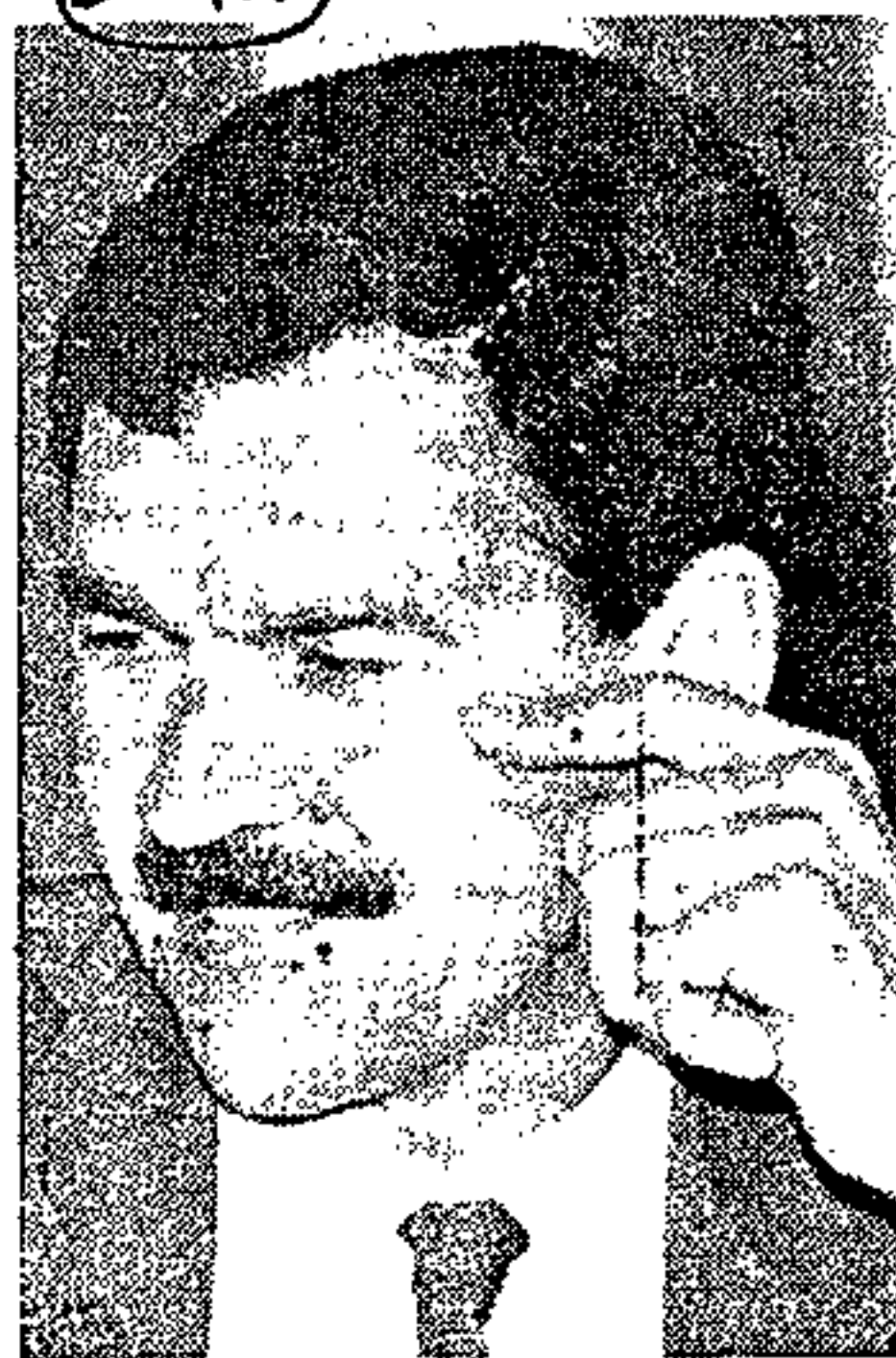
He did not believe government was going far enough, particularly in regard to the victims of forced removals, but accepted that compromises and trade-offs would probably have to be made if SA were to be rid formally of the cornerstones of apartheid as speedily as possible.

Much of his parliamentary career was spent assisting people who had suffered the consequences of apartheid through the Group Areas Act and compulsory race classification.

Had Van der Merwe, who was born the year the NP came to power, been spared, he would have had the pleasure of witnessing the demise of both of these measures.

Tributes from political friends and foes continued to flood in yesterday.

ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and BARRY STREEK



● VAN DER MERWE

President FW de Klerk noted that Van der Merwe "at all times commanded the respect of his supporters and those who opposed him alike". The MP for Green Point, he said, was a capable and well-respected public representative whose contribution would be missed by Parliament.

Parliamentary security services joint committee chairman Hennie Smit, who at times locked horns with the DP's law and order spokesman, described him as "a formidable debater who played

the man's man when it came to debating".

Van der Merwe was "a man who had strong beliefs in humanity, in the upliftment of the underprivileged", and "was never a bad loser", he said.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg described Van der Merwe as a formidable parliamentarian who commanded respect and was able to put his case forcefully without giving offence.

However, none of these tributes captured Van der Merwe's extraordinary warmth, wicked sense of humour, love for story-telling and parties, and his ability to captivate with disarming charm.

He will be remembered as a multi-talented individual who knew how to work hard and play hard.

In another irony yesterday, three written questions, submitted to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok by Van der Merwe, were answered. They concerned the murder of a CCB operative, the detention of 12 Alexandra Civic Organisation members and the death of a civilian in a police helicopter crash.

The questions reflected his commitment to truth and justice for all — and gave another hint of just how much his contribution will be missed by all South Africans.

# Govt revamps package of land reform Bills, sets up Land Commission

1962-2-11/5/91

BILLY PADDOCK

**CAPE TOWN** — The Cabinet has withdrawn two of the five draft land Bills and replaced them with a single one scrapping the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts and incorporating "radically scaled down" measures to maintain residential norms and standards.

The new draft Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill also includes provision for setting up a Land Commission to advise government on possible cases of restitution for people previously disadvantaged by race laws, including forced removals.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Herens Kriel said during a news conference yesterday that government still believed a programme of restitution was not practical or financially viable. "Government is, however, not insensitive to the cause of people or communities who were possibly disadvantaged in the past."

The controversial Residential Environment Bill, aimed at giving neighbourhoods control over setting norms and standards, has been scrapped following widespread

criticism that it entrenched white rights at the expense of those of blacks moving into white areas.

But these provisions have been included in the new Bill, preventing opposition parties from voting for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act but rejecting neighbourhood norms and standards.

However, the norms and standards "may not discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or creed or be grossly unreasonable", Kriel said.

He said any by-law that discriminated on the same basis should at the outset be

null and void. "This is stated categorically in a new provision upholding the common law position," he said.

The new Bill will be sent back to the joint committee on land affairs before being debated in Parliament.

The Land Commission would not be entitled to expropriate land. Government's ability to buy land to compensate aggrieved property owners would be determined by available finances.

He said the Land Commission would advise government on:

□ The identification of state-owned land

obtained to further the aims of the Group Areas Act and the 1936 Land Act, which had not been allocated for other purposes;

□ The identification of rural land with the aim of establishing agricultural units;

□ The development, within the state's financial ability, of land so identified; and

□ The allocation of such land to deserving persons or communities that had made claims to the commission for restitution.

The Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein yesterday welcomed government's flexibility, but said it was only a partial deal



**W**HAT President F W de Klerk needs from the international community now is not the lifting of sanctions. They are crumbling anyway. In light of the ANC's latest actions, what he needs is a strong political signal that measures to end the violence, draconian if need be, will not diminish the growing acceptance that the changes he has undertaken are truly irreversible.

Unless the killing stops, the end of sanctions will be meaningless. Under present conditions, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's ban on new investment could end tomorrow, and local authorities could simultaneously stop penalising investors, nothing would happen. The tap would be open, but all SA would hear would be a dry hiss.

Unfortunately, achieving international support for the kind of measures quite conceivably required — house-to-house weapons searches, massive deployments of troops and police, curfews and even restrictions on public meetings — will not be easy, inclined though many governments might be towards sympathy. The blame for the violence must be accurately pinned, and not allowed to fall by default on the government side.

**P**art of the problem is the Inkatha traditional weapons issue and the related question of government bias, both at the political and security levels, towards Mangosuthu Buthezi. Over here, no one understands the cultural niceties which somehow make it obligatory for Zulus, especially when in large formations, to carry spears and axes as though they were umbrellas.

And frankly it is not worth even trying to explain. Call this Western cultural imperialism if you will, but, as Buthezi himself must surely appreciate, the burden is a small one compared with what he and his fellow countrymen stand to lose if they do not submit to it. Furthermore, if the issue is not resolved by the time he comes here next month, he might as well call the trip off for all the good it will do his cause. Another difficulty the government

# FW needs the world behind him to crush violence

6/Day 21/5791 3049

## SIMON BARBER in Washington

faces is broader and more impendable. Most reforming governments under attack from leftist liberation movements have confronted the problem, and most have lost, partly because they were unable fully to contain the forces of reaction, and partly because they never developed effective countermeasures. It is the propaganda war.

El Salvador's late president Jose Napoleon Duarte, a Christian Democrat and a genuine reformer whom many American conservatives despised as something of a sellout, lamented in retrospect that "overall, we were being crushed under the avalanche of international Press coverage. We had been totally unprepared for it. If we had developed some structure to handle the Press, some capacity for investigating charges and demonstrating what was true or false, we might have done better. FMLN (the Marxist rebel movement) propaganda almost defeated us by itself."

Attempting to control the Press is not the solution. Nor is simply demanding of the ANC that it produces evidence for its claims of police-Inkatha collusion and the continued activities of "death squads". Finding a way to answer charges, especially of human rights abuses, and answer them credibly, comes closer. Thus far, De Klerk has offered little more than his personal sincerity — and an

ambassador from an opposition party — to counter allegations like those raised last week by ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa in the editorial pages of the New York Times.

Phosa asserted that while Pretoria was attempting to portray the violence as "an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between 'tribes', or between the ANC and... Inkatha", the ANC possessed "evidence that paints a more sinister picture".

**H**e wrote: "We believe that the government was using 'surrogates' to undermine the ANC." These included such criminal gangs as the Black Cats and the Three Million Gang in the Free State. "We have testimony from the groups' members detailing police contacts." A member of the Three Million "told how the police instructed his group in mayhem". Phosa also cited "the confessions of Sipho Madela, a former SADF agent who told how his unit assassinated Chief Maphumulo", the head of Conatessa. "To date, his charges have not been investigated."

True or not, such allegations become part of the record over here with little effort at substantiation. As for the ANC's own abuses, the will to research or document them is even weaker. It is considered somehow

impolite to dwell on them at any length, except as the errant behaviour of individuals.

When persons connected with the government are involved in violation of human rights, the government as a whole is held responsible, at least until such time as it has held an inquiry. Similarly, any Zulu-speaking killer is held to be acting on instructions from Inkatha. By contrast, when MK chief Chris Hani says the man who killed ANC dissident Sipho Phungulwain the Transkei last year was not acting in his capacity as an ANC member, the line is readily accepted. As is Hani's promise that ANC detainees will be home by December.

Prejudice of this kind is accentuated by the international human rights lobby, which all too often (there are exceptions) masquerades behind its noble calling to paint a decidedly one-sided version of events. It is a version, however, which sticks in people's minds, especially those of congressmen who do not have the time or inclination to use their critical faculties.

After all, most of their constituents won't be exercising them either.

A classic example is a recent report by Africa Watch entitled 'The Killings in SA — the Role of the Security Forces and the Response of

the State. Africa Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which was originally founded to monitor East Bloc compliance with the Helsinki Accords. It has a good pedigree. Therefore, its bona fides are further enhanced by its readiness to tackle abuse in the rest of the continent. Only last week, it testified before Congress on the rights violations by the Kenyan, Malawian and even Mozambican governments.

The SA report is nonetheless artfully dishonest. It deliberately focuses solely on the activities of the security forces while quite openly admitting that Africa Watch does not examine in depth the policies or practices of either the ANC or Inkatha in initiating or prolonging the violence. Despite that omission, it categorically concludes the the conflict's ethnic component has been exaggerated and that the security forces and their pro-Inkatha bias are the principal villains.

Its sources, which are cited without the first attempt to critique their own points of departure, include the Detainees Aid Group, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Internal Repression, Lawyers for Human Rights and Women Against Repression, all of whom "gathered convincing evidence" to support the report's conclusions. There is not a single reference to the police having, once acted impartially, let alone effectively to save lives, nor even a hint of the conditions under which they must operate.

**O**ne may feel tempted to brush off such reports — and rest assured there are plenty more in the pipeline — as predictable and not very significant. That would be a mistake. Inasmuch as they highlight genuine wrongs, the wrongs must be righted. But it is also important that the record should be set straight in a credible fashion. Otherwise the allegations occupy the field as the "only facts that ultimately count for US and other democratic policymakers."

If the police and other security forces end up as all there is between a decent negotiated settlement and bloody chaos, it will be essential that the outside world has the basis on which to support and defend their actions.

## MPs lining up to join NP

Blom 21/5/77 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The queue of House of Representatives MPs lining up to join the NP is expected to grow this week.

At the weekend the UDP voted to disband and apply for NP membership.

The five UDP MPs joined four from the DRP and a number of independents who have applied for NP membership.

### Political Staff

Labour Party sources said yesterday they were expecting two more of their members to apply for membership.

The NP has to date declined to admit MPs from other houses, but may do so in terms of last year's provincial decisions to open the party to all.



# The Price of Weapons

304A

CT 21/5/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**IN a significant breakthrough, President F W de Klerk is believed to have persuaded Zulu leaders to accept a ban on traditional weapons like spears and assegais in unrest areas.**

New regulations could be gazetted as early as this afternoon.

Mr De Klerk flew to Ulundi yesterday, where he met King Goodwill Zwelithini, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of the Kwa-Zulu cabinet.

Although Zulu leaders at yesterday's talks "made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage", Mr De Klerk was able to secure their support for the government's efforts "to improve control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas".

A joint statement issued by Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi did not spell out the details of the agreement but noted that the government was drafting amending regulation "along the line agreed upon". Meanwhile, former British prime minister Mrs

Margaret Thatcher called on political leaders not to become bogged down in "procedural arguments" which would stall the negotiations process — an apparent criticism of the ANC's suspension of negotiations.

Departing from her prepared speech delivered at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg, Mrs Thatcher encouraged South African leaders to get rid of violence and to get on with the job of finding a negotiated solution to the country's problems.

Mrs Thatcher is due to meet Chief Buthelezi today.

## 'Decision stands'

The general-secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, announced that clerics would gather in Johannesburg today in another attempt to break the deadlock on black violence.

The government has affirmed that it will push ahead with its peace summit next week — an empty exercise without the ANC.

The ANC said last night that the government agreement with Chief Buthelezi on the issue of "cultural weapons" could be very important.

But ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation's refusal to attend the peace conference stood and had nothing to do with the controversy.

● A research organisation, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), yesterday blamed Inkatha supporters for 66% of attributable incidents of violence on the Reef which have claimed the lives of more than 1 800 people since July 22 last year. The ANC was blamed for 6% and the security forces for 18%.

A report by CASE researcher Dr David Everatt found that on 82 occasions of political violence on the Reef firearms were used in 62% of the incidents. He added that the furore over traditional weapons had served to obscure the weapons actually being used by parties in the conflict.

Dr Everatt told a Johannesburg media briefing yesterday his research was based on media reports. Inkatha last night rejected the finding and said the use of newspaper reports and reports by other organisations with an ANC bias was unacceptable.

CASE describes itself as an independent socio-political research organisation and recently worked with Penguin Books to produce a series of books examining such issues as death squads, ecology in South Africa and the ANC's armed struggle.



304A  
CT 21/5/91

# Maggie dodges RAU picketers

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday narrowly avoided having to run the gauntlet of placard-waving demonstrators outside the Rand Afrikaans University, where she received an honorary doctorate.

About 200 students protesting on one side of Kingsway Road outside RAU traded insults with about 50 Inkatha supporters across the way.

Mrs Thatcher's six-car motorcade turned off Kingsway near the protesters, taking a back entrance to the campus.

Members of the anti-Thatcher group carried placards saying "Iron Lady is Hard Hearted" and "Thatcher Gaan Huis Toe" (Thatcher Go Home) while her supporters held placards saying "Get on with talks — Page 2"

## Thatcher tribute to Tian

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Britain's former prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said yesterday that the death of Democratic Party MP Mr Tian van der Merwe was a "tragic loss for South Africa."

In a statement released by the British embassy Mrs Thatcher sent a message to DP leader Dr Zach de Beer saying she had "greatly enjoyed meeting him and your colleagues in Cape Town on Thursday."

Mr Van der Merwe had made "a great contribution to human rights and political freedom and this is a tragic loss for South Africa."

"I would like to express my deepest sympathy to his family."

● Tributes to Tian van der Merwe — Page 2



**ANTI MAGGIE**  
Students of the University of the Witwatersrand protest at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday against the visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher.  
Picture: AP

# 50%

**WOMEN'S**

**ALL SUITS**  
SPORTS COATS AND  
LEATHER JACKETS

**PLUS**  
**MACQUINN DAYS**

## Syrets Cape Times Share Challenge

**TODAY'S PRIZE:**  
R800

**TODAY'S INDEX:**  
(+) R1,21

There were no winners for Saturday's Share Challenge. If your share price total movement equates exactly R1,21 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 488 4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 488 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

**DAILY LISTING — Page 11**  
**STOCK PRICES — Page 10**

## Group attacks Ikey

**Education Reporter**

A WHITE UCT student was attacked and beaten with a metal bar by a group wearing green T-shirts and chanting "one settler — one bullet" at the weekend.

Other students were also joined and threatened on campus by the group shortly after the launch of the UCT branch of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) at a lunchtime meeting on Saturday.

The group apparently broke away from the main body of Paso members — most of whom wore green T-shirts — when the meeting ended.

First-year student Mr Chris Lot, 18, suffered a broken nose, two black eyes and bruises.

Mr Lot, who declined to be photographed by the Cape Times for fear of intimidation, told police he was walking through the subway under De Waal Drive when a gang of about 15 young men attacked him.

Mr Lot, a committed Christian, shouted "In Jesus' name I rebuke you" and was left hurt and bleeding, but able to seek help.

Last night the acting vice-chancellor, Professor John Reid, said UCT was aware of three separate incidents of violence on the campus on Saturday. He was "outraged" at the "thugery".

He had asked for the matters to be investigated as speedily as possible so that university or police action could be taken.

A vice-president of the Students' Representative Council, Mr Duncan Parsley, said the incidents contradicted a motion on violence passed at a students' assembly last week committing students to build a culture of political tolerance at UCT.

He stressed that none of the attackers had been positively identified as UCT students, but that Paso would be approached to distance the organisation from the assaults.

PAC information secretary and national executive member Mr Barney Desai said violence against civilians "could never be sanctioned" by the organisation and the slogan "one settler, one bullet" did not form part of PAC policy.

# SO Sa



304A  
CT 21/5/91  
**Maggie dodges  
RAU picketers**

Own Correspondent

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Members of the anti-Thatcher group carried placards saying "Iron Lady is Hard Hearted" and "Thatcher Gaan Huis Toe" (Thatcher Go Home) while her supporters held placards saying

"Sanctions Kill, Thatcher Understands".

Scuffles among the protesters continued off-campus.

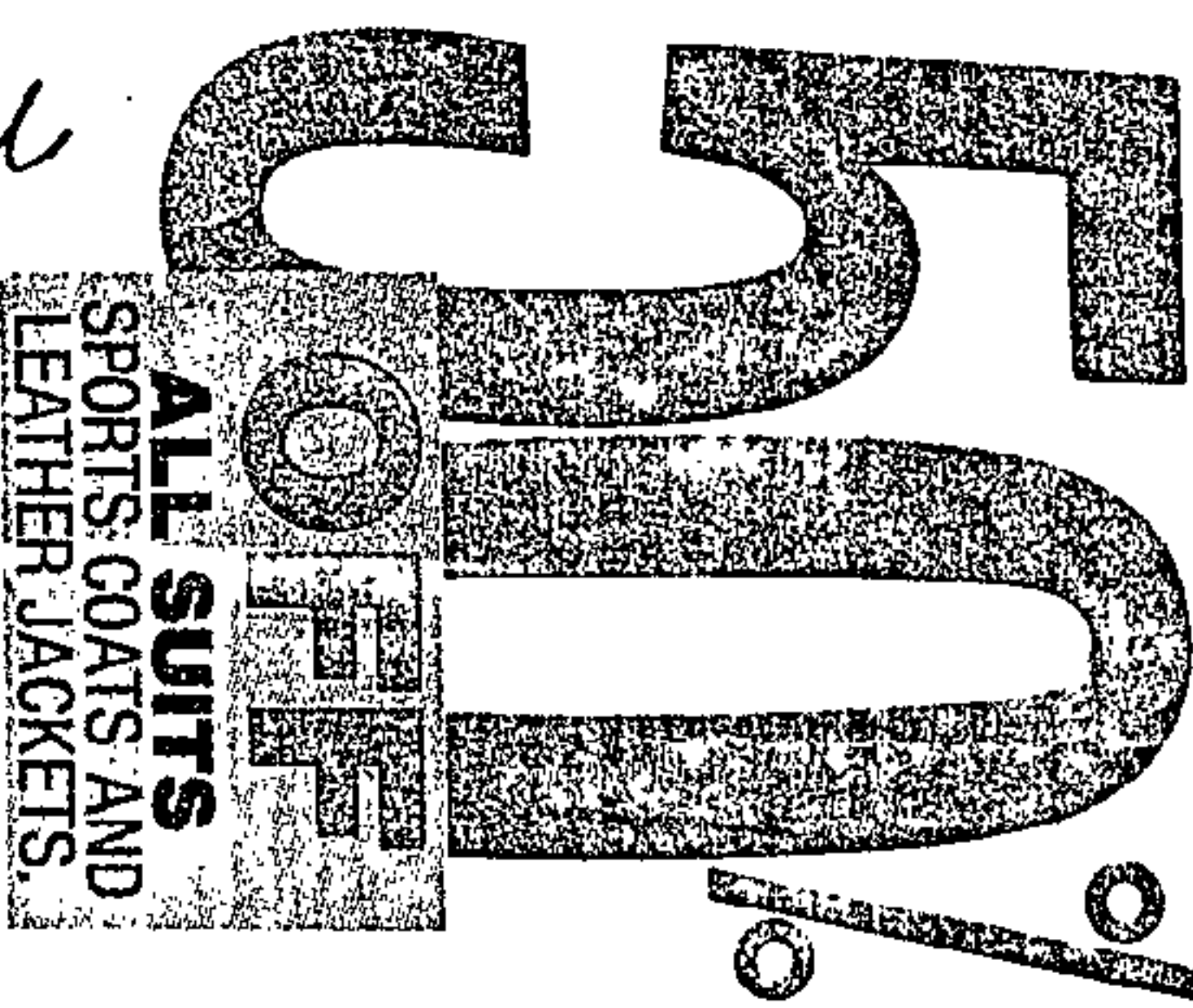
The Inkatha supporters were bussed in from Soweto after a RAU student gained permission from the university authorities for them to picket in support of Mrs Thatcher.

Mr Paulo Andrade, who organised the "bus-in", said he was a member of the student National Party at RAU but was acting on his own initiative.

Despite requests from the ANC supporting students, a heavy police presence refused to stop Inkatha supporters from bumping and threatening some 200 students who were protesting against Mrs Thatcher. — Sapa

● Get on with talks — Page 2

**FROM THE  
THE BEST FOR LESS**



**ALL SUITS  
SPORTS COATS AND  
LEATHER JACKETS.**

**PLUS**

**MACC'S 30 DAYS**

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**ANTI  
MAGGIE**

Students of the University of the Witwatersrand protest at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday against the visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher.

Picture: AP

**SO  
SA**



# Violence must not cloud Overseas acceptance

304R (204R) C/Tues 21/5/91

WHAT President F W De Klerk needs from the international community now is not the lifting of sanctions. They are crumbling anyway, in light of the ANC's latest actions, what he needs is a strong political signal that measures to end the violence, draconian if need be, will not diminish the growing acceptance that the changes he has undertaken are truly irreversible.

Unless the killing stops, the end of sanctions will be meaningless. Under present conditions, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's ban on new investment could end tomorrow, and local authorities could simultaneously stop penalising investors; nothing would happen. The tap would be open, but all South Africa would hear would be a dry hiss.

Unfortunately, achieving international support for the kind of measures quite conceivably required — house-to-house weapon searches, massive deployments of troops and police, curfews and even restrictions on public meetings — will not be easy, inclined though many governments might be towards sympathy. The blame for the violence must be accurately pinned, and not allowed to fall by default on the government.

Part of the problem is the Inkatha traditional weapons issue and the related question of government

bias, both at the political and security levels, towards Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Over here, no one understands the cultural niceties which sometimes make it obligatory for Zulus, especially when in large formations, to carry spears and axes as though they were umbrellas.

## Press control

And frankly it is not worth even trying to explain. Call this Western cultural imperialism if you will, but as Buthelezi himself must surely appreciate, the burden is a small one compared to what he and his fellow countrymen stand to lose if they do not submit to it. Furthermore, if the issue is not resolved by the time he comes here next month, he might as well call the trip off for all the good it will do his cause.

Another difficulty the government faces is broader and more ponderable. Most reforming governments under attack from leftist liberation movements have confronted the problem, and most have lost, partly because they were unable fully to contain the forces of reaction, and partly because they never developed effective countermeasures. It is the propaganda war.

El Salvador's late President Jose Napoleón Duarte, a Christian

Democrat and a genuine reformer whom many American conservatives despised as something of a sell-out, lamented in retrospect that "overall, we were being crushed under the avalanche of international Press coverage. We had been totally unprepared for it. If we had developed some structure to handle the Press, some capacity for investigating charges and demonstrating what was true or false, we might have done better. FMLIN (the Marxist rebel movement) propaganda almost defeated us by itself."

Attempting to control the Press is not the solution. Nor is simply demanding of the ANC that it produces evidence for its claims of police-Inkatha collusion and the continued activities of "death squads". Finding a way to answer charges, especially of human rights abuses, and answer them credibly, comes closer. Thus far, De Klerk has offered little more than his personal sincerity — and an ambassador from an opposition party — to counter allegations like those raised last week by ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa in the editorial pages of the New York Times.

Phosa asserted that while Pretoria was attempting to portray the violence as "an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between

"tribes", or between the ANC and Inkatha, the ANC possessed "evidence that paints a more sinister picture". "We believe," he wrote, that the government was using "surrogate" to undermine the ANC. These included such criminal gangs as the Black Cats and the Three Million Gang in the Free State. "We have testimony from the groups' members detailing police contacts." A member of the Three Million "told how the police instructed his group in mayhem".

Phosa also cited "the confessions of Siphos Madela, a former SADF agent who told how his unit assassinated Chief Maphumulo", the head of Contalela. "To date, his charges have not been investigated."

True or not, such allegations become part of the record over here with little effort at substantiation. As for the ANC's own abuses, the will to research or document them is even weaker. It is considered somehow impolite to dwell on them at any length, except as the errant behaviour of individuals.

## Congressmen

When a person or persons connected with the government are involved in violation of human rights, the government as a whole is held responsible, at least until such time as it has held an inquiry,

which will then itself be impeached. Similarly, any Zulu-speaking killer is held to be acting on instructions from Inkatha. By contrast, when MK Chief Chris Hani killed ANC dissident Sipho Phungulwa in the Transkei last year was not acting in his capacity as an ANC member, the line is readily accepted. As is Hani's protest that ANC "defects" will be home by December.

Prejudice of this kind is accentuated by the international human rights lobby, which all too often (there are exceptions) masquerades behind its noble calling to paint a decidedly one-sided version of events. It is a version, however, which sticks in peoples' minds, especially those of Congressmen who do not have the time or inclination to use their critical faculties. After all, most of their constituents won't be exercising them either.

A classic example is a recent report by Africa Watch entitled "The Killings in SA — the Role of the Security Forces and the Role of the State". Africa Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which was originally founded to monitor East bloc compliance with the Helsinki Accords. It has a good pedigree, therefore. Its bona fides are further enhanced by its readiness to tackle

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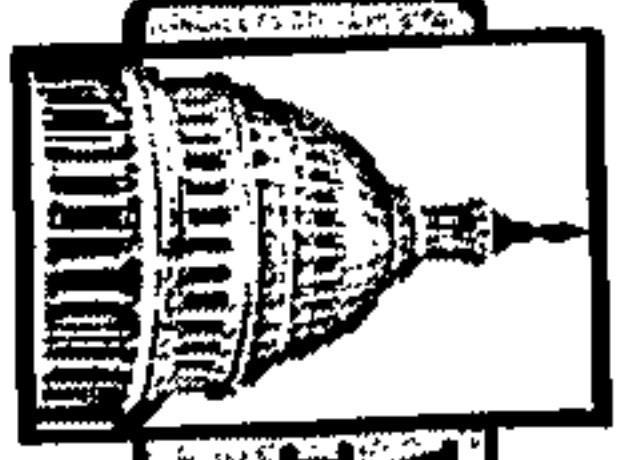
## Brush off

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violence". Despite that omission, it categorically concludes the conflict's ethnic component has been exaggerated and that the security forces and their principal villains.

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support the report's conclusions. There is not a single reference to the police having once acted impartially, let alone effectively to save lives, nor even a hint of the conditions under which they must operate. One may feel tempted to brush off such reports — and rest assured there are plenty more in the pipeline — as predictable and not very significant. That would be a mistake. Inasmuch as they highlight genuine wrongs, the wrongs must be righted. But it is also important that the record should be set straight in a credible fashion. Otherwise the allegations occupy the field as the only facts that ultimately count for US and other democratic policymakers.



Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

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# MP was committed to truth and justice

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

IN A tragic and cruel irony, the day after the Democratic Party MP for Green Point, Tiaan van der Merwe, died in a car accident, the government yesterday announced a new land reform package incorporating a number of his own suggestions.

Only last week, he had confided to us that he had proposed to National Party MPs that they accept the call for a land commission, scrap the controversial Residential Environment Bill and incorporate some of its less contentious provisions in the bill abolishing the Group Areas Act and Land Acts.

Although he had serious reservations about the stipulations for the preservation of standards in particu-

had been spent on assisting and advising people who had suffered the consequences of apartheid through the Group Areas Act and compulsory race classification.

Had Tiaan, who was born the year the National Party came into power, been spared, he would have had the pleasure of finally witnessing the demise of both of these measures.

Some of the yardsticks by which the 43-year-old MP's contribution can be measured — and ways in which he will be missed — were contained in tributes from political friend and foe which continued to flood in for much of yesterday.

## Locked horns

President De Klerk noted that Tiaan "at all times commanded the respect



## Black makes

304A

## Nat history

Star  
Political Staff

21/5/91

A businessman from the Amanzimtoti area, Dan Makhanya, has become the first black person to attend a National Party head committee meeting in Natal.

The NP is refusing to say how many black members it has, insisting that it did not keep a racial head-count.

Mr Makhanya took his place with the leader of the NP in Natal, George Bartlett, all senior Natal party office-bearers, public representatives and representatives of all 20 Natal constituencies at their four-hour meeting at the weekend.

His membership was approved by the Amanzimtoti constituency council of the NP earlier this year.

# Cabinet changes tune on land reparations

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a major turnaround on its land policy, the Cabinet has agreed to establish an advisory land commission to consider reparations for people who lost land through the apartheid laws.

It has also decided to drop the draconian Residential Environment Bill, which would have laid down extremely strict measures to maintain residential standards when the Group Areas Act goes.

However, neighbourhood committees will still be empowered to set norms and standards for their own areas — a provision which is likely to remain controversial.

## Processed

The proposed land commission and the new procedures for setting residential standards have been included in the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, which repealed the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and other laws and measures which discriminate on land ownership and use.

The new Bill was tabled in Parliament yesterday and the Government says it will probably be processed by Parliament's joint committee on land reform legislation within days.

It is likely to be debated next week and will certainly be passed during this session.

The decision in principle to compensate victims of land apartheid reverses the explicit

policy which the Government set out in its White Paper on Land Reform released on March 12.

The turnaround on land reform was announced at a press conference in Cape Town yesterday by Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Minister Hernus Kriel.

He made it clear that although the Government was not ready to mount a total programme of restoring land to victims of apartheid, it was prepared to consider allocating other land to these people.

While these "allocations" would come mainly from land already owned by the State, the Government would also consider buying other land.

Mr Kriel said the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation would be appointed by the State President and would be widely representative of the population.

Asked if the ANC would be represented, Mr Kriel said he was confident Mr de Klerk would ensure that the commission was "credible".

Its powers would be to:

- Identify land belonging to the State which had been acquired under the Group Areas Act and the 1936 Land Act but had not yet been allocated.
- Identify rural land with a view to acquiring and using it for agricultural settlement.
- Develop this land "within the financial means of the State".
- "The orderly allocation of land with due regard to claims by persons disadvantaged" by the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Mr Kriel said anyone who believed he had "a just claim to land" could approach the commission.

Land allocations would be made on the basis that agricultural land should provide a decent living and that residential land would provide adequate living space.

The Government made it clear that in considering rural land it would look beyond land at present owned by the State.

However, this land would be bought and not expropriated.

Mr Kriel stressed it was impossible for the Government to consider total restoration of land lost through unjust laws because of the financial limitations of the State and the impossibility of choosing a cut-off date.

He said the new measures to maintain norms and standards were a "drastic reduction" of the proposals in the Residential Environment Bill.

The provisions discarded included mediation mechanisms to settle neighbourhood disputes as well as the proposed Urban Environment Board, which was to control and prevent urban decay.

## Firm stand

Only the proposed powers of owners of residential sites to make neighbourhood by-laws on norms and standards had been retained.

These powers would be restricted. Another important change was that if any resident felt the standards were racist, they could ignore them. The onus would then be on the local authority to prosecute them.

Under the previous provisions, residents were obliged to initiate court action to set aside provisions they considered racist.

Despite these changes, it seems unlikely that the Labour Party will support the new Bill because it has taken a firm stand against any further measures for tightening standards.

Mr Kriel said the Government intended going ahead this year with the remaining three Bills in its land reform package.

They are: the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Bill, which provides for rationalising land registration systems and upgrading lower-order land tenure rights to full ownership; the Less Formal Township Establishment Bill, which deals with urgent provision of suitable land for the settlement of homeless people in a less formal but still orderly way; the Rural Development Bill, which provides for the development needs of rural areas and communities and for agricultural schemes.

● At least one and probably three parliamentary parties might oppose the Government's re-think on land reforms.

The Conservative Party rejected the new legislation, noting deep disappointment at the Government's intention to press on with the scrapping of the Land Acts and Group Areas Act.

And it was uncertain whether the Democratic and Labour parties would accept the new Bill.

Mr Jan Hoon MP, CP spokesman on planning and provincial affairs, said it was regrettable the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill had not been unconditionally dropped.

The withdrawal of the Residential Environment Bill had been no surprise to the CP, he said.



# MPS pay tribute to Van der Merwe

Warm tribute was yesterday paid in all three chambers of Parliament to Tiah van der Merwe, the Democratic Party MP for Green Point who died after a car accident on Sunday.

Parliament

1991



Before proceedings began in the House of Assembly at 2.15 pm, Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) placed a red rose on Mr van der Merwe's empty front bench.

A number of senior NP members — including Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development Annie Venter and Minister of Public Works, Land Affairs and Development Aid Jacob de Villiers — shook DP leader Dr Zach de Beer's hand in condolence.

The Speaker, Louis le Grange, started formal proceedings after the parliamentary prayer by saying he regretted to announce that a vacancy had occurred in the Green Point constituency from May 19.

Dr de Beer moved that the House express its deep bereavement at Mr van der Merwe's death and its appreciation for his "inestimable service" over more than 13 years as an MP.

Mr van der Merwe had been elected for the first time in 1977 and died shortly before his 44th birthday.

In his almost 14 years in Parliament, Mr van der Merwe had developed into a formidable debater, and common ground had existed between him and opponents in the NP on issues such as righteousness.

The acting leader of the House and Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said the Government and the NP identified themselves with great empathy with Dr de Beer's motion.

Mr Coetsee expressed condolences to the family.

The deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said his party wished to associate itself with the sentiments expressed. Mr van der Merwe had been a capable and well-bred young man.

Mr le Grange said he wished to place it on record that the Chair had got to know him as a "well-educated gentleman".

The House then stood for a minute in silence.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said Mr van der Merwe's death was a shock to all and he would be sadly missed.

He was an outstanding South African who had worked tirelessly for a new South Africa and would be missed at future talks on the new constitution.

"His death leaves us to work for the challenge of a new South Africa to which he gave so much of his energy."

The leader of the Opposition, Jac Rabie (UDP Reiger Park), said Mr van der Merwe would have been able to make a major contribution to the new South Africa.

Tribute was also paid to Mr van der Merwe by members of the House of Delegates yesterday.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council, Dr J N Reddy, said Mr van der Merwe would be remembered for the significant contribution he had made towards change in South Africa.

The leader of the Opposition in the House, Amichand Rajpansi, said he had been an excellent parliamentarian and a person who stood for values opposed to injustice.

"He championed the cause of dismantling apartheid," Mr Rajpansi said. — Sapa.



Mourned . . . tributes pour in for the DP's Tiah van der Merwe who died in a car accident on Sunday.

## Death a great loss — Suzman

Tributes continued to pour in yesterday for the DP's national chairman and spokesman on law and order, Tiah van der Merwe (43).

Among those who paid tribute were former veteran opposition parliamentarian Helen Suzman, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, the CP, and DP colleagues.

Mrs Suzman said his death was a great loss for the whole country.

Mrs Thatcher, who is visiting SA with her husband Sir Denis, said Mr van der Merwe had made a great contribution to human rights in the country and his death was a tragic loss for SA.

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said Mr van der Merwe would be remembered as a dignified parliamentarian who commanded respect and was held in high esteem, despite political differences.

One of Mr van der Merwe's Cape Town colleagues, Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle, said Mr van der Merwe had made his choices on the basis of good heart and good judgment. There were very few people like him around. — Political Staff.



# Spears ban but ANC resists talks

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's latest concession to the ANC — to ban all cultural weapons including spears and axes in unrest areas — was unlikely to persuade the ANC to attend the government's peace summit in Pretoria this week, the brigant-

sation's spokeswoman said.

After a meeting with Kwa-zulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in Ulundi yesterday, President De Klerk announced that the Zulu leaders were "prepared to support the government in efforts to improve the control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas".

The government, President De Klerk said, was now drafting legislation amending regulations along lines agreed on and these would be published soon.

Today ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said her organisation welcomed any move that was likely to reduce violence and tension. However, she said the ANC would respond fully once it had read the government's draft legislation.



Gill Marcus

MAR. 21/5/91

trial party and that there should be chances of it producing results."

It was, therefore, "quite unlikely" that the banning of spears and axes would lead to the ANC changing its decision, she said.

Measures to ban the carrying of spears and axes in unrest areas are to be announced by the government within days.

The display of Zulu "traditional" weapons is likely to be restricted to purely cultural occasions, and specifically excluding political rallies.

The ban will initially be confined to unrest areas where Zulus will have to give notice to magistrates that they intend carrying traditional weapons on cultural occasions.

The steps follow a meeting in Ulundi yesterday between President De Klerk, King Goodwill, Chief Buthelezi and Zulu elders.

Mr De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The breakdown in talks between the African National Congress and the government was a result of spears being excluded from a ban on these weapons in unrest areas. Zulu leaders have resisted a ban and there has been a round of tough talks between President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi.

There is concern that the inclusion of spears only may not satisfy ANC demands, but government sources were hopeful the measure would be enough.

The expected partial ban will reflect government sympathy for the need for Inkatha sympathisers to be able to defend themselves until the ANC lays down its arms.

In a joint statement President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said Zulu leaders had made a clear stand on their cultural heritage but were prepared to support the government in its efforts to improve control on dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

It said the government was drafting amending regulations along the lines agreed on in their talks and these would be published soon.



# Media 'a force for peace'

APG 21/5/91

APG 21/5/91

PRETORIA.. — The SA Media Council is aware that restrictions on the media exist worldwide, but only restrictions which are absolutely necessary are compatible with an open democratic society, according to chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen.

At a Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa function here last night, he said allowing the media at the government-organised conference on violence

## Presence at summit feature of new SA

was a typical feature of a new South Africa.

"Where in the past the Press was often regarded as a nuisance, now the media is drawn in as a force in the promotion of peace and it is... realised that an informed public forms an integral component of the quest for peace and a new democratic society."

He said the Media Council appreciated the planned amendments to the Internal Security Act which could enhance the free reportage of opinions. Cognisance was taken of the fact that government was also studying proposals by the Media Council for more Press freedom.

Professor Van Rooyen said

any legislation granting powers which could lead to arbitrary regulation of the media was not in conformity with the ideals of a democratic society.

"The media accepts that it has a duty to inform the public and to do so in a fair and balanced manner, but it cannot subject itself to the arbitrary exercise of power.

"The exercise of such powers was contrary to the Rule of Law, for which the Press has been an advocate for many years." — Sapa.

## De Beer urges national-unity rule

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zakes Mda warned the government against casting itself in the role of the "implacable enemy" of the ANC, and said South Africa needed a government of national unity.

"I do not believe you should be casting yourselves in the role of the implacable enemy of an organisation as large and important as the ANC.

"If the NP and its allies rule without the ANC, they will fail to maintain law and order.

ARC 24/5/91  
"If the ANC rules by itself, it will fail to create economic confidence."

He added: "The condition of South Africa, politically, socially and economically, is such that we need something in the nature of a government of national unity.

"I believe that the National Party should be seeking, as we do, a broad-based centrist democratic alliance, capable of maintaining law and order, establishing economic confidence and making the new South Africa the great place that it can be."



# Duplication must go — Zac

Political Correspondent

304ff

GOVERNMENT was challenged in parliament to move decisively to prepare for the new South Africa by scrapping "own affairs" duplication, but made it clear that nothing beyond minor tinkering with the system was on the cards for now.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said it was clear the tricameral system was a "last desperate attempt" to maintain white political domination.

Since the government had now admitted this was wrong, "I beseech them to move at once, and decisively, to get rid of these things", he said.

But, introducing white "own affairs" budget debate, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Assembly, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie

Coetsee indicated that while the administration was planning ahead and altering its functions according to the likely future pattern of services, the present structure itself would remain in place.

However, Dr De Beer said it was vital that a start be made now on bringing the new South Africa into being.

"We must work quickly to dismantle what is left of apartheid."

He said that if hospitals could be opened to all, then why could every school not admit pupils of any race.

"If we don't need hospital apartheid, then why do we need to offend the majority of our population by maintaining school apartheid for another two or three years, after which it is doomed anyway."

ARG 21/5/91

# De Klerk 'insensitive' to black feelings — Momberg

Political Correspondent

304A

ARG 21/5/91

PRESIDENT De Klerk was "insensitive" to the feelings of black people when he awarded former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher the Order of Good Hope, the highest honour for foreigners, said Democratic Party MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg.

He told parliament yesterday: "Much as she deserves it, we must understand that millions of the oppressed masses do not share the idea that the award be given on 'behalf of the people of South Africa'."

In a speech on the theme of white insensitivity towards blacks, Mr Momberg said he had always admired Mrs Thatcher as a "superb Prime Minister" who had "put the 'Great' back into Britain".

"She is a lady who by awesome intellectual abilities and guts forever put to bed the idea that a woman cannot be the leader of her country."

But he added: "Whereas I and thousands of South Africans admire Mrs Thatcher, there are millions of blacks who look at her through totally different eyes."

"To them she was the one person in the world who fought against them for 12 years."

"To them she was the person who through the dark months and years of the mid-eighties when repression was at its height, propped up P.W. Botha

even after the disaster of the Rubicon speech.

"For years she called the ANC a terrorist organisation. To many blacks, she was the person who stood between them and liberation in the country of their birth."

"I say again that we whites are insensitive about the feelings of blacks."

On the political front, Mr Momberg said the DP too was worried about the ANC's decision to break off negotiations.

"We hope it will reconsider its position."

"But when I speak of the insensitivity of whites to the feelings of blacks, we must try to understand how the people in the townships at grass roots level feel about the situation."

"What we as whites perceive as 'reasonable' and 'moderate' actions by Mr Mandela and his executive are regarded as 'weakness' and 'selling out' by the blacks."

Mr Momberg said: "We do not understand these things because we are not being told these things."

"We are being told by the government, the Press and TV the one-sided story about the South African political situation. We hardly ever hear the other side of the story."

"Unless whites read newspapers like *South* or the *Sowetan* they hardly ever come into contact with the thoughts of black people."



# MPs await top Nats' decision

By MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

FURTHER discussions are due this week between the National Party and five MPs from the disbanded United Democratic Party, now seeking membership of the NP as MPs.

Leader of the UDP Mr Jac Rabie said yesterday he did not foresee any "real problems" with his allegiance switch.

He confirmed that he and his colleagues were to see senior members of the NP leadership, but said he believed discussions would focus on "technical matters".

Mr Rabie said he had already applied for membership of the National Party branch in Boksburg.

"I am joining not as a coloured, but as a South African."

He said the UDP had decided to disband and throw its weight behind the NP because the government party had "moved ideologically closer to us and we are in agreement on the main constitutional issues".

Last week, the other opposition party in the House of Representatives, the Democratic Reform Party, disbanded and its four MPs announced they too were seeking NP membership.

They have had talks with Cape leader of the NP Dr Dawie de Villiers, but it is understood no decision has been made yet on whether they will become NP MPs.

# Labour holds emergency talks

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

A SLIMMER Labour Party went into an emergency caucus meeting today to count the cost of last week's defections and mount a last-ditch effort to save the party from losing any more MPs.

A Press conference was expected later.

While the defectors claimed that more MPs — possibly as many as 12, and including one of the party's ministers — were on their way across the floor, sources loyal to leader the Reverend Alan Hendrickse said last night the "tide has stopped".

They even speculated that two of the defectors were thinking of returning to the Labour fold.

Today's caucus meeting follows a fretful weekend for the party. There was much phoning around to test the loyalty of remaining MPs after a week that shook the party to its foundations.

The National Party — which was strenuously fighting off the impression last night that it

had entered the fray in the House of Representatives as predators with a deliberate strategy to neutralise the irksome opposition of the Labour Party — will parade its LP conquests at a Press conference today.

NP sources said the swing to the government "just happened at this time — there was no strategy".

The LP said, however, that the move was directly linked to its opposition to what it described as the "discriminatory" norms and standards clauses in the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, due before parliament today.

"They (the government) didn't like the fact that we were standing in their way on this issue and they decided to try and do something about it," a source said.

Attention also turns today to the possibility of Indian MPs in the House of Delegates seeking NP membership.

The NP has confirmed it has been approached, but denies it has been canvassing support in the Indian House.



The hardest part of negotiations is getting the parties to the table, writes Ron Kraybill

# Why won't the ANC play?

Spur 21/5/91  
M 3044

**S**O why won't they play? If the name of the game is reducing violence, why won't the ANC take part in a forum proposed to bring together the most influential political forces in the country to address violence?

Part of the answer points to the most fundamental principle of conflict resolution: process matters more than outcome. People and organisations are more sensitive about how a decision is reached than they are about what the decision itself is.

Consider the principle at a mundane level. It is tea-time at a meeting of professional colleagues. The chair suggests a 30-minute break and announces the names of four women who will be excused early to prepare the tea. A small riot follows as the women insist that the group of tea servers includes men as well as women.

In another organisation, it is also tea-time. Here too, the leader announces the names of four women chosen to serve tea. But here the women laugh good-naturedly as they rise. Why? Their names were randomly chosen by "pulling straws".

The outcome was the same in both groups — individuals were chosen to serve tea against their preferences. But in one, the outcome was accepted because the process was fair.

Democracy is built on this principle. In every democratic election there is a group of people whose candidate lost. For the

losers and their supporters, an outcome has been reached which they actively opposed.

Nevertheless, losers rarely stage a rebellion, even where the stakes are vast, such as in the recent Namibian elections.

"Losers" can almost always be counted upon to step aside and allow the "winners" to move ahead. If the process of elections has been agreed upon in advance by all key parties and the ground rules have been observed.

But the converse holds as well. People will reject almost any outcome — even a wise and fair one — which they feel is the result of a bad process.

It's not that we oppose the idea of further development in our community," complained a leader in a community dispute recently.

"What we resent is the high-handed way the planners go about running this proposal down our throats. This is our community and we want to be consulted about decisions affecting us."

The most critical skill for leaders in any setting is to learn to "think process". This is true in the best of circumstances, but even more so where polarisation is high and trust is low.

Outcomes are important, to be sure, and every political leader must have some in mind. But outcomes are worthless if the process is bad. Key parties will reject the best of ideas and proposals if they are created in processes they find objectionable.

What then are the marks of good process? How to set up a decision-making process whose outcome will enjoy the support of key parties?

In this case, how to reach an important outcome — a gathering of political actors capable of exercising leadership to reduce the violence — by a process capable of succeeding?

The first characteristic is obvious enough. Though history shows leaders frequently ignore it. Good process involves all parties who will be affected by the outcome or who are in a position to block implementation of the outcome.

On this point, the Government deserves credit in its proposal to convene a conference. It appears there has been a sincere effort to invite all key parties.

The second characteristic is less obvious, but equally important. Good process involves all key parties, not only in the process of decision-making, but also in the design of the decision-making process itself.

Suppose you were leader of a key faction involved in a community dispute over what to do with the vacant lot next door. One Saturday you receive a polite invitation announcing that your chief opponent is convening a meeting at his house next Wednesday at 7.30, to "bring together responsible citizens to make decisions critical to the future of our community". Do you go? You are likely to be less than thrilled about the invita-

tion, given the lack of consultation with you. Typically key parties are sceptical of any proposed discussion in which they have not had a role in sorting out such issues as where, when, involving whom and under the auspices of whom.

Strong temptations exist for leaders to design a process they think will work in convening meetings or reaching decisions, and then go and try to "sell" it to other key parties. Government strategists appear to have yielded to this temptation, and are now discovering reality.

Where trust is low, no party to that conflict can realistically hope to "sell" a decision-making or negotiation process to other parties, especially if the "selling" takes place after a public announcement that the seller will be sponsoring the event.

Suppose your opponent takes a different approach. He announces plans one day to convene a commission to discuss the problem. He invites suggestions on the commission. How do you respond now?

Well, it's better than it used to be — at least he seems open to suggestions. But even so you are not pleased. Your archrival is still in the role of making the final decision about how the talks will be arranged, plus he gets the credit if anything successful results.

Key parties want to be more than co-owners of the negotiation forum; they want to be co-architects as well. Don't try to sell them a finished house. Don't expect that

asking their advice will cause them to "buy in" to a house being built in the name of an opponent. Instead, give them a fundamental role at every level of process design.

Go to them and say: "Look, we need to build a forum in which all of us can talk. Would you be interested? What should it look like? Who should be there? When and where should we meet? Who should convene it? Should it be on the record or off the record?"

In short, you can't "sell" a process, you can only create one jointly, by means of tentative and low-key private discussions before any public announcements of plans to talk are made.

A third major characteristic of good process: it is conducted under auspices acceptable to all. Here too, the current initiative fails the mark. Rarely can one party conduct negotiations under its own auspices and win the support of other parties for the process. To participate would already imply a major concession of "broker" to that party.

Fortunately, good options exist here. One approach: conduct negotiations under the joint auspices of all key parties. Another: find a "clean" outside convenor acceptable to everyone.

The South African Council of Churches has been suggested as one such convenor, but Inkatha rejected this. Fair enough. But surely other conveners within or without the country could be agreed upon.

Another approach: create a team of outsider people or organisations, none perhaps totally acceptable in its own right, but in their totality acceptable as a "balanced" set of conveners. For example, "balance" the SACC with one or two other organisations.

Yet another approach: conduct negotiations unofficially, without naming them as such. For example, an academic or research organisation might convene a conference for its own purposes, and invite second-level leaders from all key organisations to attend. Any progress that is made can then be validated through official channels.

Among mediators there is a well-recognised rule of thumb: the hardest part of most negotiations is getting the parties to the table in the first place. Negotiations about negotiations are often where the game is won or lost.

With people in South Africa dying every day, the question of how to bring the key parties together to wrestle with a response deserves the most painstaking attention to process planning that is humanly possible.

One would like to believe that the Government's initiative for peace is intended to reach the most laudable of outcomes. The process thus far of getting to that outcome still leaves much room for improvement.

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

## Black Nat 'impressed' by meeting

THE first black member of the National Party in Natal, Amanzimtoti businessman Mr Dan Makhanya, attended the head committee meeting of the NP in Durban at the weekend, the party's information director, Mr Renier Schoeman, said yesterday.

He said Mr Makhanya was "most impressed by the free exchange of ideas and the optimistic spirit" of the meeting.

NP Natal leader Mr George Bartlett welcomed Mr Makhanya to the meeting, and looked forward to "the new phase in which the NP would broaden its support base to include all South Africans". — Sapa



# Controversial Land Bills are withdrawn

Sowetan  
21/5/91

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THE Cabinet has decided to withdraw the controversial Bills on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures and on the Residential Environment and submit a new draft to Parliament.

The Bill, tabled yesterday, is also titled the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill and is a combination of the previous two drafts.

Still no provision is made for restitution of land. It does, however, include proposals for the free transfer of land registrations in cases where nominees were used to buy property, thus escaping the discriminatory effect of the Group Areas Act.

Controversial provisions that have been discarded are those dealing with the Urban Environment Board, the conditions of decline, and mediation mechanisms to settle neighbourhood disputes.

## Claim

The Bill also provides for the establishment of an advisory commission on land allocation to which people who feel they have a just claim to land may make submissions.

According to the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, Mr Hernus Kriel, intense debate on the question of land reform has ensued since the tabling of the White Paper on Land Reform and the publication of the five accompanying Bills.

He told a media briefing that the new Bill retains the stipulations of the previous one on the Abolition of the Racially Based Land Measures and incorporates certain suggestions on which broad consensus was reached by



the Parliamentary Joint Committee.

Kriel said the Government believed that the capital and energy which would have to be invested in restitution could be used more productively for the development and upliftment of deprived communities and the creation of new job opportunities.

## Policy

The Government's point of view that a programme of restitution was neither practical nor financially viable did not imply that it was insensitive to specific people or communities that could have been disadvantaged by past policy.

The Bill provides for the establishment of an advisory commission on land allocation and also invests owners of sites in residential areas with the power to arrange norms and standards by agreement.

## Broad

The advisory commission, which will be appointed by the State President, and will be representative of the broad population, is to report to Parliament annually.

It will advise the State President on the orderly allocation of land, the identification of State land for allocation, the identification of rural land for agricultural settlement and the development of State land.

Kriel said land would be allocated on the basis that agricultural land would provide a decent living and residential land will provide



HERNUS KRIEL

adequate living space.

The Parliamentary Joint Committee dealing with the Bills held 25 meetings during which time 282 written submissions from "the whole spectrum" of political thinking were considered.

The committee identified 13 groups, which were asked to present oral evidence and for which a week had been set aside.

## Radical

Kriel said the negative lobbying against the Residential Environment Bill and Government's intentions represented differing points of view.

It was regrettable that the negative lobbying had been publicised to the detriment of the Government.

The new stipulations concerning norms and standards involved

a radical scaling down of proposals in the Residential Environment Bill, but the Government was satisfied that these stipulations were sufficient to ensure the maintenance of norms and standards in residential areas.

Only the proposed powers to invest owners of residential sites to make by-laws on norms and standards for their neighbourhood had been retained in a revised form.

Any by-law, however, which discriminated on the basis of race, colour or creed, or was otherwise grossly unreasonable would, from the start, be null and void.

This was categorically stated in a new provision upholding the common law position which enabled Government to comply with undertakings to various parties. - Sapa.



# Groups reject peace summit

*Sowetan* 22/5/91  
THE major liberation movements will not attend the Government-initiated peace summit in Pretoria this weekend.

The possibility of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance attending the summit was virtually ruled out by senior ANC officials yesterday.

The ANC said that the imminent ban on spears would not change its mind.

ANC information officer Miss Gill Marcus said: "The issue of the peace conference has nothing to do with the banning of spears at all, rather the question is whether the conference can produce any results."

"We don't think it should be a public relations exercise, but we believe it should be convened by a neutral party and that there should be chances of it producing results."

The ANC further refused to rescind its decision to withdraw from constitutional talks.

The PAC and Azapo have also rejected their invitation to the summit, saying it came from the "instigator" of violence.

"Liberation movements must meet and discuss the question of violence among themselves."

"We also need to look at violence directed at the liberation movement and the black population at large

## Council is silent on cash shortfall

By PHANGISILE MSTHALI, MOKGADI PELA and Sapa

by the State," said Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa.

PAC information secretary Mr Barney Desai said: "In our meeting with the ANC in Harare we identified the Government as one of the principal causes of this raging violence."

Transkei has withdrawn from the summit because it was only afforded observer status, chairman of the military council Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

Previously, the Transkei government had indicated its strong desire to participate in the deliberations.

"Even President FW de Klerk had admitted that Transkei was an affected party in the violence through the loss of lives of its nationals working in the Transvaal," Holomisa said in a statement.

The Government had, however, replied that it was only prepared to accord Transkei observer status at the conference.

The South African Democratic Teachers Union has also turned down an invitation to the summit, accusing the Government of harassing and victimising teachers.

"We are, therefore, of the opinion that it is such insensitive and undemocratic actions which breed an atmosphere of instability, conflict and violence in the country," it said in a statement.



Church, business leaders meet FW

# Bid for govt support for new summit

304A  
81 Day 22/5/91

CHURCH and business leaders met President F W de Klerk last night in a last-ditch attempt to revive the peace process and to persuade De Klerk to join a multiparty effort to convene a second summit on violence.

The Sacob and SA Council of Churches delegation proposed a meeting of political parties where a peace conference convened by churches would be discussed, church sources said.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said after the two-hour meeting it was called to "maximise the participation of all the main political players in the (peace) process" and said a fruitful exchange of ideas took place.

The ANC remained firm yesterday that it would not attend De Klerk's conference on violence, due to start on Friday, despite government's new commitment to acting against cultural weapons in unrest areas.

Twenty-five church leaders met for three hours in Johannesburg yesterday to draw up confidential proposals aimed at salvaging the peace process.

The proposals were then put to De Klerk at his Tuynhuys residence last night by SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and SACC president Khoza Mgojo. The church leaders were accompanied by Parsons and Sacob president John Hall.

The churchmen issued a terse statement after their morning meeting, saying they had drawn up proposals on how churches should act in the present situation.

It is reliably understood that the proposals were aimed at persuading De Klerk to join a multiparty attempt to plan another conference after his summit.

PATRICK BULGER

The churchmen proposed that a preparatory committee be formed representing all political parties, government, business, trade unions and churches. The committee would then arrange another peace conference and would draw up a code of conduct for the security forces.

In the meantime political parties should draw up broad guidelines for a conference. Church sources said the ANC would not attend De Klerk's summit.

ANC information director Pallo Jordan told SABC TV news last night the ANC would participate in talks convened by an independent party like the churches.

ANC sources said yesterday the organisation would not attend De Klerk's summit because it was seen as a symbolic conference which would achieve little to halt the violence. Government could not convene a conference on its own initiative.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, briefing foreign correspondents yesterday, again ruled out an ANC presence at Friday's conference.

Mandela said the expected ban on spears in unrest areas would not persuade the ANC to go to the conference. Wider issues were at stake like the banning of weapons under all circumstances nationwide.

On Monday Chikane met Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi. No details of the meeting were released. The meeting was, however, aimed at gaining support for a multiparty peace initiative.

The church leaders said in their statement yesterday that Chikane had met Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi sepa-

□ To Page 2

## FW meeting

81 Day 22/5/91

rately to discuss peace proposals. Talks between Sacob and the ANC have also been taking place, business sources said.

They hinted that a broad-based initiative might be in the pipeline but that government was resisting attempts to persuade it to scrap Friday's conference.

Instead they favour the idea of a broad-based initiative emerging from all political parties and interest groups.

Business leaders had previously said the

De Klerk summit should go ahead, but they did not rule out a second summit.

Meanwhile, the SA Institute of Race Relations yesterday welcomed the proposed ban on the carrying of spears in unrest areas, but said government should urgently seek agreements with other organisations on other weapons.

Political violence would not end if such agreements were not obtained across the political spectrum, executive director John Kane-Berman said in a statement.

304A  
□ From Page 1

# Business 'led the break-up of apartheid'

BUSINESS had led the way in breaking down apartheid and it was the free market which had helped make apartheid unworkable, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher said yesterday.

Thatcher told a joint meeting of Sacob, the SA Foundation, the Institute of Directors and the Urban Foundation at Barlow Park in Johannesburg that SA's divisions could be healed and its difficulties overcome only under a free enterprise system.

She warned that township violence was threatening the whole future of SA. It was possible to argue about the responsibilities of government for keeping order, but government could not do so without the whole-

hearted co-operation of all black leaders. It was now essential that investment flowed into SA, whose economy could be an increasingly powerful engine of African recovery, she said.

Throughout Africa and elsewhere, misgovernment and misguided economic policies had had the same historical root — a socialist view of the state, Thatcher said.

Thatcher criticised one-party states, the lack of free criticism and the lack of respect for the rule of law in most African countries.

"Without a real determination to alter

their political and economic systems, most Africans will remain poor and indeed grow poorer," she said.

But there were two reasons for optimism: that the Soviet Union had ceased to export Marxist revolution to Africa and increasing signs that Africans themselves recognised that free enterprise and multi-party democracy were the way to go.

SA's particular challenge was to achieve a democratic political system while keeping the benefits which flowed from a free economic system and sound finance.

Earlier yesterday Thatcher visited Pro-

□ To Page 2

## Thatcher

mat College which has benefited from British aid, and the CSIR.

She arrived at Ulundi later to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Several thousand Zulus gave her an enthusiastic welcome, Sapa reports.

In his welcoming address, Buthelezi lavishly praised her for her role in opposing sanctions.

In response, Thatcher said Zulus and Britons had shared a history which "began in conflict, proceeded to reconciliation and

ended in true friendship. In that experience, there's surely a lesson for the whole of SA on how to go from conflict to friendship — as we have shown."

At a banquet in Ulundi last night Thatcher said there was no precedent for violence on the scale presently experienced in SA. The violence was a discredit to SA's black society.

● Picture: Page 5  
● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1



# Wealth creation 'vital to new system'

ANY future political dispensation would be of very limited effectiveness without a viable, functioning and effective wealth creation system, Barlow Rand chairman and CE Warren Clewlow said yesterday.

Speaking at the international Spar conference in Johannesburg, Clewlow said it was the wealth creators, the business community, who generated the resources which the country used.

He said the SA economy was certainly the most well-developed in sub-Saharan Africa, based on the mining industry but having diversified itself into all of the commercial and manufacturing activities of a modern first-world economy. It also

had a highly developed infrastructure of transport, communications and financial services.

Clewlow said he had always maintained that the system of apartheid and the system of free enterprise were fundamentally incompatible. The question was where to turn to find a new path.

SA business people shared two major challenges — addressing the huge backlogs in education, housing, health and the other social remnants of apartheid, and finding a way to improve SA's economic performance from its "very pedestrian levels".

This included improving producti-

vity, quality, international competitiveness, research and development, and spreading the benefits of that system far more widely.

Any person or organisation wishing to make a contribution to the economic debate had to address these two challenges.

"SA has the potential to become a high growth, well-respected world player in economic terms, with the resulting spin-offs for our own people", but violence was the one factor which could derail the process of change.

"Until we own violence as a common problem and look at solving the underlying causes, we will make no discernible progress".

MARCIA KLEIN

# Anti-racist clause features in Bill

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*Blom*  
A NEW clause in the revamped land reform Bill is government's first proposal of an anti-racial discrimination measure.

It simply says: "Any by-law which discriminates on the grounds of race, colour or religion or is grossly unfair shall be of no force and effect."

It adds that any by-law made by a local authority in terms of any other law which is inconsistent with this provision "shall be of no force and effect in relation to the neighbourhood concerned". In terms of this Bill, the anti-discrimination provision will govern by-laws made to preserve "norms and standards in residential environments".

The chapter on standards replaces the controversial Residential Environment Bill, which the Labour Party threatened to veto on grounds that it was inherently racist and aimed at protecting white suburbs.

The anti-discrimination clause is intended to deal with this accusation in an effort by government to show that the proposed rights of neighbourhoods to preserve "standards" is not aimed at protecting residential apartheid.

The new standards provisions, which scrap the controversial monitoring provisions proposed in the original Bill, says most owners of residential premises in any neighbourhood may by agreement draft by-laws in relation to their neighbourhood. These could provide for the election of a neighbourhood committee and lay down regulations on overcrowding, the use of buildings, maintenance of residential premises, repair or removal of "nuisances", re-

Political Staff

pair and maintenance of buildings and premises, and "the orderly use of amenities established and maintained for the residents of the neighbourhood".

GERALD REILLY reports that agricultural authorities said in Pretoria yesterday that amendments to land reform legislation would not blunt opposition from the Transvaal Agricultural Union and hundreds of farmers in other provinces to what they believed was a threat to land ownership rights.

The amendments make provision for the setting up of a land commission to advise government on claims for restitution from people disadvantaged by race laws.

## Overridden

TAU sources said government's announcement on the issue this week indicated that those who had legally bought land which had become available because of forced removals could be moved off their farms.

Farmers felt their rights to land they had occupied for decades could be overridden by government.

Nothing short of maintaining the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, which protected their ownership rights, would satisfy farmers, it was stated.

At a TAU mass meeting last week government was warned the land reform programme was seen as an act of aggression against farmers. The TAU executive was given a mandate to proceed with "further protest action" against the repeal of the acts.

● Comment: Page 6



# Ladybrand voters take to the ballot

610am 22/5/91.

304A

TIM COHEN

ABOUT half of Ladybrand's voters have already voted for today's by-election battle between the NP and the CP.

Electoral officer Hannes Kruger said last night 6 994 special votes had been cast out of a total of less than 14 000 registered voters.

He said the exceptionally large number of special votes cast was probably a reflection of the hard work both parties had put into their election campaigns.

Spokesmen for both parties said they were optimistic yesterday, but conceded the battle would be close.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that party workers who have been tramping the dusty streets of Ladybrand and other deep platteland villages in the constituency say the lie factor is going to be decisive.

In the 1989 general election the CP sneaked home by 70 votes in the predominantly farming constituency. But that was a three-cornered fight and the DP's 471 votes sunk the NP campaign in a seat that had been one of its strongholds.

In the 1987 by-election there had, however, been a signal of a changing mood in the constituency when the NP won by only 842 votes.

This time the DP has opted out, leaving the NP and CP in a straight fight.

But CP canvassers are confident, based on recent by-election and municipal election results, there will be a general swing

of about 12% to their party, especially from farmers with financial problems and who have suffered from cattle rustling on the Lesotho border.

They also claim some of the DP support has, since 1989, and because of the dramatic political developments in the country, swung right across to the CP.

The CP candidate is the fiery Charl Hertzog, popular in the area but carrying the embarrassing baggage of eight previous election defeats in eight attempts, seven under an HNP banner.

The NP has also been making much of the fact that Hertzog lives outside the constituency in the Petrusburg district.

This week in Parliament Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee referred to another factor that the NP believes will be telling.

It is the so-called Koos Document, edited by CP MP Koos van der Merwe, which laid out an alternative approach for the party, including taking part in negotiations.

This, says the NP, is a clear sign that the CP is misleading its supporters and will bring hesitant voters back into their camp.

The NP has sent out the quietly-spoken Cali Smit to do battle for it.

Last week, it also sent De Klerk and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers to address local meetings.

Reports by T Cohen, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg, and C Whitfield, 10 Osborne Street, Durban.

## Do not be shackled by violence <sup>304A</sup> FW

PORT ELIZABETH — Communities in SA must look ahead and work towards the elimination of poverty and misery, President F W de Klerk said in Port Elizabeth yesterday. <sup>22/5/91</sup>

"Violence, intimidation and protest must not be allowed to hold us back," De Klerk told the annual congress of the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa.

He was convinced that "our greatest risk is to fail to adapt timeously and fundamentally to the claims of our times".

Reform was "not a fearful and looming spectre".

The government had accepted the challenge of constitutional reform "not only in respect of first- and second-tier government but also on the third tier".

The goal should be balanced development, equal opportunity for everybody, no favouritism, and no discrimination.

"These goals are equally applicable to local government. And as we are striving for one united SA we are also faced with the challenge in local government to bring together those who naturally, geographically and economically, should be together."

He said the country's town clerks would stand at the centre of reform on the level of local authorities.

On metropolitan government De Klerk said the government was in favour of a democratic dispensation based on power-sharing. Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban were areas possibly suited to the establishment of metropolitan government.

"The ideal is that a metropolitan government would be the result of extensive negotiations between interested parties in the metropolis."

Simultaneously, serious thought would have to be given to the effect of the metropolitan concept on the Regional Services Councils. "I believe that we must make sure in this process that bureaucracy is not multiplied, that the good work of the RSCs will not be disadvantaged and that the sources of income are shared fairly." — Sapa.



# Rousing Zulu Welcome for Mrs Thatcher

304A

Own Correspondent



ULUNDI. — The stimulation of investment in South Africa can be achieved only if a genuinely democratic constitution backed by a free market economy and sensible economic policies are instituted, says Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Earlier, about 10 000 traditionally dressed Zulus cheered her arrival at the airport. KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi presented Mrs Thatcher with a scroll on which a Zulu praise song was written, devoted to her.

Speaking at a banquet in her honour, Mrs Thatcher praised Chief Buthelezi for his refusal to accept "independence" for KwaZulu.

She said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and movement towards constitutional negotiations had raised hopes in the West that violent conflict in South Africa would cease.

"Instead the world watched with concern, then dismay, as township violence has spread and intensified," she said.

She described violence as "a dis-credit to black society".

She said President De Klerk was

"desperately anxious to end the carnage". However, only a concerted effort by black political leaders could bring peace to the townships.

Chief Buthelezi praised Mrs Thatcher for her opposition to sanctions and apologised for the way "some have clamoured above the masses to minimise the importance of your visit".

# Spears: ANC rejects Govt-Zulu agreement

CT 22/5/91 Political Staff

304A

THE ANC has rejected the agreement struck between President F W de Klerk and Zulu leaders on the carrying of spears in public in unrest areas.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the fact that it was limited to unrest areas meant it would not be effective in curbing violence.

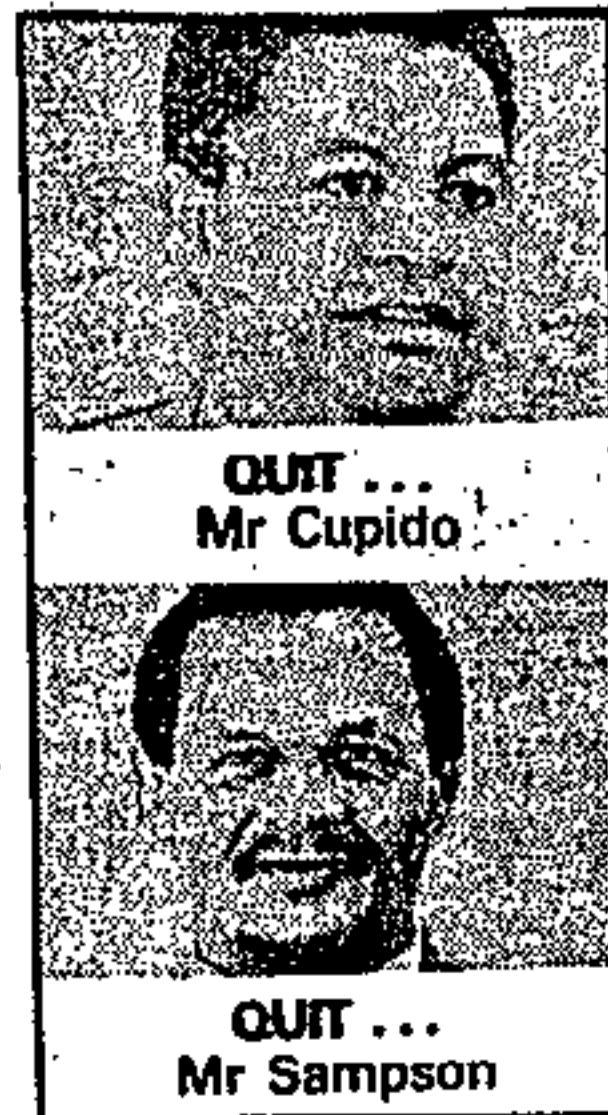
It had been expected that Monday's agreement could lead to an easing of the ANC's refusal to attend further talks.

"What is to prevent people moving to other areas and using the weapons there? Serious incidents of violence have taken place in areas that have not been declared unrest areas," said Mr Niehaus.

The government has yet to table the legislation, but it is believed it will be gazetted tomorrow.



Ulundi for an overnight visit. She holds the hand of a shy young Zulu bouquet of flowers. Mrs Thatcher was accompanied by her husband, outgoing British ambassador to South Africa Sir Robin Renwick. F



# 2 more LP MPs defect

304A  
22/5/91

## Political Staff

TWO more MPs quit the Labour Party yesterday amid signs that there was a very real chance that the party could be ousted as the majority party in the 85-seat House of Representatives "within weeks".

It was also learnt that one member of the Ministers' Council, Mr Andrew Julies, is planning to resign and join the NP.

A long queue of MPs are lining up to apply for membership of the NP. Two opposition parties, the Reform Democratic Party and the United Democratic Party, have already disbanded with their collective nine MPs seeking to join the NP.

Late yesterday Mr B P Cupido (Southern Cape) and Mr L J Sampson (Dias) crossed the floor to become temporarily independent — leaving the LP with 61 seats and the combined opposition with 24.

The two said they were facing reality in leaving the party, though a party

spokesman said they had quit once before over an LP decision to boycott Parliament, and their defection was widely expected.

The haemorrhaging, however, is unlikely to end there.

One MP said last night that the party was "falling apart" rapidly, and that it could be a "matter of weeks" before the LP was ousted.

Mr Julies has always been on the conservative wing of the LP and news that he is planning to leave comes as no surprise.

A list circulating yesterday, contained seven names of people who were expected to defect shortly — two have now done so. The others on the list are: Mr Julies, who was ousted as chairman of the party at the annual congress last year, Mr G M E Carelse (Hawston), Mr P J Kleinsmidt (Elsie's River), Mr P Klink (Liesbeek) and Mr J R Kuiler (Manenberg).

Those names, however, appear to be the tip of the iceberg.

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## 'Groups to defuse unrest' to be proposed at summit

Political Staff

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RAPID-RESPONSE task groups to defuse and probe eruptions of unrest will be proposed at the violence summit in Pretoria on Friday.

The proposal will come from the Democratic Party, which will also recommend a massive beefing up of the police force, and doing away with the need for permission to hold marches and rallies.

This strategy, and the accommodation of returning combatants in the Defence Force bases, was unveiled at a news conference today. It has been given to President de Klerk and will be presented to participants at the conference.

It also proposes a formal "code of conduct" to which political parties and organisations should subscribe.

"Currently South Africa is in a state of near-anarchy, particularly in townships," the document says.

Indications were that police were

not coping because of inadequate manpower, training and discipline, among other factors.

"In some cases police motivation is unsatisfactory and there is evidence of partisanship. As a result, police credibility is low and public confidence shaky," it says.

Complicating that, black leaders and police were, in many instances, mutually suspicious and regarded one another as "the enemy"; and the sudden political turnabout since February last year had placed a question mark over the loyalty the government could expect from the security establishment arising from the "total onslaught" dogma of the 1980s.

Broad public involvement in containing the violence would best be achieved by creating national, regional and community anti-violence task groups including representatives nominated by all significant political movements.



# Church, business leaders meet FW

ARGUS  
22/5/91

## Political Staff

A JOINT delegation from the South African Council of Churches and the South African Chamber of Business met President De Klerk in Tuynhuys to ask him to rethink his summit on violence in Pretoria this weekend.

With the ANC, PAC and Azapo deliberately staying away, only Inkatha of the extra-parliamentary parties is likely to attend.

The SACC is likely to announce today that they will not be present, although they may send observers.

Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, and Mr John Hall and Mr Raymond Parsons of Sacob met President De Klerk last night.

President De Klerk did not say anything after the meeting. A spokesman for the State President said today that the

Pretoria summit on violence would continue.

Speaking outside Tuynhuys last night, Mr Parsons said church and business had gone to see President De Klerk and his colleagues "because of a shared concern about the threat of violence and potential violence on peace and prosperity in South Africa".

"We have tried in our discussion to look at the peace process in a way which hopefully will maximise the participation of all the main political players in that process, as well as the State President's conference in Pretoria," Mr Parsons said.

"We have had an exchange of ideas and views on the process and how to make it a more successful form of mechanism."

Mr Chikane said the delegation was consulting all the parties involved.

Mr Chikane is to address a Press conference today when he will say if he and the SACC will attend President De Klerk's summit or not.

# Hendrickse defiant as Labour split looms

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
and TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

THE Labour Party is heading for a major split after further defections and the threat of more to come.

Eleven MPs have left and more are threatening to go.

But party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse remained defiant today, dismissing the threat of a split and insisting that the "handful" of defections would "purify" the party.

In the latest blow two MPs, Mr Basil Cupido (Southern Cape) and Mr Lester Sampson (Dias), crossed the floor yesterday to become independents.

Senior party members have advised Mr Hendrickse to resign, but he remained adamant that only a party congress could get rid of him.

The chief reasons for the defections are dissatisfaction among MPs over what they describe as Mr Hendrickse's imperious leadership style and the growing interest in the party's ranks in joining the National Party.

While suggestions in some party circles are that a host of MPs are considering quitting or are about to leave, Mr Hendrickse disclosed today that he expected at least four more of his MPs to ditch the party.

But he rejected the prospect of the LP losing control in the House of Representatives as "nonsense".

Emerging from an SABC interview this morning Mr Hendrickse scoffed: "Those two (Mr Cupido and Mr Sampson) have left the party before and came back with an apology. Now they are gone again. I don't think they can have been very serious about their participation in the progress the Labour Party has made."

The defections were no surprise, he said. "I would expect that there will be at least another four MPs to leave. We have known about them."

Mr Hendrickse denied there was discontent over his leadership. "We had a caucus meeting last night and more than 50 members attended. There were some apologies. There is no doubt there is support for the leadership from the caucus."

"What is important is that the real power of the

party lies not in the caucus, but in the national executive and the congress. I have no problem as far as support for my leadership is concerned."

Two senior Labour MPs, Mr Gerald Morkel of Retreat and Mr Glen Carelse of Hawston, went to see Mr Hendrickse this week to advise him to resign.

Confirming this today, Mr Carelse said this had been a personal initiative of the two MPs because they were concerned about the future of party.

According to Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, several Cape LP MPs had spoken to him. Their membership of the NP was being finalised and a meeting with President De Klerk would follow.

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SIGHT SOUND

THIS is Clue No 10 in The Argus Good Hope Stereo Sight and Sound Competition.

Cut it out and paste it on the appropriate block on your entry form — and you could become the winner of a 1.8l Volkswagen Citi Golf Sport with a Robbiduck inflatable boat complete with engine and trailer, plus extras to the value of R53 000, courtesy of Spoornet — we mean business.

It's easy to play — just like BATTLESHIPS — and lots of fun.

The competition is called SIGHT AND SOUND because The Ar-

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# Viljoen's blueprint for new SA

SA 22/5/91

Formally, constitutional talks between the Government and the ANC are off. In fact, writes SHAUN JOHNSON, both sides are furiously preparing their strategies for eventual "real negotiations". But the latest documents and speeches from each show that from first principles onwards, there remains a yawning chasm between them.

304th

THE MOST detailed picture yet of Government thinking about the transition to the new South Africa — and the structure of that future society — emerged last week.

Dr Gertrude Viljoen last week delivered to Parliament by the Government a paper which outlines the Government's thinking about the transition to the new South Africa — and the structure of that future society — emerged last week.

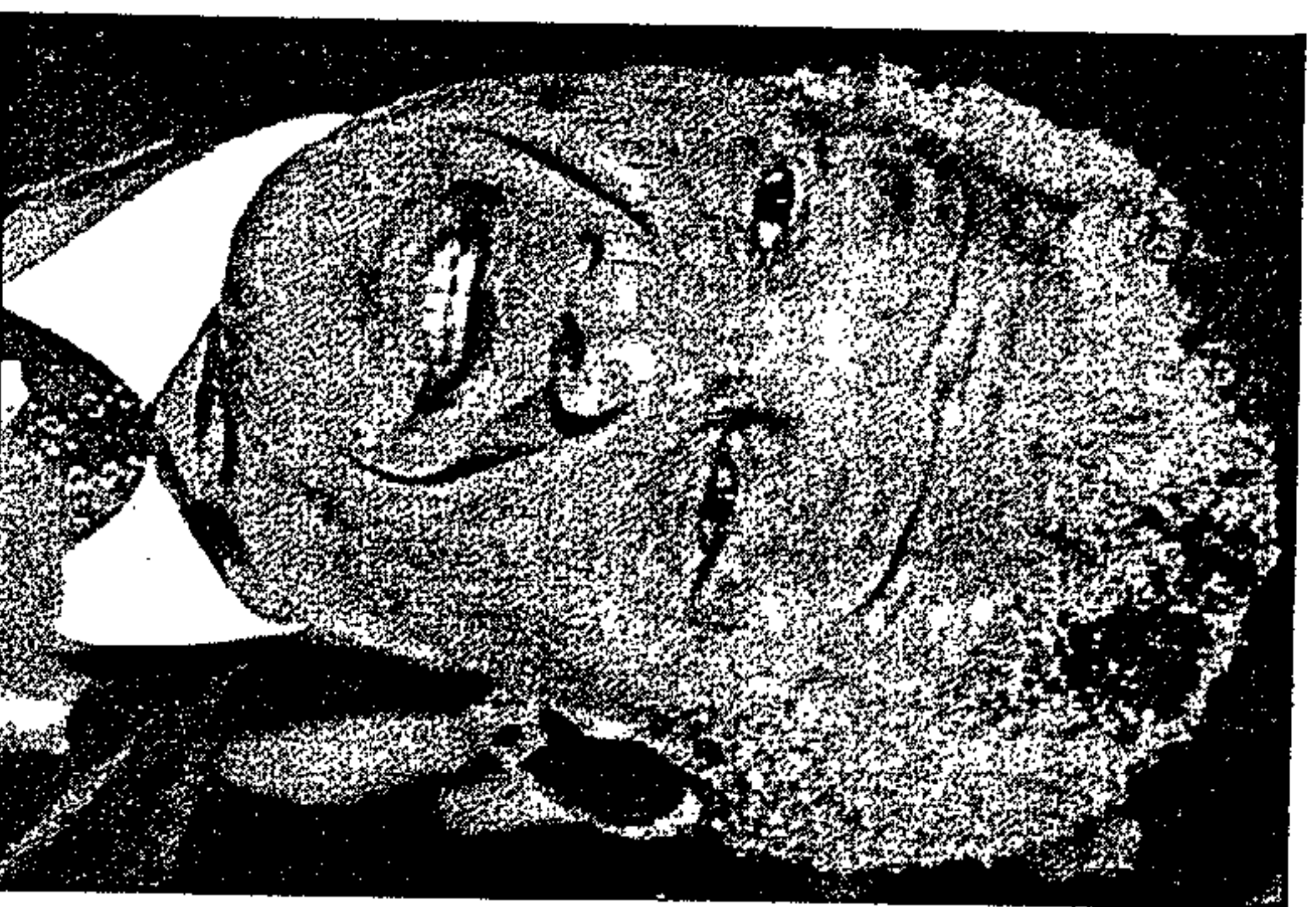
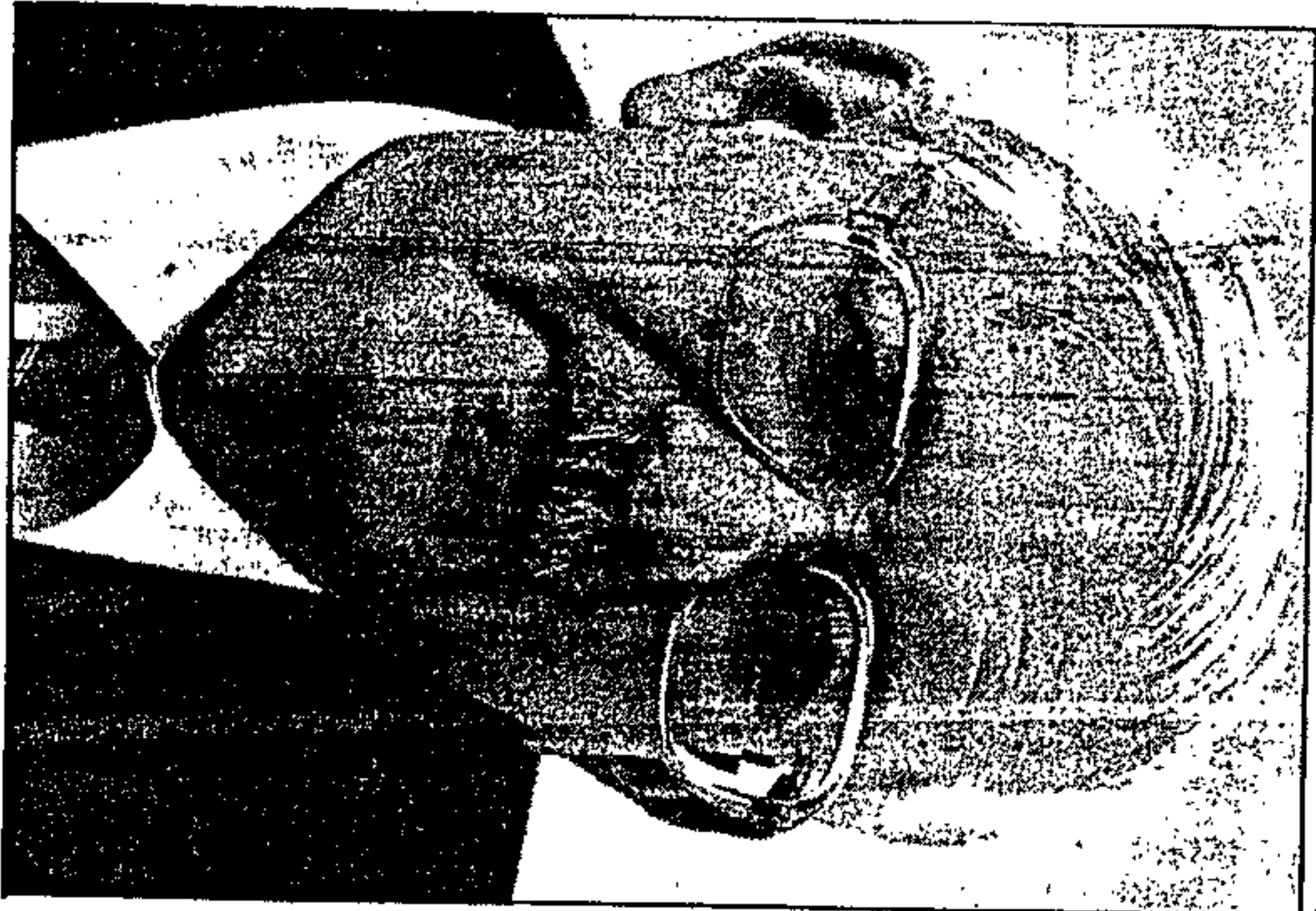
Dr Viljoen's revealing contribution to the debate on his ministry's budget vote were divided into three discreet sections: Constitutional Principles for the New South Africa, Transitional Arrangements, and Power Sharing and Protection of Minority Rights.

Besides commitments to "justice", "equality" and the like — which have become almost platitudes since Febru-

ary 2 1990 — Dr Viljoen opened a window on detailed Government strategising to ensure that it emerges from negotiations with as much as possible of its power intact.

The ironic thrust of much of this argument is that a new Government should not be allowed to enjoy the structural power which the National Party has itself utilised for more than four decades.

Regarding constitutional principles, the Government — through Dr Viljoen as its chief negotiator — argues that:



Poles apart... while there is agreement with the ANC on shared aims for a nonracial, unitary state — the Government's chief negotiator Dr Gertrude Viljoen's thinking varies widely from that of Nelson Mandela's organisation.

of South Africa. "As an instrument of minority protection, consideration should be given to a central legislature comprising two Houses. In this way a balance will be achieved between universal voting rights and majority power in the one House, and

minority rights protection through special representation and decision-making power for minorities in the other House, a multiparty compilation of the legislative authority (or Cabinet) and a spreading of the powers that are concentrated in the office of the President.

"There could be a 'chamber of minorities' in which special voting procedures and raised majority requirements could operate in decision-making over 'sensitive, fundamental issues'.

"Structures for 'self-determination by individual communities must serve as a fundamental building block of minority protection. Where a local community can identify itself in nonracial grounds and through voluntary association, it must, if it so chooses, be allowed to establish its own community structure. This structure would

deal with community matters, including aspects of education, welfare, surroundings and culture. Such structures must be able to generate their own funds.

"Powers should be devolved to regions as far as possible. A justifiable bill of rights to protect individuals from future government interference will be part of the sovereign constitution."

Regarding transitional arrangements, the Government argues that:

"The 'continuous, complex and most responsible business' of governing a nation remains the task of the National Party Government until such time as the proposed changes have taken place. The same applies to the present Constitution and its institutions. The Government will continue to govern and the National Party will negotiate... The lawful institutions of government and administration, set up according to the valid Constitution and laws of the land, will continue to provide sound government and administration... But there are four possibilities for acceptable transitional arrangements:

"Firstly, the mooted negotiating forum might itself acquire the stature and capacity to influence the legislative, executive and administrative processes directly and with great authority — but its primary task will remain the achievement of consensus on a new constitution.

"Secondly, an informal, influential leadership corps could emerge during negotiations, which might even develop into a formal structure.

"Thirdly, the Cabinet could be expanded, with the approval of the negotiating forum, to in-

clude a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans.

"Fourthly, multiparty working groups specialising in various fields of government could emerge and provide guidance in the transitional period to the established Government institutions."

Regarding power-sharing and minority rights protection, the Government argues that:

"There is no possibility of its simply disappearing from the political stage and handing over the reins of power to one or other potentate or group with no experience of what the governance of a sophisticated country involves. South Africa is not a colony that is now becoming independent; it has been constitutionally emancipated for decades.

"A system in which the arithmetic majority is effectively given all political power for a period is unacceptable and unworkable. There must be a balance between one person, one vote, and the effective protection of minorities.

"There could be a head of state and a head of government, elected by each house, or the Swiss model could be followed, providing for a collective multiparty college with a rotating chairman."

It is clear from Dr Viljoen's presentations that the Government is devoting a great deal of time and energy to constitutional detail, to be presented at the negotiating table. The picture that emerges is of a complicated set of proposals which will have to be sold both to the ANC and the international community on their own merits — and this will mean producing a convincing case that they are not merely the latest and most sophisticated NP trick to ward off true majority rule. □



# ANC document rejects legitimacy of State

WITH little more than a month to go before the ANC's crucial national conference, divergent strategic approaches are beginning to compete in earnest within the organisation. It is an important, if quiet, development.

This jockeying — it will intensify along with the countdown to the ANC's own "Durban July" — will have a vital bearing on the policies to which the ANC commits itself at the conference. In turn, these policies will in large measure determine the mood, pace and content of subsequent real negotiations.

The Star is in possession of a hard-hitting discussion paper on strategy and tactics, focusing on the issues of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

It is already in circulation within ANC, Communist Party and Cosatu ranks. Should the views contained in this document prevail at the conference, the Government is in for much tougher negotiations than it seems to expect. (See accompanying story.)

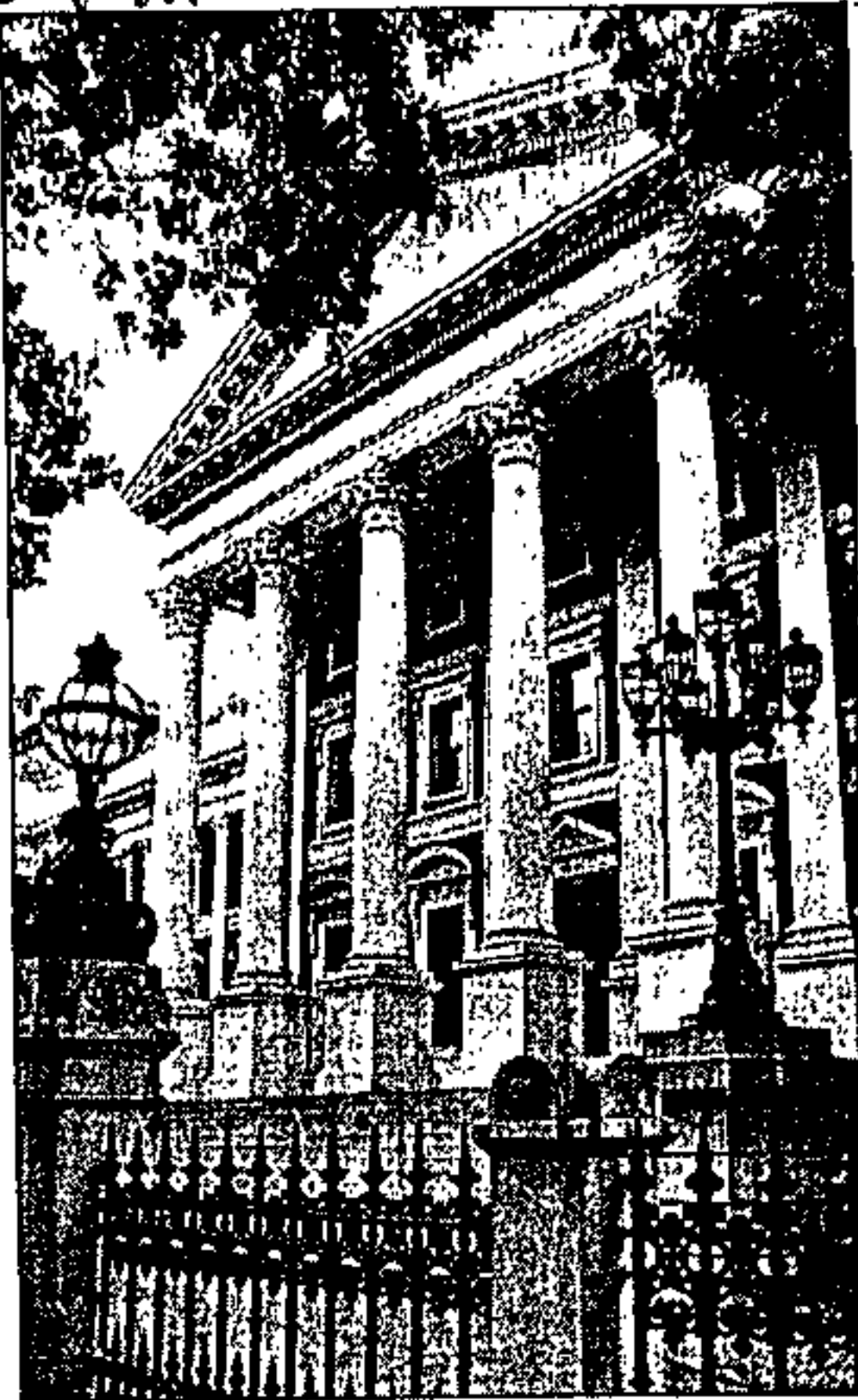
The document's points of departure are in clear conflict with the underlying premises emphasised by the Government, and so are the conclusions flowing from it.

The document centres around a rejection of the crucial notion that the South African State is legitimately constituted, sovereign and independent — the notion that is central to the Government's argument against transitional authorities and, in particular, a constituent assembly.

"In 1910 Britain handed over South Africa to the white section of the population," it is argued in the ANC paper. "That was legal then, just as slave-based states were legal at one time. Eighty years later, international law considers the creation of states through the denial of self-determination as contrary to norms from which there can be no deviation."

"A state created on such a basis, it can be argued, is illegal today, irrespective of the legal status at the date of its creation."

This leads the ANC paper to insist that as "whoever manages the process of transition determine the extent to which the process is



The Parliament buildings in Cape Town... according to an ANC paper, the present Parliament and Cabinet must go.

democratic and also condition the outcome", an interim government is essential to ensure "a definite democratic result, and simultaneously a fundamental rupture with the existing order."

"The existing Government is not merely delegitimised, but removed from the scene. If any of the existing Cabinet enters an interim government, that person does so under fundamentally different conditions."

"The Government is naturally adamantly opposed to this demand precisely because it wants to manage transition in a way that does not concede full democracy."

Thus even in the "talks about talks" phase, this ANC view rejects the right of the existing Government to "be left to decide on the limits of freedom of speech, political association and movement. (And that the) security forces operate fairly." If others are acting as "guarantors of the process", it is held, "your influence is only indirect, as a petitioner."

Even if the Government came to accept the principle of an interim

government in some form, it is argued, the ANC must insist that "despite being a caretaker administration, the IG (interim government) must be conceived and should act to get rid of remnants of apartheid, as part of the process of democratisation."

Crucially, and in diametric opposition to the Government's construction, the document holds that "the IG is not a recipe for 'power sharing' nor dual power. It must focus itself on the transfer of power."

For this reason, "the demand for an interim government is the most revolutionary demand of the day because it displaces the illegitimate existing Government and, also, because it does that without an open mind as to the outcome. The outcome must be agreed: majority rule."

The authors caution that the Government might attempt "to preempt our plan for an IG with something that bears an outward resemblance to it." This must be rejected, it is suggested. The document warns, specifically, against proposals for a "super-Cabinet which would leave

existing power relations intact but would provide for inclusion of ANC leaders as part of the existing authority.

"The Government bottom line on an interim government, at this stage, appears to be one where they remain fully in control but draw in leading ANC figures at various levels. If it can remain symbolic, one should not be surprised if ANC leaders are offered very high governmental positions. This would be a very dramatic gesture and the pressures would be very great for us to accept." The solution, according to the document, is for ordinary people to be shown that such a route would lead to "co-optation and the goal would definitely not be transfer of power."

Similarly, a Government proposal to distinguish between "those involved in Government and those who represent the NP as full-time negotiators" is seen as a ruse, as are proposals to appoint a mediating party directly accountable to the Government, such as the SA Law Commission.

"An interim government cannot start to implement a total social programme. Nevertheless, all sections of the administration fall under and are directly accountable to the IG. The IG will be the supreme legal authority, to whom the security forces and the civil service (and, incidentally, the SABC) would be accountable."

The paper insists that the objective of the entire negotiations process must be clarified before it begins in earnest, and that the objective is set out in article 16 of the Harare Declaration. Further, "where that objective is not shared, there is no possibility of negotiations succeeding. That there is not such agreement now does not mean that the possibility of agreement is never going to be there. Logic, supplemented by judicious mass action, sometimes has a powerful persuasive effect."

The paper concludes with an insistence on the need for a constituent assembly, flowing out of the interim government period. "The demand for a constituent assembly is a demand for normal democratic processes to be brought to bear in the negotiation process." □



# Another blow to FW's summit

By Peter Fabricius  
Political  
Correspondent

304A

President de Klerk's summit on violence, scheduled to start on Friday, faced another grave blow last night as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) apparently decided to withdraw its support.

An SACC delegation met Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys in Cape Town for two hours last night — with the aim, according to sources, of persuading him to call off the summit.

It is understood the SACC — representing all the mainstream churches except the Dutch Reformed Church — decided yesterday to pull out if Mr de Klerk did not cancel it.

SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane and president Khozo Mgoja were expected to ask Mr de Klerk to attend a proposed church-sponsored summit on violence instead.

However, Mr de Klerk made it quite clear that he

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would go ahead with his own summit as scheduled, according to informed sources.

Mr Chikane said the SACC's position would be announced at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

If the SACC decides not to support the summit, this will be the second serious setback for the Government's initiative to end violence.

The DRC, Charismatics, Pentecostals and other conservative churches are likely to back Mr de Klerk.

The Government tried to put a brave face on the threatened SACC boycott last night and sources pointed out that only individual church leaders had been invited.

It is obvious, though, that many of the SACC's prominent members would have been invited.

But the Government and some church sources also warned that if the SACC took the ANC line and boycotted the Government summit, it would run the risk of being branded "the ANC at prayer" — just as the DRC used to be dubbed "the National Party at prayer".

The SACC delegation to Tuynhuys last night was accompanied by South African Chamber of Business director-general Raymond Parsons and president John Hall who have been trying for 10 days to mend the widening political rift between the Government and the ANC over the peace summit proposals.

The SACC delegation went to Tuynhuys apparently armed with a tough mandate to tell Mr de Klerk that a church-organised peace conference would bring together more parties than the Government summit.

It is not clear whether the Government would also attend a church summit on violence if it went ahead after Friday's conference.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen appeared to leave the door open for this possibility on Saturday in his reaction to the ANC's decision.

He said the summit was not intended to be the last conference on the violence and other meetings could be held.

Graham Linscott reports on a disquieting meeting in Pretoria last week

# How serious are these farmers?

Stas 22/5/91

**D**AT die erwe van ons vaders

*Vir ons kinders erwe bly...*

These resounding lines of the last verse of Die Stem are seldom sung. Under the circumstances they were sung last week — by more than 1 000 farmers in a hall at the Pretoria showgrounds — they were enough to send a shiver up the spine.

The word "erwe" does not translate too readily into English. It means "pieces of land" and it also means "inheritances".

The farmers were exhorting themselves to defend their land — with God's help — so that what they inherited from their fathers would be passed on to their children.

The anthem wound up a day in which the farmers had jeered Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring, Chief of the Army, and demanded to know whom he regarded as the enemy (with reference to the recent clash near Ventersdorp between right-wing farmers and security forces, in which two

farmers were shot and wounded).

There was talk of "taking" land.

The words "bloodshed", "civil war", "revolution" and "struggle" cropped up repeatedly.

There was debate as to whether farmers should withdraw from the commando system, allowing it to collapse, or whether they should join so that it could not be used against them.

Finally, there was a unanimous motion that the Bills repealing the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 were an act of aggression. Their implementation would mean a declaration of war.

Given South Africa's relatively recent history, it was disquieting, the more so because these were not the neo-Nazi antics of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

These were mainline farmers — rightwingers certainly, but not crazies.

The politically obsessed can usually be detected by their stridency.

This serious gathering was laced with good humour.

The meeting was organised by

the Transvaal Agricultural Union, which has become a fiefdom of the Conservative Party.

It attracted farmers from Natal, the Orange Free State and various regions of the Cape as well, and there was talk of creating a new union in opposition to their provincial formations.

On the agenda were the deteriorating security situation in the rural areas, farmers' economic deterioration and the Government's land reform policies.

Farmers spoke of left-wing influences in the Defence Force (several announced they had left the commandos), a plot to redistribute land by breaking white farmers economically and the African National Congress being allowed to annex South Africa by squatting.

There were suggestions of starving the Government into submission by refusing to produce food.

On Thursday this week there will be "action" nationwide — not specified but likely to take the form of public burnings of the

Government's White Paper on land reform.

How serious are these Transvaal farmers?

Unless they are the greatest windbags on Earth — which seems unlikely — very serious.

But who can tell how far they are prepared to go?

At the moment they are possibly playing chicken with President De Klerk (who, ironically, is accused in other quarters of introducing inadequate land reforms).

TAV president Dries Bruwer is also MP for Lydenburg. He cracks wry jokes but gives the impression of being a little tense.

His deputy, Willie Lewies, is an interesting man to observe. Big, burly and bearded, he is good-humoured and relaxed — yet highly articulate.

He gives the impression of a man who knows his agenda and is comfortable with it. A particularly formidable man.

Whatever that agenda might be, some sort of confrontation looms. In Mr Lewies' own words: "Hier kom 'n ding." □





**ACCLAIM:** Mrs Margaret Thatcher and her husband Sir Dennis are welcomed at Ulundi by Prince Goodwill Zwelithini, left, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

## Thatcher understands SA, says Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

304H

**ULUNDI.**— If the world had heeded former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's policies, South Africa would not be facing the present violence crisis, said Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at a banquet in her honour in Ulundi last night, Chief Buthelezi described Mrs Thatcher as "one who perhaps best understands the real nature behind the South African struggle and the politics behind it."

"You stood head and shoulders above other heads of state when it came to South African affairs."

On the violence, the Kwazulu Chief Minister said he rejected the notion that Inkatha was to blame.

He said violence had bred counter-violence and pre-emptive violence. He defended allegations of Inkatha's involvement in violence, saying he was unable to say what he would do if members of his family had been killed.

The country was bogged down in violence when it should be working on a new constitution, he said.

"I realise that it (violence) is the biggest obstacle of all but I can't be accused of orchestrating violence in any sense whatsoever."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed apartheid was dead and called on all South Africans to "remove apartheid's shackles".

● In Johannesburg earlier in the day, Mrs Thatcher addressed about 280 leading businessmen at a joint meeting of the South Africa Foundation, South African Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Directors, the Urban Foundation and the South African Institute of International Affairs.

She warned that wrongs which cried out for immediate action should be rectified, but only countries that create wealth and economies which grow could support higher living standards for all.

Mrs Thatcher said: "Free enterprise must prevail, nationalisation and privatisation should be avoided and demands by bureaucrats and vested interests for controls and subsidies must be denied."

"Resist the temptation to protectionism, whether through tariff barriers or otherwise, as it leads to inefficient industries which will damage the consumer and lose exports."

Praising the strength of the economy in spite of curbs inflicted by lack of foreign investment and loans since 1985, she said the contrast had been stark between the economic performance of South Africa and that of Africa as a whole since independence.

# Voting brisk in OFS

## 'Titanic' by-election

By Esmaré  
van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

304A

Roughly half of Ladybrand's voters had already cast their votes for today's House of Assembly by-election when special votes closed yesterday afternoon, according to electoral officer Hannes Kruger.

The extraordinarily high number of votes already cast is indicative of the enthusiasm for the election, which is seen as an important barometer of white support for President de Klerk's constitutional reforms.

Contesting the seat, left vacant after the death of Conservative Party MP Piet van

Rhijn, are the National Party's Cali Smit and the CP's Charl Hertzog.

Both camps were confident of victory yesterday, although they predicted a close tussle.

Analysts said they had given little thought to the event — only 7 percent of the constituency's population is white — which pales in significance against the back-drop of political developments in South Africa.

University of the Witwatersrand political analyst Dr Philip Frankel commented: "An election for the tricameral Parliament seems like putting up deck-chairs on the sinking Titanic."

"Parliamentary elections now are fading more and more into the background while all at-

Star 22/5/91.  
tention is focused on extra-parliamentary politics. Ladybrand is really a non-event."

Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Professor Albert Venter said he had only recently become aware of the election.

"If the CP regains the seat it would be bad news for the Government's reforms," he said.

In the 1989 general election, the CP won the seat by 70 votes on a split NP/DP vote. The DP polled 471 votes in 1989.

The NP and the CP both believe most Democrats will support the NP although a considerable number of voters might stay away from the polls.

(Report by E van der Merwe,  
47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000)



Govt can  
stop action

— Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The government was determining the use of mass action by the ANC because it was not open to argument and persuasion, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

He was referring to the ANC's 24-hour fasting campaign which started at 6pm yesterday.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had discussed with the government the method of resolving the problem — a simplification of the release mechanism for political prisoners.

Discussions were continuing and would be taken up by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was due to meet President F W de Klerk tomorrow.

Discussions with the government would continue because lives were involved.

"If argument and persuasion fails, we have no alternative but to take action," Mr Mandela warned. — Sapa

# ANC reluctant to attend violence summit

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday seemed to rule out any hopes of its attending the weekend's summit on violence.

After two days of almost unprecedented top-level discussions involving the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, the Zulu chieftain, King Goodwill Zwelofini, Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the former British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and the SA Council of Churches, efforts to secure the

ANC's attendance at President De Klerk's two-day summit on violence seem to have failed.

The ANC's refusal to attend the Pretoria peace summit would, in the view of most interested parties, reduce the event to a talking showcase with little real chance of generating viable action.

The refusal was reinforced throughout the day yesterday as senior ANC negotiators and members of the National Executive Committee,

officials and confidential sources repeatedly stated that whether Mr De Klerk and the Zulu leadership had reached an agreement on the thorny assegaai issue or not, the ANC would not be attending the government-arranged summit.

The government has already committed itself, in the words of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to seriously look at any initiative that tries to address the violence.

This one factor preserves the hope

that there may yet be unity achieved on confronting the ongoing bloodshed in black communities.

The ANC's central objection — as segais aside — is the way in which Mr De Klerk had unilaterally decided to hold the summit and then merely informed, by way of invitation, the ANC of the summit. The movement also objects to him, as representative of the government and therefore a party to the violence, calling the summit. — Sapa





Midweek Politics  
By ANTHONY  
JOHNSON

ET 22/5/91

304A

# Nationalists will have to be dragged into new SA

THE events of the past week have served to highlight what some observers have suspected for some time — many Nationalists will have to be dragged kicking and screaming into the new South Africa.

Many Nationalists appear to be about as willing to sacrifice the system of "own" affairs as marauding impis are to surrender their "cultural" weapons.

Indeed, listening to top Nationalists during debates and Press conferences during the past week one could be forgiven for believing that "own" affairs — the new apartheid — IS the National Party's cultural weapon.

Leading the retrogressive charge was the very person who should be in the forefront of preparing whites and others for the major adaptations which lie ahead on the road to a non-racial democracy — the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerit Viljoen.

## Neo-Marxist philosophy

Indeed, it was the Minister of Constitutional Development who told foreign journalists at the beginning of 1990 that one of the major challenges facing the government was to prepare whites for change after decades of apartheid rule.

But during his reply to the debate on his budget vote, Dr Viljoen suggested that those calling for the scrapping of racially discreet Ministers' Councils and the own affairs system were subscribing to — wait for it — "the neo-Marxist philosophy of revolution".

The mild-mannered chairman of the Indian House of Delegates Ministers' Council, Dr J N Reddy, and his counterpart in the coloured House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hendrickse — both of whom have appealed to government to scrap their councils — have been called

many things since entering the colour-coded tricameral Parliament in 1984.

But nobody, surely, ever expected to hear this. Some observers wondered aloud whether they had perchance started smoking their shoes after having too much to drink the night before.

## So difficult

Dr Viljoen, continuing the neo-Marxist idiom, went on to argue the need to retain own affairs until 1994 because of the dangers of "shattering the old mould before designing the new".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer wondered why the National Party was finding it so difficult to implement, "with some grace and enthusiasm", their declared commitment to abolish apartheid.

Are Nationalists determined to cling to as many formal vestiges of apartheid for as long as possible before reluctantly surrendering these at the last possible moment?

Are they trying to keep as many lucrative jobs-for-pals go-

ing in the vast own affairs bureaucracies before having to give them up during the inevitable Africanisation of the civil service in the new South Africa?

## Levers of power

Are they anxious to preserve apartheid structures and administrations in case negotiations break down?

Are they fearful that by giving up some of the formal levers of power and control at this stage, the government would be making unilateral concessions instead of retaining these for trade-offs during negotiations?

Dr Viljoen, who mentioned a concern about the emergence of "vacuums of instability", appears to believe that own affairs could only go once the constitutional negotiations had been finalised.

By why is there a need to negotiate about the scrapping of own affairs?

As is the case with apartheid in general, everyone — with the apparent exception of government — wants own affairs to go as soon as possible.

# Govt 'first' in new bill

504A  
C/T 22/5/11

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A NEW clause in the revamped land reform bill is the first time the government has proposed an anti-racial discrimination measure.

The clause simply says: "Any by-law which discriminates on the ground of race, colour or religion or is grossly unfair shall be of no force and effect."

It adds that any by-law made by a local authority in terms of any other law which is inconsistent with this provision "shall be of no force and effect in relation to the neighbourhood concerned".

In terms of this bill, the anti-discrimination provision will govern by-laws made to preserve "norms and standards in residential environments".

The chapter on standards replaces the controversial Residential Environment Bill, which the Labour Party threatened to veto on grounds that it was inherently racist and was aimed at protecting white suburbs.

The anti-discrimination clause is clearly intended to deal with this accusation in an effort by the government to show that the proposed rights of neighbourhoods to preserve "standards" was not aimed at protecting residential apartheid.

This may not satisfy the LP, but anti-discrimination does outlaw "any" by-law passed by a neighbourhood which discriminates on the ground of race, colour or religion.

The new standards provisions, which scraps the controversial monitoring provisions proposed in the original bill, says the majority of owners of residential premises in any neighbourhood may by agreement draft by-laws in relation to their neighbourhood. These could provide for the election of a neighbourhood committee and lay down regulations on overcrowding, the use of buildings and the maintenance of residential premises in a clean and hygienic condition.



# PW's creation is falling apart

Sowetan 22/5/91

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**THE creation of former President PW Botha is falling apart.**

A crack has, at the same time, appeared in the Hendrickse dynasty - the Labour Party of South Africa.

At least a half a dozen Labour Party Members of Parliament have in recent weeks defected from the coloured party. All of them have indicated they would apply for membership to the ruling National Party.

One, former Labour MP for Mitchell's Plain Mr Stan Visser has already changed sides - his office on the Cape Flats now flies the National Party colours.

Commenting on the exodus, Labour Party deputy leader Mr Miley Richards said yesterday that the coloured MPs who joined the Nats were "stupid".

Richards said that if the coloured defectors saw their political future as being in the NP they lacked foresight.

## Legacy

He said that he personally would have chosen the "progressive forces" in the country.

"The National Party created apartheid.

"Apartheid is not dead and even if it were, there is its legacy," Richards said.

But, he said, this placed the NP in an embarrassing position.

If the NP decided not to accept the members it could show the Nats up.

In the Indian House of Delegates there are no formal moves underway to cross the floor (to the NP).

However, there have been rumblings that some members of

**FOCUS**

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

Solidarity, Dr JN Reddy's party, are interested in joining the NP.

The official position of the NP, according to Mr Renier Schoeman of the ruling party's information service, is that the defectors were welcome to apply.

But he said they would be subject to the same scrutiny as all applicants since the party was formed.

"The only difference is that previously persons of colour were not allowed to join the party," Schoeman said.

When the coloured House of Representative and the Indian House of Delegates were brought into being during the early 80s, pandemonium broke out on the streets of coloured and Indian townships.

Because the African majority was excluded from the new dispensation, and that community leaders were banned and living in exile, a new "collaborator" was being identified - the "non-white" participants in the oppressive executive of the country.

However, the burly leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, was adamant.

He said the Labour Party was

going into the previously all-white Parliament to dismantle apartheid.

It is ironic that Hendrickse's first clash, over his idea to include Indians in the Labour Party, was with the then Minister of Internal Affairs, the man who in 1984 was called "the National Party's Crown Prince" - Mr FW de Klerk.

Nevertheless, Hendrickse's party came to power through what was described by the media as "an embarrassingly low poll".

In certain coloured townships the Labour Party received less than 200 votes and still went to Parliament.

Anyway, at the time, De Klerk did what the NP did well and apportioned the blame for the low poll on "intimidators".

## Locusts

Throughout the 1980s the coloureds in Parliament's House of Representative were like a swarm of locusts - chaotic, seemingly directionless, in search of something and casting a dark cloud over democracy under a leader who appeared somewhat rampant and defiant, but harmless.

Meanwhile, the Indian House of Delegates were making a mockery of parliamentary procedure.

The Indian MPs have over the years accused each other of being corrupt, cheats, stupid, cruel, scoundrels, hoodlums, slothful and indolent, to name but a few insults.

As recently as last week two Indian MPs allegedly beat each other up in the corridors of Parliament.

Previously, the media never published what happened in the corridors of Parliament - it was

not legal.

But when Mr Amichand Rajbansi and Mr Farouk Cassim climbed into each other - everyone wrote the story. Cassim allegedly pulled Rajbansi's wig from his head.

Earlier this week, Rajbansi reportedly used a four letter expletive in the House.

A parliamentary columnist, John Scott, this week euphemistically wrote that since the mid-80s members in the House of Delegates have established more precedents than Parliament itself since 1910!

The Progressive Federal Party in 1988 referred to the tricameral system as a farce, the Conservative Party called it a "tragedy-comedy", and outside on the streets the excluded black majority felt cheated.

There have over the last couple of weeks emerged a type of consensus over the tricameral system.

With what appears to be a dissolution of the HOD and HOR, and with its members making moves towards the NP, everyone seems to agree that the system, or at least Own Affairs, must go.

The Labour Party's Mr Peter Hendrickse, scion of the Hendrickse dynasty, said recently that the country was inebriated with the idea of a new South Africa, but had forgotten about the rot that had set in the tricameral system.

"In February 1990 our leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, called upon the Government to break down the walls keeping us apart here in Parliament," the young Hendrickse said.

In the meantime, Rajbansi has laid a charge of assault against Cassim at the local police station.

# No interim govt - Viljoen

*Sowetan 22/5/91*  
A GOVERNMENT Minister spoke out in Parliament last week against the ANC's call for an interim government.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said it was imperative that sound and responsible government continued uninterrupted.

However, he also said that the Government could, as an interim measure, incorporate representatives of its negotiating partners.

But the decision to do so would not be made unilaterally by the Government, he said.

*304A*  
**ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
Political Correspondent

Deliberations at a multiparty conference scheduled for later this year would decide on "transitional measures acceptable to all negotiating partners," Viljoen said.

Viljoen's remarks follow a suggestion by State President FW de Klerk earlier this month that negotiating partners could be brought into the Cabinet.

Viljoen explained last week that the forum which is to emerge from the multiparty conference could in-

fluence Parliament and the Cabinet.

"Should the negotiating process proceed expeditiously, it may be anticipated that a natural development could be that an informal, influential leadership corps," Viljoen said.

"Initially a council of negotiating leaders representative of the most significant parties could emerge, primarily to keep the negotiating process on track, but eventually also to provide consultative input to the Government on matters of national consequence," he said.



# New Bill seeks to unite local groups

*Soweto 23/5/91* *304A* *25*

A BILL tabled in Parliament yesterday aims to pave the way for better co-operation between local administrations and civic associations.

The Interim Measure for Local Government Bill, tabled by Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Mr Hernus Kriel, would legalise agreements reached between black and white town councils and between black civic associations and white town councils.

"In many cases, discussions at the local level opened doors to co-operation which cannot be implemented because of legal impediments," the Bill says.

"This leads to frustration, which has a negative influence on the process of reform.

"Therefore, without wishing to establish a final structure at the local level, the decision has been to initiate interim steps to accommodate the dynamics which

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

have developed in many communities in respect of co-operation, and to give legal sanction to agreed joint actions and joint structures."

The Bill also provides for the establishment of negotiating forums at local government level.

## Administration

A negotiating forum would discuss the creation of a single local administration or, in the case of two or more local government bodies, a joint local authority.

All agreements reached will have to be submitted to the administrator of the respective provinces for final approval.

Once it has been passed by the administrator, the agreements will be legalised by an Act of Parliament.



THE most detailed picture yet of Government thinking about the transition to the new South Africa - and the structure of that future society - emerged in three key speeches delivered to Parliament by Dr Gerrit Viljoen last week.

If one reduces the mass of detail to its essence, it becomes clear that while there is agreement with the ANC on shared aims in broad brushstrokes - one person one vote in a nonracial, unitary state - the Constitutional Development Minister's thinking is otherwise poles apart from that of Mr Nelson Mandela's organisation.

The Government is committed to structural mechanisms which would severely restrict the power of any party which won a majority in democratic elections; the standard "winner-takes-all" model is rejected out of hand.

The ANC dismisses such "power-sharing", and insists on a "transfer of power".

# 'Winner-takes-all' model is unacceptable - Viljoen

Formally, constitutional talks between the Government and the African National Congress are off. In fact, writes *Sowetan's* Special Correspondent in Parliament SHAUN JOHNSON, both sides are furiously preparing their strategies for eventual "real negotiations". But the latest documents and speeches from each show that from first principles onwards there remains a yawning chasm between them.

Viljoen's revealing contributions to the debate on his ministry's budget vote were divided into three discrete sections: constitutional principles for the new South Africa, transitional arrangements, and power sharing and protection of minority rights.

Besides commitments to "justice", "equality" and the like - which have become almost platitudinous since February 2 1990 - Viljoen opened a window on detailed Government strategising to ensure that it emerges from negotiations with as much as possible of its

power intact.

The ironic thrust of much of this argument is that a new government should not be allowed to enjoy the structural power which the National Party has itself utilised for more than four decades.

Regarding constitutional principles the Government - through Viljoen as its chief negotiator - argues that:

\* There must be a much greater division of powers between the legislative, judicial and executive arms of the State.

Parliament should be able to "control the Cabinet more effectively".

and an independent judiciary should be able to test Parliament's legislation and the performance of the government's executive authority.

In other words, the constitution will be sovereign (reversing the present situation, based on the British model), and the new South Africa will emerge as what the Government dubs a "Constitutional State".

The new government will be on a much shorter leash than the present one.

\* There is no prospect of the Republic of South Africa ceasing to exist as

a state; rather there will be a "radical renewal" of the RSA.

\* As an instrument of minority protection, consideration should be given to a central legislature comprising two houses.

"In this way a balance will be achieved between universal voting rights and majority power in the one house and minority rights protection through special representation and decision making power for minorities in the other house, a multiparty compilation of the legislative authority (or Cabinet) and a spreading of the powers that are concentrated in

the office of the state president".

There could be a "chamber of minorities" in which special voting procedures and raised majority requirements could operate in decision making over "sensitive, fundamental issues".

\* Structures for "self-determination by individual communities must serve as a fundamental building block of minority protection.

Where a local community can identify itself on nonracial grounds and through voluntary association, it must if it so chooses be allowed to establish its own community structure.

This structure would deal with community matters, including aspects of education, welfare, surroundings and culture. Such structures must be able to generate their own funds."

\* Powers should be devolved to regions as far as possible.

\* A justifiable Bill of Rights to protect individuals from (future) government interference will be part of the sovereign constitution.

Regarding transitional arrangements the Government argues that:

\* The "continuous, complex and most responsible business" of governing a nation remains the task of the National Party Government until such time as the proposed changes have taken place.

The same applies to "the present constitution and its institutions.

"The Government will continue to govern and the National Party will negotiate ... The lawful institutions of Government and administration, set up according to the valid constitution and laws of the land, will continue to provide sound Government and administration ..."

But there are four possibilities for "acceptable transitional arrangements".

\* Firstly, mooted "negotiating forum" might "itself acquire the stature and capacity to influence the legislative, executive and administrative processes directly and with great authority" - but its primary task will remain the achievement of consensus on a new constitution.

\* Secondly, an "informal, influential leadership corps" could emerge during negotiations, which might even develop into a formal structure.

\* Thirdly, the Cabinet could be expanded, with the approval of the negotiating forum, to include "a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans".

\* Fourthly, multiparty working groups specialising in various fields of government could emerge



DR GERRIT VILJOEN

ge and "provide guidance in the transitional period to the established government institutions".

Regarding power sharing and minority rights protection, the Government argues that:

\* There is no possibility of its simply disappearing from the political stage and handing over the reins of power "to one or other potentate or group with no experience of what the governance of a sophisticated country involves.

"South Africa is not a colony that is now becoming independent; it has been constitutionally emancipated for decades."

\* A system in which the arithmetic majority is effectively given all political power for a period is "unacceptable and unworkable".

There must be a balance between one person one vote and the effective protection of minorities.

\* A new constitution must make provision for a series of mechanisms through which the abuse of power and the overriding of minority interests can be prevented.

There is no "single panacea" for this, but what must result is an interdependent complex of weights and counterweights.

\* There should be a multiparty system with regular elections. Some form of proportional representation should be introduced.

The basis is general franchise on a common voters' roll, with constituency divisions reflecting the choice of voters.

\* There could be a head of state and a head of government, elected by each house, or the Swiss model could be followed, providing for a collective multiparty college with a rotating chairman.

It is clear from Viljoen's presentations that the Government is devoting a great deal of time and energy to constitutional detail, to be presented at the negotiating table.

The picture that emerges is of a complicated set of proposals which will have to be sold both to the ANC and the international community on their own merits - and this will mean producing a convincing case that they are not merely the latest and most sophisticated National Party trick to ward off true majority rule.

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**LESLEY LAMBERT**

legislation is intrinsically coupled to inherently racially prejudiced measures that will substitute for it," he said.

The new Bill was tabled in Parliament on Monday.

In a statement issued after a meeting of the parliamentary joint committee on land reform yesterday, Labour stressed that it supported the abolition of the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Labour noted that there were adequate legislative measures for the maintenance and protection of norms and standards on an equitable basis.

The only explanation for the new provisions were "the inherent prejudice whites had towards people of colour and an undertaking the NP had given its white voters", Lockey said.

## Schwarz gets gold shoulder at US school

6/Day 23/5791  
SA's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, was greeted by protests when he delivered the keynote speech at an annual fundraiser function for a black inner-city school in Baltimore on Tuesday.

Many people who bought tickets chose to sit outside, supporting the sentiments of demonstrators, according to a Baltimore news report supplied to Sapa in Johannesburg by the US Information Service.

Schwarz's invitation came at the suggestion of Baltimore human rights activist Alleck Resnick, and was approved by the school's board.

Even Baltimore's first black mayor, Clarence Burn, who shared the dais with Schwarz, questioned the choice of the ambassador. "He is a good man," said Burns. "But apartheid is still there, and people are upset."

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Schwarz surprised fundraisers and security men by walking out of the school ballroom, where the event was held, before his address to speak to the demonstrators. — Sapa.



## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Road freight down

THE road freight industry has made a slow start to the year with reduced tonnages carried in January this year reflecting the extent of the economic slowdown.

Central Statistical Service figures released yesterday showed a 14% drop in the total tonnage of goods carried by public transporters during January 1991 to 29,3-million (34,1-million) tons.

However, with the average tariff a ton increasing from R8,18 to R11,47, total transport earnings were boosted 20% to R337m in January 1991 compared to R279m in January last year.

### Council workers fired

SEVENTY-five black municipal workers — some with up to 18 years' service — were fired by the Ventersdorp Town Council last week, said Operation Masakhane for the Homeless executive committee member Eric Ngeleza.

Legal advice had been taken on the matter. He said 16 of the workers had been rehired, although they were being treated as new workers, thus losing pensions and benefits.

No-one was available for comment at the town council.

### UK's GDP shows drop

BRITAIN'S gross domestic product (GDP) fell 0,6% between the last quarter of 1990 and the first quarter of 1991, figures released in London yesterday by the Central Statistical Office said.

The decline was less than the last two quarterly drops of 1,5% and 0,9% respectively. Compared with the first quarter of 1990, the British economy has contracted by 2,5%.

### Rise in German GNP

WESTERN Germany's gross national product (GNP) grew between 3% and 4% in price-adjusted terms during the first quarter of 1991, the Economics Ministry reported in Bonn yesterday, while in eastern Germany "the downward development of overall economic activity hasn't yet reached its low point".

Reports: Business Day Reporter, AP-DJ, Sapa-Reuter

# Further talks to follow summit

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night he envisaged follow-up meetings after this weekend's summit on violence which is expected to be boycotted by most extra-parliamentary groups.

De Klerk said in a statement the summit was never intended to be "a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found".

His statement confirmed expectations that government would be willing to become involved in meetings after the summit.

"It is and remains an important step in the process of consultation. The road ahead will be discussed in depth and the contributions of all involved are needed," De Klerk said.

"If there are political groupings that have decided against attending the conference on political grounds or because of the question of traditional weapons, they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation in a peace meeting intended to deal with the problem of violence in a solution-oriented manner," De Klerk said.

PATRICK BULGER reports that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said on Tuesday he would attend De Klerk's summit.

Right-wing sources yesterday expressed amazement at Terre'Blanche's decision to attend which, they said, was out of step with the

refusal by other conservative groups, including the CP, to attend.

The Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) and the PAC confirmed yesterday they were joining the ANC in not attending.

Meanwhile the SA Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday formally pulled out of the summit but remained optimistic that behind-the-scenes moves to get political parties involved in a peace process would succeed, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Chikane said religious leaders who met on Tuesday to draw up proposals for getting peace talks back on track had found that they could not attend the summit.

"Religious leaders are convinced that the problems of violence are of such magnitude that they cannot be resolved without the participation of all the parties and organisations involved," Chikane said.

He said it was now too late for De Klerk's summit to be redefined so as to attract wider participation.

BILLY PADDOCK reports the DP yesterday unveiled short-term proposals to be submitted to the summit. These included setting up a national network of township peace task groups representing all political movements.

## Standard Chartered boss on 'return to SA'

HARARE — After enjoying complete independence since 1986, Standard Bank SA might not want to resume ties with its former UK parent, Standard Chartered, when the political situation was resolved, Standard Chartered chairman Rodney Galpin said yesterday.

The Standard Chartered board is having a monthly meeting in Zimbabwe, only the second time the bank's board session has been held outside London. It met in Hong Kong last year, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Standard Chartered sold its minority stake in Standard Bank SA in 1986.

MICHAEL HARTNACK

Galpin said the political situation in SA now was "promising", encouraging hopes of renewed co-operation.

"I dare say that after the complete independence they have had since then they may well not want us back," said Galpin.

"If it looks right from the point of view of our business in the rest of Africa to have some sort of presence in SA, then I think we could probably do it, but I think at the right time," he said.

# Thatcher optimistic as she returns to the UK

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B10am 23/5/91  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, at the end of her SA visit, called on world leaders to respond vigorously and positively to changes and to welcome SA back into the international community.

Speaking as a guest of the local branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs yesterday, Thatcher strongly promoted SA reform to the international community.

She also called for massive overseas investment in the SA economy, the renewal of sporting ties, and the encouragement of progress in reform.

"This year, for the first time since Smuts, and with the abolition of the apartheid laws, SA is truly rejoining the international community. South Africans now have good reason to be optimistic about the future," Thatcher said.

She issued three challenges to the international community:

□ Unstable countries run by dictators and extremists must be deprived of advanced

military hardware and weaponry;

□ True international free trade must be established by the abolition of protectionist policies which prevent the flow of commodities and raw materials from less developed countries to the West; and

□ Large amounts of capital must be set aside to combat abuse of the environment on an international scale.

Sapa reports that at a news conference before flying to the UK, Thatcher said violence could not be reduced by the government alone. Leaders of political parties had to fully support an end to violence.

Asked about SA's possible readmission to the Commonwealth, Thatcher said this issue was far too premature.

Asked why she had not met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on her visit, Thatcher said they had met in London two weeks ago and had had a long telephone conversation a few days ago.

## Unrest claims six lives in 24 hours

SIX people were killed in incidents of unrest in SA in the 24 hours ending at midnight on Tuesday, bringing the countrywide death toll since May 1 to 223.

The bullet-riddled bodies of four men were found in two houses in Klipspruit, Soweto, police said on Tuesday.

Soweto police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said the bodies of three Mozambican men were found at one address, and that of a fourth man, a tailor, was found at another house.

The motive for the killings was believed to be revenge, he said.

The stabbed and hacked body of a man was found at Mqolomeni, outside Port Shepstone. At Malugazi near Durban, the body of a man with bullet wounds was found. Two men were arrested in connection with the killing.

Also in Natal, a man was seriously injured when a group of unknown gunmen attacked a private house in Wembezi, near Estcourt. And at Izuba, in Umkomaas, a man was attacked

in his car by seven men. He fired at his attackers, injuring one man slightly.

Unknown men, carrying firearms and a hand-grenade, attacked a private house at Ndoleni in Richmond. No injuries were reported.

Our Durban Correspondent reports that a police vehicle was totally destroyed after it was ambushed by armed attackers while on patrol in Inanda at midday on Tuesday.

Five policemen were travelling in the vehicle when it was caught in a hail of gunfire, said police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi.

After the police jumped out of the vehicle to find shelter, it was set on fire and gutted. The attackers fled when police returned fire. — Sapa.



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# FW plea to ANC on peace summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night issued an impassioned 11th-hour plea to the ANC to rethink its boycott of his Pretoria peace summit as a spate of withdrawals threatened to relegate the event to a sideshow.

In a last-minute bid to boost attendance of "struggle" organisations at the conference, Mr De Klerk announced the banning of the carrying of spears and assegais in 13 Reef unrest areas where curfews are also in force. The summit starts tomorrow and ends on Saturday.

However, he stopped short of fulfilling ANC demands of a blanket ban on all dangerous weapons throughout the country.

This will allow Inkatha sup-

porters responding to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call to assemble in full traditional regalia in central Johannesburg this weekend to do so with impunity — even if they are carrying spears.

The ANC said the fact that the ban on the carrying of spears was limited to unrest areas meant that it would not be effective in curbing violence, as serious incidents of violence were also occurring outside these areas.

Yesterday the PAC, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast), the Teachers' Association of South Africa (Tasa) and the Lebowa government joined the ANC in boycotting the two-day summit.

Azapo, the Transkei and KaNgwane governments, the Congress

of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SACP have already given the thumbs-down to the summit.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk warned that if there were political groupings which were boycotting the conference on political grounds or because of the controversy on traditional weapons, "they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation".

But he then added: "However, it is never too late to make a contribution. They may still reconsider and participate."

To Page 5

● DP's peace plans — Page 5

● PAC on FW summit — Page 5

From page 1

## Summit

Mr De Klerk was nevertheless at pains to emphasise that the summit was not intended as "a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found".

Rather, the summit should be seen as an important step in the process of consultation.

If boycotting organisations did not reconsider their participation, "I foresee nonetheless that follow-up actions and further processes will ensue after the conference of the coming weekend, also emanating from the conference itself".

SACC secretary-general Dr Frank Chikane, who announced yesterday that the SACC would not attend the summit, said: "It (the decision not to attend) is not a rejection of the State President's conference, but the decision is based on the concern that, as it is organised, it will not serve the purpose that it is meant to do."

Dr Chikane said the majority of those affected by the violence would not be represented at the conference.

A summit which did not involve the ANC, Inkatha and the government could not address the violence effectively.

He said church leaders had found common ground with SA Chamber of Commerce (Sacob) businessmen during discussions which started at the weekend. They were working together to find a solution to the violence.

The PAC said the "clean hands" principle dictated that the government could not take the initiative in organising a conference of this nature as it was an involved party.

Tasa said it would not attend the summit because of the continuing crisis in education.

A member of the DP's delegation to the peace summit, Dr Denis Worrall, acknowledged yesterday that the conference might be "short on political legitimacy".

However, he said there was no reason why the conference should not come up with credible, concrete measures which would also be acceptable to those not participating at the conference.

# Mandela spells out ANC stand on peace summit

The Argus Foreign Service

ARGUS 23/5/91

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress was not attending President De Klerk's peace conference because it was not proper that the meeting should be convened by one of the belligerents, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has said on US television.

Interviewed in South Africa for NBC yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was not merely engaged in negative action by boycotting the De Klerk conference. It was putting forward positive proposals as to how a peace conference should be called and by whom.

He said: "We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents. The proper thing to do is to ensure the conference is called by an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with this conference called by the government."

Asked what the ANC would like the government to do to quell the violence in South Africa, in addition to banning the use of cultural weapons in unrest areas, Mr Mandela said the government could not be dictated to as to what it should do.

"They have got experts in the art of maintaining law and order and dealing with violence, and it is them who should put that skill and knowledge into practice."



## 'Neutral' chairman at peace talks on cards

Political Staff

DELEGATES to the two-day peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow will decide the procedures and agenda of the conference which will debate ways to end the violence.

The government has also not closed the door on the issue of a "neutral" chairman, mooted by Democratic Party MP Mr Colin Eglin. But Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week it would be up to the conference to decide on the issue.

Dr Viljoen said President De Klerk, who is hosting the conference, will play an "initiating" role and would therefore probably make the opening remarks.

It is expected the summit will also decide on someone to assist the president.

While the summit, which will take place at the CSIR, was an initiative of President De Klerk's, the government is not aiming to impose or to be prescriptive.

A list of delegates are not yet available but are expected to be released later today. All parliamentary parties are expected to attend the conference.

The DP will be represented by the party's leader, Dr Zac de Beer, and Dr Denis Worrall.

Inkatha Freedom Party will be represented by its leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, its chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior officials of the central committee.

The Conservative Party has refused its invitation to the summit on the grounds that President De Klerk had called the summit for those involved in the violence.

Breaking ranks with other right-wing groups the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging said it would attend the summit to place on record its views on the violence "so that we could not be blamed afterwards".

The movement will be represented by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said a group of prominent South African church leaders had decided against attending the May 24-25 peace summit.

The ANC has refused its invitation because the conference was unilaterally called by the government without consultation.

The PAC would also not attend the summit on the grounds that it believed the security forces were covertly involved in the violence.

dybrand by-election became kno  
out of sight



# Spears added to list of banned weapons

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ARGUS 23/5/91

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

A BAN on the carrying of spears in public places has been added to a previous ban on dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

President De Klerk announced the ban after overcoming objections from Zulu leaders.

Exceptions may be made for traditional cultural occasions, subject to notice in advance. Permission for the carrying of weapons may also be granted for certain employees if satisfactory proof of the need for this is provided by employers.

In the case of cultural gatherings, 48 hours notice must be given to the police.

This move will not meet the demands of the African National Congress, which has asked for a blanket ban on dangerous weapons.

Referring to a number of meetings with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and one with Zulu King Good-



Mr De Klerk

will Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk said yesterday that these had led to "co-operation being obtained".

He said this once again demonstrated the value of discussion when the conflict situation had to be addressed.

The peace summit tomorrow and on Saturday was never intended to be a final discussion



Chief Buthelezi

during which final solutions had to be found, Mr De Klerk said.

It was and remained an important step in the process of consultation.

"The road ahead will be discussed and the contributions of all involved are needed.

"If there are political groupings that have decided against attending the conference on

political grounds, or because of the question of traditional weapons, they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation in a peace meeting intended to deal with the problem of violence in a solution-oriented way."

Mr De Klerk said it was never too late to make a contribution and some might still reconsider and take part.

He foresaw follow-up actions and initiatives from the conference. The government would continue to promote participation in such processes.

The continuing violence caused human suffering, threatened the peaceful political process, sapped the country's capabilities and destabilised community life and the economy.

For the government, combating this violence was a matter of the highest priority. The situation had to be reviewed constantly to decide on what more should be done to contain the violence and bring it to an end, Mr De Klerk said.



Ladybrand by-election held yesterday is:

Cali Smit (NP).....	5 018.
Charl Hertzog (CP).....	6 276.
CP Majority.....	1 258.
Percentage Poll:.....	81,11.
Spoilt Papers:.....	52.

1989 ELECTION:

A S van der Merwe (NP).....	5 735.
P H van Rhijn (CP).....	5 805.
J D Hughs (DP).....	471.
CP majority:.....	70.
Percentage poll:.....	86.

1987 ELECTION:

A S van der Merwe (NP).....	5 870.
P H van Rhijn (CP).....	5 028.
NP majority.....	842.
Percentage Poll:.....	80,4.

— Sapa.

## Voting 'shows government is out of touch'

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party's win in the Ladybrand by-election — and the results in every by-election since September 1989 — showed the government was out of touch with the majority of white Afrikaners, Pretoria-based political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said today.

The National Party government of President De Klerk was "living in a dream world" in respect of how many whites supported his reforms, Professor Kleynhans said after the result of yesterday's Ladybrand by-election became known.

The result reflected a 7,4 percent swing to the CP in the previously marginal seat.

The swing of white Afrikaner support for the CP had become an avalanche since the NP started in earnest with its reforms in September 1989, and every by-election since then reflected the fact, Professor Kleynhans said. "The CP is the only party to have registered gains."

The trend was particularly evident in rural constituencies.

He said the Ladybrand election result also signalled the eventual end of the "white" NP of old. If the party was to continue to exist it would have to enlist the support of South Africa's Indian, coloured and black people, "to replace the gaps left by the Afrikaners who for decades were its backbone".



Professor Willem Kleynhans

The NP had failed to grasp the real significance of the announcement by 130 000 CP supporters who assembled at the Voortrekker Monument on May 26 1990 that the third struggle for the freedom of the Afrikaner "volk" had begun.

The real meaning of what happened when thousands of white farmers invaded Pretoria in February this year to protest, and again on May 17 to publically state they were going to take the law into their own hands to stop black squatting, had also slipped past the NP.

"The right wing is adamantly on the road to confrontation," Professor Kleynhans said, adding that a peaceful settlement for South Africa was no longer possible in view of the black-on-black violence in the townships.

Afrikaners would again display their displeasure for reform today when thousands of farmers and rightwingers were expected to gather at Warmbaths in the Northern Transvaal to burn parliamentary Bills dealing with the repeal of the Land Acts, Professor Kleynhans said. — Sapa.

# PAC rejects peace summit invite

Political Staff

3044

THE Pan Africanist Congress has formally rejected President De Klerk's invitation to take part in this week's peace summit, saying the government was responsible for the violence in the country.

In an open letter to President De Klerk read by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the PAC said the government had "to recuse itself from the convening chair as it was a party to the conflict and has an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations".

The government, Mr Moseneke said, had for many years

played a key role in destabilising several African countries in this region.

He said the government's plan to set the liberation movements against one another had failed because the PAC had not been drawn into the violence.

The PAC, he said, would continue to work closely with the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party in an attempt to end the violence and "to prevent a Beirut situation in our own country".

Mr Moseneke said the PAC's view was that the blame for the violence was not solely the government's, and that "sections of the liberation movement have used or are still us-

ing the barbaric necklacing murders, children run so-called 'people's courts' with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices".

The PAC called on the perpetrators of these acts to desist from them because they allowed the people's "enemies" to manipulate the situation and increase violence from outside.

"We demand and welcome steps to form non-sectarian and democratic civic bodies and we implore all tendencies to work together in harmony and democracy within civic structures. We must stand together as mature and wise people or perish together as fools," Mr Moseneke said.

The PAC leader said while

his organisation agreed that calls on the government to end the violence were "legally sound and justified", it nevertheless found such calls to be "politically naive".

The African people, he said, had to defend themselves and resolve their problems "as their own liberators and have the necessary ideological orientation to act in their own interests without any reservation".

Mr Moseneke warned Africans who would be attending the government's summit that the meeting was not likely to achieve much because "a crucial part of the agenda must be to advance the designs of the State".

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# Four more MPs quit Labour

Two more MPs announced yesterday that they had left the Labour Party, bringing the total number of resignations from the caucus this year to 13.

Two other MPs quit the party late on Tuesday.

There are indications that more LP members, including senior members, will resign before the end of the week.

Sources in the House of Representatives have indicated that this may only be the beginning of an en masse defection from the party.

James Kuiler (Manenberg) and Hendry Cupido (Kasselsvlei), who resigned yesterday, said they were convinced that the party and its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, would be known in history as the champion and

the voice of the brown people in the fight against apartheid.

"However the hour has arrived for us to address and accept political reality, and this is that we (the LP) have no chance to preserve our identity or play a role in the new South Africa."

"We believe that the State President and the National Party government must be supported in their efforts to create a new SA where there will be equality, economic progress and democracy."

Basil Cupido (Southern Cape) and Lester Sampson (Dias) left the party on Tuesday to become temporarily independent, but are expected to stand in the lengthening queue to join the NP.

The LP now faces the very real possibility of being ousted as a majority party if the

NP allows the defecting members in.

Nine MPs from the opposition parties, the Democratic Reform Party (DRP) and the United Democratic Party (UDP), have disbanded their respective parties and are also hoping to join the NP.

Mr Hendrickse last week dismissed the defections as a "purifying" of the party.

"The big move will be on Friday. Then you will see the Labour Party lose members including some very senior ones," Cecil Herandien (DRP Macassar) said.

He said there were people in the LP who were secretly consulting with the Nats with a view to joining.

People were fed up with the direction the LP leader was taking, especially with regard to the recent decision

to selectively boycott legislation in Parliament.

LP spokesman and son of the leader, Peter Hendrickse, said the defections were an orchestrated move by those opposed to the Labour Party.

"I believe a whole group decided to resign but they are doing it one by one for effect."

The resignations were not due to dissatisfaction with the party but because people were looking out for their own interests.

He said he did not foresee the NP becoming the majority party in the House of Representatives as faith in the leader had not dimmed.

Mr Hendrickse snr has been unopposed for 13 years, six of which have been within the structure of the tricameral Parliament. — Sapa.

## Political code of conduct to be presented at indaba

CAPE TOWN — Freedom of political expression and organisation carried responsibilities, including the duty to accept every other person's freedom, says the Democratic Party's Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Organisations, which was released yesterday.

The code is to be presented at the State President's conference on violence which takes place tomorrow and on Saturday.

Some of the recommendations are: *304A* 2315/91

- Intimidation in any form was unacceptable.

- Party leaders should instruct followers that no weapon of any kind be taken to any political rally or meeting.

- Practical steps should be taken to avoid holding public rallies, meetings or marches close to one another.

- Speakers at political rallies should avoid language which

threatens or incites violence.

- Forced recruitment or fundraising must be rejected.

- Effective lines of communication should be established between parties.

- Parties should notify authorities in advance of planned meetings and rallies. — Sapa.



# Ladybrand throws

out FW's reforms in  
*Stev 23/579/*  
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 massive win for CP

Spill papers ..... 52  
 1989: P H van Rhijn  
 (CP) 5 805; AS van der  
 Merwe (NP) 5 735; J P  
 Hughes (DP) 471. CP ma-  
 jority: 70.

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 election yesterday, dealing a  
 blow to the National Party's  
 hopes of demonstrating sup-  
 port for President de Klerk's  
 reforms in the conservative  
 Free State community.  
 CP candidate Charl Hertzog  
 polled 6 276 votes and his NP  
 opponent, Calie Smit, 5 018.  
 The 1 258-vote majority in a  
 81,11 percent poll — unusually  
 high for a by-election — was  
 up substantially from the CP's  
 majority of 70 in the 1989 gen-  
 eral election. There were 52  
 spill papers.

Jubilant CP supporters car-  
 ried Mr Hertzog shoulder-high  
 after the result was announced  
 by electoral officer Hannes  
 Kruger early this morning.  
 "This is not only a victory  
 for the CP, this is a victory for  
 white South Africa," Mr Hert-  
 zog told his cheering fans.  
 He added: "Whites have the  
 right to their own schools, their  
 own residential areas and self-  
 determination."

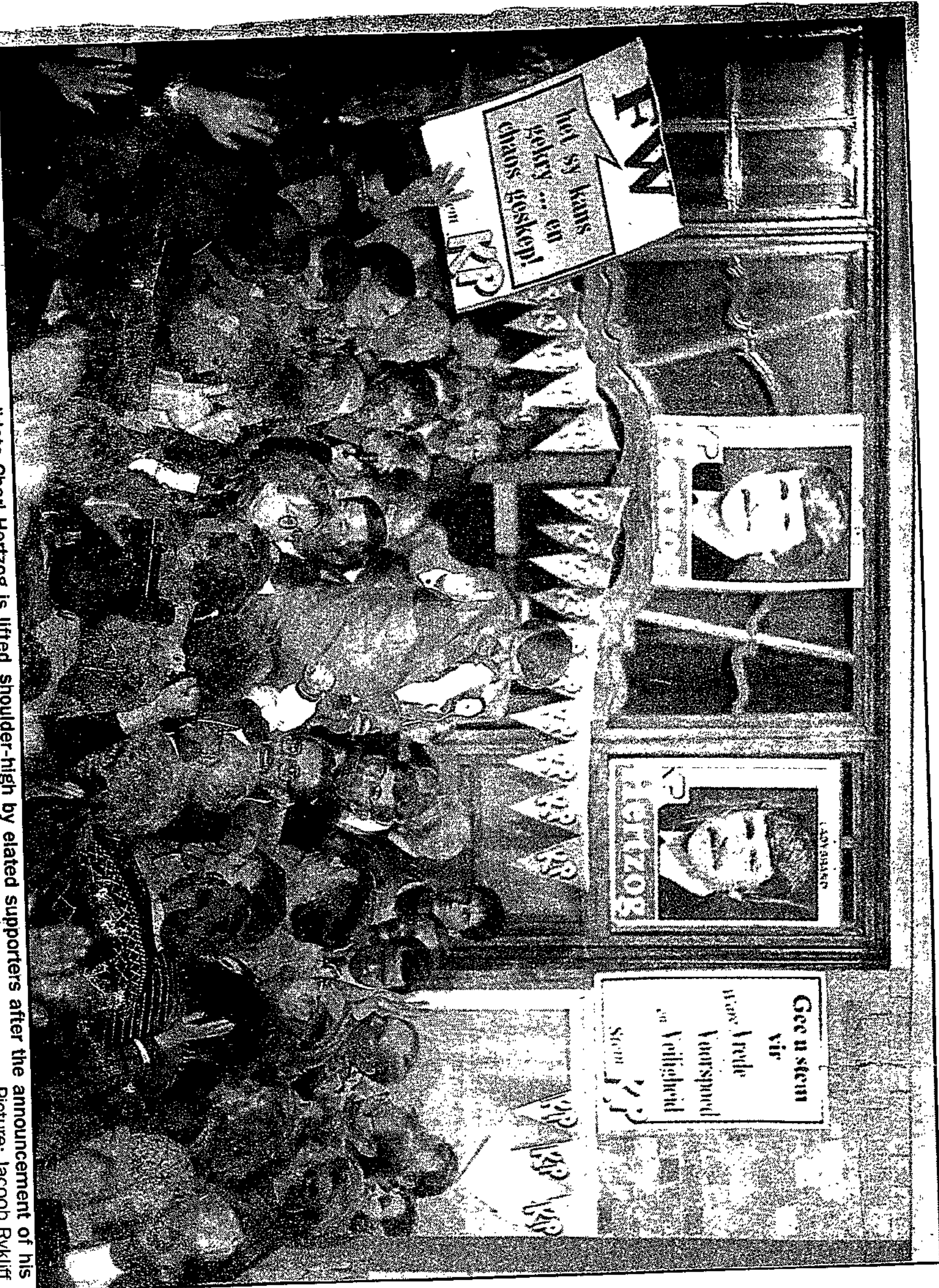
CP leader Dr Andries Treur-  
 nicht said the NP government  
 had been given a clear mes-  
 sage that white voters were  
 moving to the political Right.  
 The result was also a mes-  
 sage to other nations that CP  
 folk nationalism was in line  
 with modern political trends,  
 he said.

The party's Free State lead-  
 er, Cehill Pienaar, exclaimed:  
 "The Free State has been lost  
 to the Nats for ever!"  
 The NP holds eight of the  
 province's 14 seats and the CP  
 six.

Mr Smit, visibly upset by his  
 defeat, said he did not expect  
 such a huge CP majority.  
 He ascribed his unexpectedly  
 huge defeat to the financial dif-  
 ficulties experienced by farm-  
 ers — about 3 000 of the con-  
 stituency's nearly 14 000 voters  
 are farmers — as well as fear-  
 ing crime and the wave of un-  
 rest in neighbouring Lesotho.

Conservative Party candidate Charl Hertzog is lifted shoulder-high by elated supporters after the announcement of his by-election victory in Ladybrand early this morning.

Picture: Jacobo Rykloff





# DP suggests ways to contain the violence

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has formulated proposals for containing the violence.

It will involve action from the Cabinet, various Ministries and the SAP which will be presented for discussion at the State President's summit on violence at the weekend. The DP's contention is that the Government was ultimately

ly responsible for maintaining peace and good order. (2047)

Improved and appropriate management of the security forces and of the transition phase was essential.

The document says all South Africans should enjoy the right to peaceful assembly.

On the subject of the return of combatants connected to

movements such as the ANC and PAC, they should be offered the opportunity of being accommodated in SADF bases, under their own commanders.

The idea is that they would eventually be absorbed by either the SADF or SAP, or return to civilian life.

Other proposals are:  
● The SAP's role must be

clearly defined, the force should undergo extensive training, orientation and management and it should be issued with equipment to ensure maximum safety of personnel.

● Potential conflict situations, including public gatherings, should be defined and the bearing of arms must be prohibited. — Sapa.



Hunger strikers critical, SACC quits talks

# Rift widens over crucial issues

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23/5/91  
Staff Reporters

The rift between the Government and the ANC widened today as hunger strikers reached a critical stage, and it became clear President de Klerk's peace conference will start tomorrow without several of the major players.

The main points at issue are the release of political prisoners and the convening of a peace summit to end township violence.

With moves having been made to curb violence, including the banning of spears and assegais in unrest areas, six men in hospital beds in the Cape were today the focal point of the political rift.

The six started a hunger strike with fellow prisoners on May 1. They claim political amnesty.

The South African Health Workers' Congress warned today that the threat of irreversible damage to strikers' health "is now very real".

There is also widespread concern over the backlash to the death of a hunger striker.

Latest developments in the dual impasse are:

- Three ANC nominees yesterday withdrew from the Government-appointed indemnity committees.

They declared that they were "appalled" that a meeting would take place as late as June 11 by which time the prisoners will have been on hunger strike for over 40 days, stated advocates Dullah Omar and T L Skweyiya, and human rights expert Dr Max Coleman.

- Government and ANC estimates of the number of political prisoners differ to a massive extent.

The ANC said last night that about 1 800 political prisoners were still in prison 22 days after the April 30 deadline for their release.

The Ministry of Justice said it had received only 1 084 applications for release before April 30.

And of the 1 574 applications lodged since April 30, 70-80 percent fell outside the guidelines of political offences agreed to between the Government and the ANC.

The ministry said it appeared an attempt was being made to frustrate the process of releasing political prisoners.

- The South African Council of Churches (SACC) will not attend President de Klerk's peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow and on Saturday, SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane announced yesterday. The ANC, the PAC and Azapo and other extra-parliamentary organisations have already indicated they will not attend.

- Yesterday's widely covered "free the prisoners" protests by the ANC — including the double arrest of Winnie Mandela for blocking a Johannesburg intersection with other protesters has

● To Page 3

# ANC-Govt rift widens over releases, peace summit

From Page 1

been accompanied by an international campaign.

Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Kobie Coetsee said a decision on the application for release of one of the prisoners in Somerset Hospital was expected soon. He said the applications of four others in the hospital would be considered between June 11 and 14.

In the light of this, he said in a statement, it was irresponsible for these prisoners to remain on hunger strike or for anyone to encourage them to do so.

Of the main protagonists, only Inkatha and the Government will attend the

peace summit.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, last night defended the summit.

Commenting on the latest political organisation to publicly decry the summit, the PAC, Dr Viljoen said the organisation had become known for its "consistent refusal to engage in any talks or negotiations with the Government on the country's future and is apparently not prepared to become involved constructively in any way whatsoever".

Spearheaded by Winnie Mandela, the ANC yesterday sought to bring the issue of

political prisoners to the fore.

Police fired teargas and threw stun grenades into a crowd of ANC women protesters in central Johannesburg yesterday afternoon — and arrested and charged Mrs Mandela for the second time in a day — prompting threats of further protest action today.

Mrs Mandela was released after being charged with obstructing traffic and resisting arrest, and promptly returned with other protesters to the intersection of Market and Rissik.

At about 2 pm, when a crowd of mostly women

ANC supporters failed to disperse, police fired teargas and threw stun grenades — which they said are intended to shock and frighten, but not injure — and arrested Mandela again.

"What are you doing? ... don't pull me, don't pull me," Mandela shouted at police who dragged her across the intersection in front of City Hall fountains as her supporters scattered.

She told reporters before being driven to police headquarters in John Vorster Square: "You see for yourselves these vicious men who have manhandled me for the second time ... they man-

handle me right in front of the public in this manner. "This is not going to deter me. The struggle goes on."

Magistrate Johan Moolman told Mandela's lawyer, Ismael Ayob: "I think you should speak to your client about her behaviour. I hope there are no further attempts of this nature."

She was not asked to plead and both cases have been postponed until June 21.

Mr Mandela later said: "Her second appearance is regrettable." He was considering laying a charge of assault against the policemen who allegedly manhandled her.



# Big dose of medicine for MPs

Now there may, among you dedicated followers of the peregrinations in Parliament, be some who will think On the House is unwell this week.

After all, it might seem strange that at a time when great affairs of State, such as the repeal of apartheid, are being concluded, this column is full of the unpromisingly named Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Bill.

Do not be alarmed. In terms of entertainment, this debate provided some of the current session's choicest moments. The Bill is an exercise in complexity to which I have no intention of doing justice, and I ask you just to follow as best you can.

The CP's Dr FH Pauw opened the proceedings. He said the CP — for once — would support a Government-sponsored Bill, but that it had one major worry. It was all very well giving the incumbent Minister of Health, Dr Rina Venter, all sorts of new powers, he said, but because of the National Party's mad reforms, who knew who would inherit them?

A look of horror passed across Dr Pauw's face as he contemplated, one imagined, a dictatorial witchdoctor in the

ministerial chair in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building at Parliament in the new South Africa.

Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) had an even worse vision. "Dit kan dalk Winnie wees," he exclaimed hysterically. CP heads shook and nodded, tut-tutting at the prospect.

Presently the focus moved to a more rarefied plane. Devagie Govender of the National People's Party offered a short lesson on Ayurvedic, anthroposophic, homeopathic, minute-dose, biochemic and gemmotherapeutic medicines.

These were in some way threatened by the new Bill, she appeared to be saying, and Honourable Members appeared to be prepared to agree, lest they be asked to explain what she was talking about.

## Challenged

"The Beatles achieved fame after their sojourn in the Himalayas with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi," she insisted, "who is presently successfully implementing a global programme for a disease-free society through Ayurveda." Wisely, no one in the chamber even considered making an interjection.

But Dr JJ Vilonel (NP Langlaagte) wasn't going to let this

On  
The  
House

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pass unchallenged.

"I am told," he said when his turn came to speak, "that *anthropos* means man or human being, and that *sophos* means wisdom. I would like to give the Hon Member Mrs Govender a little bit more wisdom..."

His philosophical meanderings proceeded to lose the vast bulk of the chamber. Honourable Members perked up, however, when Dr Vilonel ("Vilo" to his friends) accused practitioners of "alternative" medicine of "overkill".

"They say we want to cut their throats," he said. "Isn't this a debate about healing?" murmured a nonplussed MP.

Dr Ismail Essop (Democratic Reform Party, Griqualand West) weighed in by promising to give an example of "minute dose" medicine.

Most Honourable Members were grateful, but emerged little the wiser when he explained that an enzyme from a Malaysian pit viper's venom

could be used to reduce disability arising from strokes. It wasn't that they didn't believe him, it was just all a bit too much for them.

Carole Charlewood (DP Umbilo) mercifully shifted the debate on to more familiar ground by complaining that appetite suppressants were being abused by bored teenagers.

"The adverse effects of the drugs used in the treatment of obesity include anxiety, agitation and dependence," she declared.

Dr Vilonel, who cannot be described as an underweight man, interjected: "That is why I do not use them."

"And look at the result," shouted an Honourable Member cruelly.

Finally, it was all over. Why the excitement, I later asked Mike Ellis, Democratic Party MP for Durban North, about minute doses? "It's a gross overreaction," he replied darkly.

For the record, the Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Bill was passed. Whether or not it will change the South African way of life as we know it, I have no idea. But the lesson is clear: politics alone does not a parliament make.

# Summit set to fail — SACC

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

8 Feb 23/191

The South African Council of Churches will not attend President de Klerk's peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow because it feels it is "unlikely to achieve its purpose", SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane announced yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Chikane said a group of prominent SA church leaders — who held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg on Tuesday and met Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela separately — had decided against attending the summit.

Their decision, Mr Chikane explained, was not a rejection of Mr de Klerk's conference, nor was it an attempt to side with any organisation or party against the Government.

Instead, it was motivated by the understanding that this week's meeting was not likely to achieve its purpose.

"Religious leaders who met yesterday felt that any conference on violence which does not involve the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC and the Government as the major parties could not address the violence effectively," said a joint statement read by Mr Chikane.

He said through their wide

consultation with different political leaders and organisations, church leaders were confident a solution could be worked out to involve all groups in a peace conference.

"We believe that our efforts should be concentrated on mechanisms to involve all the parties in developing binding agreements which will be enforceable bilaterally and multilaterally."

Mr Chikane refused to answer any political questions or divulge details of proposals made by the church leaders on ways to deal with violence, saying the church leaders did not want to antagonise any of the organisations involved.

The ANC, the PAC, Azapo and many other extra-parliamentary organisations have refused to attend the summit.

The PAC yesterday formally rejected Mr de Klerk's invitation to the summit, saying the Government was responsible for the violence in the country.

In an open letter to Mr de Klerk read by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke at a press conference in Johannesburg, the PAC said the Government had "to recuse itself from the convening chair as it was a party to the conflict and had an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations".

Others who have refused to attend include the leaders of KaNgwane and Lebowa.

● DP suggests ways to contain violence — Page 13



# MP denies he plans to defect

Political Correspondent

16/5/91  
CT 23/5/91  
THE Labour Party MP for Liesbeek, Mr Peter Klink, has denied reports that he is poised to join the exodus from Mr Allan Hendrickse's disintegrating party.

Mr Klink's name appeared on a list circulating in Parliament this week of dissidents who were seeking a new political home in the National Party.

Mr Klink acknowledged yesterday that he had been approached by other MPs to join them in defecting, but he had not agreed to have his name placed on a list of seven MPs who were thinking of leaving.

"Up to this moment, I have not given it any thought," he told the Cape Times.

3049  
"The Labour Party has always meant something to me, you just cannot drop them now," he said.

Two more Labour Party MPs crossed the floor yesterday bringing the number of defections this session to 13 — more are expected today as the National Party works behind the scenes to bring the Labour Party down.

23/5/91  
**Labour LPs' 'Judas-betrayal'**

DEFLECTIONS from the Labour Party were similar to Judas' betrayal of Jesus, LP whip Mr Patrick McKenzie said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Local Government and Housing Budget vote, he said: "A lot of public representatives are nothing but a lot of backstabbers."

He now understood the meaning of the phrase "Et tu Brute" uttered by Julius Caesar after he was assassinated by his friend Brutus, and the biblical reference to Judas betraying Christ.

It was no big deal if people resigned from the LP and joined another party. Defecting LP members were betraying the mandate they had received from voters by crossing the floor, he said. — Sapa



# DP to propose 'Clean hands' disqualify govt — PAC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is to propose a network of multi-party task groups across the country as a way to contain the spiralling violence.

The DP will also urge — at tomorrow's peace summit in Pretoria — the adoption of a code of conduct for political parties and organisations to reduce conflict and intimidation between competing parties in the run-up to a new dispensation.

The proposals, announced at a press conference in Cape Town yesterday, have also been forwarded to the President's office.

A document, entitled "Containing violence — the peace management dimension", confines itself to short-term tactical proposals on curbing violence.

It submits that the police are not coping with the violence sweeping black townships because of inadequate manpower, training and discipline.

"In some cases police motivation is unsatisfactory and there is evidence of partisanship. As a result, police credibility is low and public confidence shaky."

## Question mark

The document, which the late MP for Green Point, Mr Trian van der Merwe, played a major role in compiling, said there were two further considerations which complicated efforts to curb violence:

- As a result of historical racial divisions and non-existent communication between the police and people in the black townships black leaders and the police were mutually suspicious of each other and regarded one another as "the enemy".

- The sudden turnaround in the political situation since the total onslaught era placed a question mark over the degree of loyalty the government could expect from the security establishment.

The section dealing with the need for broader public involve-

ment in containing violence proposes the establishment of national, regional and community level anti-violence or peace task groups which would include representatives from all significant political movements.

The DP states that broader public involvement would:

- Restore public credibility.
- Forge a common peace strategy for all political players via joint responsibility and joint decision-making.

- Establish factual evaluations in unrest incidents.

- Address shortcomings in training, equipment, communications and deployment.

The DP emphasises that the essence of this proposal is "rapid response".

The task groups would help to establish communication networks in all potential unrest areas, establish credible early-warning systems, act as a conduit for dealing with political and other pressures and monitor — and where possible mediate in — conflict situations.

Political Correspondent 07/03/91

THE doctrine of "clean hands" disqualified the government from convening a summit on violence, the PAC said in an open letter to President F W de Klerk yesterday.

"The state must recuse itself from the convening chair as it is a party to the conflict and has an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations," the PAC in the letter which spelt out its reasons not to attend this weekend's summit.

However, the PAC said it could appreciate the motivation of those oppressed persons who were attending the two-day conference in Pretoria.

"We appreciate your desire to see an end to the violence ... (but) ... we do not think that you will achieve much as a crucial part of the agenda must be to advance the designs of the state."

However, the PAC added that it regretted that the oppressed had not first met before meeting Mr De Klerk.

In the open letter the PAC said it would continue to work closely with the ANC, Azapo and Inkatha in a bid to end the violence and to prevent "a Beirut situation" in the country.

It noted that the blame for the violence was "not solely that of the regime."

"Sections of the liberation movement have used or are still using the barbaric necklace murders, children run so-called 'people's courts' with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices."

In his reaction last night the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the PAC was apparently "not prepared to become involved constructively 'in any way whatsoever' in any future talks or negotiations."

# Maggie urges world to 'welcome SA back'

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — Mrs Margaret Thatcher, at the end of her South African visit, called on world leaders to respond vigorously and positively to changes and to welcome the country back into the international community.

Speaking as a guest of the local branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs in Durban yesterday, Mrs Thatcher strongly promoted South African reform to the international community.

The former British premier called for

massive overseas investment in the economy, the renewal of sporting ties, and the encouragement of progress in reform.

"This year, for the first time since Smuts, and with the abolition of the apartheid laws, South Africa is truly rejoining the international community. South Africans now have good reason to be optimistic about the future," Mrs Thatcher said.

The changing nature of the world's political and economic climate will allow the country to "flourish" and become the economic "dynamo" of Southern Africa. She

said, to applause from the audience: "Glory has not departed from this land."

Mrs Thatcher paid tribute to President FW de Klerk saying he "took the whole world by surprise by moving further and faster than either his opponents or some of his supporters imagined likely".

• Earlier yesterday, at a lunch organised by British Conservatives Abroad, Mrs Thatcher said the communist empire in Europe would not have collapsed had there not been a Conservative Party government in Britain.

CT 23/5/91



# National Party admits coloured defectors

CAPE TOWN — The NP yesterday admitted 21 coloured MPs and two President's Council members to its ranks, making the party the official opposition in the House of Representatives.

The NP predicted many more were set to follow in the next few days.

And pointers suggest a number of House of Delegates MPs may also be admitted to the NP within days, although it is understood that government may be more hesitant to accept them because of the recent relative stability in the 45-seat chamber.

Seven of the MPs were from the Labour

## Political Staff

Party (LP), and the others independents or from the smaller opposition parties.

Among those who joined the NP yesterday was Bethelsdorp MP Willie Dietrich, who on Wednesday said he planned to link up with the DP.

Yesterday's announcement of the NP's new status by President F W de Klerk brought the retort "It's war" from Labour leader Allan Hendrickse. Another senior Labour MP, referring to a "veiled threat" by De Klerk that Labour must co-operate

or else, said: "De Klerk can go to hell!" Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo) said those elected on a Labour ticket should resign, and he challenged them — particularly Dietrich — to do so.

There are predictions that the NP may have a majority in the 85-seat House by Thursday — the day on which all three Houses are due to vote on a Bill scrapping the Group Areas Act and Land Acts, two clauses of which Labour plans to oppose.

The President said in his announcement, that the new members fully accepted the NP's principles and policies.

Key Market

# Mbeki pays tribute to Van der Merwe

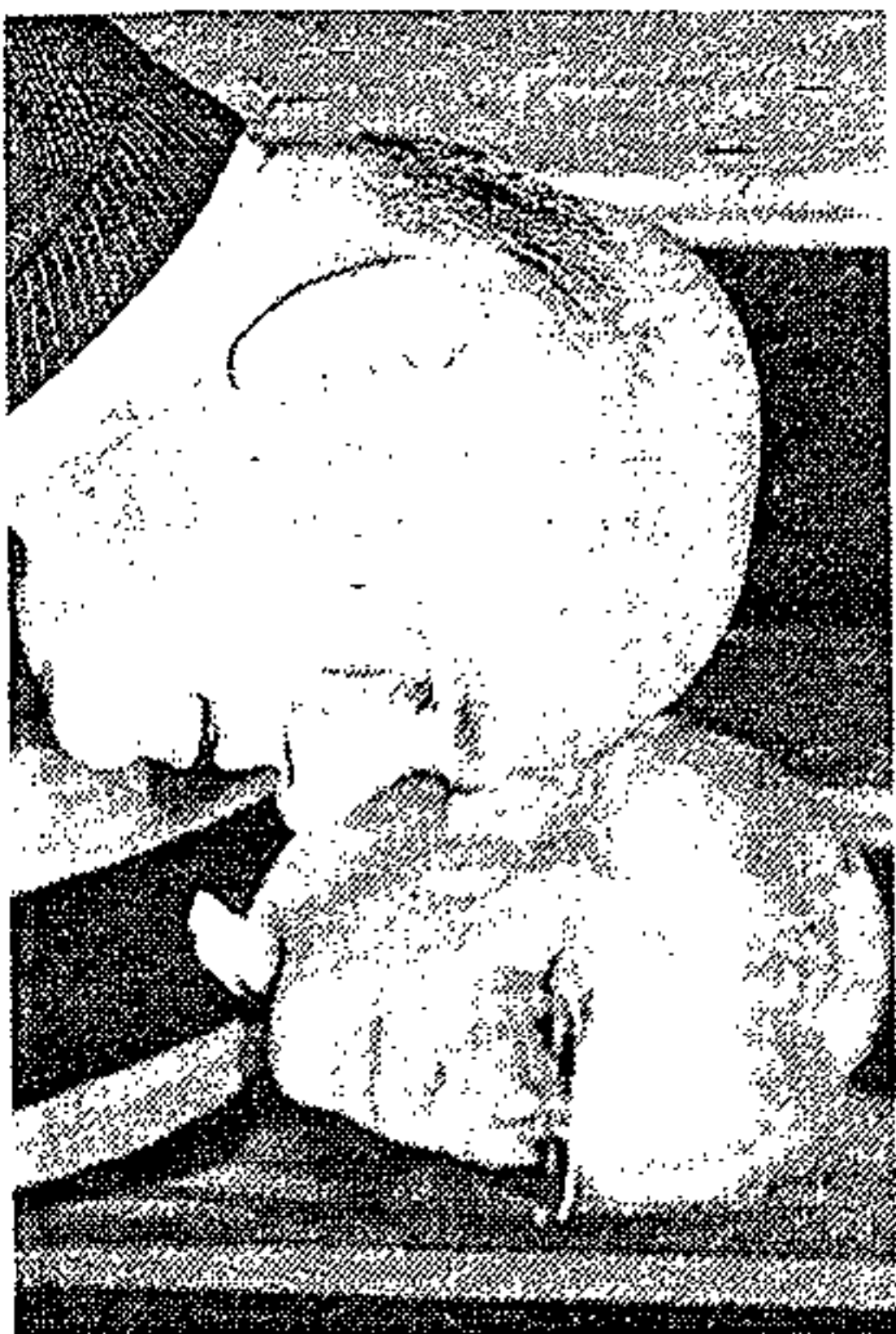
CAPE TOWN — Widely respected Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe would rest in peace if all South Africans joined hands to create a just and free SA, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki told mourners yesterday.

The NG Kerk in Three Anchor Bay was packed for the funeral of Van der Merwe, who was killed in an accident on Sunday. In his address Mbeki said the country was proceeding on its way towards the kind of SA Tian van der Merwe wanted — a SA at peace and free.

"But as it proceeds towards what Tian wanted, there are moments of despair, like this one, difficult moments, as when people

in hospitals are about to starve to death, difficult moments when news is announced of the death of a friend of South Africans, Rajiv Gandhi ... and it is at particular moments like this that we need Tian, to bring that touch which lifts us."

DARIUS SANAI reports that in Johannesburg about 40 people gathered at a memorial service in the Central Methodist Church conducted by Bishop Peter Storey. DP MP Dave Dalling praised Van der Merwe's dedication to "the oppressed and underprivileged", and said the loss of a politician of his ability was especially tragic in the current political situation. — Sapa.



DP MP Dave Dalling and Bishop Peter Storey at yesterday's memorial service.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Tourism revenue up to R2,47bn

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Foreign tourists brought a record R2,47bn into SA last year — 16% more than in 1989, according to the SA Tourism Board's (Satour) 1990 report.

Arrival figures from abroad totalled 1,02-million — a 10,6% increase over the total number recorded the previous year.

Of these, 51,4% came from African countries and 48,6% from overseas, the board reports.

Future continued to be

## Braklaagte incorporation appeal fails

BLOEMFONTEIN — The final bid by Braklaagte community in the Marico district to reverse their incorporation into Bophuthatswana has failed. The Appeal Court has dismissed with costs the appeal by community leader Pusey Ntsanyana Sebogodi.

The appeal dealt with Sebogodi's earlier application that the proclamation, whereby Braklaagte was incorporated from December 31 1988, be declared invalid.

Mr Justice Joubert found Sebogodi had failed to establish its invalidity. Mr Justice Nestadt, Mr Justice Kurlen, Mr Justice F H Grosskopf and Mr Justice Preiss (acting judge of appeal) concurred.

WILSON ZWANE reports that a Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) spokesman said the organisation was disappointed by the decision.

The problems the community had faced since its incorporation into Bophuthatswana "will not go away unless the whole issue of communities who have been incorporated into the homeland is addressed politically".

Yesterday Mr Justice Joubert said counsel for Sebogodi had contended government had fettered its discretion before the State President acquired — on April 30 1987 — a vested statutory discretion in respect of the incorporation of the farm. Braklaagte. Secondly, that the President, when he entered into an agreement with the Bophuthatswana President on August 30 1985 — fettered his discretion before he had even acquired the discretion on April 30 1987.

Mr Justice Joubert said the fundamental objection was unsound. The finality of government's decision of October 15 1984 that Brak-

laagte should be incorporated should be seen in its proper setting in the historical background to the case. The decision was taken after the opinions of interested people were canvassed in 1983. No objections were raised.

Mr Justice Joubert said the "finality" of government's decision of October 15 1984 was actually of a relative nature which amounted to a reversal of its earlier policy to resettle the occupants of the farm and to make it available for settlement by white farmers. In principle nothing precluded government from abandoning or altering its "final decision".

The judge found the submission that the decision of October 15 1984 fettered government's discretion could not prevail. Instead the case turned on the President's exercise of his statutory discretion. — Sapa.



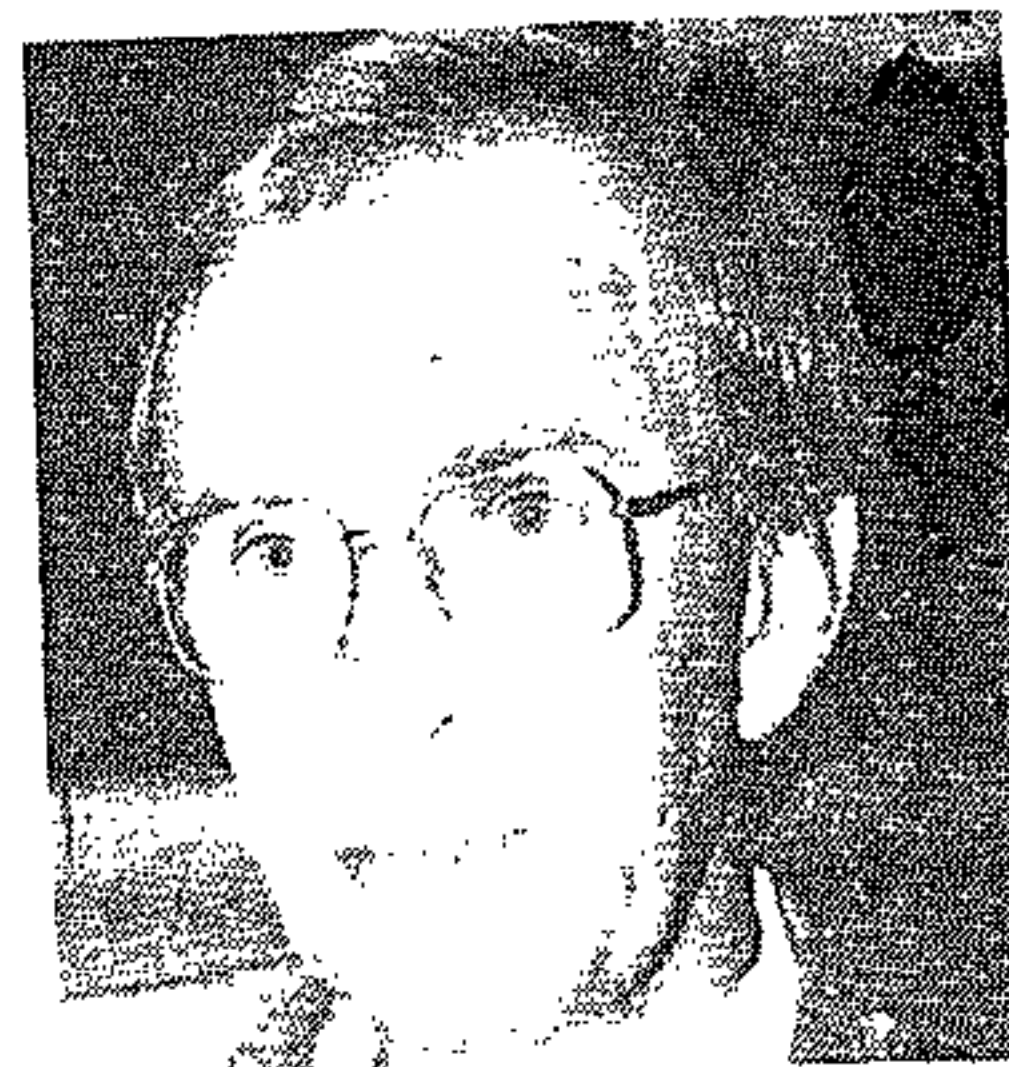
# Are these men plotting



Minister of Planning Hemus Kriel



Minister of Defence Magnus Malan



Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis

## to overthrow De Klerk?

**M**INISTER of Finance Barend du Plessis is the key player in a disloyal "fifth column" of senior government officials who are involved in an attempt to destabilise FW de Klerk's negotiations process and seize control of the National Party.

This startling claim was made to parliament last week by Jan van Eck, Democratic Party MP for Claremont. Quoting "reliable sources" within the NP caucus, he named as co-conspirators Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, Minister of Planning Hemus Kriel, former head of the army Constant Viljoen, Director of the National Intelligence Services Dr Niel Barnard, and former Prisons Commissioner Dr Jannie Roux, who is now director-general of the state president's own office.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, Van Eck explained that "while De Klerk still nurtures the possibility of a government of national reconciliation, this group will not even consider it. They see the African National Congress as the enemy, and are using the negotiations process to fight an electoral campaign against it."

He added that they believe the current violence proves De Klerk is unable to manage the transition. "The danger is that the longer the violence remains out of control, the stronger this fifth column will become, for their point will be proven: tight military management will be seen more and more as the only solution."

In parliament, Van Eck mentioned allegations to the effect that the SADF was involved in manipulating the Namibian elections to the disadvantage of Swapo, and called on the state president to ensure that this "fifth column" wasn't doing the same thing in South Africa.

Not surprisingly, the NP has responded with a flurry of outrage. "Utter nonsense," said NP spokesman Renier Schoeman, while the government's chief negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, dismissed Van Eck in parliament as "a day-dreamer".

A visibly shaken Du Plessis shout-

## A row in the House as Van Eck accuses senior state officials

**MARK GEVISSER** reports on claims of a 'fifth column' plot to destabilise negotiations

ed out "You're cowardly!", as his name was read by Van Eck in parliament, and then took the unusual step of loudly assailing the MP for Claremont across the crowded parliamentary dining-room floor. His spokesman told *The Weekly Mail* that the minister considered the allegations to be "absolute nonsense".

The majority of the people named by Van Eck are the securocrats who formed a tight power base around PW Botha during his reign, and who have seen their nightmares come true as De Klerk dismantled the State Security Council (SSC) that formed the locus of their power, and embarked on what they see as open courtship of the ANC.

But the appearance of Du Plessis on the list does, at first, seem surprising: he was, of course, the *verligte* opponent to De Klerk in the campaign for presidency 18 months ago, a campaign he lost by only five votes.

"But we mustn't forget," Van Eck said, "that Du Plessis was and is PW's man. He was PW's personal choice for successor and, through PW, has always had close ties to the securocrats."

The "fifth column" Van Eck named is composed almost entirely of Du Plessis' strongest supporters in his presidential campaign. While Du Plessis had a more consistent record of reform than De Klerk, he was clearly perceived as more sympathetic to the securocrats and a supporter of their belief that reform could only

be managed through tight military control.

And Du Plessis has proved to be a friend of the securocrats: unlike De Klerk, he served on the SSC with them, and, in the auditor-general's special report on the Civil Co-operation Bureau this February, he was implicated in a bid to sneak almost R4-million to the supposedly-defunct organisation.

Conservative Party MP for Kuruman Jan Hoon commented that "there are differences in the NP, and many members will do anything in their power to prevent the kind of future government De Klerk is talking about. We wouldn't have expected Barend to be among them. But we've seen evidence this session that the minister for finance isn't as *verlig* as we always thought."

The group that seems most gleeful about Van Eck's revelations is the CP, which has always maintained that the body of the NP caucus is at odds with De Klerk's leadership. "I have no evidence of Van Eck's claims," said spokesman Koos van der Merwe, "but I'd be very surprised if such a group did not exist. You must never forget that De Klerk was elected to the presidency because the conservatives were stronger than the *verligtes* and they voted him in. That mountain of conservatism couldn't have disappeared in only 18 months."

Du Plessis is known to have political ambition, and if he sees a power base to the disenchanted right of De Klerk, it is quite possible he would position himself there. That he has been actively involved in the manipulation of a "third force" seems unlikely, but most Nat-watchers agree there is some fire beneath Jan van Eck's smoke.

One of De Klerk's greatest successes to date has been to maintain the outward appearance of a unanimously loyal caucus as he brings the walls of apartheid tumbling down. As the National Party gets closer to the reality of relinquishing power, however, dissent is bound to grow within its ranks.

# DP proposals include local task groups

Wimani 24/5-29/5/91  
By ARTHUR MAINANE: Cape Town

THE Democratic Party will tell this weekend's peace conference in Pretoria that the violence in the townships cannot be halted without the involvement of local communities and their co-operation with the police.

The DP proposes the establishment of local "peace-task groups" representing all significant organisations, to mediate and to provide an "early-warning" system which would lead to a "rapid response" by police.

The DP says the role of the police must be clearly defined by outside sources, because many are "confused about their role". The SAP must learn to "un-demonise" political movements, which will then regard them as protectors of society as a whole.

The party also points out that there must be strict control of all weapons, traditional or otherwise, in "potential conflict situations", and a common definition of political gatherings. Rallies should be cordoned off by the security forces — not to intimidate, but rather to protect gatherings.

The ANC will not be present in Pretoria, but the DP will present a proposal that is favoured by the movement.

The proposal is that returning members of the ANC's armed forces should be sheltered in army barracks under their commanders while they are re-trained for a merger with the SADF or the SAP — a proposal that has already been rejected by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan.





THE swing to the CP at Ladybrand and the defection of Labour Party MPs to the National Party this week indicate how rapidly the NP is moving away from its Afrikaner Nationalist roots and, in fits and starts, seeking to become a non-racial party of the urban middle classes.

The CP is going nowhere in the new politics — unless it can force another whites-only general election, which is surely inconceivable.

And the NP? Its strategy is still riddled with contradictions as the party nervously eyes the continuing defection of its core constituency of Afrikaner nationalists. Yet, with an eye on non-racial electoral politics, it must now actively seek support from non-Afrikaners and groups outside the white community.

It is a delicate exercise which, tackled in the wrong way, could give the NP a nasty dose of political indigestion.

The NP would at this stage no doubt prefer to enter into alliances with collaborating groups such as the Labour Party rather than absorb its membership into their branch structures, which could tend to drive even more of its traditional following into the arms of Dr Treurnicht. But the NP can hardly turn away Labour Party MPs who say they want to join the Nats.

### Post-colonial

What are the chances of the National Party beating the African National Congress at the polls in a non-racial election? The NP is deluding itself if it thinks it can beat the ANC, with or without the help of a broad alliance of Inkatha, the Labour Party etc.

The pattern of post-colonial elections in southern Africa is plain enough. There is no reason to think South Africa will be any different. Newly enfranchised groups invariably opt for the party or group which is most strongly identified with the struggle for freedom.

Zimbabwe and Namibia both provide striking examples of white leadership groups being misled by their own myopic intelligence into believing that the congenial black leaders with which they would rather do political business would carry the day — or that a coalition of such groups would beat Sam Nujoma's

# Nationalists ponder lesson of Ladybrand

24/5/91  
304A



Political Survey  
By GERALD SHAW

Swapo or Robert Mugabe and his freedom fighters.

Pretoria was persuaded by its military intelligence that Mugabe would indeed be beaten and pumped vast sums of clandestine money into the Muzorewa campaign, which was able to regale the voters with hot-dogs and Cokes galore and bring them to the polls in Jeeps. The voters drank the Cokes, gobbled up the hot-dogs and enjoyed the free ride — then went into the polling booths and voted for Mugabe. This was readily predictable and was indeed predicted at the time by experienced correspondents such as the late Nicholas Ashford of The Times.

Newly enfranchised voters in post-colonial situations do not vote for a party which has humiliated them and discriminated against them on racial grounds, taken away their land, restricted their economic advancement etc, etc. Nor do they vote for the allies of such a party. Why on earth should they, when you come to think about it?

### Democratic Party

The NP might have some success, in alliance or otherwise, in attracting the votes of rural or semi-rural blacks who take their lead from traditional or religious leaders, people such as the Zionists of the Northern Transvaal or Zulus who support In-

katha. The NP should also win a measure of support among people in the coloured and Indian middle classes who have a stake in the economy and fear a black majority.

Yet such inroads will not offset the massive vote among blacks for the ANC. If the ANC never opens another branch and never signs up another member, it should win a comfortable majority, getting at least 50 or 55% of the total vote, which the polls suggest will be at least double the number of votes which the NP will be able to muster.

Look what happened in Namibia. No one needed to be fed hot-dogs to get them to go to the polls. When the polls opened there were queues five kilometres long waiting to vote. The percentage poll was mostly in the 90s.

Yet the NP alliance and independent groups such as the DP should do well enough to provide a strong counterbalance to the ANC in what will inevitably have to be a government of national reconciliation, representing all significant groups.

There is nothing wrong in the NP maximising its support to this end — but it should not go chasing electoral rainbows. Do they really think that people of colour will flock to the NP banner? After all that has happened since 1948?

And the Democratic Party? They have suffered an appalling loss in the death of Tian van der Merwe, whose decency and sense of justice and fair play represented everything that is best in the progressive tradition, as it was established by Jan Steytler, Colin Eglin and Helen Suzman when the going was at its toughest.

The DP's best course is to stay loose as a strong, independent force on the side of liberal values. They will be needed in the new South Africa.



Political Correspondent

THE National Party, who dominate the House of Assembly, are now the official Opposition in the House of Representatives.

The party has clearly set its sights on wresting control of the 85-member chamber from the Labour Party.

President F W de Klerk yesterday announced that 21 coloured MPs had officially joined the NP and NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers last night predicted that the spate of defections to the NP would continue.

As the NP's wholesale poaching of LP MPs moved into top gear, LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse is understood to have told his rapidly dwindling caucus that "It's war" with the government from now on.

LP MPs said the government was using

# Nats now official opposition

304A  
15/5/79

promises of senior positions once the NP took control of the House in a bid to lure more MPs across the floor.

Describing the defections Mr De Klerk said pointedly: "I have no doubt that these historical events are merely the beginning of a process."

"In fact, more admissions to membership of the NP may be expected in the coming days and weeks."

It is understood that a number of MPs in the House of Delegates have also shown an interest in

following the example of their colleagues in the House of Representatives, but the government appears wary of accepting MPs from the politically volatile House.

The MPs who joined the NP yesterday are: Mr Abraham Balie (Stinkopf), Mr Basil Cupido (Southern Cape), Mr Hendry Cupido (Kasselsvlei), Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Ottery), Mr Willie Dietrich (Cathelsdorp), Mr Sulsaiman Ebrahim (Grassy Park), Dr Ishmail Essop (Griqualand West), Mr Stanley Fisher (Mitchells Plain), Mr Moritz Friedberg (Springbok), Mr Trevor George (Bosmont), Mr Cecil Herandien (Maccassar), Mr Nic Isaacs (Bishop Lavis), Mr Anwar Ismail (Esselen Park), Mr Andries Johannes (Haideveld), Mr James Kuiler (Mantberg), Mr Don Mateman (Eldorado Park), Mr Jak Rabie (Reigerspark), Mr Rodney Rhoda (Silvertown), Mr Pieter Saaiman (Mid-Karoo), Mr Lester Sampson (Diaz) and Mr Gordon Thomas (Matroosfontein).

The two members of the President's Council who joined the NP are Mr Pieter Marais and Mr William Ross.

Friday May 24 1991

# Ladybrand result 'not a blow to NP'

*Sowetan 24/5/91* *304A*

THE Ladybrand by-election result did not constitute a big enough swing to the Conservative Party to enable it to win a whites-only general election, several political analysts said yesterday.

Analysts said although the CP had increased its majority in the Ladybrand by-election, the outcome did not mean the CP now enjoyed more support than the ruling National Party.

They said the swing to

the CP in Ladybrand was much less than what they had expected.

The head of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said the outcome was "a status quo result".

## Violence

Schlemmer said given the violence and problems related to the negotiation process at the moment, he had expected the swing to the CP to be bigger than it

was.

"The swing to the CP was less than it was in Maitland and in Randburg, and the result indicates that among whites as a whole in the country President FW de Klerk has the support of six out of every 10 people. I think the NP did quite well," Schlemmer said.

Professor Herman Giliomee of the University of Cape Town's political studies department said although the result showed increasing support for

the rightwing and that the CP would pose a serious threat to the Government if a general election were to be held soon, it did not mean the CP now had more white support than the NP.

Professor Dirk Laurie, a renowned election fundi, said the swing to the CP had not been substantial enough to ensure victory in a referendum.

## Seats

He said, however, the CP might at this stage win 63 seats - compared to its current 42 - in a general election because there were so many marginal seats.

Dr Dirk Kotze, a political analyst at the University of South Africa, said the Ladybrand result was to be expected and was therefore not surprising.

Apart from confirming the CP was no longer a Transvaal-based party, the result was not very significant.

The head of the University of the Witwatersrand's political studies department, Professor Alf Stadler, said the result showed the CP was gaining more white support.



## 200 at De Klerk's peace summit

Political Correspondent

MORE than 200 political representatives, lawyers and experts on violence have gathered in Pretoria today for the start of President De Klerk's two-day peace conference.

Until last night, the government — which was expected to be strongly represented — would not reveal who would attend, but said the list indicated the conference "promises to be a significant event, despite the decision of some political and

other leaders not to attend".

However, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerit Viljoen said in a statement he was heartened by the "large number of invitees" who said they were to attend.

"The good response reflects the sense of responsibility felt by South Africans across a broad spectrum who want to contribute to solving the issue of violence.

"Another positive aspect is

the number of scientists and other experts on violence among those attending."

Dr Viljoen said the government did not see the conference as the "final answer" to violence.

"Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days," he said.

The plenary sessions will be open to the Press and there will be news briefings at the end of each day.

# US envoy sees key role for SA

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Reporter

SOUTH Africa has an important role to play as an example to other countries, especially those in Africa, embarking on the road to democratisation, according to US ambassador, Mr William Swing.

Addressing a recent conference on changes in South Africa Mr Swing said these countries would increasingly examine South Africa's transition to democracy.

The economic debate in South Africa was also undergoing a renaissance.

After a slow start the debate was now progressing beyond the "capitalism versus nationalisation stage" rhetoric and was now beginning to examine the exercise of economic power by various groups in a post-apartheid economy.

What happened to the South African economy had to be watched closely by other emerging democracies.

South Africans, long divided, were undertaking pioneering thought in concepts such as "nation building" which involved finding common ground.

It could set an example for other countries into the next century.

One aspect of this pioneering work was the search for common interests and values around which individual South Africans could unite.

South Africans must develop almost

from scratch a mutually acceptable Bill of individual rights, a new structure of local and national government and strategies for exploiting equitable, and preserving, national resources including land.

Mr Swing said the US thought a number of safeguards and guarantees were essential for a new South African political order.

These included a set of constitutional principles — among them checks and balances — and the effective separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers.

There should also be a consensus among all parties that preserving the democratic "rules of the game" was the highest imperative in any democracy, even in times of political or economic crisis.

There should also be consensus on the economy which would lead to the sobering but necessary recognition that not all black expectations could be met nor all white expectations allayed entirely in the short to medium term.

Mr Swing said the US remained optimistic about the future of South Africa.

"Global and regional trends I have noted are the most favourable for a negotiated, workable solution to South Africa's old family quarrel.

"In addition the multiparty negotiations developing here to a large extent mirror the emergent multilateralism in the world today."

Agus 24/5/91

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# Defections put NP in line for majority in Reps

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

THE National Party could become the majority party in the House of Representatives if defections to it from the Labour Party continue.

The party has already qualified to be the official Opposition in the house after 21 members joined it.

Thirteen of the MPs are former members of the Labour Party, five from the United Democratic Party and three from the Democratic Reform Party.

Further defections to the National Party are expected.

One Labour Party source today predicted that a further 10 to 15 MPs of the party would

soon cross over to the National Party.

At present Labour still holds 59 of the 85 seats. There are five independents in the house.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cape Nationalist leader, said today the possibility of the party assuming the majority could not be excluded.

He was still having discussions with some MPs and quite a number could join.

Two Labour Party members of the President's Council have also been granted membership of the National Party.

Announcing this President De Klerk said they would now be members of the parliamentary and the President's Council caucus.

The former Labour Party MPs who are now Nationalists are: Mr Abraham Balie (Steinkopf), Mr Basil Cupido (South Cape), Mr Henry Cupido (Kasselsvlei), Mr W J Dietrich (Bethelsdorp), Dr Ismail Essop (Griqualand West), Mr S D Fisher (Mitchell's Plain), Mr Moritz Friedberg (Springbok), Mr T R George (Bosmont), Mr Anwar Ismail (Esselen Park), Mr J R Kuiler (Manenberg), Mr D H Mateman (Eldorado Park), Mr R I Rhoda (Silvertown) and Mr Lester Sampson (Diaz).

Former UDP members are Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Ottery), Mr Sulaiman Ebrahim (Grassy Park), Mr J S Rabie (Reigerpark), Mr Pieter Saaiman (Middle Karoo) and Mr Gordon Thomas (Matroosfontein).

Former DRP members are

Mr C B Herandien (Macassar), Mr N M Isaacs (Bishop Lavis) and Mr A F Johannes (Heideveld).

Former Labour members of the President's Council are Mr Peter Marais and Mr William Ross.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse MP said those who were elected on the party ticket had a moral obligation to resign their seats and to fight an election.

The government's attitude to the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures showed that the National Party was still a white-orientated party with white interests as its top priority.

A measure aimed at setting norms and standards was aimed at the white electorate.

negus 24/5/91

## Magnus Malan again slams ANC actions

REUTERS 24/5/91  
Political Correspondent

(304A)

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan has again sharply attacked the African National Congress, claiming the organisation's actions indicate that it has no understanding of democracy.

"The ANC is clearly dealing in double-talk. It pays lip-service to peace in its statements, while evading its responsibility and piling the blame on the government," he told a meeting of the Afrikaner Club in Bloemfontein last night.

General Malan said the fact that "radical power groups" in the black community used intimidation as a primary instrument of mobilisation placed a question mark over the extent of their real support among black people.

"The ANC has been playing a strange game, by rejecting participation in the peace conference, suspending negotiations with the government, by suggesting that violence could spill into white areas and by threatening to set up self-defence units.

"These tactics, along with organising protest campaigns, consumer boycotts and stay-aways shed serious doubt on whether the ANC really understands the essence of democracy."



# 21 coloured MPs walk over to NP

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By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Constitutional history was made yesterday when 21 MPs from the House of Representatives and two President's Councillors became members of the National Party in a dramatic realignment in racially bound parliamentary politics.

And another 10 to 15 Labour Party members of Parliament are expected to cross the floor today.

The NP yesterday effectively became the official Opposition in the House of Representatives, opposing the LP.

Making the announcement, President de Klerk — who leads the NP, which holds the majority in the House of Assembly — said: "I have no doubt these historical events are merely the beginning of a process.

## Formalities

"In fact, more admissions to membership of the National Party may be expected in the coming weeks."

It is believed the "brown Nats" — as they are being called — met Speaker of Parliament Louis le Grange yesterday to go through the formalities of becoming official Opposition.

But they may have little chance to perform as opposition because most observers believe it will become the majority party in the House of Representatives soon — possibly within days.

The new members would immediately become mem-

precipitate further defections, which could put the NP in power by next week.

After yesterday's moves the LP has 57 MPs and the NP 21 in the 85-seat House. By today the ratio may be more like 45-33.

NP sources made it clear yesterday that their strategy was now to go for power.

The aim was to "stabilise" the House of Representatives and eliminate the "obstructionism" of the LP.

LP sources yesterday claimed their MPs were being lured across to the NP by promises of jobs and positions in the House and in its administration.

"These people say they are going because they have problems with the party leader (the Rev Allan Hendrickse) but the real reason is personal greed and ambition," one source said.

The source said the defections were being engineered by NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, who had been angered by the LP's opposition to his legislation to commercialise the Post Office.

The source believed that Dr de Villiers had prevailed against other members of the Cabinet, such as Finance Minister and Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis, who were against taking in the new MPs for fear that they were discredited and would harm the NP's efforts to win broad support in the coloured community.

It is not clear who the NP's leader in the House of Representatives will be — although MP Jac Rabie, former leader of the United Democratic Party, is tipped.

Eight of the MPs who have joined the National

# Far too many empty seats

Star 24/5/91

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**SEATING** arrangements at President de Klerk's multi-party peace conference in Pretoria today and tomorrow must surely have had to be rearranged as a number of organisations — political and religious — this week announced one after another that they would not attend.

When Mr de Klerk opens what could have been an historically important peace summit to deal with widespread violence in the townships, he will do so with a heavy heart. The seats which would have been allocated to his Government's main negotiating partner, the ANC, will be empty.

Empty, too, will be those seats which would have been allocated to delegates from the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the New Unity Movement (NUM), the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal, the South African Council of Churches, KaNgwane's ruling Inyandza National Movement, the Transkei

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA of The Star's Political Staff previews the peace summit beginning in Pretoria today.**

military government, the Lebowa government, the Boerestaat Party, the Conservative Party and a number of other extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left and Right of the political spectrum.

Present will be Government representatives, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, business leaders, some homeland leaders and parties operating within the tricameral Parliament.

The two-day conference, therefore, gets under way amid widespread perceptions that it has been a failure before it even began.

The organisations which have refused to attend the conference have given a number of reasons — the main one being that it will not achieve its purpose of ending the violence.

The liberation movements — the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Wosa and NUM — have accused

Mr de Klerk of having decided on the conference unilaterally. Their main contention, however, has been that the Government is not only party to the conflict, but is also responsible for it.

These organisations have expressed their preparedness to attend a peace conference convened by a neutral body, such as church leaders, where all attending parties — including the Government — would be there as equals.

The ANC and the CP were swift in their reaction to the announcement of the peace summit in Parliament by Mr de Klerk last month. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the conference was meant for those who were involved in violence.

The CP, he said, was not involved in violence and would therefore not attend the summit. He also dismissed the summit as "a panic reaction" by the Government.

The ANC, on the other hand, said from the outset it would not attend a Government-convened peace conference which was a mere public relations exercise. The Government, the ANC said, had failed to take decisive steps to end the violence.

All that can reasonably be expected from this conference is a joint statement denouncing violence as a political strategy and pledging to work for political tolerance.

Given the fact that those organisations not attending the conference, both on the Left and on the Right — and they are the ones that matter — will probably outnumber those attending the meeting, the wisdom of continuing with the conference has been questioned in certain quarters.

However, the conference will continue largely because Pretoria cannot afford to be seen to be allowing itself to be dictated to, albeit indirectly, by the ANC and its allies as well as by other extra-parliamentary organisations. □



# Govt out of step, warns Treurnicht

Star 24/5/91  
By Paula Fray (304R)

The white voter of Ladybrand had shown in what direction the "volk" was moving and also that the Government was out of step with the "volk", Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht told a capacity crowd at Roodepoort Civic Centre last night.

Mr Treurnicht, looking relaxed and in a jovial mood, was referring to the party's convincing by-election victory in Ladybrand where CP candidate Charl Hertzog polled 6 276 votes to the National Party's 5 018.

Mr Treurnicht told the crowd of several hundred supporters that he had hope and courage for the future. He urged them to prepare for a general election or a referendum.

Mr Treurnicht said whites were not settlers waiting for a boat to take them away. They were a settled community which had brought civilisation and development to the country. They had a right to be here.

He said a nation would outlive a government and could get rid of a government but a government could not get rid of a nation. President de Klerk could not get rid of the entire white community because he wanted to start a new nation.

"Mr de Klerk will not get rid

of the English-speaking community which rejects communism and terrorism, refuses to accept black majority rule and fights side by side for the survival of the white nation in South Africa," he said.

He said he had hope because the CP was in step with modern developments elsewhere away from integration and towards self-government.

Referring to the recent disruption of political meetings by right-wing students, he said he took his hat off to them.

"I am not planning to leave those young people in the lurch," he said.

On his meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Mr Treurnicht joked that an Afrikaans Cape morning newspaper had said the former premier had pushed him into a corner but, "I felt nothing".

He gave her credit for her stand against sanctions but added that it was in the interest of Britain as well. Mrs Thatcher had a distorted view on self-determination and on apartheid, he said.

Describing Mrs Thatcher as someone who talked continuously, Mr Treurnicht said the CP men were so polite while she urged them to become involved in negotiation and told them there were no non-negotiables that they forgot to ask: "Then why don't you negotiate with the Irish Republican Army?"

# 'Second peace summit likely'

CT 24/5/91  
304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Church sources said yesterday that they had gained strong assurances from the government, the ANC and Inkatha that they would attend a second peace summit due to be convened soon.

They expected the new initiative to emerge from the government-convened summit starting in Pretoria today. A date for the second summit still has to be set.

The sources said Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's attendance at the second summit was still in the balance though because he was not entirely happy with a peace initiative dominated by the South African Council of Churches.

Inkatha sources said, however, that the movement viewed today's summit as the beginning of a process to be followed up.

Sapa reports Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying in a statement yesterday that the government

THE New Unity Movement (NUM) has declined an invitation to attend the peace summit in Pretoria today.

"The policy of our organisation excludes any working together with the State Apparatus," NUM president Mr Richard Dudley said yesterday.

"We cannot join in serious discussion with organisations which seek to secure 'peace' to pursue a process of 'negotiations' with that same State, which is the principal author of violence.

"Nor can the interests of the oppressed be served by the sheer hypocrisy that has dominated the discussions held so far between the State and certain leadership groups," Mr Dudley said. — Sapa

did not see its conference this weekend as "the last word on violence. Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days". About 200 delegates will gather in Pretoria today for the start of the peace talks.

The delegates meeting at the CSIR today include the govern-

ment, Chief Buthelezi, the parliamentary parties, Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, churchman Prof Johan Heyns and Rustenburg Conference co-chairman Dr Louw Alberts, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of SA's Mr Tom Ridge, Saco president Mr John Hall and Rhema church pastor Mr Ray McCauley. Black local government leaders are also expected to attend.

Organisations that have refused to attend the summit include the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, PAC, Azapo, the SACC and CP, but church sources are confident they will be represented at a follow-up meeting.

Political sources expressed fears that today's summit could emphasise division rather than the united front to combat violence initially hoped for because the majority of those attending were part of the "system".

Diplomatic and some government sources cautioned that the conference would prove constructive only if delegates at the summit did not criticise those not attending.



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Sowetan 24/5/91

# Idasa talks to focus on local govt

By DON SEOKANE

INSTITUTE for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and the Community Law Centre of the Institute for Public Interest Law and Research will host a conference on local government in Pretoria tomorrow.

It is entitled "Discussion around Local Government: Greater Pretoria", and has been called to prepare for future local government structures in Greater Pretoria.

A spokesman for Idasa/CLC committee said the conference was an opportunity for all political groups, communities and individuals to air their views on restructuring of local government systems.

## Experts

A wide range of speakers and Pretoria-based local government experts have been called to address the conference.

Organisations invited include the ANC, Democratic Party, PAC, SACP, Pretoria City Council and Civics Association of Southern Transvaal.

Mr Kehla Shubane of the Witwatersrand University's Centre for Policy Studies will deliver a paper on the "Critique of current systems of local government" while an overview of the "Current debate around local government" will be presented by Mr Chris Heymans of Development Bank of South Africa.

The conference is scheduled to begin at 9am and ends at 6pm.

# Is peace summit a futile exercise?

Sowetan 24/5/91

304A

THIS weekend's summit on violence seems destined to end up as a consultation of the like-minded following the withdrawal of all credible political organisations.

The death knell was sounded by the South African Council of Churches on Wednesday night.

In a statement released on behalf of a wide spectrum of religious groups, the SACC's general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said the endeavour was destined to fail.

The decision by the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, as well as Cosatu and Nactu, to shun the Government-initiated summit means that forces likely to attend would be mainly those with Government links.

## Violence

This is an obvious blow to President FW de Klerk. De Klerk had hoped to use the opportunity to get a broad-based consensus on how to handle the ongoing violence.

The Government has been enraged by the organisations' refusal to attend, calling it "unjustifiable and irresponsible".

The boycott has resulted in the summit becoming a tussle between those going and those not going.

The boycott brigade has been issuing statements announcing their decisions with pride.

These include some bantustan leaders such as Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, KaNgwane's Cephas Zitha and Transkei military strongman General Bantu Holomisa.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said this week that the

FOCUS



By MATHATHA TSEDU

Government had called the summit unilaterally and without consulting the ANC.

"We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents.

"The proper thing to do is to ensure that the conference is convened by an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with this conference called by the Government," Mandela said.

## Necklace

PAC second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke (see opposite page) said his organisation would not attend the summit because the security forces were involved in the actions to be debated.

He, however, said the Government was not solely responsible for the violence.

"Sections of the liberation movement have used or are still using the barbaric necklace murders, children run so-called 'people's courts' with jungle jus-

tice and undemocratic civic practices," Moseneke said.

Azapo declined the invitation, saying the Government did not need a conference with other parties to stop the violence as it (the Government) was responsible for it.

What was needed, Azapo added, was a consultative conference of the oppressed to close ranks and isolate the regime and its agents who were being used to foment violence and commit indiscriminate killings within the black community.

The church leaders said in their statement that their decision was not a rejection of the Government's effort in favour of or in solidarity with any party that was not attending.

## Decision

It was instead a decision taken after a long and arduous debate at the end of which they were convinced that the meeting would not achieve its purpose.

In essence, all the parties have said either the Government is not a neutral party in the ongoing violence or simply that as other important parties had refused to go, the exercise would be futile.

An exception to this thinking is the Conservative Party, which said it had no role to play in the summit as it was not involved in the violence.

The party also said the invitation was a scheme by the Government to get it involved in negotiations, which it had rejected.

On the other hand, a blanket has been thrown over the identity of those who would attend.

A spokesman for the Government, asked yesterday for a list of participants, said simply: "That will not be made available until late tonight."

He, however, said 200 organi-

sations, ranging from political, church, commerce, women to youth movements would attend.

Their identities is a closely guarded secret, except for parliamentary organisations and Inkatha.

The secrecy is seen as an attempt by the Government to protect those willing to participate in the two-day summit against "intimidation".

Observers spoken to yesterday felt that the absence of the SACC, ANC, Azapo, PAC, Nactu and Cosatu meant that the outcome would lack respectability within the black community.

There is also a breaking of ranks within the rightwing movement.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will, unlike the CP, send a delegation to the summit. The delegation will be led by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

## Spears

TerreBlanche said the AWB would attend to state its views on violence "so that we could not be blamed afterwards".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder indicated that he will not attend.

The Government's motivation is obviously that violence has become the first stumbling block to resumption of talks with the ANC.

De Klerk's flight to Ulundi this week to talk Inkatha and KwaZulu leaders into agreeing to a ban on the carrying of spears should also be seen as an attempt by the Government to get at least the ANC back into the summit.

The refusal by the ANC to attend must be a terrible blow to the Government. It also means that the outcome of the meeting would have no credibility.



# OFS defeat an NP 'comfort'

Political Staff

THE National Party has been battered by the Ladybrand by-election defeat, but can also take some comfort from it.

That was the opinion of political observers yesterday, who said the 7,4% swing in a "classically representative" seat would not be enough for the CP to win a whites-only referendum.

The CP has hailed the win as a victory for true nationalism, but NP leaders said it would not deflect the party from its reform programme.

A defiant President F W de Klerk said the result of the by-election "makes no difference to the political realities of South Africa". He said the result indicated that CP claims that they had majority white support were "devoid of all truth".

What it had shown was that the NP would win a white referendum comfortably, said Mr De Klerk.

The Free State leader of the NP, Justice Minister Mr Kobie

Coetsee, said "external factors" such as the developments in Lesotho and the emotional appeal to farmers to protest against the land reforms had influenced the outcome.

He pointed out that refugees from the Lesotho violence had streamed into Ladybrand on Wednesday — polling day.

"We believe that if normal circumstances continued to prevail, this constituency would have been within our reach," said Mr Coetsee.

## Larger majority

He said that by-elections created an opportunity to air grievances and for false perceptions to be spread. It was clear that the NP had in fact consolidated a large core of voters.

Bullish CP representatives said they had been surprised by the larger majority gained — up to 1 258 from only 70 in the 1989 election — and claimed it was a clear signal that whites were continuing to join their ranks.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said it was a "victory for

nationalism" and the CP would continue to go from strength to strength.

Another CP official said the NP had grown out of touch with white people, who no longer believed the government.

The successful CP candidate, Mr Charl Hertzog, will be sworn in to Parliament today.

Political scientist Mr Donald Simpson, formerly of Potchefstroom University, said the seat was a classic one for analysts.

Both parties had thrown their full weight behind the campaign and there had been a high poll.

The swing to the CP was, however, not enough for it to win a white referendum, he said.

Pretoria-based analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans issued a word of caution when he warned that the NP was out of touch with the majority of white Afrikaners.

He said it was "living in a dream world" about the number of whites who supported its reforms and the party would have to enlist the support of South Africa's Indian, coloured and black people to fill the gap left by Afrikaners.

# Land Bills showdown

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

**TOUGH** opposition from the Labour Party has put President FW de Klerk in a dilemma over his efforts to dump the last of South Africa's racially based laws.

In April 1990 the President promised he would not push five important Bills scrapping the controversial Land and Group Areas Acts through Parliament without the support of the coloured and Indian houses.

But unless he can reach agreement with the houses, there is a danger that he will not meet international commitments to scrap the last of the discriminatory laws by the end of this parliamentary session.

At the heart of the dispute is a government attempt to write into law measures which ensure "standards and norms" in residential areas. The Labour Party insists the provisions are racially motivated.

Initially, the the provisions were contained in the Residential Environment Bill — but it was dropped after fierce opposition inside and outside Parliament.

## Racist

Now the government is trying to include watered-down versions of the same measures in the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill — but the Labour Party will not be mollified.

It believes existing council bylaws are enough to enforce the maintenance of norms and standards. The inclusion of additional measures in a Bill which seeks to scrap the Group Areas Act, it argues, is racist and tantamount to an attempt to perpetuate the status quo.

The Bills are up for debate in Parliament tomorrow.

Under normal circumstances, the National Party would overcome opposition by forcing the Bill through the President's Council where it has a built-in majority.

But Labour Party members said this week they would hold Mr De Klerk to his undertaking not to rush the Bills through.



FW DE KLERK  
Facing foreign deadlines



HERNUS KRIEL  
Land may be returned

Deputy Education and Training Minister Piet Marais, who chairs the parliamentary committee which has been trying to resolve differences on the Land Bills, said there would be no opportunity to amend the Abolition Bill when it came before Parliament this week.

This leaves Mr De Klerk with little room to manoeuvre.

The repeal of the Group Areas and Land Acts is one of the provisions of the American Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Mr De Klerk wants the Bills scrapped by the end of this parliamentary session so that President George Bush can start lifting sanctions.

One option is to persuade enough Labour Party members to break ranks and support the government on this measure.

The row with the Labour Party is not the only problem for Mr De Klerk on the land issue.

The government's package, which originally consisted of five Bills, represented a first attempt not just to repeal discriminatory legislation but to set in place laws that would promote non-racial urban and

rural development.

Mr Marais's committee is still discussing the remaining three Bills — the Rural Development Bill, the Less Formal Township Establishment Bill and the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Bill.

So far, the committee has received representations from 282 organisations and individuals.

A common complaint from many of the organisations was the government's initial refusal to appoint a land commission to investigate claims for restitution by those who were victims of the Group Areas or Land Acts.

This was partly offset this week by the inclusion of a provision for the establishment of an advisory commission on land allocation in the repeal Bill.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister HERNUS KRIEL said the commission would advise the government on:

- The identification of state-owned land which had been obtained by the state to further the aims of the Group Areas Act and the 1936 Land Act and which had not been allocated for other purposes;

- The identification of rural land with the aim of establishing agricultural units;

- The development, within the state's financial ability, of land so identified.

## Sensible

Mr Kriel said the government would look at the possibility of returning state-owned land to the original owners.

He mentioned District Six in Cape Town as an example.

Urban Foundation executive director Anne Bernstein said this was a "partial response" to opposition to the original package.

Miss Bernstein said that by pressing ahead with the Bills, the government would miss a unique opportunity to devise sensible development strategies.

Instead of seeking com-

munity involvement, it was proposing bureaucratic ways of handling development.

The foundation, she said, proposed that the government should go ahead with the repeal Bill while dropping the other four.

It proposed that instead, rural and urban working groups consisting of representatives of all political parties and development

organisations should be appointed to investigate the issues and propose comprehensive development strategies that would have the support of the majority.

Commenting on the Bills, Miss Bernstein said the Less Formal Township Establishment Bill would hinder, not help, the supply of housing.

The Upgrading of Land

Tenure Rights Bill sought to change peoples' tenure rights without consulting them.

The Rural Development Bill proposed setting up a development institution without first conceiving a development strategy.

Miss Bernstein said the Urban Foundation had the support of several foreign governments for its proposal that only the repeal

Bill should go through this year and that a development strategy be worked out in consultation with all parties.

Mr Marais said the government's legal experts were studying the Urban Foundation proposals and objections to the Bills. He said the committee still had to decide whether to call for further evidence on the remaining Bills.

Asked whether the government would attempt to get the Bills through Parliament this year, Mr Marais said no decision had been taken as this had to be worked out with the Chief Whip of Parliament.

## Dilemma for De Klerk as Labour vows to block 'flawed' reforms

S Times 20/5/91



## TRANSITION

# RABBITS FROM THE HAT

FM 24/5/91

304A

A multiparty transitional government, within the broad framework of the present constitution? That surprising option appears to be government's next major reform objective. It is also looking at specialist working groups to help to administer the country while constitutional talks are under way.

The plan would allow President F W de Klerk to relieve senior Ministers, enabling them to form the core of an NP negotiating team, which would then be divorced from government.

De Klerk is understood to be anxious to change the perception that government will be opposite all other parties at the talks table. He wants the NP simply to be one of a number of parties at negotiations. In this sense, government will not take part in the talks (*Current Affairs* February 15).

This thinking was confirmed by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen during the parliamentary debate on his Budget vote last week. After detailing Nat thinking on a multiparty transitional government, he said: "Therefore, the government will govern and the NP will negotiate, calmly and rationally, in a manner conducive to the development of a stable and just new constitution."

Viljoen clearly believes a transitional government — one of the ANC's main demands — can be achieved without scrapping or making major changes to the constitution. At the same time, to avoid "destabilisation and uncertainty," he regards it as essential that legislative and administrative processes should continue until a new constitution is in place.

The most favoured Nat vision seems to be a multiparty executive with joint working groups to supplement present bureaucratic functions. They are also seen as important instruments to help ensure a smooth transition during the negotiation phase, and after the implementation of a new constitution.

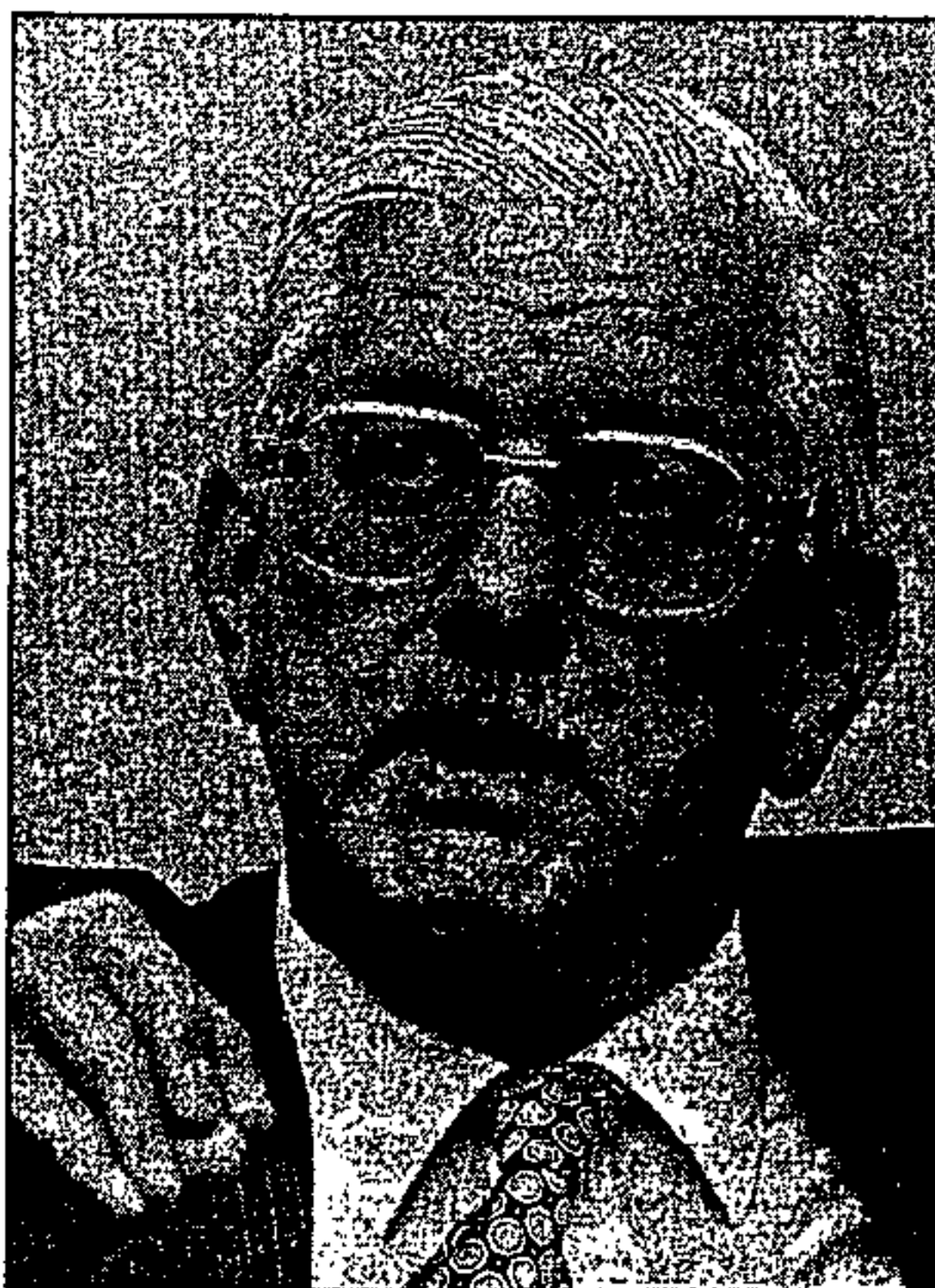
Viljoen says that while some people are impatient with the pace of visible structural change, and others are nervous, the process is irreversible and the change profound. Its course must be plotted patiently, with wisdom and clarity of thought. "Neither the negotiating process itself nor the context within which it is operating should be allowed to get out of hand. That will happen if we introduce too many changes, too many interim measures, in a destabilising fashion."

He draws a sharp distinction between, on the one hand, the need to maintain "stable and consistent" government so that the changes taking place will be well-conceived, rational and executed under proper control; and, on the other, the planning and negotiat-

ing of a new constitution.

He argues that tinkering with the present constitution at this stage to make interim adjustments will not necessarily improve the quality of government during the transitional phase nor assist negotiations.

But government agrees that mutually acceptable transitional arrangements should be determined at the outset by parties to the negotiations.



Viljoen ... separate government from the party

Viljoen says the negotiating forum could itself become a transitional instrument — as suggested by De Klerk this month — and as such exert influence on parliament, the Cabinet and other government institutions. But its primary task would be to negotiate a new constitution.

Another possibility is the emergence during negotiation of an influential leader corps that could influence government.

A third option, also mentioned by De Klerk, is a transitional Cabinet representing a broad spectrum of organisations. This plan would also have to be agreed by the negotiating forum.

Viljoen concedes that this option would require interim adjustments to the constitution, but says they would be special exceptions to government's reluctance to tamper with it at this stage.

Joint multiparty working groups specialising in particular fields of government may be considered. They would include representatives of government institutions and extra-parliamentary political organisations (and may develop into the leadership corps of the post-apartheid bureaucracy). Part of their

task would be to give guidance during the transitional period and back up existing government bodies.

Viljoen says government's responsibility is to ensure the maintenance of an orderly environment within which "free and uninhibited" negotiations can take place. Dismantling existing institutions prematurely could destabilise the situation.

A transitional government and direct input into the bureaucracy may be enough carrot to lure the ANC to the negotiating table and even drop its demand for an elected constituent assembly. The other main player, the Inkatha Freedom Party, would see the move as a bonus.

## SUMMIT POLITICS FM 24/5/91

### TOGETHER OR BUST

Behind the hardline facade of the ANC's weekend decision to put constitutional talks on hold, and Inkatha Freedom Party's belligerent insistence on the right to carry what it calls cultural weapons, progress is being made towards resolving differences, according to government sources.

The ANC's refusal to participate in constitutional talks was less dramatic than it seemed. As Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, such talks have not even started. And other contacts — working group discussions on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles — will continue. The ANC's grandstanding has little real effect on the political process: it is ultimately committed to the negotiations process.

President F W de Klerk's talks in Ulundi this week were seen as an important breakthrough. A significant concession on the carrying of traditional weapons has been made by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

De Klerk's drawing in of the Zulu king was not without significance. The Zulu royal family is known to be deeply divided and angry about the continuing violence and the way Zulu cultural norms are being warped — for example, women are increasingly featuring in war parties. While Inkatha has firmly backed the carrying of spears, more and more chiefs, concerned about the conflict, have rejected the bearing of the weapon.

The Ulundi concessions clearly will not be enough at this late stage to reverse the ANC's decision to boycott the weekend summit on violence — but they are a start, and believed to have impressed some senior ANC members.



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## CURRENT AFFAIRS Fm 24/5/91



De Klerk ... may postpone talks

De Klerk was due to meet a joint delegation from the SA Chamber of Business and the SA Council of Churches as the FM went to press, and there were indications that he would be urged to postpone the peace summit because it would be pointless without the ANC.

The Ulundi meeting was also regarded as an important step towards restoring Buthelezi's image as a proponent of nonviolent solutions to crises — a vital move, as the FM argued in its cover article last week.

The ANC has been careful not to heighten tensions between it and Inkatha — relations between the two groups in the Transvaal are at an all-time low. The ANC is coming under strong pressure from leading members to



Buthelezi ... improved image

make its peace with Inkatha. Some fear that if tensions between the two are not subdued, Zulu nationalism could rise and secession become an issue.

The IFP in particular and Zulus in general have been widely portrayed as the aggressors in the factional violence that swept the Reef in recent months. There were indications that some senior Nats were beginning to accept this view.

Buthelezi is understood to have perceived the intense concentration of government attention on the ANC as a snub to Inkatha, a lack of appreciation of his own efforts over the years to resist the armed struggle and oppose sanctions. It is understood that he told De Klerk this at a meeting in Cape Town this month.

In apparent response, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen lavishly praised Buthelezi during a debate in parlia-

ment last week.

He said the perception that government was talking "mainly and exclusively" to Nelson Mandela and the ANC about SA's future was false. "Fact is, talks with the ANC have come nowhere near the core issues of constitutional reform."

Later in the debate he both praised and condemned Mandela for recent public statements. One comment, at Stellenbosch University last week, was regarded as a significant moderation of his views on minority guarantees, while the other, at Swanieville on the West Rand the following day (when Mandela referred to possible violence in white areas) was interpreted as inflamma-



Mandela ... praised and condemned

tory and dangerous.

Viljoen said that while Mandela had repeatedly rejected the concept of minority protection or the protection of group rights, because he regarded it as tantamount to a perpetuation of racism, his speech at Stellenbosch indicated a considerable softening.

Mandela assured students that structural guarantees would be written into an ANC constitution to ensure that whites were not dominated by blacks and that cultural and religious rights would be protected.

"These are very important statements that clarify further common ground on the basis of which we can negotiate for the future," said Viljoen.

The common ground between the ANC and government appears to be broadening all the time, but no progress will be made until the violence is brought under control. ■



In a commendable response to overwhelming pressure, government has scrapped its harsh residential reform Bill. It has also agreed to set up a commission to hear land claims. But the land reform package, which centres on the abolition of apartheid laws affecting land issues, may still face a bumpy ride through parliament.

The five Bills published in March were widely heralded as the most important step away from fundamental apartheid taken so far by government. But two serious flaws were soon apparent:

- The Residential Environment Bill provided for an intricate web of bureaucratic controls to maintain "norms and standards" in urban residential areas. Understandably, the measures were interpreted as racist; and
- No provision was made to hear claims by people who may have been unjustly deprived of land because of apartheid.

FM 24/5/91

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Government this week withdrew the Residential Environment Bill and the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill. It published a new Bill which includes all the measures to scrap land apartheid and provides the mechanism for setting up an advisory land claims commission. Only a minor provision for maintaining "norms and standards" in residential areas is included.

Another vital addition is the express prohibition of racially based by-laws.

Much of the pressure for the changes was applied to a parliamentary joint committee. Piet Marais, its chairman (and Education & Development Aid Deputy Minister) says the committee met 25 times, received 282 written submissions and invited 13 groups to give oral evidence.

The Urban Foundation, which made detailed submissions to Marais' committee, welcomed government's flexibility but believes the changes are only a partial response to the widespread criticism. ■

# Constitutional debate

## reaches high schools

Was Nation Clearer Nation

24/5-29/5/91 3044

24/5-29/5/91

**T**HE Centre for Human Rights Studies at the University of Pretoria has embarked on a programme of constitutional studies for matric pupils and interested adults.

The centre's director, Professor Johan van der Westhuizen said in a statement that the initiative to

embark on the programme was taken after consultation with several members of the community, including leaders of the liberation movement.

The programme started last weekend. Several constitutional issues are covered, including the meaning of constitution, bill of rights, the role of the courts in a society with a free legal system and citizens' rights.

Experts in the various fields of constitutional studies will be for adults as the Saturday's programme will be for adults as the scholars' session was held last weekend. The programme will run from 8am to 2pm on the university campus.

### Threshold

"South Africa is on the threshold of a new constitutional dispensation. At this decisive stage in our history and in our quest for a true democracy, people should not be ignorant

of the important basic constitutional concepts and questions," said Van der Westhuizen.

### Free

Participation in the course is free of charge and literature on the relevant topics is sold to inter-

ested people. Saturday's programme will be for adults as the scholars' session was held last weekend. The programme will run from 8am to 2pm on the university campus.

Van der Westhuizen said if these programmes were successful many more would be held in the future.



# Nats set for coup

CTimes 25/5/91.

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

## THE National Party could have control of the House of Representatives by Wednesday.

Nine Peninsula and Boland MPs yesterday spearheaded the disintegration of the Labour Party by quitting and predicted that a further flood of defections would see the NP wresting control of the coloured House by Wednesday.

The latest band of aspirant "New Nats" to desert the floundering LP follows the about-turn of 21 MPs in the 95-strong House of Representatives who turned their backs on the "Hendrickse dynasty" on Thursday.

At least another 13 MPs, who will be consulting their constituencies at the weekend, are expected to quit the embattled LP early next week — giving the NP control of the House. The latest spate of defections has meant that more than 50% of the LP officials in the Western Cape and Boland regions have deserted the party, the dissidents said at a news conference yesterday.

The LP's Peninsula chairman, Mr Gerald Morkel,

A CAPE TOWN Labour Party MP who on Thursday slammed the defection of his colleagues to the National Party as similar to Judas's betrayal of Jesus, yesterday followed their example.

The extraordinary about-face was performed by the MP for Bonteheuwel, Mr Patrick McKenzie, who yesterday joined a group of nine Western Cape and Boland MPs in deserting the LP.

After President F W de Klerk's announcement that 21 LP MPs had defected and that more were likely to cross the floor, Mr McKenzie also said he now understood the meaning of the phrase "et tu Brute" uttered by Julius Caesar when he was assassinated by his friend Brutus.

He said: "We're convinced that an avalanche is on the roll."

Wuppertal MP Mr Chris Wyngaard, another member of the rebel group which unsuccessfully demanded the resignation of LP leader Mr Hendrickse earlier this week, declared: "Our aim is to take over the House by Wednesday."

A statement issued by the dissident group said: "Rev Hendrickse's inability to realise that there are specific problems concerning his leadership as well as his refusal to address these, eventually com-

pelled us to resign."

The Labour Party has dismissed the latest spate of resignations as "leaves falling from the tree" but defecting MPs yesterday countered that "the tree itself is rotten".

The ongoing rebellion in the LP produced the resignations of a number of senior and long-standing members of the party.

Apart from Mr Morkel (Retreat) and Mr Wyngaard, the latest batch of defectors includes the MP for Elsie's River and national treasurer, Mr Paul Kleinsmidt, the MP for Belhar and secretary of the Peninsula region, Mr Stanley Simmons, and LP whip and MP for Bonteheuwel Mr Patrick McKenzie.

Others are the MP for Hawston and the secretary of the LP's Boland region, Mr Glen Carelse, the MP for Suurbraak and deputy chairman of the LP's Boland region, Mr Peter Harnse, the MP for Robertson and LP spokesman on correctional services, Mr Willie Meyer, and the MP for Hantam, Mr John Krieger.

Members of the dissident groups said that at least 13 more members were ready to defect early next week, including the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Andrew Jules, and the chairman of the House, Mr Philip Sanders.





□ **LEADER ARRIVES:** Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, centre, arrives for the summit with his aide Mr Piet Rudolph, right.



□ **DELEGATES:** The summit on violence gets under

## POINTS FROM THE PRETORIA PEACE SUMMIT

# 'Peace secretariat' urged

## CALL FOR NA TO END SA

Weekend Argus Correspondent and Sapa  
**PRETORIA.** — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has proposed a national peace campaign and a peace secretariat to end the violence.

Addressing the conference on violence, Dr Buthelezi said: "We need to do what has to be done to develop national will to shame violence out of existence."

A peace secretariat should be established to resource, co-ordinate and help conference members in their action against violence.

The secretariat would be commissioned to draw in additional partners who were not attending the conference.

Furthermore, the secretariat should establish local and regional "peace action groups" wherever violence broke out to bring a peace presence to the areas and to provide immediate factual information to counter rumour.

The secretariat should establish channels of communication between itself and the peace action group as well as between itself and security forces. It also should consult with leadership at grassroots level to facilitate peace moves.

The secretariat should reconvene the conference whenever necessary and a register should be compiled of delegates who were committed to the peace initiative.

The two-day conference would be under-achieving if it did not provide mechanisms of continuity. It was unwise to leave the handling of all the difficulties the country would encounter during transition in the hands of the government.

Dr Buthelezi called on all delegates to recognise the need to share responsibilities for the maintenance of law and order.

Dominant leaders in political parties and major political parties should play a statutory role in advising the government of the legislation requirements of the country in the interim period.

A 12-a-side meeting would be convened between the IFP central committee and the African National Congress national executive.

Dr Buthelezi said the peace process would remain "fatally flawed" unless relationships between the IFP and the ANC were normalised.

"Violence must end, and it must end now."

The conference had to aim at keeping the ANC in the peace process. The IFP had never decided to use violence for political purposes and pledged to work with anybody in any tactic which had any hope of ending the violence.

Dr Buthelezi described as "utter rubbish" talk of a third force. It was also "utter rubbish" that President De Klerk was using violence for his own political ends.

There would be no handing over of power to an interim government nor a constituent assembly as a precursor to it, said Dr Buthelezi.

He said the majority of black and white South Africans rejected such notions.

"There will be no handing over of power by the South African government to any interim government, let that be clear," he said. "And there will be no constituent assembly as a precursor to any interim government."

□ **Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok** told the peace summit in Pretoria that the president would take a new look at the application of the Dangerous Weapons Act because there were complications when it came to enforcing it.

He said the security forces alone could not solve the problem of violence and that he would study carefully the many positive suggestions made at the conference.

The police also were taking allegations against them very seriously and the Minister was prepared to have these tested in court.

□ **Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen** said that to expedite the start of the multiparty negotiation process would contribute towards ending violence.

He said violence was caused to a large extent by political frustrations and political factors.

Dr Viljoen said the government was prepared to consider transitional arrangements that would provide an input in government for those outside the system.

These should be the result of negotiations and the multiparty conference should have this point high on its agenda.

□ **THE Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer**, expressed his regrets that the national summit on violence had been used to "bash" organisations.

He said the conference should be sharply aware of its shortcomings and bear them in mind as it went forward.

It should not concentrate on how other people were behaving, but how they would behave under certain circumstances.

"We should then set about creating those circumstances under which they will behave in a peaceful manner," he said.

He believed there were positive proposals, like the creation of a permanent commission and a secretariat on violence, and these could be merged.

These proposals and any other actions should not be tackled, however, without the widest consultation.

In fact, it might be desirable not to take any steps emerging from the conference, but rather leave them for a later stage.

□ **Dr Oscar Dhlomo**, president of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy said political violence should not be allowed to derail the negotiations process. He proposed 10 steps to address political violence and intimidation:

□ A code of conduct should be drafted by all political parties, according to which they should pursue political objectives;

□ The government, in consultation with other political groupings, consider legislative measures to counter intimidation;

□ A concerted effort should be made to combat criminal as opposed to political violence;

□ A standing commission on violence, represent-

## TIONAL DRIVE S KILLINGS

Professor De Klerk said that the security forces should be objective and any intervention by them should be impartial.

□ **National director of Lawyers for Human Rights** Mr Brian Curtin yesterday called for the establishment of a peace-keeping force to stem the tide of violence.

Such a force could be made accountable to a standing judicial commission of inquiry into violence. Such a commission also could investigate allegations of State violence, because current measures were inadequate and conducted in secret.

Mr Curtin's suggestions were met by laughs and jeers and he responded: "People can laugh. That is my view. I won't laugh when you speak."

Mr Curtin said LHR had affidavits alleging security force involvement in the Swartkops squatter camp massacre.

□ **Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche** delivered a warning to the summit that peace was going to remain unattainable.

The government was prepared to negotiate with an organisation with a declared programme to nationalise the Boer's land and the gold mines.

"We are here to try and treat the symptoms," he said. All wars came about because one nation tried to take the land of others.

The Zulus, the Venda, the Xhosa, all had their own land in South Africa.

"There is only one group which has no national loyalty, but who wants the land of all the others because they are communists."

"Communists will not allow peace until everyone is a communist."

"If you want peace, give every people the right to govern themselves and no one given the right to claim a centimetre of another's land."

□ **Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations** Mr John Kane-Berman, said a large part of this year's violence in many areas was a backlash against intimidation and coercion.

He gave the summit statistics from the most recent research conducted on violence and said 28 percent of deaths had been caused by firearms of which the single largest contributor had been the AK-47 rifle.

Twenty-six people had been necklaced during the four-month period covered by the survey from January to April this year.

Incendiaries were responsible for 22 percent of violent deaths, knives, pangas, spears and sharp instruments for 18 percent.

He said between a quarter and a third of people interviewed complained of intimidation and coercion.

The police had a fair measure of problems in manpower shortages, poor pay and with its credibility.

What was needed was a stop to de-stabilisation. For so long as forces were allowed to bring down black local authorities, for so long would violence continue.

A code of conduct was also needed which not only spelled out the content of protest rights, but also the limitations on such rights.

□ **The Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk's Prof Johan Heyns** yesterday formally proposed to the peace summit that a follow-up conference be held under the auspices of the Rustenburg group of church leaders.

He said several important leaders not present at Friday's conference had said they would be prepared to attend a meeting convened by an impartial body such as the churches.

He said the Rustenburg group of church leaders were prepared to act as facilitators for a follow-up conference.

"It is completely futile to carry on without the other parties here," said Professor Heyns.

He said the Rustenburg group of church leaders could be expanded by representatives from various parties and groups "who would like to participate in a follow-up conference."

Professor Heyns said it was important for yesterday's peace summit to discuss this proposal so that it could immediately start to plan a follow-up conference.

"It is of vital, paramount importance to have all the players, otherwise we won't have peace and harmony."

ing all political groupings, should be established.

□ A code of conduct should be drawn up for the police and made known to the public.

□ Police should maintain a permanent presence in urban areas, if necessary through mobile or temporary police stations.

□ A single law-enforcement agency should be created to develop a national anti-violence strategy.

□ Social reconstruction and the rehabilitation of victims of violence should be undertaken on a large scale.

□ The media should be co-opted in strategies to counter violence, and

□ The government and extra-parliamentary groupings should engage in partnerships, even before the start of negotiations.

□ **The Democratic Party's Dr Denis Worrall** said the peace summit represented the system.

□ **Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi**, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President Dr Klerk should get together in order to end violence.

Dr Worrall took up an earlier call for a code of conduct to be established for political parties, saying the DP had drawn up such a code consisting of 13 points.

The code had been based on the Namibian experience.

□ **National Party member from the House of Representatives Mr Jac Rabie** said it was strange the South African Council of Churches — supposed to work towards reconciliation — was not taking part in the peace summit but was organising its own peace drive.

The SAOC should be careful, because it had already shown bias for the African National Congress.

Mr Rabie called for stronger legislation to combat intimidation, stayaways and boycotts.

He said the multiparty conference should be started now, even if it was being boycotted by some parties, "so that we can get going."

□ **The National People's Party's Mr Amthand Raband** suggested the peace summit acquire a secretariat to ensure continuity for its efforts.

□ **The Solidarity Party's Dr J N Reddy** said extra-parliamentarians also should take part in the conference so that its decisions would be representative of all the people.

□ **Security forces researcher Dr Nel Marais** said periods of intense political change were always accompanied by violence and South Africa was no exception.

"South Africa has a history of political conflict along racial, ethnic and class lines. This has led to a suppression of free political activity, especially in the black community, as well as an obsession with revolutionary politics."

"This created a cult of political intolerance between various ideological groupings, while professing a commitment to democracy," said Dr Marais.

However, South Africa still had "things to be thankful for," including political stability in a relatively strong economic base and consensus among political actors that a democratic solution should be arrived at through negotiations and not through violence.

Dr Marais said that although the security forces could contain the violence, failure of the negotiations process could lead to anarchy.

□ **Director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand Professor Laurie Schleimer** said the South African community would remain vulnerable to violence for many years to come.

This was due to a few inherent factors in the South African community which included a tradition of faction fighting, stress related to social change and the competitive nature of negotiations.

In order to address the violence, an independent representative and paid set of task groups at local level should be formed to act as mediators.

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# Blow to Labour as nine more MPs quit

ARCUS 25/5/91

**MICHAEL MORRIS**

Political Correspondent

ALLAN Hendrickse's Labour Party has suffered another humiliating blow with the defection of nine more MPs to the National Party, whose domination of the House of Representatives is predicted by next weekend.

This — the biggest bloc to defect in one go and effectively a vote of no confidence from the Peninsula and Boland branches — brings the NP's conquest tally so far to 30 MPs. They were expected to gain at least another 12 by Wednesday next week — including a Minister.

However, observers say that while NP control of the House of Representatives will indeed achieve the government's objective of "stabilising parliament" and neutralising what had become an irritating Labour Party strategy to block Bills and force President De Klerk to use the President's Council to rubber stamp new laws, it will not bring overwhelming benefits to the NP.

Some Nationalists have mis-

givings about the quality of the MPs now rushing for places in the ruling party. Against the background of the generally scant support for Labour Party MPs, these Nationalists say would have preferred to attract wider support from people who were reluctant to support the tricameral parties in the first place.

But the provincial leaders of the party are pressing ahead with what party sources say is a determined effort to wrest control of the coloured House, suggesting they are convinced the former Labour MPs will be more attractive as Nats.

Labour now has 49 seats, the NP 30, there are five Independents and one Freedom Party MP.

The latest to take the gap are Mr Gerald Morkel (Retreat), chairman of the Peninsula branch of the party, Mr Stanley Simmons (Belhar), secretary of the Peninsula branch, Mr Patrick McKenzie (Bonteheuvel) party Whip and treasurer of the Peninsula branch — who only a few days ago likened other defecting MPs to Judas in his betrayal of Christ

— Mr Glen Carelse (Hawston), secretary of the Boland branch, Mr Peter Harmse (Suurbraak), Mr Christiaan Wyngaard (Wuppertal), Mr Paul Kleinsmidt (Elsies River), Mr John Krieger (Hantam) and Mr William Meyer (Robertson).

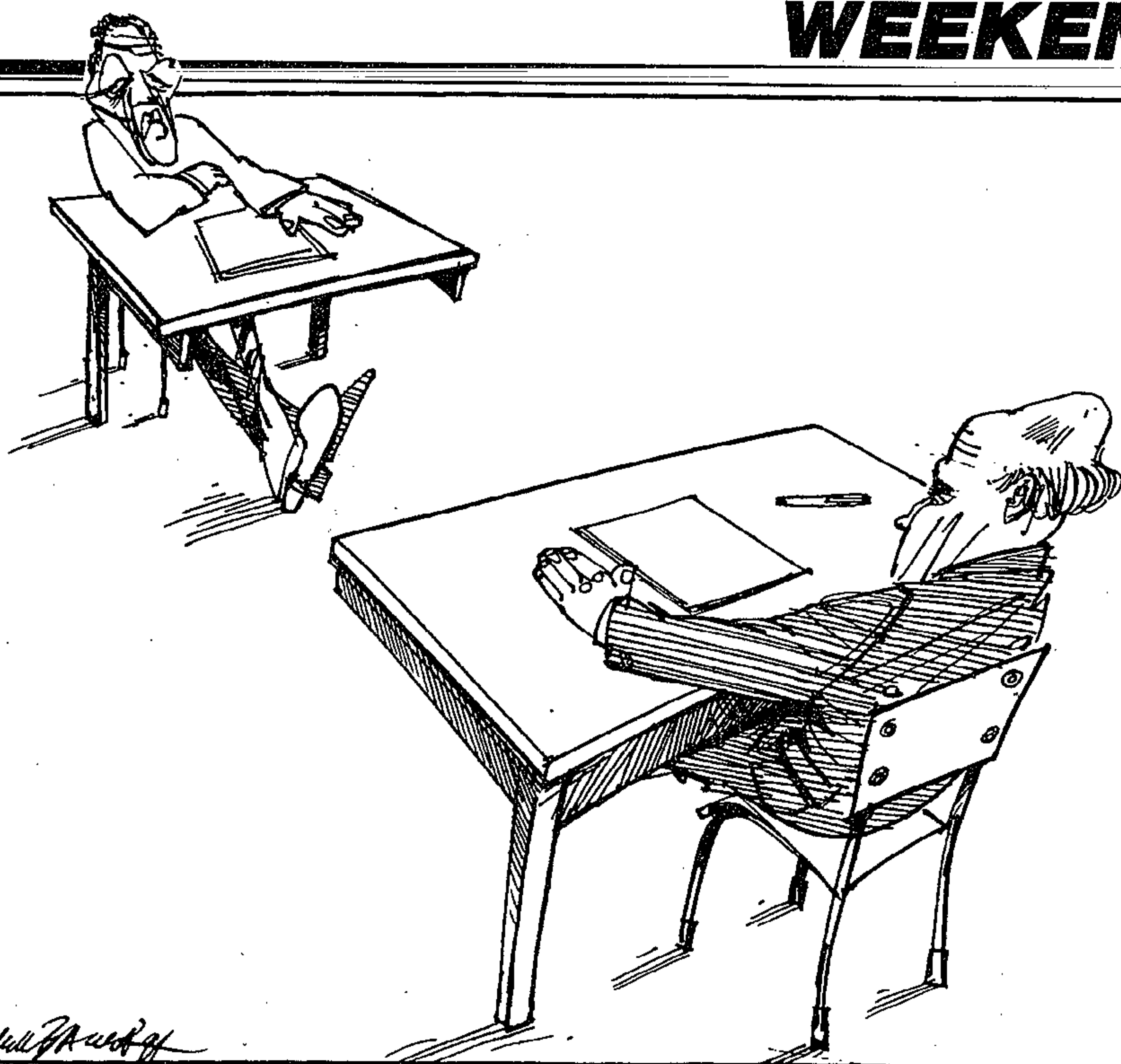
Mr Morkel confirmed that a minister was among those expected to leave the party in the next few days. Observers say this will be Minister of Local Government and Agriculture Mr Andrew Julies, and that Deputy Minister of Education and Culture Mr Abe Williams is also expected to quit, along with a group of at least 10 other MPs.

Mr Morkel said: "We predict we will take over the House by next Wednesday. I'm convinced the avalanche is on the roll. Each one of us has had an important executive position in the party. We have been part of the hierarchy, but the position became untenable."

The defectors told a Press conference at parliament that the LP had served its purpose but was now ineffective in helping to create a new South Africa. They said the NP was best placed to meet the challenges of the future.

They all said they had the backing of their constituencies. Some even claimed they had been urged as long ago as last year to consider joining the NP.





Formally, constitutional talks between the government and the ANC are off. But in reality, writes Weekend Argus special parliamentary writer SHAUN JOHNSON, both sides are furiously preparing their strategies for eventual "real negotiations". And latest statements and speeches from each side show that, from first principles onwards, there remains a yawning chasm between them.

# Poles apart in their approach

Argus 25/5/91.

304A

**T**HE most detailed picture yet of government thinking about the transition to the new South Africa — and the structure of that future society — emerged in three key speeches delivered to parliament by Dr Gerrit Viljoen last week.

If one reduces the mass of detail to its essence, it becomes clear that while there is agreement with the ANC on shared aims in broad brushstrokes — one person one vote in a non-racial, unitary state — the Constitutional Development Minister's thinking is otherwise poles apart from that of Mr Nelson Mandela's organisation.

The government is committed to structural mechanisms which would severely restrict the power of any party which won a majority in democratic elections; the standard "winner-takes-all" model is rejected out of hand. The ANC dismisses such "power-sharing", and insists on a "transfer of power".

Dr Viljoen's revealing contributions to the debate on his ministry's budget vote were divided into three discrete sections: Constitutional Principles for the New South Africa, Transitional Arrangements, and Power Sharing and Protection of Minority Rights.

Besides commitments to "justice", "equality" and the like — which have become almost platitudinous since February 2 1990 — Dr Viljoen opened a window on detailed government strategising to ensure that it emerges from negotiations with as much as possible of its power intact.

Regarding constitutional principles the government — through Dr Viljoen as its chief negotiator — argues that:

- There must be a much greater division of powers between the legislative, judicial and executive arms of the state.

- Parliament should be able to "control the Cabinet more effectively".

- An independent judiciary should be able to "test" parliament's legislation and the performance of the government's executive authority.

In other words, the constitution will be sovereign (reversing the present situation, based on the British model), and the new South Africa will emerge as what the government dubs a "constitutional state". The new government will be on a much shorter leash than the present one.

There is no prospect of the Republic of South Africa ceasing to exist as a state; rather there will be a "radical renewal" of the RSA.

As an instrument of minority protection, consideration should be given to a central legislature comprising two houses.

"In this way a balance will be achieved between universal voting rights and majority power in the one house, and minority rights protection through special representation and decision-making power for minorities in the other house ..."

There could be a "chamber of minorities" in which special voting procedures and raised majority requirements could operate in decision-making over "sensitive, fundamental issues".

Structures for "self-determination by individual communities must serve as a fundamental building block of minority protection. Where a local community can identify itself in non-racial grounds and through voluntary association, it must if it so chooses be allowed to establish its own community structure.

This structure would deal with community matters, including aspects of education, welfare, surroundings and culture. Such structures must be able to generate their own funds."

Powers should be devolved to regions as far as possible.

A bill of rights to protect individuals from (future) government interference will be part of the sovereign constitution.

Regarding transitional arrangements the government argues that the "continuous, complex and most responsible business" of governing a nation remains the task of the National Party government until such time as the proposed changes have taken place. The same applies to "the present constitution and its institutions".

But there are four possibilities for "acceptable transitional arrangements".

First, the mooted "negotiating forum" might "itself acquire the stature and capacity to influence the legislative, executive and administrative processes directly and with great authority" — but its primary task will remain the achievement of consensus on a new constitution.

Second, an "informal, influential leadership corps" could emerge during negotiations, which might even develop into a formal structure.

Third, the Cabinet could be expanded, with the approval of the negotiating forum, to include "a relatively broad spectrum of competent South Africans".

Fourth, multi-party working groups specialising in various fields of government could emerge and "provide guidance in the transitional period to the established government institutions".

Regarding power-sharing and minority rights protection, the government argues that:

- There is no possibility of its simply disappearing from the political stage and handing over the reins of power "to one or other potentate or group with no experience of what the governance of a sophisticated country involves. South Africa is not a colony that is now becoming independent; it has been constitutionally emancipated for decades."

A system in which the arithmetical majority is effectively given all political power for a period is "unacceptable and unworkable". There must be a balance between one person one vote, and the effective protection of minorities.

There should be a multi-party system with regular elections. Some form of proportional representation should be introduced. The basis is general franchise on a common voters' roll, with constituency divisions reflecting the choice of voters.

There could be a head of state and a head of government, elected by each house, or the Swiss model could be followed, providing for a collective multi-party college with a rotating chairman.



# Nats set to take over as LP teeters

CAPE TOWN — A further spate of resignations by senior Labour Party MPs, who have applied to join the National Party, could see the NP take control of the House of Representatives by the end of next week.

Nine LP MPs — eight of them senior office bearers — announced their resignation at a press conference yesterday.

Gerald Morkel, chairman of the LP Peninsula region, said further resignations would be announced early next week.

"These include at least one member of the Ministers' Council. We predict we will take over the House (of Representatives) by next Wednesday. I'm convinced the avalanche is on the roll now."

All the MPs who resigned yesterday said they had the blessing and approval of their constituencies.

The resignations followed "tremendous soul searching" but all said they felt they could play a

better role in bringing people together and building a new South Africa within the NP.

The state of the parties in the House of Representatives now stands at 49 LP members, 30 NP, five Independents and one Freedom Party.

Several MPs said they had been approached by their constituencies as far back as last year with the request that they make overtures to the NP.

One of the reasons given for making the final break with the LP was the Rev Allan Hendrickse's refusal to accept or realise there were specific problems concerning his leadership of the party.

Nepotism was given as another reason for much unhappiness. Mr Hendrickse's son, Peter, is the MP for Addo and PRO for the party. Another son, Michael, is MP for Schauderville and a son-in-law, Desmond Lockey, is MP for

Northern Cape.

"Why should one family earn nearly half a million rand a year from Parliament?" Mr Morkel said.

Last week Mr Morkel and Glen Carelse met Mr Hendrickse and other senior members, including the Leader of the House, Miley Richards, to air their grievances and ask Mr Hendrickse to resign as leader of the party.

"Mr Richards, when he heard we were thinking of resigning, said it was no loss. That really made us take stock of the situation. A good shepherd goes after one lost sheep and here 35 members were being lost and that was their attitude."

A surprise resignation announced yesterday was that of Whip and MP for Bonteheuwel, Patrick McKenzie. On Wednesday, during debate on own affairs Local Government, he launched a tirade against those LP MPs who had joined the NP. — Sapa

5/15/79

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# Church offer of further peace talks

CT 25/5/91

## Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Rustenburg National Conference of Churches yesterday offered to save the floundering peace talks by convening another summit on violence that already had the support of government, the ANC and Inkatha.

Speaking at President F W de Klerk's peace summit, former Ned Geref Church moderator Dr Johan Heyns said "it is completely futile without the other parties here".

He said several important leaders not present had said they would be prepared to attend a meeting convened by an impartial body such as the churches.

Later, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen said the government would welcome contributions. He was specifically positive of the role the Rustenburg group could play and reiterated that President De Klerk had said this summit was only the first step.

However, a senior source disclosed that Mr De Klerk had given Dr Heyns a "very positive response" in a private discussion.

It is also understood that Rhema

Church Pastor Ray Macaulay had travelled to see Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had given him "an 80% assurance" that he would attend a conference.

The Rustenburg group, a broad cross-section of church leaders, is co-chaired by SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts. Dr Heyns said the group could be expanded by representatives from other religions and parties that wanted to participate in a follow-up conference.

At a briefing at the end of the first day's proceedings, Mr Viljoen said the conference had been valuable, with a divergence of views being expressed.

Major role-players absent from the day's proceedings were the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, Azapo, the PAC and the SACC.

The conference was dominated by constant reference to the importance of all parties being present in order to combat the violence.

However, despite this and Mr De Klerk's plea at the start of the summit that delegates not criticise non-participants and focus on the violence, Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini launched a scathing attack on the ANC in separate speeches.



# Call for probe of state role in violence

Or 25/5/84

From PATRICK COLLINGS

PRETORIA. — Institutions monitoring township violence yesterday called for the creation of independent bodies to investigate allegations of state involvement in the spiralling violence.

Speaking at the government-initiated peace summit on violence, the organisations said the police had lost virtually all credibility following numerous reports of their involvement in township violence.

The executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said an investigating body should be established to separate "propaganda from fact" and take severe disciplinary action against offending security force members.

He said the composition of the body would have to

command the confidence of "all the main black political organisations".

The national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, went further and suggested the introduction of a United Nations peacekeeping force as an "extreme measure" to end the violence which has claimed more than 10 000 lives since September 1984.

His suggestion was met by jeers from fellow delegates, who twice earlier had interrupted him when he presented affidavits alleging police involvement in the May 12 massacre of Swanleville squatters.

Mr Currin, the only delegate to face jeers, later said he believed they had originated from KwaZulu and National Party delegates.

After the third disruption, Mr Currin paused to say that people could laugh, but "that is my view and I

respect yours."

He expanded on his proposal for a United Nations peacekeeping force, saying if that was unacceptable then serious consideration should be given to the establishment of "a completely new peacekeeping force" comprising all South Africans.

He said the force "should be born out of discussions and negotiations with all the relevant political groupings in this country".

Earlier, Mr Currin urged President F W de Klerk to "give serious consideration" to the formation of a judicial committee of inquiry into state violence.

Democratic Party constitutional chairman Dr Denis Worrall told delegates that violence could best be contained by the establishment of national, regional and community level anti-violence task groups.

## DP congress features Boesak

U25/5/91 Political Correspondent (304A)

THE former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, Dr Allan Boesak, will be the keynote speaker at the Democratic Party's Western Cape congress here today.

Dr Boesak has been critical of Western Cape ANC leadership recently, but he is expected soon to make a political comeback under the ANC's wing.

At the congress, the DP is expected to discuss a wide range of policy issues and set specific targets for broadening party membership.

The MP for Pinelands, Mr Jasper Walsh, is expected to take over the Western Cape chairmanship from the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg.



# Summit starts but no ANC or PAC

PRETORIA. — President FW de Klerk's peace summit opened here yesterday. It is being held in a bid to solve the violence crisis in the country.

The summit, however, is being boycotted by key players in the political set-up, including the ANC and PAC.

Yesterday the National Conference of Churches offered to save the talks by convening another summit that already had the support of the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

Speaking at President De Klerk's summit, former Ned Geref Church moderator Dr Johan Heyns said "it is completely futile without the other parties here".

Later, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the government would welcome contributions. He reiterated that President De Klerk had said this summit was only the first step.

A senior source disclosed that Mr De Klerk had given Dr Heyns a "very positive response" in a private discussion.



Alan Hendrickse ... unhappy with leadership style.

# NP steals Hendrickse's thunder

Special Correspondent

26/5/91

IT now seems only a question of time before the National Party controls two of the three houses of Parliament.

This week there was drama in the House of Representatives when 13 MPs resigned from the Labour Party and indicated they would join the NP.

President FW de Klerk announced on Thursday the NP had accepted 21 members of the "coloured" house of Parliament as members. And on Friday nine more LP members resigned.

Seven of the 21 have left the LP since last month, indicating they would join the NP with five independents and nine members from two minority parties.

The state of affairs in the House of Representatives now is: Labour Party 49, NP 30, independents five and the Freedom Party one.

The NP still needs 15 members to become the ruling party in the house if, as seems probable, it gets the backing of four independents and the Freedom Party.

With the creation of the tricolour parliament in 1984 82 of the 85 members in the House of Representatives were Labour Party members.

304A

Chris Wyngaard (Wuppertal), a member of the group of nine which resigned on Friday, said at a press conference: "We intend to be the majority party by next Wednesday."

It was reliably learnt that the issue of resignation from the LP was discussed behind closed doors over a period of two weeks.

The resignations follow unhappiness with the leadership of LP leader Rev Alan Hendrickse.

On Monday two senior LP members - Gerald Morkel (Retenat) and Glen Carelse (Hawston) -

asked Hendrickse to resign as leader to prevent further disintegration of the party. He refused. Both resigned on Friday.

On Tuesday afternoon two LP members, Basil Cupido (Suid-Kaap) and Lester Sampson (Diaz), announced their resignations.

Most LP members who resigned this week associated themselves with the statement made by Cupido and Sampson who said the LP had "reached the end of its road as a successful and relevant player. The hour has dawned that political realities must be accepted".



FW de Klerk ... more MPs join his party this week?



# All parties must talk, FW warns

By Len Kalane and Sapa

THE problem of violence and intimidation could only be resolved satisfactorily if all the main role players were involved on an ongoing basis, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday at the close of the government's two-day violence and intimidation summit in Pretoria.

De Klerk, who warned of a government clampdown on unauthorised militias and the hoarding or carrying of weapons, said the summit's decision to establish a continuation committee would serve to end violence and intimidation in coming weeks and months.

He appealed to parties not represented at the conference to make themselves available for dialogue and negotiations.

"We all need each other if peace is to be attained and if violence is to be curbed and finally stopped," he said, in obvious reference to the concern surrounding the absence of the ANC and its allies.

A second summit was mooted by former Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns.

The PAC, Azapo and the CP also did not attend the summit, described by several observers as a "one-sided talkshop".

However, debate at the summit, attended by about 200 organisation, was vigorous.

Even the AWB was represented by

■ To Page 2

## All must talk - FW

■ From Page 1

its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and his sidekick Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Both walked out after Terre'Blanche warned that "peace would remain unattainable".

Another delegate to attack the ANC was Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He cited examples of "killing talk" used by the ANC.

Professor Laurie Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand warned South Africa would remain vulnerable to violence for many years

to come.

The executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, proposed a code of conduct spelling out the rules of democracy.

Opening the summit De Klerk called on those attending the talks not to be petty and play politics.

At the conference Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini threw down his traditional shield and said he was not giving up any cultural weapons.

The government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen referred to this "sabre-rattling" from the Zulu king, Buthelezi and other Inkatha-based speakers.

# Hendrickse: Nats have betrayed me

S/Times 26/5/91

**LABOUR PARTY leader Alan Hendrickse has admitted that he could be toppled as leader of the House of Representatives within a week.**

The bitter politician accused President De Klerk of having plotted to grab power from him in the House.

His attack came as the number of Labour Party defections to the National Party reached 30 — within striking distance of a majority.

Mr Hendrickse said this week he felt "betrayed and double-crossed" by the National Party.

"I am gearing myself, if

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

necessary, to lead the LP as official Opposition against those who defected to the Nats.

"They must expect no mercy when I deal with them. I have plenty of ammunition," he warned.

## Abused

"The Nats prostituted the tricameral constitution they wrote. They have used and abused me and my party and then dropped me."

He vowed yesterday that "on Monday I will deal with that betrayal when I speak in Parliament, be

damned the consequences".

Mr Hendrickse's opposition to provisions in one of the five Hernus Kriel land reform Bills aimed at scrapping the Group Areas and Land Acts caused the government to drop the Residential Environment Bill — apparently the last straw in the government's patience with Mr Hendrickse's "confrontation" politics.

Mr Hendrickse was yesterday a dejected and frustrated man. He spoke bitterly of Mr De Klerk's role in his political career.

He said Mr De Klerk

"had helped me to bring about reconciliation in my caucus, then went behind my back and gave moral support to deserters from my party".

Last Thursday, he said, President De Klerk personally intervened, at his request, to stop dissident Labour MPs from staging a coup planned for the next day.

## Downfall

Mr De Klerk, he said, "then finished the demolition job against me" when he accepted 21 coloured MPs of the House of Representatives as Nat MPs.

A further 11 joined on Friday, making the NP tally of "Brown Nats" 30 against 50 of the LP.

Mr Hendrickse said he was aware an attempt at his downfall was being plotted over a long period. After covert meetings, the plan was to come together last Friday on the Vat Bill

which the Labour Party intended opposing.

Unbeknown to him, he said, Mr De Klerk and provincial leaders Dr Dawie de Villiers (Cape), George Bartlett (Natal) and Bar-end du Plessis had met the MPs who had applied for membership of the NP at Tuynhuys on Wednesday night.

On Thursday morning, another special caucus was called, attended by the rest of the LP MPs.

By then his former colleagues had handed in their resignations and walked out on him — into the arms of a delighted National Party.

President De Klerk said he had "no doubt" the NP would eventually become "the political home of all moderate South Africans".

He said "these events" did not mean the NP would discontinue seeking co-operation and alliances with other parties.

● See Page 17



New committee is set up to push for wider peace talks

# FW RIBJETS

STIVEN 26/5/91.

(304A)

# CHURCH PTAN

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE government and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday swept aside an attempt by church leaders to convene a peace conference under neutral auspices.

They indicated at the government's summit on violence at the CSIR in Pretoria that they would not attend a conference proposed by the so-called Rustenburg group of churches.

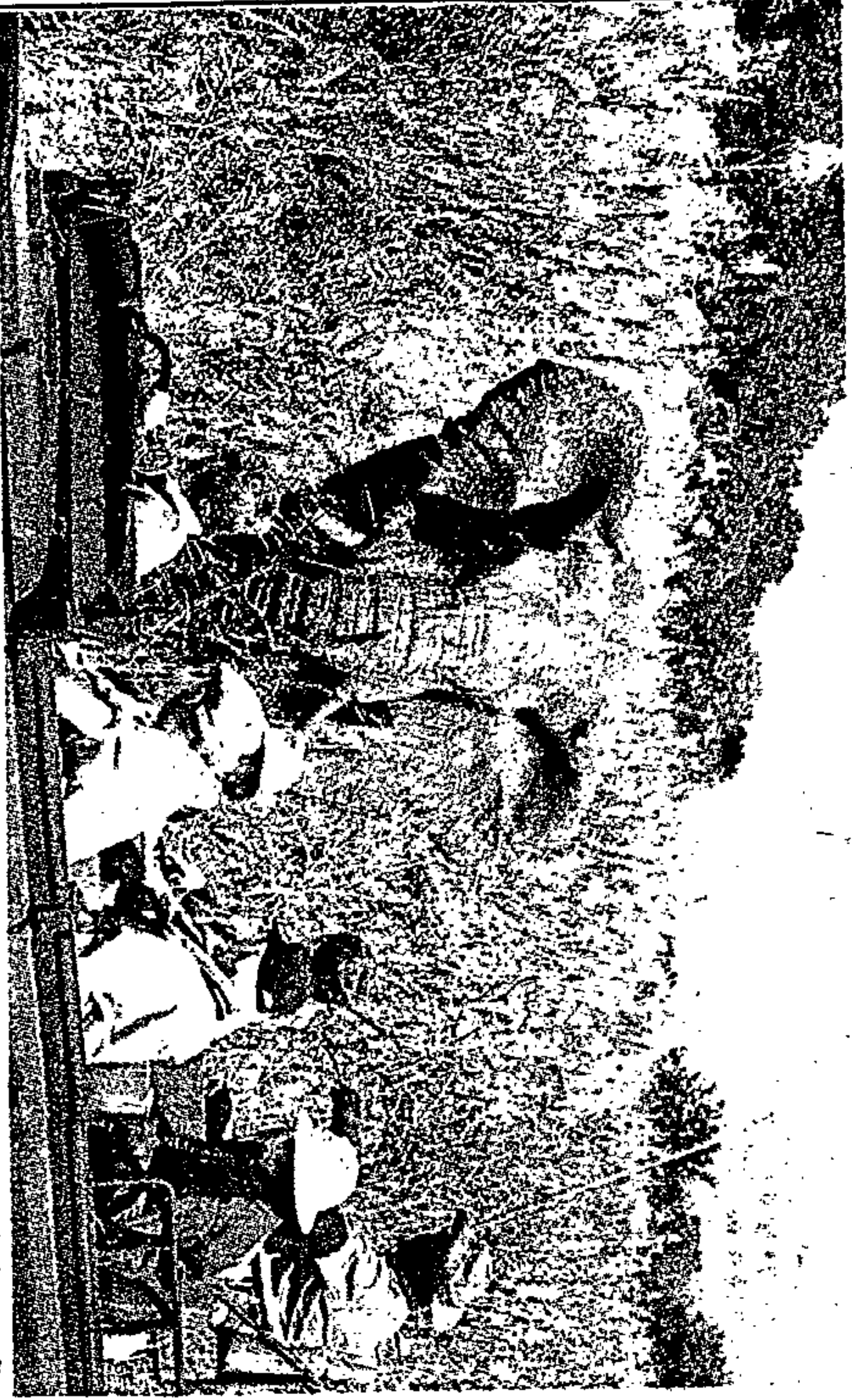
The offer was made by Professor Johan Heyns, a former NG Kerk moderator.

In its place the conference proposed a "continuation committee" which will try to find ways to end the violence.

The committee will be made up of Inkatha, the National Party, business representatives and church leaders. Organisations which did not attend the conference — the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, CP, Cosatu and SACC — will not be included.

Another "facilitating" committee will attempt to start dialogue with the parties that were not present. President De Klerk will appoint the members. Dr Louw Alberts has been nominated for that committee.

President De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a conference in the future, but he said the general consensus had been to "get on with



WATCH the elephant, not the bird... the president's party sit tensely as the bull gets into a flap

Picture Exclusive: The moment Maggie and the president faced an angry old tusker and ended up laughing about it

## Unbustly Embeth wins movie role





The committee will be made up of Inkatha, the National Party, business representatives and church leaders. Organisations which did not attend the conference — the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, CP, Cosatu and SACC — will not be included.

Another "facilitating" committee will attempt to start dialogue with the parties that were not present. President De Klerk will appoint the members. Dr Louw Alberts has been nominated for that committee.

President De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a conference in the future, but he said the general consensus had been to "get on with the nitty gritty" of ending violence.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the central committee of Inkatha would have to decide whether to participate in the Rustenburg group conference — but he was opposed to it.

## Gained

President De Klerk, summing up the two-day conference, said the government recognised the importance of the church in reconciliation and in the quest for peace.

The full committee of the Rustenburg conference — churches from a wide range of denominations which gained their name from an important reconciliation meeting at Rustenburg last year — will meet to discuss moves for peace in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Members of the group have been in close contact with all the parties involved. Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church has been negotiating with Chief Buthelezi, the Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Professor Heyns with President De Klerk.

The church leaders took the initiative after the ANC, PAC and other major political players refused to attend the government's peace summit in Pretoria.

"It is completely futile to carry on without other parties here," Professor Heyns told the summit on Friday.

In an emotional speech yesterday, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate rejected the Rustenburg conference, saying future peace summits were meaningless.

Mr De Klerk said the government was bound to a policy of impartial, lawful and professional policing and was prepared to accept the monitoring of police activities.

## Tolerate

The government did not want to be a political player and referee simultaneously. The government's task was to ensure effective administration and maintenance of the law.

Mr De Klerk said no government could tolerate unauthorised militias operating within its borders. The government would act firmly against any such development.

He also said the government regarded itself as bound to agreements already reached — a clear reference to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes — and expected others to do the same.

"Violence is the scourge from our troubled past," he said. "We dare not allow it to continue to reap its deadly harvest. We dare not become mesmerised by it. We must bring it to an end."

Delegates expressed

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# FW rejects propos

SITime 26/5/91

From Page 1

concern yesterday that the proceedings had been taken up with sabre-rattling, political posturing and maligning absent organisations.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin, who was booed when he censured speakers for failing to focus on the issue of achieving peace, said it was clear that another conference should be convened by an impartial group.

Idasa co-director Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert said it was important not to foreclose the process of bargaining.

"The issue of violence is crucial for making progress — that is why this

type of conference and any others in future have to be taken seriously," he said.

"All parties suspect one another of playing politics with peace — it serves no purpose to restate these prejudices at a conference of this nature. We cannot waste time with tub-thumping, outbidding or one-upmanship."

While he supported ideas such as peace secretariats and codes of conduct for police and political parties as put forward over the previous two days, Dr Slabbert warned against accepting proposals which came before negotiations.

● A massive Inkatha rally, presided over by Zulu royalty, planned for

Soweto's First National Bank Stadium today is creating tensions. Chief Buthelezi said yesterday he had heard that attacks on the rally were being planned, but he had been assured by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that rally-goers would be protected.

Meanwhile, a senior Inkatha official has accused members of harassing and assaulting non-Zulu train commuters travelling between Johannesburg and Soweto.

This had to stop, Stezi Lamula, chairman of the IFP's Mapetla branch, told an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Johannesburg's George Goch Stadium this week.

Mr. Lamula said he was aware that certain members were dragging the name of Inkatha "further and further into the mud" — something that could not be tolerated.

# NP could outvote LP on land reform

CAPE TOWN — Should the NP manage to wrest control of the House of Representatives from the Labour Party (LP) before Thursday, it will have removed the only real obstacle in Parliament to the land reform legislation, expected to be voted on on that day.

The NP is 13 members away from a majority in the coloured house after nine LP MPs resigned on Friday and indicated their intention to join the NP.

Another spate of defections is expected today or tomorrow. Those who resigned on Friday are confident that the NP, which qualifies as the official opposition in the house after winning the support of 21 LP MPs, will be in control of the house by Wednesday.

If this happens, the NP will have effectively removed the only real obstacle in Parliament to much of the reform legislation it has to pass this year to convince foreign governments, particularly the US, that its reform process is on track.

Significantly, the land reform legislation, which the majority LP rejected after a committee meeting last week, will be voted on on Thursday, the day after the LP

is expected to lose its majority.

It was LP rejection which forced then acting President Pik Botha to refer the controversial Post Office Amendment Bill to the President's Council for a decision earlier in the session — a move which drew criticism that Parliament was being used as a rubber stamp.

Last week, the LP threatened to oppose the Vat Bill because of the tax on municipal and other services which would affect the pockets of the poor. It was placated at the 11th hour when Finance Minister Barend du Plessis promised to address the areas of concern.

Friday's resignations brought the number of NP members in the 85-member Coloured house to 30 and reduced the LP's numbers to 50. There are five independents in the house, four of whose support sources say the NP could rely on.

This means that to win majority control, the NP needs the support of nine more LP members.

But, an LP spokesman contested this on Friday, saying the NP was unlikely to win the majority this week.

Both President F W de Klerk and Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers indicated last week that they were expecting more LP members to sign up.

It is understood that a number of MPs in the House of Delegates are keen to follow their counterparts but the NP is said to be wary of taking on board members of the "politically volatile" house.

● See Page 6

LESLEY LAMBERT



**F**OR the first time in the National Party's 76-year history, those attending next Thursday's parliamentary caucus meeting will not all be classified white. The tricameral system is of passing relevance, but it is still a momentous occasion for the NP.

The gathering will be a large one. President F W de Klerk, his 103 white MPs and 35 President's Counsellors will be joined by some 30 coloured MPs and President's Counsellors. The number will probably have grown by Thursday as more defect to the NP from Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, and small independent parties.

The caucus meeting will be unusual for other reasons.

Unless the stream of defectors has already become a flood strong enough to sweep Hendrickse from power in the coloured House of Representatives, De Klerk's new band of loyal Nationalists will not all have a say in running the country.

**H**is caucus will consist of white MPs in government and coloured ones at least temporarily in opposition. It is a strange position for a ruling party.

It will be even stranger for Hendrickse, long-standing Labour leader who has spent most of his life in opposition to the NP and may soon find himself reduced to an opposition leader in the House of Representatives he has dominated since its inception in 1984.

The sudden rush to join the NP is one of the final ironies of the apartheid era. The NP threw the country into constitutional turmoil in the 1950s because of its determination to deprive coloured people of the vote, having done that by packing the Senate to form the High Court of Parliament, it then set about depriving coloured people of their homes under the Group Areas Act.

It was not just the evictions from District Six, coloured families were shunted out of Kenilworth, Claremont, Newlands, Wynberg and other Cape Town suburbs, and from numerous towns across the country. The scars run deep, as Hendrickse himself will testify, but it is these

# FW's land reforms give his NP the keys to two Houses

B10cm  
2-15/91

MICHAEL ACOTT

people or their descendants who are joining the party that made those laws and is now repealing them; that is sorry for what it did but will not say so.

The spark for Thursday's historic caucus meeting was the NP's decision earlier this year to open its doors to all races; the reasons for the development are more complex.

When NP provincial congresses approved the end of whites-only membership last year, they were looking at ridding themselves of a racist label and at tentative steps towards accepting black, coloured and Indian members.

They did not expect a rush, and were not then contemplating coloured MPs. The NP believed firmly in the tricameral Parliament, which puts white, coloured and Indian MPs in separate chambers and in charge of racially separate administrations for "own affairs" such as education, housing, agriculture, health and local government.

Once the NP's doors were open, the Labour split was precipitated by a number of factors. The "own affairs" system is crumbling together with apartheid, Hendrickse's party was obstructing the passage of legislation and coloured MPs were attracted by possibilities ranging from helping to build a post-apartheid SA to the inducements of lucrative

office in a new House of Representatives administration.

The NP maintains that it has done nothing to entice the coloured MPs to join, that Labour was founded on opposition to apartheid and as apartheid goes, the party is losing its glue.

That may be at least partly true, but Hendrickse has long been a thorn in government's flesh; it supported him only because he helped give credibility to its tricameral system, and now appears ready to dump him. There is little point in precipitating the break, only to be left with an

opposition party in the House of Representatives. The objective must be to get enough of the 85 coloured MPs (80 elected and five nominated) to take over the administration. It is not only possible, but likely in the near future.

Hendrickse's previous co-operation with a Nationalist government was as one of the Labour leaders in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, one of apartheid's "toy telephones". Labour went into the CRC, as it went into the House of Representatives, maintaining that its objective was to do something for coloured people and to bring down the apartheid system.

Labour brought down the CRC by refusing to pass the council's budget; in the House of Representatives it has refused to endorse apartheid legislation. It went further this year, boycotting committees to slow the parliamentary process, delaying the VAT Bill and raising objections to the measure providing for Post Office corporatisation.

The final straw for the NP has been the threat to delay repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts because Labour says some racist provisions would remain.

The NP would certainly not object to a more amenable administration in the House of Representatives, whether it sought the present situation after receiving a few cautious

approaches is open to debate.

The coloured chamber has not been as riven by disputes as the Indian House of Delegates, where control has changed hands. Hendrickse has remained comfortably in command, but there has been a succession of minor breakaways by Labour MPs accusing him of nepotism and dictatorial ways.

This time the break is serious, involving both opposition and Labour members looking to form a new coloured administration. They will face inevitable jibes about a gravy train, that they were motivated by a desire for jobs and not by conviction.

The jobs are there: 24 of them at additional income, from five Ministers' Council posts carrying ministerial salaries to chairmanships and whips' posts.

Once the NP controls the House of Representatives as well as the white House of Assembly, and starts accepting applications from Indian MPs in the House of Delegates, the "own affairs" system is in jeopardy even before it goes with the introduction of a new constitution.

**T**he coloured and Indian chambers lack nationwide legitimacy; their members were sent to Parliament in often tiny percentage polls after boycotted elections. The "own affairs" system is a triplicated, inefficient and expensive bureaucracy. When white Nats run white affairs, coloured Nats run coloured affairs and Indian Nats join the party caucus, the tricameral system's careful divisions along racial lines will become superfluous.

The system is widely mocked and accused of being irrelevant; that argument would be made with more force if the NP ran the House of Representatives. But at least the influence of some of those on apartheid's receiving end, previously brought to bear in Parliament's corridors and committees, would be felt inside the government caucus.

The NP has acknowledged the idiosyncrasy and unworkability of its apartheid past. It may soon, by its own doing, have to make the same admission about its present.

That would be another welcome step towards the new SA it has promised.



□ HENDRICKSE



# Churches step in to help save FW's summit

## On track for peace

30414

CT 27/5/91

**PRETORIA. — The peace process is still on track with the churches due to launch a major initiative today.**

The churches' plan hopes to bring together all parties involved in the violence.

President F W de Klerk's peace summit, which ended on Saturday, was boycotted by key organisations such as the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

However, the summit agreed that a continuation committee be set up comprising representatives from the churches, business, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) attending the conference.

Alongside this, another independent one-man consultative committee, headed by Dr Louw Alberts, would start dialogue with parties that boycotted the summit in an attempt to forge a "fully representative forum" that would negotiate proposals. Once this was achieved the continuation committee would disband.

Mr De Klerk took personal responsibility to ensure

that the facilitating mechanisms created to draw all parties into the peace process succeeded. He said after the summit that he had decided "to lay my head on the line" when he saw there was going to be difficulty in setting up a facilitating group.

The ANC yesterday welcomed this proposal and said the peace process was back on track.

Although the ANC boycotted the summit it was in agreement that the outcome, a fully representative forum to be established through negotiation and consultation, was the route towards addressing the continuing violence.

A senior ANC national executive committee member said the process envisaged by the summit dovetailed closely with what the ANC had proposed.

While all parties at the summit and the ANC agreed that the forum had to be pursued with urgency, they said it would be conducted at a much lower profile and had to be handled with much sensitivity. A senior government source yesterday said Mr De Klerk had come to realise that consultation was essential.

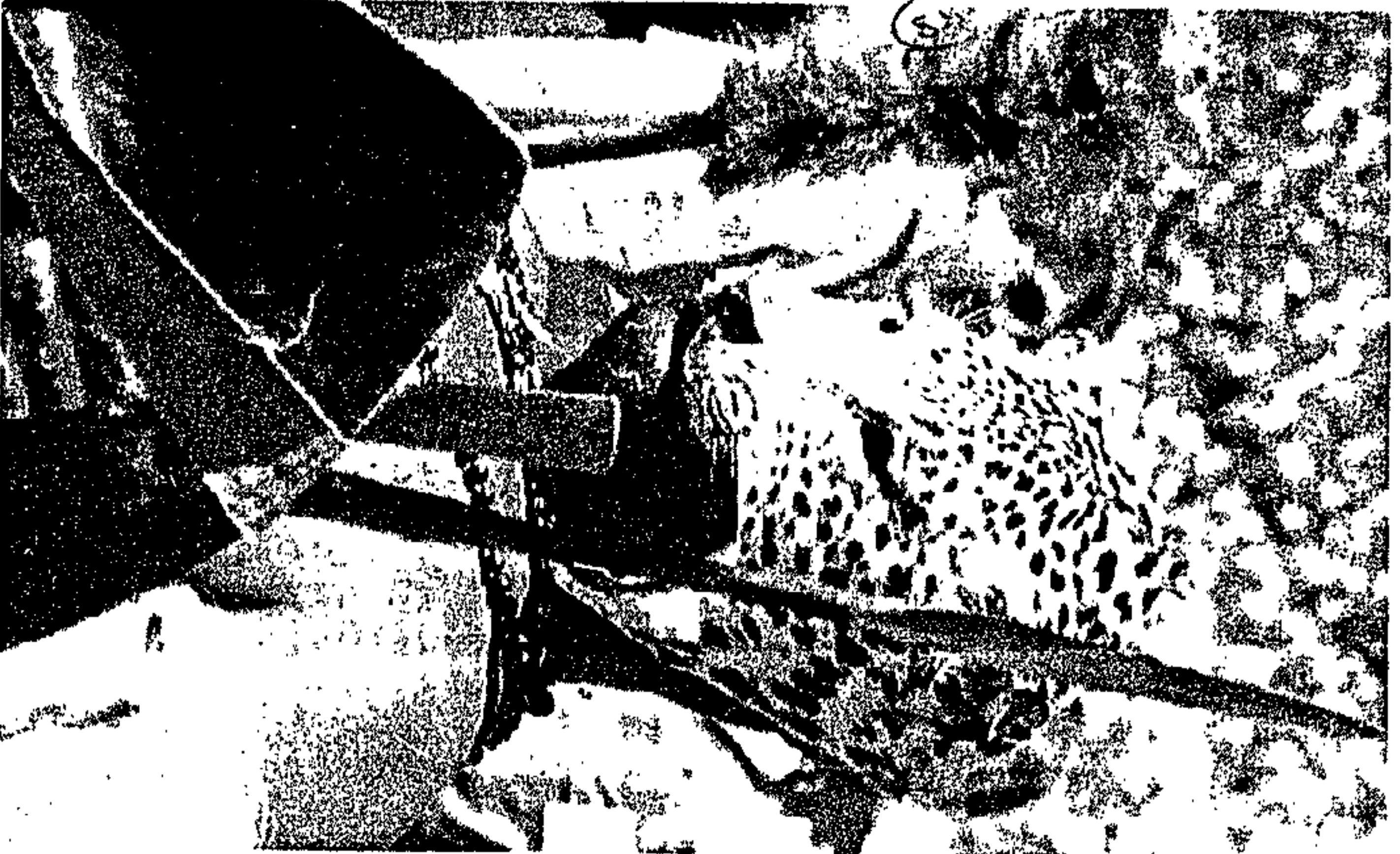
The summit's key proposal on continuing the pursuit of peace came after "sabre rattling" on Friday.

This was followed by intense behind-the-scenes lobbying on Saturday to head off confrontation between different initiatives to get another super-conference going. The result was Mr De Klerk's mandate from the delegates to set up the new "facilitating mechanisms".

According to senior sources within the Rustenburg group of clerics, today's churches meeting is a sequel to work started last Wednesday as the SACC and affiliated clerics representing the Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Jewish and Muslim communities finally declined an invitation to Mr De Klerk's summit.

Main players in the "bridging initiative" started on Wednesday are understood to have been former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns, backed by the SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane, and

To page 2



**ZULU WARRIOR . . .** A Zulu elder clad in a leopard-skin mask parades at yesterday's Inkatha rally which was held just outside Soweto. ● King's plea for peace — Page 2

Picture: AP



# Now the Nats are poised to oust Rajbansi

3047

CT 27/5/91

## Political Staff

MR. Amichand Rajbansi and his National People's Party should soon be ousted by the National Party as the official opposition in the House of Delegates.

Sources from the Indian House said the NP, already poised to take control of the House of Representatives, has attracted considerable interest from HOD MPs.

NP ambitions apparently do not extend to taking control from Dr J N Reddy's ruling Solidarity Party.

The NP has made little secret, in the future surrounding the developments in the HOD, of its desire to ensure stability in the tricameral Parliament. According to the sources the NP is happy to allow Solidarity to

continue in power as, unlike the HOD's ruling Labour Party, it has shown little inclination to block legislation or resist government policy.

Mr Rajbansi and his supporters.

The NP Natal leader, Mr George Bartlett, said the party was not actually canvassing for HOD members. "I don't think we are actually trying to do that (take over the official Opposition)." But he had been approached by a "number of chaps interested in joining the NP".

"Certainly the number that have spoken to me would not constitute an official opposition," Mr Bartlett said. He had been informed of others who were interested.

Mr Rajbansi's NPP has seven members and it is unlikely any would move. Also among the opposition are five independents, four Merit People's Party members, three from the Democratic Party and one from the People's Party of SA. Solidarity has 25 MPs.

According to the sources, the independents and the four MPP members are among those most likely to join the NP.

The independents are Durban Bay MP Mr A G V Naidoo, Dr M S Padayachy, Mr Samaru Pachai (Natal Midlands), Mr P C Nadasen (Allandale) and Mr Yacoub Baig (Moorcroft).

It is understood that Mr Naidoo, respected within government ranks for his academic background and his contribution to economic debates, has been involved in negotiations with the NP. Yesterday, however, he declined to comment.

The sources indicated that another who may be interested in joining is HOD chairman Mr Salam Abram Mayat, the sole PPSA representative in the House.

Should all those join, there would be 10 NP MPs in the HOD, enough to give them official opposition status.

## DP drive for <sup>2-11-1991</sup> <sup>Argus</sup> members to make party relevant <sup>304A</sup>

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is seeking to extend its support base into all communities to make the party relevant at grassroots level.

This was among the major points discussed at the party's Cape Western region congress at the weekend.

New chairman of the region, Pinelands MP Mr Jasper Walsh said in a statement: "With the beginning of the transition to normal politics, we believe that it is now appropriate to begin recruiting members actively and to extend our support base into all communities.

"We are determined to make our guiding principle of equal human dignity, personal freedom and the rule of law relevant to the needs and aspirations of the much broader electorate of the new South Africa.

"We are determined to make the Democratic Party relevant at grassroots level. Unlike the National Party we will build the party from the bottom up."

Mr Walsh said the DP had a role to play in building a new South Africa "and will go out energetically but with sensitivity to build membership and support" among all sections of the population.

He said the weekend congress "confirmed our commitment to promoting our values, to working towards the establishment of a broad-based, non-racial democratic coalition of the centre and to continuing our work of interaction and consultation with political organisations to determine common values and to seek common strategies".



# SA to return in full splendour

LONDON — South Africa's new ambassador to Britain, Mr Kent Durr, is scheduled to present his credentials to Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace early next month in what amounts to a "post-apartheid" return to the full splendour of this ceremony.

Officials at the Palace and South Africa House unable to confirm but indicated that Mr Durr, as South Africa's representative to the Court of St James, would travel in the Queen's horse-drawn coach from outside the embassy to the palace.

The return for South Africa to the full traditional splendour surrounding the presentation of credentials will be in marked contrast to the subdued ceremonies laid on for his recent predecessors. In 1987, the ceremony for former ambassador, Mr Rae Killen, cut back and changed. — Sapa.

# Group areas, land debate starts today

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

AN historic debate begins in parliament today on the demolition of some of apartheid's firmest pillars, the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

Four days have been set aside for the fiercely divisive debate. *Argus 27/5/91*

Bitterly controversial at home, the repeal of the much-hated property apartheid also has deep significance abroad.

The outcome will have a direct bearing on sanctions.

If the government is to make the desired impact abroad, it must, as President De Klerk has promised, get rid of the laws before the end of this parliamentary session.

The prospect of a hitch has been raised by the Labour Party's decision to block the all-embracing Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill and force the President to send the legislation to the President's Council, where approval is guaranteed.

Labour supports the repeal of the Land and Group Areas Acts, but rejects the special clause written into this compromise Bill providing for the maintenance of "norms and standards" in suburbs.

This, the LP says, amounts to economic apartheid and it

says the clause is unnecessary because there are already sufficient by-laws to ensure residential standards.

The Democratic Party, while giving notice that it will support the Bill, says the provision for "norms and standards" is unworkable.

Another new element of the compromise repeal Bill is the establishment of an advisory committee, which, among other things, will hear claims from victims of apartheid seeking land or property reparations.

Expectations are that the committee will be so snowed under it will barely be able to meet demands for redress.

On the right, the government faces a storm or protest.

Fears of the expropriation or confiscation of farms and other property, and the Conservative Party view that the repeal of the laws pre-empts constitutional negotiations, have generated stiff rightwing opposition.

Outside parliament there has also been strong opposition. One of the most influential opponents, the Urban Foundation, has been strongly critical and wants to see the government put all development aspects of the repeal measures on hold until a process of wide consultation has determined the best way of going about it.



tee. The continuation committee would systemise the proposals that emerged from the conference while the second committee would facilitate dialogue and negotiations between the continuation committee and groups that were not present.

Proposals to emerge from the conference included codes of conduct for political parties and for the security forces.

The code of conduct for political parties should address the need to avoid militant attitudes and what constituted acceptable and unacceptable political behaviour.

The conference gave its support for the proposed Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence, which has been rejected by the ANC on the grounds that it is not independent.

Chief Buthelezi's proposal for a peace secretariat received widespread support. Such a secretariat should be funded by the State, and its independence should be guaranteed.

On the involvement of extra-parliamentary groups in the process, consensus was reached that they had an essential role to play.

Another proposal was that leaders of all political groups deal with the issue of violence in peace forums. These forums would be convened by officials of the peace secretariat.

It was further proposed that a conference on the youth should be called by the youth to identify the causes of and the solutions to violence.

A workshop on youth and training also proposed that buildings in townships be used as literacy schools.

# Peace process a task for all, delegates agree

By Esther Waugh  
Political Staff  
24/5/91

It is impossible not to consider what progress would have been made at the Government's Conference on Violence and Intimidation had all political parties and groups attended the talks.

Undoubtedly, the results have been seriously affected by the decision of political groups on the Left and the Right to boycott the peace talks.

At best, as it turned out, only proposals on ending the violence could have emerged. The process has been seriously delayed by the fact that these proposals now have to be negotiated and agreed to by all parties.

The Government, however, stressed before the start of the conference that it was only the beginning of the process to end the violence and that no firm decisions could be taken.

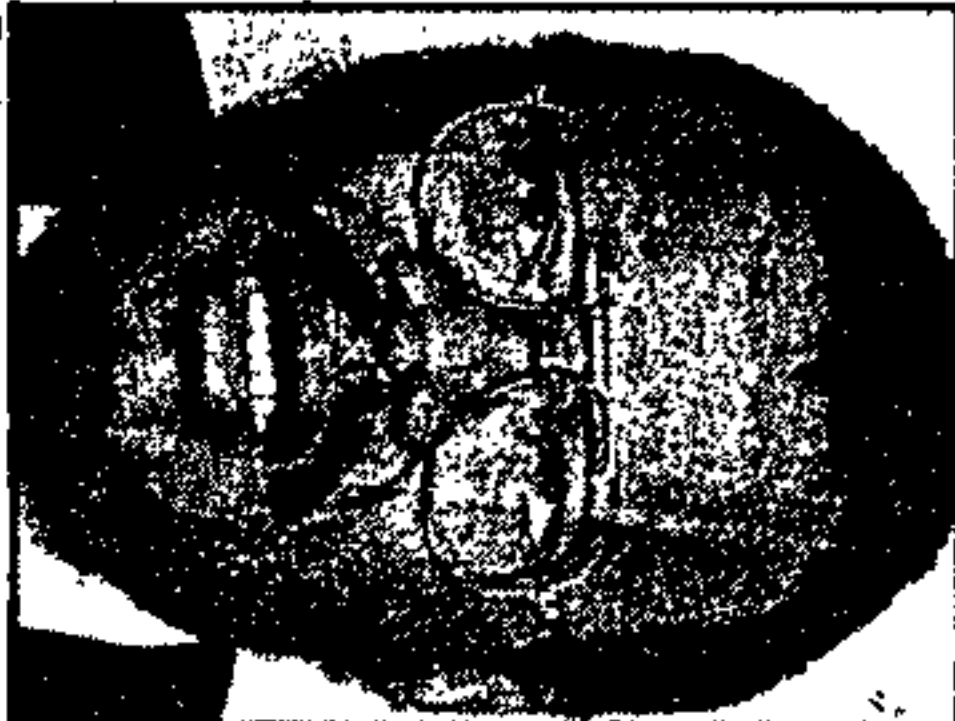
## Negotiations

Former Ned Geref Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns said the conference was "only a promise, not a fulfilment" — a view echoed by many delegates.

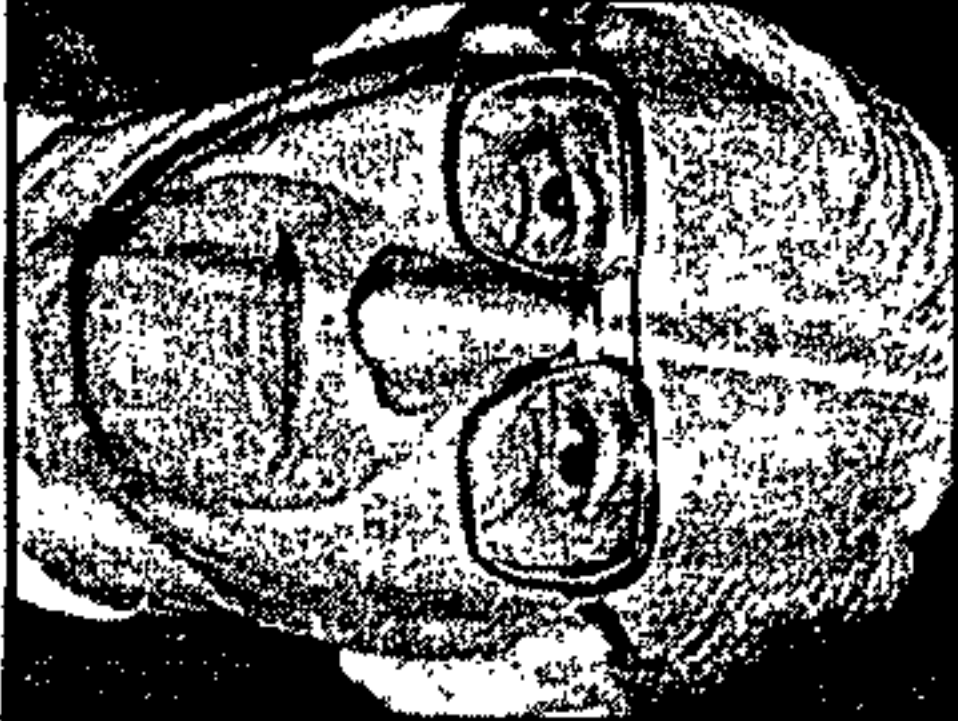
Several delegates, including President de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it was a pity everyone did not attend.

After the conference, Mr de Klerk said the meeting had laid the foundation for fully representative co-operation — not through co-optation, but through dialogue and negotiations.

"I want to appeal to all those not represented here to make themselves available for such dialogue and negotiations. We



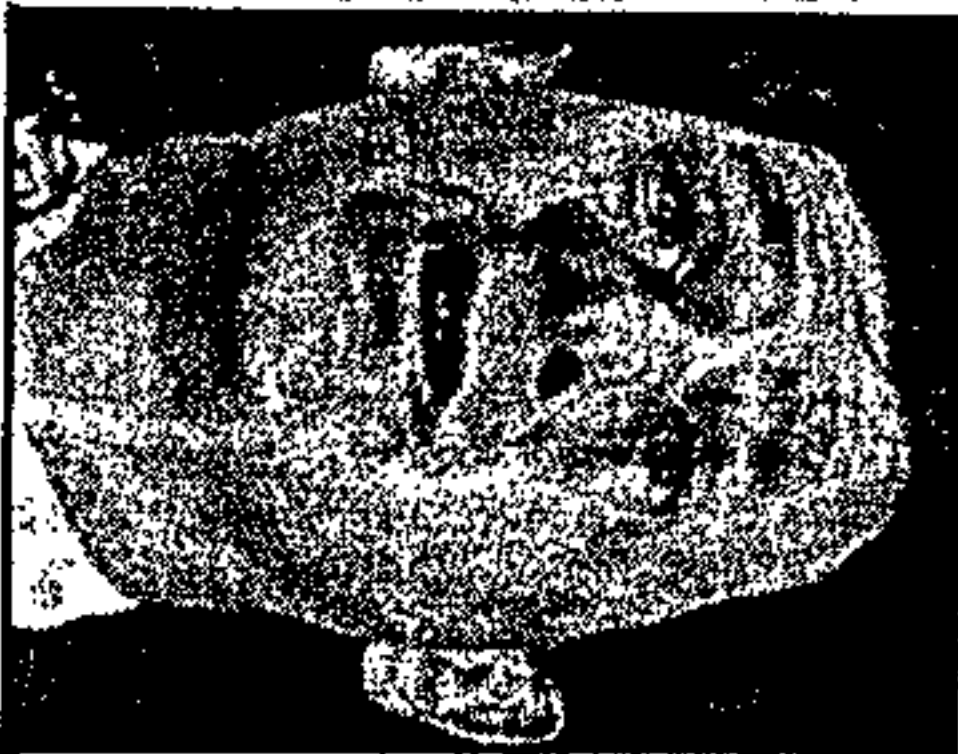
Buthelezi... ANC must remain part of negotiations.



Heyns... a promise, not a fulfilment.



De Klerk... we need each other to attain peace.



Slabbert... reject one-upmanship.

all need each other if peace is to be attained and if violence is to be curbed and finally stopped," the President said.

The first open session ended with little promise and with several delegates describing it as "a satellite tricameral Parliament in Pretoria".

Some of the bashing of organisations not present led several delegates, including Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Curran and Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, to make mention of it in their speeches.

Mr de Klerk and Dr Viljoen stressed it was not the Government's intention that the conference should be used as a platform to bash or gang up on those not there.

## Tub-thumping

The degree of success depended on the inclusivity of the conference.

"All parties suspect each other of playing politics with peace — it serves no purpose to restate these prejudices when we come to conferences of this nature. We cannot waste time with tub-thumping, moral/racial outbidding, or one-upmanship," said Dr Slabbert.

He added that the chairman had to protect all speakers with equal dispassion and that proposals should not be expected which predated negotiation.

The conference accepted two mechanisms which illustrated the ongoing nature of the peace process: a continuation committee and a facilitator committee.

# How the initiative will work

8 Oct 27/54

The conference decided on two mechanisms to continue the initiative.

They are a continuation committee and a facilitating committee.

Delegates proposed that the continuation committee, which would 'transform words into deeds', be comprised of five members - former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns, one representative each from the SA Chamber of Business and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, as well as a representative each from the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

## Boycott

It was also decided to appoint CSIR chairman Dr Louw Alberts as a facilitator between the continuation committee and groups which did not attend the peace summit.

President de Klerk said the conference would not ask groups which boycotted the talks to become part of the continuation committee, as this would amount to co-option.

The facilitating committee would not be playing a role on behalf of the Government but only for the continuation committee, as the Government had opened channels of communication with those involved.

Referring to the deployment of the two committees, Mr de Klerk said the first priority was to finalise their composition, but the one need not wait for the finalisation of the other to begin its duties.



**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:** Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I would just like to make it clear that the Department of Education and Culture did not at any stage object to the Lata Mangeshkar Show coming to South Africa.

**THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE:** Order! That concludes the questions arising from question 3.

**Cato Manor: undeveloped land**

\*4. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

- (1) Whether he recently paid a visit to Cato Manor in order to decide on the future of the undeveloped land there; if so, (a) when, (b) with whom did he meet and (c) what was decided;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D172E

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING** (for the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing):

- (1) On request of the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing I paid a visit to Cato Manor.
- (a) 14 May 1991.
- (b) I held a meeting with representatives of:

Administration: House of Delegates  
Administration: House of Assembly  
Natal Provincial Administration  
Development and Housing Board  
Westville Town Council  
Durban City Council  
Minister Y Moolia MP, Mr C J van R Botha, Administrator of Natal, Mr V A Volker MEC and Dr D S Rajah MEC were amongst those who attended the meeting.

- (c) During the visit to Cato Manor it was decided that all relevant facts and inputs which have an effect on the development of the Greater Cato Manor Area be identified with specific reference to vested rights and interest of all parties concerned. This action is being co-ordinated by a Chief Director of our Department in deliberation with officials of the De-

partment of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing and the Office for Regional Development in co-operation with officials of the Natal Provincial Administration the Administration: House of Delegates, as well as the city councils of Durban and Westville.

A complete report will be submitted to the Minister and subject to his approval, the recommendations will be discussed with all the role players. At this point in time it is already clear that the problem regarding squatters in the area is a short term issue that should be given urgent attention.

- (2) No.

Mr M RAJAB: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, could he please tell hon members of this House when it is estimated the report will be completed.

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING:** Mr Chairman, I can give the hon member for Springfield the assurance that my instructions to our Chief Director were to complete it sooner rather than later. I sincerely hope that we will have a report on the matter within the next fortnight.

**Single-sex hostels: conversion**

\*5. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) Whether the State President assigned to her Department the task of co-ordinating a programme to convert single-sex hostels into family units; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner;
  - (2) whether her Department has now completed this programme; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it expected that the programme will be completed; if so,
  - (3) whether she will make a public announcement on this programme; if not, why not; if so, when;
  - (4) whether she will make a statement on the matter? D173E
- THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:**
- (1) No;
  - (2), (3) and (4) fall away.

**Own Affairs:**

**Chairman of the Ministers' Council:**

**Ministerial Representatives: Inefficiency**

\*1. Mr P PADAYCHEE asked the Chairman of the Ministers' Council:

- (1) Whether, in view of the statement made by the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services in this House on 13 May 1991 in regard to the inefficiency of the Ministerial Representatives, he will take the necessary steps to (a) have them replaced or (b) have their posts abolished; if not, why not, if so, (i) what steps and (ii) when;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D167E

**THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL:**

- (1) (a) No.
- (b) No. At the outset I wish to inform you that the Minister cannot terminate the services of Ministerial Representatives as this is the prerogative of the State President.

While it is true that Minister Raman Bhana expressed his personal frustrations in regard to the functions of the Ministerial Representatives, the Ministers' Council has no intention whatsoever of recommending to the State President the scrapping of these posts.

The Ministers' Council regularly reviews the functions and performance of our Ministerial Representatives and is satisfied that they are discharging their responsibilities within the guidelines laid down for the performance of their duties.

- (i) Falls away.
- (ii) Falls away.

- (2) No.

Mr M RAJAB: Mr Chairman, arising from the reply of the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, will he concede that it appears to be the general consensus in this particular House that

these Ministerial Representatives should, in fact, be axed?

**THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL:** Mr Chairman, it is not a question of the feeling of hon members in this House. A provision for Ministerial Representatives is part of parliamentary requirements and these people have been appointed, as in other Houses in Parliament. This is why I do not know why aspersions are regularly cast in this House on the functioning of Ministerial Representatives. I think it is totally unfair.

**THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION:** Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, especially his last two sentences, is it not correct that the question of the creation and the filling of the posts of Ministerial Representatives was regularly criticised by his party?

**THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL:** Mr Chairman, that is possible, but it is a fact that these posts exist and they have to be filled.

Mr P PADAYCHEE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, has he sacked the previous Ministerial Representatives and does he have the power to recommend that the hon the State President do so?

**THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL:** Mr Chairman, when this party came into power, we carried out the provisions and rules of this House and appointed Ministerial Representatives. They were members of our party, but there was nothing to hide. The same applies to the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly.

**Ministers:**

**Indian family in Kranskop: land expropriated**

- \*1. **THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION** asked the Minister of Housing:
- (1) Whether his Department has received representations in respect of the return of land expropriated in terms of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, from an Indian family in Kranskop, Natal; if so, (a) what is the name of the family and (b) what is the extent of the land involved;



# Whites are a precious asset

THOSE who are playing the major roles in shaping the new South Africa could do worse than to keep before them the accompanying graph.

Indeed, it would not be a bad idea if the graph's significance could be brought home also to those who are now promoting violence in South Africa.

The graph shows how very much wealthier South Africa is than any other African country, even Nigeria, the big, populous oil-rich state that is often referred to as the Giant of Africa.

By the same token it shows what South Africans have got which is worth cherishing and protecting in this impoverished and declining continent.

It shows what has been threatened by sanctions and what is being put at risk by the present political upheaval and violence

## Slicing up SA wealth pie could be disastrous

Sowetan Correspondent

and what would be put at risk in the future by the introduction of bad political and economic systems.

It shows what could be destroyed by an unrestrained contest for political power in South Africa.

It gives an indication of the wealth that could be spread more fairly among all South Africans by better systems than those that have prevailed in the past, and that could be expanded by sane systems.

Conversely, it gives an idea of the levels to which

South Africa might be reduced by political upheaval and instability.

What made South Africa the richest and strongest country in Africa and why has no other African country matched it?

### Answers

The answers to these questions lie in defining the wealth and examining where it comes from.

It comes partly from mineral resources that exceed anything in any other African country.

The possession of these resources is sheer luck, but the efficiency of

their exploitation was not.

If the productivity of a country is measured by the competitiveness of its products in international markets then it must be said that South Africa's wealth comes in part from the exploitation of cheap black labour.

But this is only one factor and certainly not the main one in the generation of the country's wealth.

To some extent it comes also from the political stability the apartheid regime was able to maintain before it was weakened by international sanctions and domestic opposition.

Perhaps more than anything else, South Africa's wealth - certainly its ability to grow wealthier - comes from its free market system and the relative absence of central control of the economy.

It comes from the freedom given to entrepreneurs to seize and exploit opportunities, to take risks and to use imaginative and innovative approaches to creating wealth and to respond creatively to the demands of the only place where real wealth has ever been generated: the marketplace.

In other words, South Africa's wealth comes

from the incentives provided by capitalism and from the skills that capitalism appears to have been able to generate better than any other ideology.

Arguments about whether the wealth could be more fairly distributed in a free market system may be decided in and around the negotiations that will hopefully create the new South Africa.

But if the lessons to be learned from Africa's experience are applied in those discussions, the negotiations will immediately veer away from the popular concept of wealth as something so concrete and permanent that it can be sliced up like a pie and shared out.

### Water

African countries that tried to slice up the wealth pie after independence found that it cannot be done because redistributing wealth is like trying to slice water.

They found - or some of their economists did - that wealth is not always rigidly definable but must be seen as a plastic thing that swells and shrinks with changes in the economic temperature.

Or as a living organism that flourishes only in political stability and freedom of enterprise and which must be nourished by effort and production.

Or as a substance as fragile as human confidence and vulnerable to being shattered by violence and political excesses.

### Cattle

It was found that wealth can be defined in the short term in currency units, cattle, land or personal possessions but that these are all subject to fluctuation and that in the long term wealth can perhaps best be defined as the creation and exploitation of economic opportunities in a climate of political stability.

The experience of Africa dictates that when efforts are made to redistribute South Africa's wealth in the post-apartheid era the emphasis should be put not so much on re-slicing existing pies but on expanding opportunities for the creation of wealth.

That way everyone would stand a better chance of becoming richer, even though it might not happen overnight.

Africa's experience demonstrates the crucial importance of skills in creating wealth.

To a very large extent - perhaps the largest extent - South Africa is richer than other African countries because it has more skills and entrepreneurial experience than any other country in Africa.

### Skills

That these skills derive largely from white South Africa's connections with Europe is a matter of historic association rather than racism (although the whites' failure to share those skills more fully with the blacks is a matter of racism).

Countries like Japan, Switzerland, Denmark and Mauritius have demonstrated it is not raw materials that create wealth so much as human attitudes and skills.

The devastating effect of the withdrawal of skills has nowhere been more dramatically demonstrated than in Mozambique, where the economy collapsed after the flight of the Portuguese.

### Damage

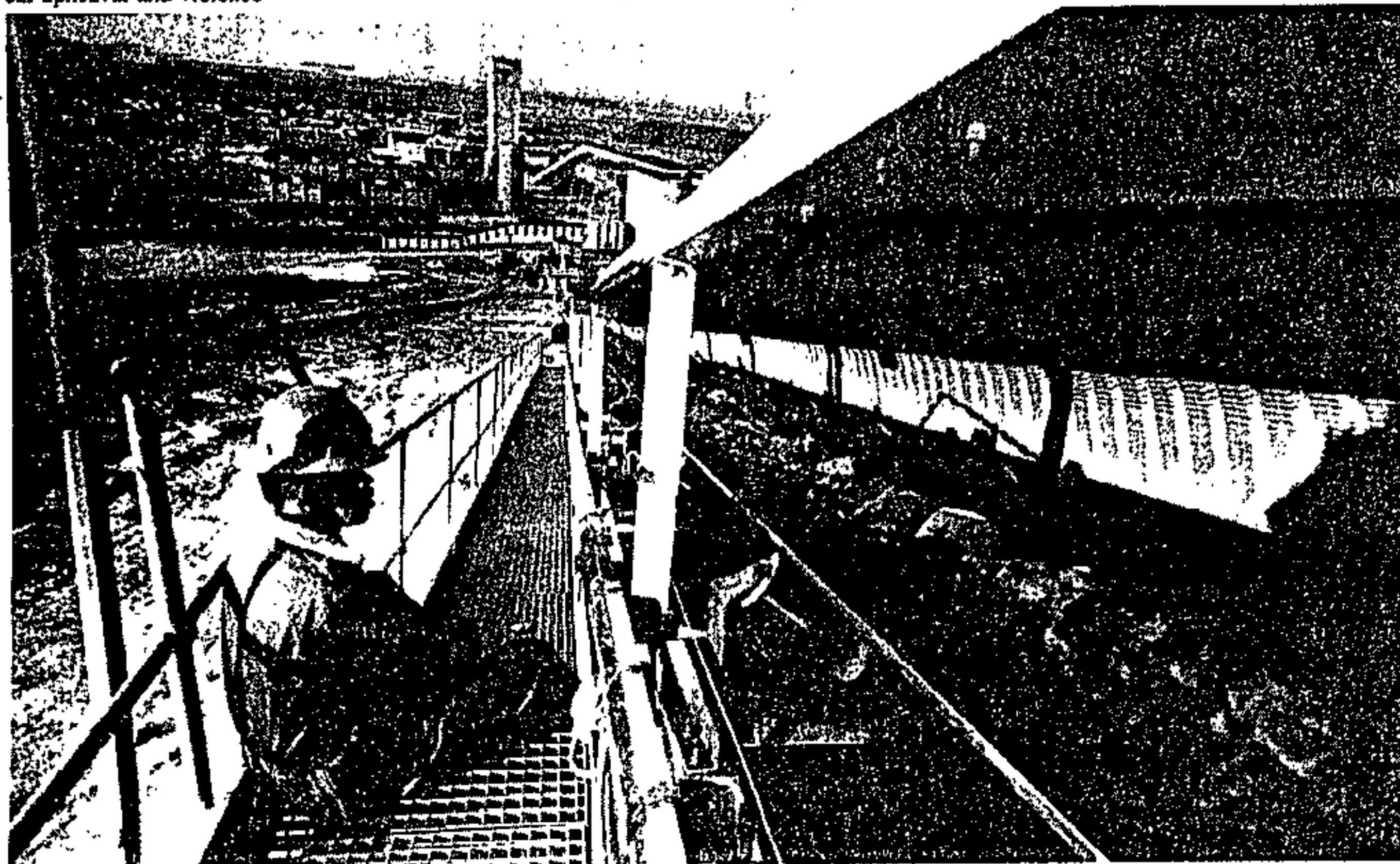
The resulting damage was even greater than that done by the civil war and the economic mistakes of the Frelimo government.

Thus one of the most precious assets that the new South Africa will inherit will be its large white population, for it is in this population that the skills at present largely reside.

This is an asset that no other African country has ever had and its value is immeasurable.

The scrapping of racism of all kinds would allow the skills and experience previously monopolised by the whites to spread throughout the population, turning the innate energy and initiative of the country's black people into what could be the most powerful economic force Africa has ever known.

But only if the opportunities are provided.



South Africa's wealth comes partly from mineral resources that exceed anything in any other African country.



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# Law to scrap group areas sparks protest

*Suefan 28/5/91*

*304A*

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE first tangible moves to remove the Group Areas Act and Land Acts from the South African law books met with a storm of protest in Parliament yesterday.

The Labour Party believes the proposed legislation to scrap these Acts - the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill - is a flagrant reintroduction of racist registration dressed as environmental control.

The minister of planning provincial affairs and national housing yesterday denied this.

Defending a flurry of accusations from the LP, which believes the "norms and standards chapter" - Chapter 7 - was built to protect white residents, Mr Hernus Kriel said it was not only whites who demanded high standards in their neighbourhoods.

"Nothing is further from the truth. Coloured people, Asians and Black persons are just as

adamant to maintain standards," Kriel said.

"You taught them well," retorted Mr Chris April, a coloured MP.

Nevertheless, Kriel's opening speech was filled with sanctimonious statements about the abolition of apartheid.

He said apartheid had set the country on a collision course with itself. The party that created apartheid felt it had an obligation to dismantle it, Kriel said.

## Evil

"Apartheid was the social experiment which was to bring peace and prosperity, but it failed."

"It became a policy which brought political upheaval, decay and instability. As a social experiment, apartheid did not work. It was an experiment gone wrong," Kriel said.

In his speech on the proposed scrapping of the Group Areas and Land Acts, the Democratic

Party's Mr Jannie Momberg said that to simply repeal the acts and not take into consideration the pain and suffering of the victims of apartheid, was not enough.

Momberg said that as a person who had always been a beneficiary of apartheid, and as someone who had always felt guilty because of this, he could understand the indignancy of the LP with regard to the so-called norms and standards section.

Commenting on the forced removals which flowed from the Group Areas Act, Momberg said: "This was without doubt one of the most despicable acts of this NP government in the 43 years of its evil rule."

The Abolition of Racially Based Measures Bill will be before Parliament for the rest of the week, and in terms of Clause 108 comes into effect on June 30 1991.

# Govt faces a tough fight over reform Bill

CAPE TOWN — Government may be forced to push the Bill scrapping the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts through the President's Council after strong opposition from the Labour Party and the CP yesterday during parliamentary debate.

While the CP rejects the scrapping of land apartheid, Labour is opposing the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill only because of the "norms and standards" regulations it contains.

Labour has written to ambassadors saying the Bill is a substitute for the Group Areas Act and calling on them to persuade their governments to put pressure on Pretoria to amend it.

BILLY PADDOCK

Introducing the Bill in Parliament yesterday, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel said accusations that it was a continuation of apartheid were untrue.

The norms and standards clause, which enabled communities to entrench standards, was to protect everybody's standards and not only white standards.

Labour warned that all the positive steps President F W de Klerk had taken since last February would be cancelled by the clause.

Luwellyn Landers (LP Durban Suburbs) said there was never any need for norms

and standards prior to scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the LP was convinced it was superfluous.

Party leader Allan Hendrickse declared, "It's a facade. The very man who tells us about the injustices of the past has never regretted them."

It is expected that Parliament will vote on the Bill on Monday. If Labour, which has been beset by defections, is still in the majority, it will not be passed.

In order for De Klerk to meet his promise that all racially based legislation will be scrapped by the end of this session, he will be forced to send it to the President's Council to get it passed into legislation.



## Defections are over, says Hendrickse

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse says the rot in his party has stopped in spite of NP efforts to "coerce" more MPs into its camp.

However, spokesmen for the group of 30 new Nats were confident their ranks would have swelled to a majority of 47 by Friday.

Yesterday Labour still had 52 members and Hendrickse told a Press conference he was "100% sure" there would be no more defections. ~~287~~ (304A)

Rumours were rife in Parliament, however, that two more Labour members — Local Government and Agriculture Minister the Rev Andrew Julies and Bonteheuvel MP Patrick McKenzie — were poised to make the move.

### Political Staff

There was also speculation about similar moves in the House of Delegates. Sources said yesterday that about five opposition members had approached the NP.

Although the NP has denied canvassing support in the House of Delegates, sources in the Indian House have said the aim is to take over the official opposition from Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party. Hendrickse accused government of launching a "total onslaught" on his party.

At a subsequent Press conference three of the new NP members, Jac Rabie, Nic Isaacs and Stanley Fisher, said the decision to join the NP had been taken by members of their constituencies.

# LP 'sure' to reject proposed land bill

CT 28/5/91

THE government may be forced to bludgeon the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill through the President's Council — in spite of a pledge by President F W de Klerk that it would be acceptable to all three Houses in Parliament.

It became clear yesterday that the Labour Party would reject the bill.

Debate on the bill started yesterday and voting is expected early next week. If it is rejected by one House, the government's only way of ensuring it gets passed this session — as Mr De Klerk has promised foreign governments — will be via the President's Council.

Yesterday Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said, in a blistering attack on the National Party, that the legislation was a massive fraud. He charged that it was designed to entrench the protection of white people.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel lashed out

at critics of the controversial clause seven — on norms and standards — particularly the Labour Party.

"I have the impression that certain persons are trying to create the perception that it is only white people who wish to retain norms and standards," he said. "Nothing is further from the truth.

"Coloured people, Asians and blacks are just as adamant to maintain standards.

"This measure is a positive step. It is not apartheid, it is not discrimination."

He stressed that the bill included a ban on any such standards being set on racial grounds.

The Conservative Party also blasted the bill.

The Democratic Party's Mr Peter Soal said the party did not believe the norms and standards clause was sufficiently negative for the bill to be rejected.



Parliament

30414

CR 28/5/91

# LP leader claims defections to end

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

LABOUR PARTY leader Mr Allan Hendrickse yesterday claimed he had stopped the wave of defections from his party to the National Party and accused President F W de Klerk of having a personal hand in destabilising his embattled party.

However, spokesmen for the "New Nat" defectors from the LP in the House of Representatives remained confident that at least another 17 defections would allow the NP to wrest control of the House by the end of the week.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr De Klerk, although purporting to stand aloof from the process of destabilising his party, "is involved as well".

He claimed that Mr De Klerk had told LP deputy leader Mr Miley Richards at the weekend, that the NP would have control of the House of Representatives by tomorrow.

A defiant Mr Hendrickse told a press conference that despite ef-

THE people of Ocean View, who were forcibly removed from Simon's Town by the Nationalist Government in 1967, were now represented by a National Party MP, Simon's Town MP Mr Janne Momborg noted yesterday.

"I do not think the people in Ocean View deserve such a fate," he said in reference to the defection of MP for Southern Cape Mr Basil Cupido to the NP last week. "I find this move totally unprincipled. He joins the very party who was responsible for the evil happening of 1967."

Mr Momborg said the people of Ocean View were welcome to make use of his office if they needed any help.

forts — including alleged physical threats — to get his MPs to cross the floor to the NP, there was "no doubt in our minds" that the LP would continue to command the majority in the House. He said he was "absolutely sure" that none of the 52 members remaining in his party would defect.

Mr Hendrickse said the party's MPs in the Free State and the Transvaal had all pledged their loyalty to the LP at the weekend.

He dismissed speculation to the contrary as stemming from "an orchestrated campaign of disinformation."

He said that two of the defectors named by a dissident group as defectors — Mr Patrick McKenzie and Mr John Krieger — remained loyal to the LP and would remain in the party.

Mr Hendrickse claimed that some of the defectors had been promised top jobs if they crossed the floor to the NP — including the job of chairman of the Ministers' Council — but the claim was dismissed by the NP and defectors yesterday.

Mr Hendrickse threatened to take legal action against those who had defected.

However, at a press conference organised by the National Party shortly afterwards, the MP for Mitchell's Plain, Mr Stanley Fish-Mitchell, said that the NP would have 47 MPs in the House of Representatives by the end of the week — four more MPs than was needed to control the House.



**NEW NATS...** The first group of Labour Party defectors to the National Party in the House of Representatives yesterday justified their move at a parliamentary press conference. From left are Mr Stanley Fisher (Mitchell's Plain), Mr Jack Rabie (Reigerspark), Mr Renier Schoeman, the National Party Information Officer, and Mr Nick Isaacs (Bishop Lavis).

Political Staff

LABOUR Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse yesterday accused the government of perpetrating a "massive fraud" in legislation repealing the Group Areas and Land acts.

Mr Hendrickse tore into the National Party as relations between the NP and Labour Party plunged to a new low against the backdrop of defections and accusations that the NP was "coercing" MPs to join them.

## Hendrickse says govt perpetrating 'fraud'

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, Mr Hendrickse said the inclusion of two clauses that aimed to maintain norms and standards was a case of "apartheid is dead, long live apartheid."

Chapter 7 of the bill, he said, aimed at protecting white rights. Mr Hendrickse said the LP had no problem with the rest of the bill. Singling out Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, the Labour Party

leader said that in introducing the bill the minister had spoken without any conviction.

There had been a "conversion without conviction", he said, with the NP bowing to external pressure. Mr Kriel, he said, had

presented a facade, in which he spoke of the injustices of the past "but had never regretted them".

The Labour Party yesterday appealed to foreign governments to support them in their struggle to remove the two clauses from the bill.

A letter to this effect was handed to the ambassadors of all countries represented in South Africa. Mr Kriel criticised the party for its action.

# Summit yielded little — ANC

304A  
CT 28/5/91

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The government-initiated peace summit on violence produced "little by way of meaningful results", the ANC said yesterday.

Although the ANC boycotted the weekend summit in Pretoria, the organisation said in a statement that it would assess available documentation and deliberations from the two-day conference.

The statement added that the ANC would "continue to support the initiatives undertaken by religious leaders and organised business" to convene a broad-based conference on violence.

Echoing proposals delivered at the summit, the ANC said a future conference on violence should produce a binding agreement with enforcement mechanisms for a code of conduct for all political parties.

The ANC said such a conference should also: Produce a code of conduct for the security forces; elaborate on the powers and function of an independent commission on violence; and produce a comprehensive programme of community reconstruction.

The ANC rejected a newspaper article which said that the organisation welcomed the summit's proposal for the establishment of a fully representative forum to address the violence. The source of the article, an unnamed senior ANC national executive committee member, had made a "hasty judgment" which was "ill-advised . . . inaccurate and unauthorised".

● Azapo yesterday said Mr F W de Klerk's peace summit was a failed attempt by the state to exonerate itself as a party to violence, Sapa reports.



# ANC Split

CT 28/5/91  
(30447) ~~417~~

## Mandela promises sanctions will go ASAP

### Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday impressed a meeting of 80 stockbrokers and investment managers with his commitment to economic growth and the negotiating process.**

The ANC deputy president acknowledged that sanctions were hurting the economy and committed the ANC to reversing its pro-sanctions stand "as soon as possible".

At this stage the organisation could not do so for political reasons. But he was at pains to stress that it was not in the ANC's interests to damage the economy.

The private meeting — at the AA Mutual

building next to the JSE — was attended by representatives from Old Mutual, Syfrets and leading stockbroking institutions.

Earlier Mr Mandela paid his first visit to the JSE, escorted by JSE president Mr Tony Norton.

Businessmen who attended the meeting said Mr Mandela had made a much better impression than at the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) meeting earlier this month, which left many in the audience disappointed at his lack of clarity on the ANC's deadlines on violence and the government's peace summit.

One businessman who attended both meetings said Mr Mandela was possibly disappointed by the cool reception he had received at the CBM meeting and had therefore made a special effort to reassure investors.

A senior economics consultant said Mr Mandela came across as "evidently sincere" about

the ANC's commitment to achieve stability through negotiations.

A stockbroker said that despite the ANC's suspension of negotiations with the government, Mr Mandela appeared to be firmly committed to the process.

"He appeared to be very determined to reassure the business community about the bonafides of the ANC, on violence and on the economy," a businessman said.

Mr Mandela succeeded in doing so and was very careful not to adopt an accusatory tone, particularly with regard to Inkatha, he said.

Mr Sidney Frankel, of Frankel, Max Pollak Vinderline Inc, who arranged the meeting, said Mr Mandela outlined the background to the violence and repeated what steps the ANC would take to reduce the conflict. He believed it was important to have stability in society for economic growth, Mr Frankel said.

Mr Mandela reiterated his belief that the government has the capacity to halt the violence, but said there was no need to reintroduce a state of emergency, Mr Frankel said.

One businessman said that although he was "heartened" by the meeting, businessmen remained concerned that while the ANC called on the government to control the violence, it wanted to dictate what measures the government should and should not take.

Mr Mandela had acknowledged that ANC supporters were involved in violence, but stressed that they initiated incidents of violence in only a small proportion of cases.

On the other hand, ANC casualties in the violence were disproportionately large and this was a cause of great concern to the ANC leadership.

ANC spokesmen yesterday declined to comment on the meeting.

# Two more Labour MPs quit to join Nats

ARGUS 28/5/91  
304A

## Political Staff

TWO more Labour Party MPs have resigned, after party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse predicted that no more would leave.

The party now has lost 16 members to the National Party.

Today it had 49 MPs, six more than it needs for the majority in the House of Representatives.

The latest to leave are Mr Louis Hollander, MP for Britstown, and Mr Mario Masher, MP for Karee.

According to a report, Mr Paul Bergman, MP for South Free State, also intends resigning from the party, but this has not been confirmed.

According to Mr Stan Fisher, MP for Mitchell's Plain, a defector who has joined the National Party, more Labour MPs will resign. He said there would be 47 NP members, a majority, in the House of Representatives by the end of the week.

In a bitter attack on the National Party leadership, Mr Hendrickse alleged coercion and promises of money and positions.

Cape Nationalist leader Dr Dawie de Villiers rejected the allegations.

He said the National Party had offered the Labour MPs nothing and they had unconditionally accepted the principles, policy and discipline of the party.

● See pages 8 and 23.



# Majority in eye of the beholder

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

30/1/79

majority is ours."

Accus

28/5/91

Kierke "is involved as well"

THE tussle for control of the 85-seat House of Representatives is continuing with an embattled Labour Party and a surging National Party both predicting their own triumph.

Both sides held Press conferences in quick succession yesterday to send out much the same sort of message: "The

LP leader the Reverend Alan Hendrickse said he was "absolutely sure" there would be no more defections from his party — now standing at 52 MPs — and he lashed out at the National Party for what he described as an active recruitment campaign in the House of Representatives.

He claimed President De

But the National Party's Press conference presented a different picture.

Mr Stanley Fisher of Mitchell's Plain — one of 30 MPs who have joined the NP — predicted that there would be more defections.

He said the NP could be the majority party in the House of Representatives by the end of

the week with the NP holding possibly as many as 47 seats by then.

He, Mr Jac Rabie, MP for Reiger Park, and Mr Nic Isaacs, MP for Bishop Lavis, said there had been no coercion, nor had any offers been made to them.

They claimed they had the backing of their supporters for their decision to join the NP.

# Norms 'not apartheid in disguise' Kriel

Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT moved yesterday to allay concerns that the introduction of new measures to keep up residential standards amounted to apartheid in disguise.

The provisions for the maintenance of norms and standards — chapter seven of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, which is being debated in parliament all this week — is the focus of most of the opposition to this internationally significant legislation.

The Labour Party most strongly, and the Democratic Party too, have accused the government of preparing a disguised form of apartheid to take the place of the Group Areas Act.

But Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hernus Kriel firmly rejected this in the opening exchanges of the four-day debate yesterday.

He argued that the concept

of neighbourhood committees which could set and monitor standards in the suburbs was an accepted principle in Europe and the United States.

"It is untrue that this measure is aimed at maintaining the status quo. Nor is it discriminatory. Indeed, to deny anyone the right to protect norms and standards would be discriminatory."

He also rejected the suggestion that norms and standards would apply only in "exclusive areas". Any area could determine standards and it was wrong to see the provision as a form of economic apartheid. Nor was it only whites who were concerned about maintaining norms and standards.

Citing the clause which says that "any by-law which discriminates on the grounds of race, colour or religion or is grossly unfair, shall be of no force or effect", Mr Kriel said: "This is a strong measure. It does not consist of mere words."



# State's aim 'to turn apartheid into dodo'

ARGHS 28/5/91

304A

## Political Staff

THE four-day debate on what has been described as the most important piece of legislation to come before parliament — the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the two Lands Acts — began with bitter attacks on the government from the Conservative Party and the Labour Party.

MPs held their first Monday night sitting of the year last night, and will sit again tonight, to consider the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill in a joint sitting.

Opening the debate, Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs and National Housing, said it was the government's firm intention to turn apartheid into a political dodo. "As a social experiment, apartheid did not work. It was an experiment gone wrong."

It brought strife, degeneration and instability. The continuation of apartheid would mean the destruction of whites, Afrikaans people, coloured people, Indians and other minority groups, Mr Kriel said.

He paid tribute to President De Klerk as "the man who looked beyond failures and was brave enough to change the thinking of the NP".

"He recognised the fact that we were trying to defend the indefensible. He freed us from outdated dreams which had turned into nightmares."

"It was actually a simple solution. His religious belief led him to apply the principle of justice. Every decision, every policy has to be tested against this principle. It may be simple, but at the same time it was a brave step because in the process he put his political career under the guillotine."

People of colour had been most seriously offended by the laws that were being repealed, but were now sitting as NP members of parliament. This was most encouraging, and an example of reconciliation politics and what the future would bring.

Mr Kriel said the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation sent out a message that the government had compassion



Mr Hernus Kriel

for people who might have been wronged in the past. "But it is also a strong signal that we cannot start the world all over again. There are limitations to the practical and financial viability of trying to rectify all possible mistakes made in the past."

Mr Kriel attacked the Labour Party for the way it had campaigned against the provisions in the Bill that tried to maintain norms and standards in residential areas.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse had said earlier yesterday that his party had sent a letter to each ambassador in South Africa saying that President De Klerk had gone back on his word not to replace the Group Areas Act with similar measures. Labour saw these provisions as a continuation of residential apartheid, and asked foreign representatives to exert pressure on President De Klerk to withdraw them.

In his address on the Bill, Mr Hendrickse said the government in general and Mr Kriel in particular "does not believe in the things he announced today. It is a facade."

The change of heart by the NP did not come out of conviction, or because they were sincere or because they wanted to change, but as a result of pressure, strikes, demonstrations and the efforts of extra-parliamentary groups.

"You have no idea of the feelings of victims of apartheid," Mr Hendrickse said. "It leaves me cold that people can

give the indication to the rest of the world that we are moving, only to discover that we are going back to the protection of white rights."

People who joined the NP now became "part of the acceptance of the sins of the past" and were as guilty today as people in the NP had been in the past, Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Peter Soal (Democratic Party Johannesburg North) said it was heartening that the discriminatory acts were being repealed. The DP hoped the bitterness of the past would be removed.

"We are delighted that two of the pillars are being demolished and we say 'Oh happy day'," Mr Soal said.

Solidarity's Mr Farouk Cassim came in for a barrage of criticism from Labour Party members over whether or not he had joined the NP. Mr Cassim said it was better to encourage the NP when they were departing from discredited policies of the past, rather

than belittle them for the past.

Mr Jurge Prinsloo (Conservative Party Roodepoort) said the Bill took South Africa back to the chaos left by colonialism at the end of the century. The sudden about-turn by the NP could only be attributed to it submitting to a colonialist new world order dictated from abroad.

This was a total breach of democracy and neglect of the electorate.

"The white population has to choose between democracy and this government. This Bill is illegitimate and therefore irrelevant as far as we are concerned," Mr Prinsloo said.

The first new-Nat to speak, Mr Jac Rabie of the House of Representatives (National Party Reiger Park) said he was proud to speak as an NP MP. The greater the weight of being an NP member, the happier he would be.

"This is one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before parliament," Mr Rabie said.



# The labours of Labour

TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Staff

**T**HE Labour Party, now facing its biggest crisis since it was formed in 1965, has had more than its share of ups and downs in that time.

Its political graph has gone up most of the time but it has now taken a dramatic plunge.

There were attacks on it from other coloured groups when it was started, but from early on it drew considerable support from the coloured community — mainly because it had dedicated itself to fight against apartheid.

In 1965 its first leader, Dr R E van der Ross, later Rector of UWC, explained that it had in fact been started as a protest against the policy of segregation for coloured people.

When, in 1969, it took part in the elections for the first Coloured Representative Council which was not entirely nominated, it made it clear that it was doing so in order to wreck the system.

It succeeded in doing this in the end and could claim credit for having pushed the government into the tricameral system which brought coloured people and Indians into Parliament.

IN 1969, the party won 26 of the 40 seats up for election. The Federal Party won 11 seats. The Republican Party and the Nasionale Kleurling Volksparty won one seat each and there was one independent.

The Labour Party did well although it had little money to fight the election. Operating from an office in Bree Street the then party leader Mr M D Arendse did not even have a telephone.

In spite of appeals from Mr Arendse, the Government nominated 20 supporters of the Federal Party which gave it a majority in the council and control over the executive committee.

In the 1975 election the party won 31 seats and could not again be kept from power by Government-nominated members.

The party went into the new council vowing to "close the doors" of the council.

Throughout it resisted all Government plans to co-opt it into some advisory body which was supposed to give it a say at the highest level.

In 1974 it turned down Mr John Vorster's proposal for a Cabinet Council to consist of the Prime Minister, the five members of the Coloured Council executive, five members of the Indian Council and five members of the Cabinet. Through various boycott and obstruction tactics, among other things refusing to pass the Budget, the Labour Party forced the Government to disband the council in March 1977.

IT was only in January 1983, at a congress in Ulundi, that the party decided to go into a



Mr HENDRICKSE



Mr VAN DER ROSS



Mr ARENDSE



PW BOTHA

power sharing deal embodied in a tricameral system with separate white, coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

It reaffirmed its belief in one man, one vote, but decided that it could achieve its aims better by taking part in the new system which it at least regarded as a step in the right direction.

This led to a break between the party and Inkatha.

In the August 1984 general election the party won 76 out of the 80 seats in the House of Representatives. In the 1989 election the party won 69 of the 80 seats.

There was, however, an extremely low turnout of voters in many constituencies, especially in seats in the Peninsula and the Western Cape.

Many prominent coloured leaders outside politics dissociated themselves from the party's move to co-operate in the new system and urged a stay-away.

It became clear that the party had more popular support in the days when it fought apartheid all-out.

From 1984 until 1987 Mr Allan Hendrickse was a member of the central Cabinet as a Minister without portfolio.

EARLY in 1987 he clashed with the then President P W Botha after he and other Labour leaders had gone for a swim on a Port Elizabeth beach reserved for whites. This ended in Mr Hendrickse apologising.

When he resigned in August 1987 he lashed out at the government's racial policies and Mr Botha's unwillingness "to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others."

IN its time in Parliament the Labour Party has in various ways tried to apply pressure on the government on aspects of security legislation and the Group Areas Act but these were delaying tactics only. The Government was able to push through legislation blocked by the Labour Party by way of the President's Council.

There were some defections from the Labour Party in the past few years and most of the members of the two small parties in the House of Representatives were former Labour supporters.

Often there were no deep ideological differences.

Invariably one of the reasons given for people leaving the party has been Mr Hendrickse's imperious leadership style. There have also been allegations of nepotism and some concern about the way some party funds have been administered.

Now that the scrapping of apartheid is being completed the Labour rebels maintain that the National Party has become attractive to their followers and that they have been under pressure from their constituencies to join it. There is also concern about violence.

THE Labour leadership has hit back with allegations that some of those who left owed the party money.

Mr Hendrickse has also accused the National Party of active recruitment in the House of Representatives. The defectors have denied this, saying that there has not been any coercion and that no undertakings were given to them.

The Labour Party has tried to achieve some relevancy in the tricameral system, but it is clear that it is losing the battle on the way to a new South Africa.



# Restrictions indefensible — Kriel

Norms and standards to be decided upon by neighbourhood committees was not a

reversion to apartheid but would bring decision-making to the level of the people, Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Herens Kriel said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the second-reading debate of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, he said the regulations were not to protect white standards, but everyone's.

"I have the impression that certain persons are trying to create the impression that it is only white people who wish to retain norms. Nothing is further from the truth. Coloured people, Asians and black people are

just as adamant to maintain standards."

Allegations by the Labour Party that the proposed legislation was a continuation of apartheid was untrue, he said.

"Indeed, to take away this right would be discriminatory."

It was not only certain neighbourhoods which would rule on acceptable norms or standards, but any geographical area.

## Experiment

The legislation was one of the steps the Government had taken to turn apartheid into a "political dodo".

"Apartheid was a social experiment that was supposed to bring peace, safety and prosperity, but it did not succeed. The very party that created

the Group Areas Act is today proposing the abolition of that Act."

Mr Kriel paid tribute to the State President, who "was brave enough to change the thinking of the NP" and realised that the party was trying to defend the indefensible.

The first aim of the Bill under discussion was to abolish all racial discrimination in respect of land.

"Property is an asset that should be accessible to every citizen of our country. Any racial restriction on the purchase or legal occupation of land is not defensible."

Another aim of the Bill was to give this country and the rest of the world a clear message that a new South Africa would be established.

The Bill also showed that the

Government had compassion for the people it had wronged in the past.

"But it is also a strong signal that we cannot start the world all over again."

"There are limitations to the practical and financial viability of trying to rectify all possible mistakes made in the past."

## Transactions

Chapter 1 of the Bill dealt with the scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 Acts, in which blacks were prevented from occupying land in certain areas.

About 7 million hectares had been bought from white farmers so that this part of the legislation could be implemented.

Chapter 2 dealt with the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the

Free Settlement Areas Act and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Act, Mr Kriel said.

Provision had been made "to decriminalise illegal transactions under the Group Areas Act."

Chapter 3 would scrap legislation dealing with land transactions involving Asians and so-called rural coloured settlements.

Chapter 4 dealt with the scrapping of the Development of Black Communities Act and related legislation.

Chapter 5 would scrap thousands of regulations and proclamations regarding black administration Acts.

The legislation would come into effect on June 30, he announced. — Sapa.

# NP coercing MPs, claims Hendrickse

By Michael Morris  
Political Staff

Star 28/5/91  
Stanley Fisher of Mitchell's Plain — one of 30 MPs who have joined the NP — predicted that there would be more defections.

CAPE TOWN — The tussle for control of the 85-seat House of Representatives continued yesterday as an embattled Labour Party and a smug National Party both predicted their own triumph.

Both sides held press conferences in quick succession to send out much the same sort of message: the majority is ours.

LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said he was "absolutely sure" there would be no more defections from his party — which now stood at 52 MPs — and he lashed out at the NP for what he described as an active recruitment campaign in the House of Representatives.

Mr Hendrickse also said two of the MPs named on Friday as defectors — Pat McKenzie and John Krieger — were in fact still in the LP fold.

However, Mr McKenzie yesterday declined to say clearly where his future lay. He said he was still consulting with his constituents.

The NP's press conference presented a different picture.

He said the NP could be the majority party in the House of Representatives by the end of the week, with the NP holding possibly as many as 47 seats.

Mr Fisher, Jac Rabie (Reiger Park) and Nic Isaacs (Bishop Lavis) said there had been no coercion, nor had any offers been made to them.

They claimed they had the backing of their supporters for their decision to join the NP.

Mr Hendrickse, however, said that certain Nat MPs had actively put pressure on LP members to leave the party and join the Government.

There had been "deliberate coercion", he said.

"What is disappointing is that the President, who professes to be aloof, is involved as well."

President de Klerk was castigated for telling deputy LP leader Miley Richards at the weekend that the Nats "would take control of the House of Representatives by tomorrow".

Mr Hendrickse declared that this was "a poor reflection on the President".



# CP: Govt dispossessing people of heritage

Star 28/9/11  
(3 of 4)  
The Government was not only trying to repeal the Land and Group Areas Acts, it was trying to abolish history itself, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Bill, he also said forced removals were a lie and that black people had more land in South Africa today than 100 years ago.

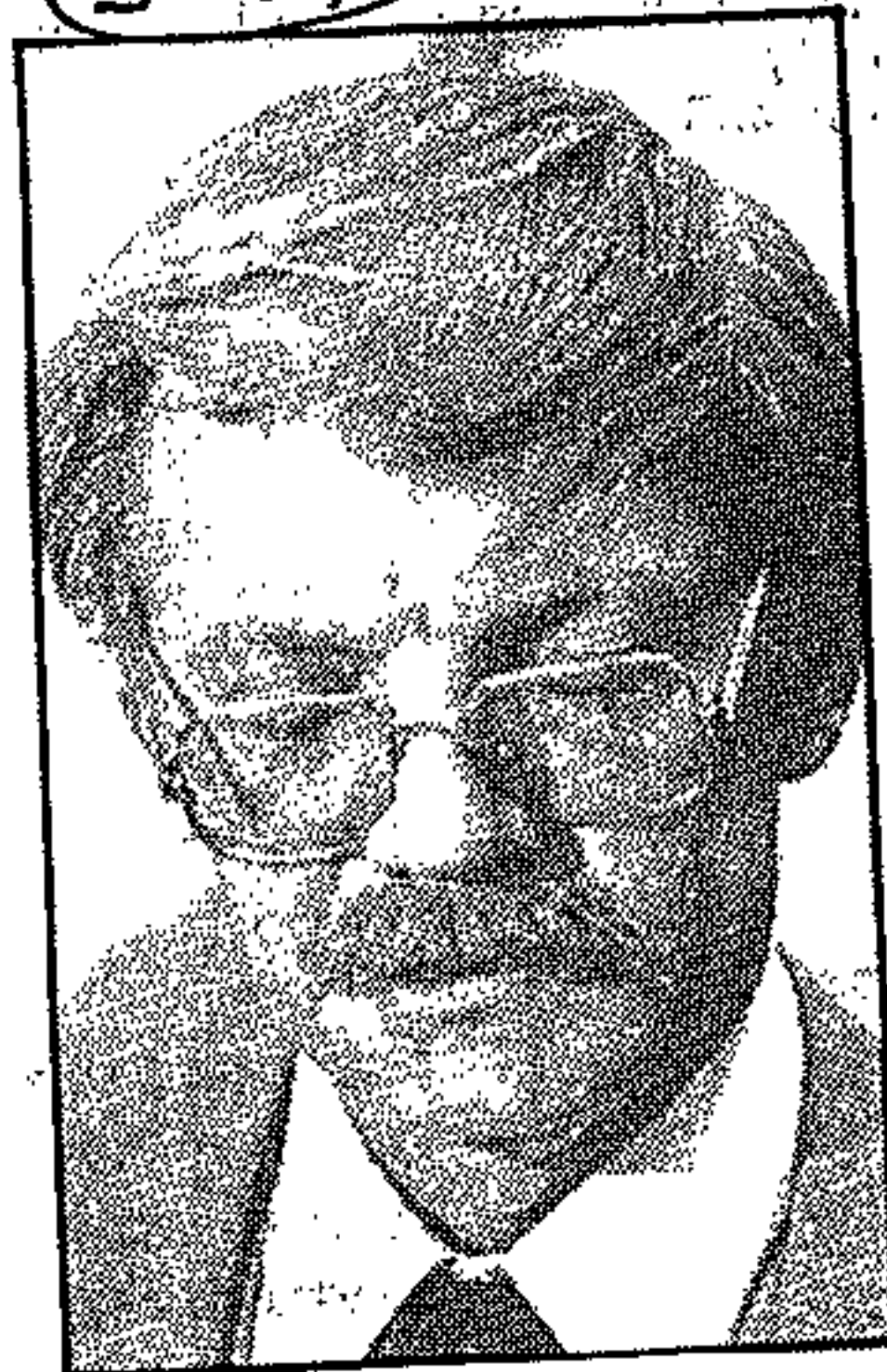
The Government was trying to alienate the 13 nations of the region from their land and dispossess them of their heritage.

Each millimetre of land was already allocated by law to a particular group, and their desire for an own fatherland would continue to burn in their hearts despite the Government's attempt to destroy this yearning and need.

"Nationalism will flame up as never before because their continued existence is under threat."

If it pleased the Government to kill those who stood up for their rights, it would have to do so, because there would be no other way to overcome them.

The land of South Africa had



Ferdi Hartzenberg

been divided up among various peoples long before this was recognised in law, and long before apartheid.

The report of the Tomlinson Commission had recorded in detail how the horseshoe shape of the black territories around a white heartland had resulted from the major disturbances that took place between blacks at the time of the Difaqane.

"You are on your way to

creating another Difaqane in South Africa."

Dr Hartzenberg said there was no subject about which more lies were told in South Africa than land.

The claim that whites possessed 87 percent of the land and blacks only 13 was just not true. The commission found that 45 percent of the land had been allocated to blacks.

"Today more than 50 percent of the original South Africa belongs to black people."

Forced removals were another lie. The majority of removals were voluntary, and it was not mentioned that people were compensated for the moves.

Dr Hartzenberg said the Government had blindly steamrollered the Bill through the Parliamentary Committee on Land Affairs, and that no investigation had been made into the effect it would have on agriculture, economics, or social and political life.

It was being pushed through merely because the Government had promised that the Acts would be scrapped in the hope that this would bring an end to sanctions. — Sapa.

# MPs in heated debate on 'political dodo'

# Final weeks of apartheid

Skw 28/5/91

Political Staff  
and Sapa (304A)

**CAPE TOWN** — A major step in the Government's plan to turn apartheid into a "political dodo" will be taken on June 30, Cabinet Minister Hennis Kriel announced in Parliament yesterday.

Mr Kriel, Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, was introducing the second reading debate on a Bill designed to scrap two major pillars of apartheid.

The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill proposes the scrapping of a string of Acts, including the Group Areas Act and the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts.

As expected, the debate was heated from the start.

Adding fuel to the interjections was the fact that 21 former Labour Party MPs from the House of Representatives are now Nat MPs.

Opening the debate Mr Kriel said it was the Government's firm intention to turn apartheid into a political dodo. "As a social experiment, apartheid did not work. It was an experiment gone wrong."

This remark was greeted with loud jeers from the Conservative Party.

Later in his speech, Mr Kriel was jeered by the Labour Party when he said it was a special day as the new National Party MPs showed a remarkable degree of magnanimity and reconciliation politics.

## Disbelief

Mr Kriel said the LP's decision to vote against the Bill was the straw that broke the camel's back and was the reason behind the defections.

Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, labelled the Bill a massive fraud. He said the Government in general and Mr Kriel in particular "do not believe in the things which have been announced today."

"We are going back to the protection of white rights."

The LP's Luwellyn Landers said Chapter Seven of the Bill would make it possible for the white community to create privately initiated group areas.

The CP's Ferdi Hartzenberg said the Government was trying not only to repeal the Land and Group Areas Acts, but was also trying to abolish history itself.

The Bill was being pushed through merely because the Government had promised that the Acts would be scrapped in the hope that this would end sanctions.

Schalk Pienaar (CP Potgietersrus) said the Bill was the result of "sly work done under the cover of darkness". The Government and its friends in the Broederbond had been planning the Bill for six years, so it was not tabled as a result of "a Damascus experience".

## More reports

— Pages 2 and 6



# The changing face of SA politics

OVER the years when apartheid was being enforced vigorously, a kind of working relationship had developed between the liberal and leftwing opposition.

In other words, the liberals and the leftists were joined in common cause and purpose. Or to put it another way - it was a case of my enemy's enemy is my friend.

But many things have changed and political stereotypes have resumed less predictable shapes.

For political analysts, it came as no surprise when the liberal Progressive Federal Party (PFP) lost their seat in Parliament as the official opposition to the rightwing Conservative Party (CP). *Sowetan 28/5/91*

## Process

A process of liberalisation was started by the ruling National Party with the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament - which created separate houses for coloureds and Indians.

It was then that the ruling National Party started accepting people of different colour into Government.

This brought the rise of the CP, and not the fall of the PFP, as it was reflected in the polls. The CP felt the Right

was losing its grip on the rudder of the country's politics. And whites, who had voted idealistically for the PFP, were now voting out of fear.

Liberalism in South Africa was simplified as not being a racist. Thus, whites who were not racists believed they had to vote for the only party which fought against racism.

The CP on the other hand, held the promise of maintaining the status quo, something which even "non-racists" or the conservative PFP voters could identify with - hence their victory.

However, the liberalisation of Government, and the resulting admission of people of other colour to Parliament was no major success for either the liberals or the left - in fact it was perceived

**The National Party's reforms have contributed largely to the demise of liberalism in South Africa. But there are more reasons than just that, and this country at this stage cannot afford to be without moderates, argues ISMAIL LAGARDIEN.**



as a slap in the face.

When the Government went a step further announcing its intention to eventually allow Africans into Parliament, the liberals slipped even further into obscurity. *30/4/91*

## Demise

This apparent and sudden demise of the liberals (previously the PFP, now the Democratic Party), represented a crisis of enormous proportions for South Africa.

Suddenly, the left - which is often assumed to be black because of the nature of South African

politics - was seeing victory.

At the same time, a rift between the left and the liberals became evident. The liberal DP, today, will criticise the ANC, PAC and everyone it chooses to, if it finds cause to. And now, the DP is becoming the "enemy", as it were.

In creating an enemy of the DP, the ANC, PAC, Azapo and to a lesser degree, Inkatha and the ruling National Party, are not killing a party, but a set of values which the country can hardly afford to lose. This political murder

of liberalism is taking place in the wake of reform and redevelopment in South Africa.

In DP constituencies like Wynberg in Cape Town and Yeoville in Johannesburg - where black or so-called coloured people are among the residents - the liberals could possibly never get voted into office again.

## Choice

The people, in those areas, are now faced with the choice of either the ruling National Party and its leader President FW de

Klerk on the one side and the PAC, ANC, Azapo on the other side. The latter represents everything which is in opposition to the Government.

Basically, the DP, which represent liberal democratic value, will fall by the wayside - despite the fact that the greater majority of the country could be much better off under a liberal democratic government.

It is not far-fetched to believe that there are liberal democrats in the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the NP.

But this is the nature of politics in South Africa. Traditional loyalties to "the party" governs the electoral decision and not the values of for which any particular party stands.

The decisive factor in any forthcoming general

election, the first within which all the people of South Africa would have a say, will be based on a delicate cross between skin colour and middle-class values.

It is not unforeseeable that black working class people, coloured and Indian intellectuals and activists will vote for the PAC, ANC, Azapo and Inkatha. These parties will also get the some of the liberal to Left whites.

The ANC and Inkatha could get a big section of the middle-class blacks, but a number of people in that class and coloureds and Indians will probably vote for (President FW) De Klerk and the NP - as has been proven recently when a prominent black businessman joined the ruling party.

As for the DP, if it does get any votes, it will not count for much. It is depressing that no culture of liberalism was engendered among blacks - and here I mean everyone who is not white.

It is even more depressing when one realises that the only reason why black people will vote for the ANC, PAC and Azapo is because these parties are black and have fought against a minority white government.



Academic elitism may pose problems for Maties

# Questions raised over cradle of apartheid

304A

Sowetan 28/5/91.

**THE** cradle of apartheid, having rocked its ugly baby and then tossed it out, now faces the question: what next?

Stellenbosch University, hitherto the citadel of Afrikaner nationalism and main intellectual comforter for South Africa's unique form of racial segregation, would like to become the Oxbridge or Harvard of a multiracial democratic nation.

But, given its history, some fear such academic elitism might too easily translate into racial exclusivity.

And over the future of Stellenbosch itself hangs an even bigger question mark: whether a country like South Africa needs ivory towers of higher learning when so many of its people are illiterate and innumerate, jobless and hungry.

## Vineyards

Stellenbosch, embraced by majestic mountains and glorious vineyards an hour from Cape Town, is rooted in the history of South Africa.

Since the Stellenbosch Gymnasium opened in 1866 it has been the cultural and intellectual focal point for the Afrikaners, who settled here from the Netherlands 200 years earlier.

As they were beset first by British colonialism and then by burgeoning black African nationalism, Stellenbosch became the think tank for the survival of the Afrikaner "volk".

All South African prime ministers and presidents except FW de Klerk, who began dismantling apartheid, and his predecessor PW



Botha, who told the Afrikaners they must "adapt or die", were educated here.

Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, was a professor at the age of 27.

Stellenbosch became synonymous with apartheid, the line the whites drew to ward off overwhelming numbers of blacks.

## Ideology

It provided the intellectual credibility for the ideology, the civil servants who administered it, the tutors who taught it and the churchmen who reassured the God-fearing Afrikaners that it was all the will of the Lord.

Doubts began to set in in the late 1950s when the academics observed the Government was not "serious" about separate development: it would not provide money to enable black ethnic homelands to develop separately, preferring to let them languish as cheap labour pools for the white nation.

But it was in the 1980s, after black youths launched an uprising in the townships and the State responded with draconian emergency laws, that real divorce proceedings began between Stellenbosch and the ruling National Party (NP).

Students urged the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and said they supported black rule. Prominent professors quit the NP, demanded the abolition of apartheid and declared that only a non-racial

democracy could save South Africa.

It was said the NP, then in the iron grip of PW Botha and the State security apparatus, had "lost its brains".

"The NP realised it could not survive in the way of PW. It got rid of him... That was the implication of what they saw happening at Stellenbosch," said Bernard Lategan, Dean of Arts.

Having helped strangle apartheid, Stellenbosch is now comfortably back in step with Government and its declared aim of creating a non-racial democracy.

But it has not entirely got rid of apartheid's legacies.

Less than seven percent of its 14 000 students are black compared with up to 25 percent at comparable English-language universities, its ruling council is white, there are no black professors and its aim of becoming an elite institution has aroused suspicion that change may be more apparent than real.

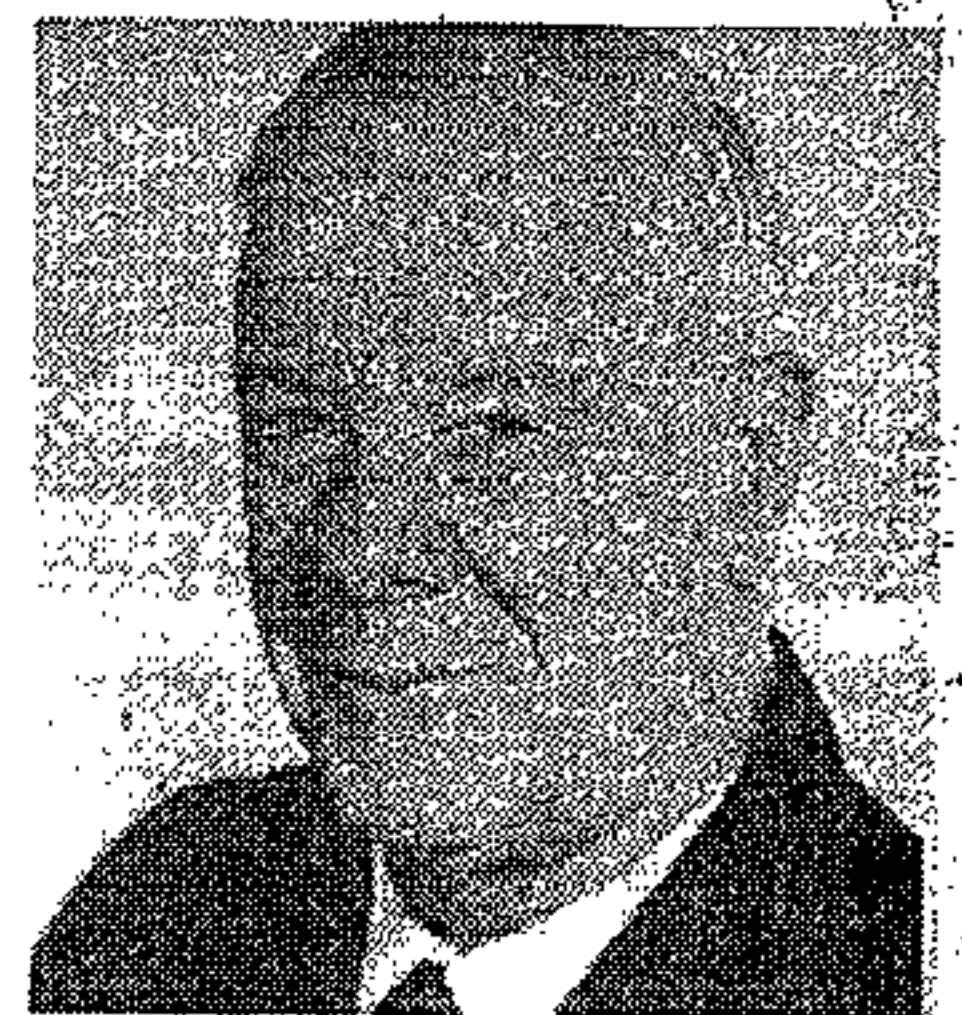
## Expelled

Leslee Durr, National Projects Officer of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), once was expelled from Stellenbosch for demonstrating for mixed-race student residences, a battle not won until last year.

She criticises the strict entry qualifications which make it difficult for blacks with their background of poor primary and secondary education.

Durr says some outsiders wonder if Stellenbosch nurtures a "hidden agenda...to still cultivate an elite racial minority - Afrikaans leadership for the future."

Such concerns are debated on



DR VERWOERD

Stellenbosch campus.

"I find it difficult to see how we can remain an elitist, white university," says political scientist Hennie Kotze.

Any majority government is going to look at the number of blacks in further education and set new priorities for community development which may downgrade universities, he says.

He wants Stellenbosch to recruit blacks actively and educate staff for change.

Lategan dismisses artificially packing Stellenbosch with black faces - "painting by numbers" and insists it must maintain its character and strong academic standards if it is to be part of the world community of higher learning.

But he too says Stellenbosch must broaden its community and play a real role in South African education.

If it tries to remain merely an Afrikaans institution, or puts up standards as a smokescreen for exclusivity, it will founder.

"If I had a wish it would be that Stellenbosch will be the cradle for a truly democratic structure," he says. - Sapa-Reuter



# Former foes are now new bedfellows

Sowetan 28/5/91

3048

DEVELOPMENTS over the past week have signalled the start of the formation of broad alliances on the South African political scene.

Since the Government embarked on its reform, political debate has largely centred on the drafting of the new constitution.

But after the "family affair" at the Pretoria summit where a *de facto* alliance with the Government was established, and following last week's joining of the National Party by coloured MPs, it has become evident that a line has been drawn for a broader based phase of negotiations.

## Briefing

The moderates are led by President FW de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while its main opposition is the proposed "patriotic front".

In a media briefing on Friday, former leader of the Labour Party in the Cape, Mr G Morkel, said he and the nine other coloured MP's who joined the NP last week

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

were signalling the end of political formations the way they are at present.

On the other hand, the ANC/PAC-led "patriotic front" sees itself playing a greater role now.

The ANC and the PAC have held wide-ranging talks with organisations which will be part of the "patriotic front", scheduled to be launched in August.

## Meeting

Azapo has already been "brought into" the fold of the "patriotic front" and a meeting with the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action is imminent.

In another development, it has been established that the PAC will hold talks with Buthelezi in Ulundi next month.

The PAC will try to get Buthelezi to endorse the call for a constituent assembly and effectively marry his party to the "patriotic front".

If Buthelezi agrees, this could see an end to bloodshed.

## Two more top Labour MPs cross the floor

(3047) Political Staff (258)

CAPE TOWN — The embattled Labour Party suffered another setback last night in its tug-of-war with the NP when two leading Labour MPs joined the exodus to the Nationalist camp.

Abe Williams, labour strongman and confidante of party leader Allan Hendrickse, announced he was quitting as Labour's national secretary and throwing in his lot with the NP.

A short while later Labour's Local Government and Agriculture Minister Andrew Julies quit his party and applied to join the NP. At lunch time he had phoned Hendrickse from Canada to assure him he would remain with Labour.

The defections followed resignations earlier in the day from Karee MP Mario Masher — who wants to join the NP — and southern Free State MP Paul Bergman — who has become an independent MP.

"They're dropping like nine pins," said a government source close to the moves to oust Labour as the dominant force in the House of Representatives. However, Labour was last night fighting a rearguard action to retain control of the House.

Patrick McKenzie (Bonteheuwel) and John Kriegler (Hantam), who defected on Friday, were said to be back in the Labour fold, and it is understood that Robertson MP Willie Meyer might be getting cold feet about his move.

In another development, President F W de Klerk and Hendrickse held talks in Tuynhuys last night. Deputy Labour leader Miley Richards has said that De Klerk told him at the weekend that the NP would have control of the House by today.

During a heated debate in Parliament yesterday, during which the Speaker threatened disciplinary action against interjecting MPs, Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel taunted Labour MPs. After blaming the exodus from Labour on the party's obsession with colour, Kriel declared: "More will walk away."

Shortly afterwards the resignations of Williams and Julies were announced.

However, Labour loyalists said the battle was not over yet.



EDUCATION

W/M 24/5 (24) 29/5/91

204A



**JOINED IN PROTEST ...** Tensions ran high when former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited the Rand Afrikaans University this week to receive an honorary doctorate in law. While about 50 Inkatha supporters ingratiated themselves with Thatcher, thanking her for her stand on sanctions, an equal number of RAU students threw their weight behind anti-Maggie picketers from Wits University

Photograph: GUY ADAMS

Ct 29/5/91 (3044) (2744)  
**Bid on to involve  
all parties in peace**

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Moves were already afoot to involve all parties in the peace initiative flowing from the government's weekend peace summit, and an announcement could be expected within days, a leading "facilitator" indicated yesterday.

Church sources said the "facilitating committee" agreed to at the weekend's peace conference was only days away from being established formally.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches (RNCC) joint chairman Mr Louw Alberts, who was mandated at the summit to establish the committee, said yesterday an announcement could be expected "within days".



2 Cape Times, Wednesday, Mar

## Winnie to meet FW at Tuynhuys

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela will be part of an ANC Women's League delegation scheduled to meet President FW de Klerk at Tuynhuys today, to discuss violence.

The delegation, which will be led by ANC Woman's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope, will comprise members of the league's national executive committee.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the league had been trying for some time to meet Mr De Klerk to express their concern about violence.

The group will present a petition on violence to Mr De Klerk, and discuss the release of political prisoners.

CT 29/5/91

304/11  
11/11

# More than repeal needed to undo damage Eglin

AUGUS 29/8/91

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THE government has been warned that merely repealing the Land and Group Areas Acts will not end the intense political controversy that has surrounded the legislation for decades.

The government must make a bigger effort to undo the damage these laws had done, or politics would be bedevilled by the controversy for decades to come, Democratic Party MP for Sea Point Mr Colin Eglin told parliament.

Speaking on the second day of the four-day debate on the repeal Bills, Mr Eglin took the government to task for dealing with the highly sensitive land issue merely through the mechanism of the tricameral system, without consulting people most affected but who were not represented in parliament.

"Consult, negotiate, reach consensus, however difficult this may seem to be.

"The issue of the inequities caused by the laws we are re-



Mr Colin Eglin

pealing will not go away.

"These inequities are either going to be tackled by the government in an imaginative way in consultation with the affected people, or they will remain a political issue dividing our nation and bedevilling our politics for decades for come," Mr Eglin said.

"It is not good enough for those who have purveyed apartheid to repeal their discriminatory laws. In the inter-

est of peace and constructive politics, they must undo the damage that they have done to the fabric of our society."

In particular, he said, the DP believed there was a need to create machinery to "redress the undesirable imbalances that exist in the ownership and occupation of land by various sections of the population as a consequence" of apartheid laws, Mr Eglin said.

While the government's Bill contained provisions for an advisory land committee, this fell far short of the commission proposed by the DP.

"The DP view is that reparations and redress must go beyond land currently held by the State and that land policy in the urban areas, even more than in the rural areas, is going to be of critical importance in the future," Mr Eglin said.

Earlier Mr Eglin said the government had displaced 3522 900 people between 1960 and 1983, Sapa reports.

Of these, 1 129 000 were black tenants and redundant workers from white farms;

674 000 were moved for black spot consolidation; and 834 000 were moved in terms of the Group Areas Act.

"I believe parliament is repealing two of the most fundamental laws ever placed on the statute book of South Africa."

The Land Act had turned millions of blacks into landless serfs and converted black South Africans from being farmers in their own right to labourers on white-owned farms.

"It changed black South Africans from being homeowners and small businessmen to becoming squatters and location dwellers increasingly dependent on their survival upon the white employer or the State.

"It ushered in the era of disruptive migrant labour system together with dehumanising pass laws and denied the majority of our people the stabilising influence of home ownership and property rights."

The Act distorted the growth of town and cities "in a grotesque and painful way".



(304A)

## Labour's McKenzie latest to cross over to the NP

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

ANOTHER Labour Party MP has left to join the National Party, further narrowing the margin between the two parties in their bitter battle for control of the House of Representatives.

Bonteheuwel MP Mr Pat McKenzie — who was said to have left the party last Friday, then said on Monday he hadn't — has now finally decided to leave.

He said his constituency had advised him to join the NP.

"It's not an easy decision, but my constituents see the National Party as a new party, not the oppressor of the past, and they want me to help build the new South Africa."

Mr McKenzie told LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse yes-



Mr Pat McKenzie

terday of his constituency's decision, but agreed to have further discussions with them last night.

"My constituency is convinced this is the right thing to do," he said.

The LP now has 46 MPs in the House.

● See page 4



# Labour Party fights to stem defections as majority shrinks

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party is fighting for its life as the majority party in the House of Representatives today, with more defections predicted and a National Party triumph appearing increasingly likely in the next few days.

Party sources said there was no doubt the defections would continue and that the imminence of the NP wresting control of the House would quicken the swing. Some said the party was destined to become a small opposition party with a core of between 20 and 25 MPs.

Speculation of at least one other LP minister resigning soon surfaced today. All eyes are on Minister of Housing Mr David Curry.

A defiant, but shaken Reverend Allan Hendrickse said today: "At the moment, we're in control, with 46 (MPs), but one does not know what will happen today."

He added: "We certainly will continue the fight, there is no doubt about that."

There was no question of his resigning. He said he had never considered this as an option to staunch the defections.

Frantic politicking in the House of Representatives was expected today, with the NP camp vigorously cajoling wavering MPs, and the LP going all out to persuade those who have departed to return.

The LP was also expected to name names in parliament this afternoon of National Party MPs who they claim have been actively campaigning in the House of Representatives.

Mr Hendrickse has already named one: Caledon MP Mr Lample Fick, who, he said, had close business relations with several of the defectors.

Other names were expected to be divulged today.

Mr Hendrickse today described his 45-minute meeting last night with President De Klerk and the Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, during which the President assured him there had been no orchestrated NP campaign to take control of the House of Representatives.

Asked if he believed the President, Mr Hendrickse said: "No. It may not be the President, but it is definitely Dawie de Villiers (who was behind a recruitment campaign)."

He said he had requested the meeting to "ask the President to implement the accepted convention of relieving Minister Andrew Julies and Deputy Minister Abe Williams of their portfolios".

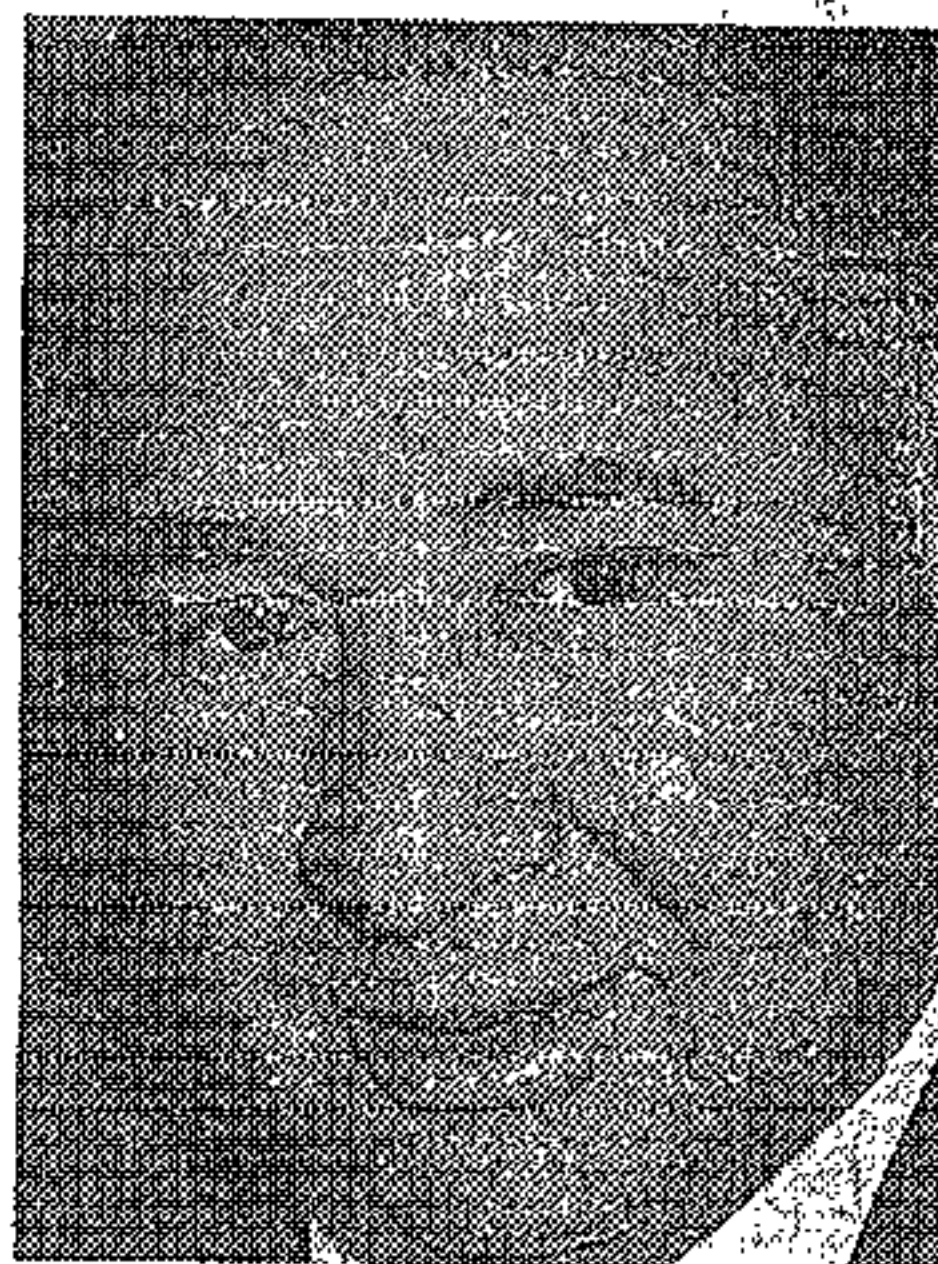
He said Mr De Klerk promised to give him an answer today.

Members of the tricameral Ministers' Councils are appointed by the President at the request of the leader of the majority party in each House.

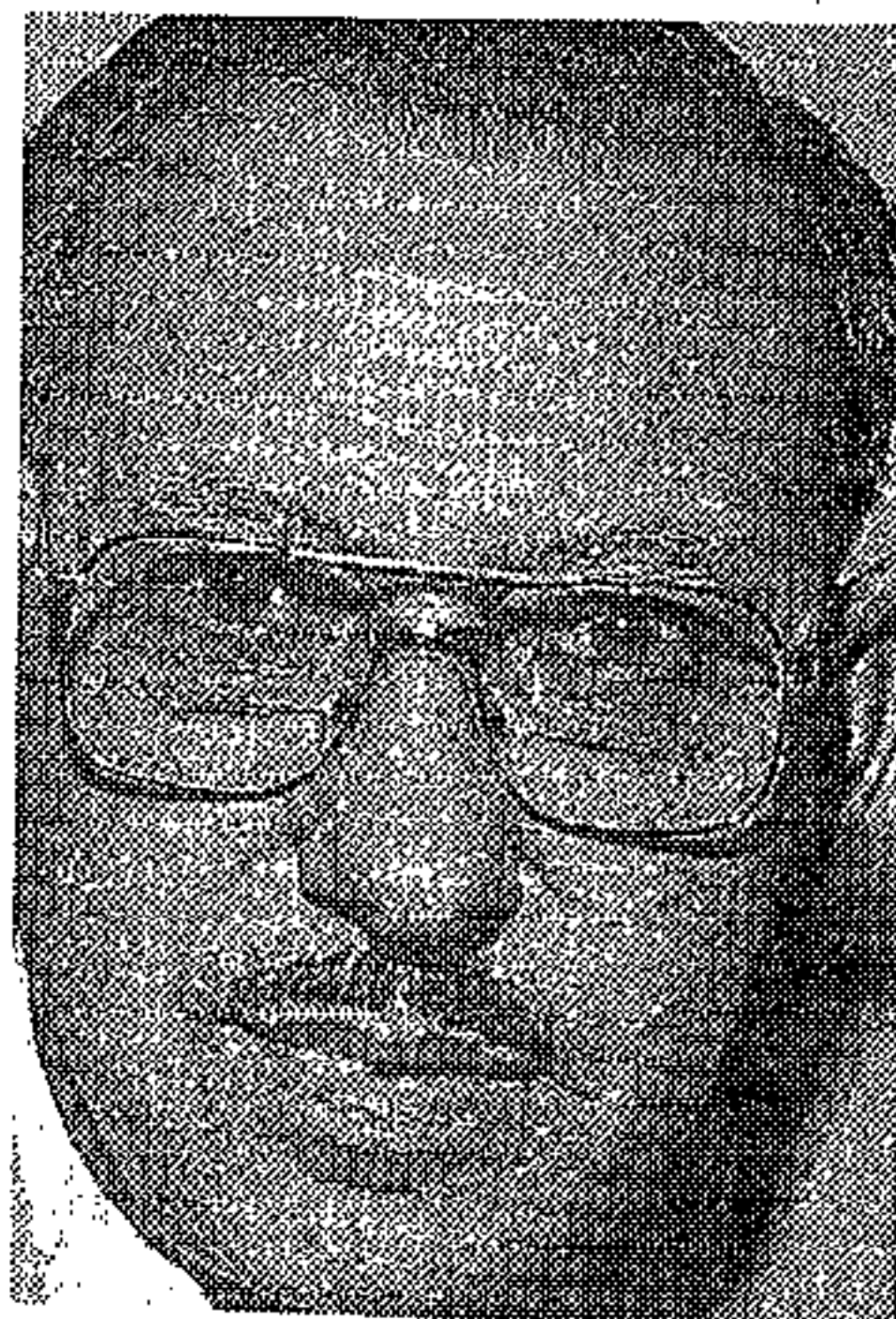
Mr Hendrickse said it was his impression that both Mr Julies and Mr Williams were trying to hold on to their portfolios in the hope of the NP attaining the majority.

Yesterday the party was dealt a humiliating double blow with the resignation of two of its most senior figures.

Even as yesterday's first blow, the defection of one Labour stal-



Mr Abe Williams



Mr Andrew Julies

wart, national secretary and Deputy Minister of Education and Culture Mr Abe Williams, rocked the party. LP spokesmen were confidently predicting the "leak" had been sealed and the party's 47-seat majority was holding.

Then came the second shock, the resignation of Minister of Local Government and Agriculture Mr Andrew Julies, who is visiting Canada.

A bitter and shaken party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse who had bullishly declared on Monday that his then 52-member caucus was resiliently intact and the party's majority in the House assured, was said to have been "visibly moved" by what MPs loyal to him described as an "awful betrayal" by his two close and important colleagues.

The humiliation was deepened by the fact that only a few hours after party spokesmen triumphantly announced Mr Julies's loyalty following what they described as a pledge from him in a telephone call from Canada, his defection was announced in a brief, formal statement by Cape leader of the National Party Dr Dawie de Villiers.

• One of the happiest people in the House of Representatives at the moment is Egyptian-born MP and sole representative of the Freedom Party, Mrs Soheir Hoosen.

"I am very much enjoying what's happening to the Labour Party," said the Tafelberg (Bokaap) MP.

"They are eating their own medicine. What they have done to me in the past five years is now happening to them. God never forgets."



# Celebration, protest for Republic Day

Star 29/5/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

304A

Republic Day on Friday will be celebrated by political and cultural organisations on the political Right. Simultaneous protests against the founding of the South African Republic on May 31 1961 will be held by organisations on the Left.

The Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners will hold a festival at the Paardekraal Monument in Krugersdorp.

The all-day celebrations will be attended by groups including the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Boervrou Forum, the Afrikaanse Studentefront, Mag-aksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme, the Afri-

kaanse Reformatoriese Kerk and the Dietse Federasie. HNP leader Jaap Marais will deliver the keynote address at the festival, which starts at 10 am.

In Pretoria, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is scheduled to deliver an address at a gathering at the Wonderboom Feesterrein, organised by the Afrikaanse Kultuurbond.

Far Right organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will not celebrate Republic Day.

AWB spokesman Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said May 31 symbolised the "humiliation of our folk" because the Treaty of Vereeniging, marking the end of the Anglo-Boer War, had been signed on May 31 1902.

The ANC Youth League, in conjunction with the ANC and the South African Communist Party, will march on the Union Buildings to demonstrate their opposition to Republic Day, which is a public holiday.

ANC publicity secretary in the PWV, Ronnie Mamoepa, said the Youth League was trying to get national executive members such as Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo to lead the protest march, which is scheduled to start at about 11 am.

At the University of the Witwatersrand, the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco) will hold a lunchtime protest meeting on Thursday.

# Major blow as more quit LP

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Embattled Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse suffered another heavy blow when two members of his Ministers' Council resigned to join the National Party yesterday.

As the NP seemed poised to seize power in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse held an urgent meeting with President de Klerk in Tuynhuys last night to discuss the crisis in his party.

The latest to cross the floor yesterday were Minis-

ter of Local Government and Agriculture the Rev Andrew Julies and Deputy Education Minister Abie Williams.

The defection of the two senior men from the six-man Ministers' Council — the first resignations by executive members of the House of Representatives administration — has sparked fears of a landslide defection.

However, Mr Hendrickse was still adamant last night that he would maintain a majority and retain power in the House. He forecast that no more Ministers would quit.

The LP now appears to have 46 seats in the 85-seat House — a precarious three seats more than the 43 needed to ensure an outright majority. The NP appeared last night to have about 32 seats, with the rest held by independents.

But the exact tally was far from certain as many members wavered in the middle.

A shocked Mr Hendrickse said last night he had telephoned Mr Julies in Canada yesterday. Mr Julies had told him that "in spite of the bad treatment which he felt he had had from the LP", he would not be resigning.

"When I phoned him later, he said he had reconsidered and was now faxing his resignation."

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said Mr Julies had applied to join the NP.

LP sources said that earlier in the day Mr Hendrickse had been "visibly shocked" by the resignation of Mr Williams, an old and trusted friend.

Mr Williams was once a well-known rugby administrator. He was secretary of the SA Rugby Federation and deputy manager of the Springboks on their 1981 New Zealand tour.

He gave no explicit reason for his decision but said it was "important that all moderate South Africans should take each other's hands".

Mr Hendrickse said last night he had asked Mr Williams to resign his position as Deputy Education Minister, and had been told he would do so today.

Earlier yesterday, two more MPs resigned to join the NP — Louis Hollander (Britstown) and Mario Masher (Karee).

According to sources, Paul Bergman, MP for South Free State, had also resigned but would remain independent.

But Patrick McKenzie, the Bonteheuwel MP who has been vacillating between the LP and NP for days, told The Star yesterday that he had definitely decided to stay in the LP.

Chris April, Minister of Health Services and Welfare, yesterday denied rumours that he would resign to join the Nats.



Star 29/5/79 (30CA)

## Admit apartheid is evil, Govt urged

CAPE TOWN — It was not enough that the purveyors of apartheid repealed their discriminatory laws, the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin told Parliament yesterday during debate on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill.

"This Government must undo the damage it has done to the fabric of our society."

He said Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning Hernus Kriel, in introducing the Bill on Monday, had shown no remorse or contrition for the hurt and evil over more than 40 years.

"The inference of the Minister's speech is that had the National Party been able to make apartheid work, apart-

heid would still have been the policy of that party.

"But there was no admission that apartheid was morally wrong, hurtful and fundamentally evil.

"No expression of regret, let alone a hint of apology for the fact that the apartheid laws were applied with increasing severity over the last 40 years."

South Africans wanted to hear that apartheid had been abandoned because it was immoral, hurtful and evil, Mr Eglin said.

He said the Government had displaced 3 522 900 people between 1960 and 1983.

Of these, 1 129 000 were black tenants and redundant workers from white farms, 674 000 were moved for

"black spot" consolidation and 834 000 moved in terms of the Group Areas Act.

"I believe Parliament is repealing two of the most fundamental laws ever placed on the statute book."

The Land Acts had turned millions of blacks into landless serfs and converted them from being farmers in their own right to labourers on white-owned farms.

The Group Areas Act had distorted the growth of towns and cities "in a grotesque and painful way".

"It saw homes bulldozed and communities torn apart. It poisoned race relations. It alienated a generation of South Africans." — Sapa.

● More reports — Page 6

ANC ~~11/11~~ 304A

## women to meet FW

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will tomorrow become the first National Party leader to officially meet a delegation of the ANC Women's League.

The meeting, to be held at Tuynhuys, will discuss the violence and how to solve it.

The 25-member delegation will include veterans of the ANC's struggle for liberation and will be led by president Mrs Gertrude Shope.

*Sowetan 29/5/91*  
**Solution**

Others in the party will include her deputy, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Hilda Ndude, deputy leader of the ANC in the Western Cape.

The league decided at a meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend to meet De Klerk and approached ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to arrange it.

Ndude said: "We are women and mothers concerned about the situation in South Africa. We feel that we can offer a solution." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



# Black students turned away from CP meeting in Cape

Sowetan 29/5/91

3047

FIVE black University of Stellenbosch students were turned away from a



ANDRIES TREURNICHT

Conservative Party meeting because it was open only to voters eligible to vote for the House of Assembly.

Ironically, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told the meeting in the Stellenbosch Town Hall on Tuesday night that Coloured people would support his party.

## Confirmed

Mr Francois Groepe, head student of Goldfields residence, the university's residence for black students, confirmed yesterday that he was one of five black Maties refused admission to the meeting.

They had not gone to the town hall to disrupt the meeting, but to listen to Treurnicht and ask him questions, he said.

At the door they were confronted by sign which read 'Slegs kiesers van die Volksraad' (House of Assembly voters only).

"We knew that this was a neat way of telling us we were not welcome."

He said he spoke to members of the student branch of the CP and told them "we were not there to disrupt the meeting, but to ask Treurnicht some questions. They refused to admit us, claiming that it was for our own safety."

He found this strange because the same members of the CP student branch were not stopped from attending a recent meeting on campus addressed by deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela, he said.

"Their meeting was

supposed to have been a public one. By turning us away they hurt our dignity. I'm sad because Stellenbosch is supposed to be a centre where we search for the truth."

## Politics

Refusing them admission proved that the CP had been caught in the politics of the past, he said.

"The CP is trying to ignore the realities of South Africa and cannot offer a solution to our country's problems."

Groepe said he had no problems with Treurnicht's claims, "but how many so-called Coloureds will support his party? I don't think that 0,5 percent of the Coloured population will vote for the CP."

- Sowetan Correspondent

# FW likely to visit more African states soon

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will visit more African countries soon, Angola's Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said in Pretoria this week after a meeting with the president.

Savimbi has left for Lisbon to sign an official peace accord with President Edward dos Santos of the MPLA.

At a media briefing, Savimbi said he may move to Luanda by next month fol-

lowing the departure from Angola of the last of 60 000 Cubans.

He said Unita had bought a hotel in Luanda and a number of houses.

Savimbi also said De Klerk had told him South Africa would "remain the friend of Unita".

Savimbi said the ceasefire that came into effect on May 15 would hold.

The United Nations already had a

group in Angola to monitor the ceasefire and he expected the Organisation of African Unity to send African peace troops to his country as well.

Savimbi said he was confident he would win the proposed election in September 1992 but added if he was defeated he would accept it.

"We won't go back to the bush fighting guerrilla war."

Savimbi said a new national army comprising 50 000 soldiers would be established from Unita and the MPLA's combined 300 000 soldiers. It was therefore important to obtain foreign investment to reintegrate the remaining soldiers into civilian life.

"We don't expect a major problem," he said. - Sapa.



JONAS SAVIMBI



# Hendrickse Strongman joins Nats

# Quit Labour

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**TWO key Labour Party ministers quit the party last night in the most serious setback yet to its bitter battle with the National Party for control of the House of Representatives.**

First Mr Abe Williams, LP strongman and close confidant of party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse, announced he was quitting as the LP's national secretary and throwing in his lot with the Nats. The "betrayal" was compounded when the LP's Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Andrew Jules — after apparently assur-

ing Mr Hendrickse in a lunch-hour phone conversation from Canada that he would remain in the LP fold — quit the party and applied to join the NP. Mr Hendrickse said after his meeting with President F W de Klerk last night that he felt betrayed.

He said he had asked Mr De Klerk to exercise accepted convention by firing the two LP ministers who had defected to the NP.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr De Klerk would let him know today about the position of Mr Jules and Mr Williams. He emphasised that he had no intention of resigning himself, as he had been unanimously elected by the LP national congress in Cape Town in December last year.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr De Klerk "obviously denies" an orchestrated attempt by the NP to take over the House

of Representatives.

However, he added that the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, admitted that Mr Jules had consulted him before yesterday's defection.

The defections followed hot on the heels of resignations earlier in the day of Karee MP Mr Mario Mashner — who wants to be a Nat — and Southern Free State MP Mr Paul Bergman — who has become an independent MP.

"They're dropping like ninepins," said one excited government source close to the cloak-and-dagger moves to oust the LP as the dominant force in the House of Representatives.

Last night, however, the LP was fighting a strong rearguard action to retain control of the House.

Two MPs announced as defectors at a press conference last Friday, Mr Patrick McKenzie (Bonteheuwel) and Mr John

Kriegler (Hantam), were said yesterday to be back in the LP fold.

And it is understood that recent defector to the NP, Robertson MP Mr Willie Meyer, might be getting cold feet.

In another twist to the power play the two protagonists, President De Klerk and Mr Hendrickse, held talks in Tuynhuys last night.

LP deputy leader Mr Miley Richards says that Mr De Klerk told him at the weekend that the NP would have control of the House by today.

During a heated debate in Parliament yesterday during which the Speaker threatened tough disciplinary action against interjecting MPs, the Minister of Provincial Affairs, Mr Herinus Kriel, taunted MPs in LP benches and predicted many more defections.

To page 2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/2000 BY SP-10

P.T.O.

## Labour

304A

After blaming the exodus from the LP on the party's obsession with colour, Mr Kriel said: "More will walk away, many more will walk away, and walk away before the day is out."

"Believe me as sure as I stand here."

Shortly afterwards the resignations of Mr Williams and Mr Julies were announced. Mr Williams issued a statement announcing his change of allegiance and the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, issued a statement claiming Mr Julies as a Nationalist.

The defection of Mr Williams, the Deputy Minister of Education and Culture, came as a body blow for the LP as Mr Hendricke was relying on him to organise a special LP caucus retreat this weekend to stem the tide of defections.

Dejected LP MPs acknowledged that the latest spate of defections would make it difficult for the party to hold the line on poaching by a "rampant" National Party.

They predicted that once the NP came close to its target of 43 MPs for controlling the House the trickle of defections would turn into a flood.

However, other LP loyalists said the battle was not yet over and the party might still be able to ward off the NP's hostile take-over bid.

Later in yesterday's often tempestuous debate on the abolition of the Group Areas and Land Acts, the LP's Minister of Health and Welfare, Mr Chris April, said that despite President De Klerk's prediction to the contrary, the LP would still be in control of the House of Representatives by today.

Voting on the bill, which the LP believes contains racist elements to protect white norms and standards, is due to take place on Monday.

Mr April accused Mr Kriel of "arrogance" and said he needed to confess that he had hurt people and sinned by clinging to apartheid.

CT 29/5/91



# POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



## The real contenders for SA's hall of fame

W/Mant 30/5-6/6/91

30/4/91

10

**A**NTI-APARTHEID activists denounce Margaret Thatcher as a racist and supporter of apartheid because of her vociferous anti-sanctions stand when she was British Prime Minister. I don't agree with them.

She has denounced racism in her country. And, given her role in Zimbabwe's independence, I believe she genuinely wants apartheid to end.

I believe Thatcher is opposed to economic sanctions, not because they harm black South Africans as she claims, but because of the consequences they would have for the British economy. Her stand is based on British economic self-interest. If that were not so, she wouldn't have supported the Commonwealth Gleneagles Agreement discouraging sporting contact with SA.

But the way she sounded in defending her position gave the impression that she was more interested in the well-being of white South Africans than the welfare of black people. Thatcher has been a fine cheerleader for the National Party, and it was for this that FW de Klerk gave her the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class.

This must be remembered, because local media and the SABC are again lapsing into their "pro-SA" and "anti-SA" nonsense. Anybody who campaigned against the NP's apartheid policies was — and is — described as "anti-SA" and anyone who appeared sympathetic to the Nats was dubbed "pro-SA".

One wonders what the point of the award was, given the deep political divisions in our country — divisions to which Thatcher contributed. After all, when a democratic South Africa is born, it is unlikely she'll be rated among the majority's foreign heroes, unless she is seen as having actively contributed to a solution.

The question of heroes is highly subjective. From an anti-apartheid perspective, I've compiled my list of random heroes.

Top of the list is Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, who risked much for giving shelter to the ANC and PAC respectively, as well as Frontline State leaders such as Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Mozambique's Samora Machel.

Also on my list are successive governments of India, the first country to impose economic sanctions against apartheid, and the governments of the Soviet Union and Sweden, which consistently gave material support to the ANC and others for more than 30 years.

Gandhi's role in South Africa is legendary. Ghana's late Kwame Nkrumah also merits consideration. General Joseph Garba and his United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the Olympic Movement, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa and Fifa, soccer's world controlling body, rate highly.

Also on my list are the many African and other so-called Third World sportspeople who boycotted the Olympic and Commonwealth games in protest against South African sports links.

An unquantifiable number of sports stars and entertainers have turned down megabuck offers to perform here. They include cricket captains Gary Sobers, Clive Lloyd and Viv Richards of the West Indies, Imran Khan of Pakistan, Sunil Gavaskar of India, England's Ian Botham, soccer king Pele and boxing legend Muhammad Ali.

England cricket star the Rev David Shephard was among the first to refuse to play against all-white SA teams. The British actors' union Equity also deserves a medal, for its stand undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of apartheid in our theatres.

Randall Robinson of Transafrica and singer Harry Belafonte conducted high-profile anti-apartheid campaigns in the United States. Actor Marlon Brando helped create international awareness about the evils of apartheid and Chase Manhattan Bank is credited with having set the American sanctions ball rolling.

Canon John Collins played a sterling role in the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund, which assisted victims of apartheid.

In the mainstream media, I'd single out Britain's *The Guardian* newspaper; cricket commentator, wine fundi and writer John Arlott; and *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, a Harvard academic who has been writing about apartheid's injustices since long before the anti-apartheid cause became fashionable in the US.

Few of these people set foot in South Africa or lived here for an appreciable period. But one man who did, and who made a significant contribution to the cause of black South Africans, is Bishop Trevor Huddleston. Over the years he never lost an opportunity to attack apartheid.

There are so many others, well known and obscure, who would be in line for awards. If a future democratic government were to line them up, it would take a full-time staff and many years to pin-point those more deserving of an award than Margaret Thatcher.

Application No. Aansoek No.	Proprietary name Handelsnaam	Applicant Aansoeker
X1080 .....	DENTINE ADHESIVE .....	Viodental CC Kulzer SA.
X1081 .....	ESTILUX HYBRID VS .....	Viodental CC Kulzer SA Dental Products.
X1082 .....	ESTILUX POSTERIOR CVS .....	Viodental CC Kulzer SA Dental Products.
X1083 .....	HERAENIUM NA .....	Viodental CC Kulzer SA Dental Products.
X1084 .....	HERAENIUM CE .....	Viodental CC Kulzer SA Dental Products.
X1085 .....	SILTRAX (PLUS-EPI-AS) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1086 .....	LITARK .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1087 .....	SUPER PASTE .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1088 .....	PANAVIA (POWDER & LIQUID) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1089 .....	COPALITE VARNISH .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1090 .....	DROPSIN POWDER .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1091 .....	DROPSIN LIQUID .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1092 .....	STENTS COMPOUND .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1093 .....	EUGENOL (LIQUID) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1094 .....	BIOGLASS (LIQUID) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1095 .....	STASEAL (PASTE) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1096 .....	DENTAL STICK PROXAPIC/PERIOPIC .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1097 .....	T.C.F. (LIQUID) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.
X1098 .....	PLASTOGUM (POWDER) .....	H & P Dental Services (Pty) Ltd.

(30 May 1991)/(30 Mei 1991)

**NOTICE 478 OF 1991****RESULT OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTION: ELECTORAL DIVISION OF LADYBRAND**

In accordance with sections 108 and 109 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), the following particulars relating to the election of a member of the House of Assembly for the Electoral Division of Ladybrand held on 22 May 1991 are hereby published for general information:

**KENNISGEWING 478 VAN 1991****UITSLAG VAN TUSSENVERKIESING VIR DIE VOLKSRAAD: KIESAFDELING LADYBRAND**

Ooreenkomstig artikels 108 en 109 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), word die volgende besonderhede betreffende die verkiesing van 'n lid van die Volksraad vir die kiesafdeling Ladybrand gehou op 22 Mei 1991 hiermee vir algemene inligting gepubliseer:

Electoral Division Kiesafdeling	(a) Name of person elected (b) Majority of votes of person elected (c) Date with effect from which declared elected (a) Naam van verkose persoon (b) Meerderheidstemme van verkose persoon (c) Datum met ingang waarvan verkies verklaar	Votes polled for, and political party represented Stemme uitgebring en politieke party verteenwoordig		Number of ballot papers rejected Getal verworpe stembriewe	(a) Total number of votes polled (b) Polling percentage (a) Totale getal stemme uitgebring (b) Stempersentasie	Number of voters on voters' list Totale getal kiesers op kieserslys
		Candidate Kandidaat	Political party Politieke party			
Ladybrand.....	(a) C. E. Hertzog (b) 1 258  (c) 1991-05-22	C. E. Hertzog 6 276  C. J. Smit 5 018	Conservative Party / Konserwatiewe Party  National Party / Nasionale Party	52	(a) 11 346 (b) 81,11%	13 989

(30 May 1991)/(30 Mei 1991)

**NOTICE 479 OF 1991****CUSTOMS AND EXCISE TARIFF APPLICATIONS:****LIST 20/91**

The following applications concerning the Customs and Excise Tariff have been received by the Board of Trade and Industry. Any objections to or comments on these representations must be submitted to the Chief Executive, Board of Trade and Industry, Private Bag X753, Pretoria, 0001, within six weeks of the date of this notice. Attention is drawn to the fact that the rates of duty mentioned in the application are those requested by the applicant and that the Board, depending on its findings, may recommend lower or higher rates of duty.

**KENNISGEWING 479 VAN 1991****DOEANE- EN AKSYNSTARIEFAANSOEKE:****LYS 20/91**

Onderstaande aansoeke betreffende die Doeane-en Aksynstarief is deur die Raad van Handel en Nywerheid ontvang. Enige beswaar teen of kommentaar op hierdie verzoek moet binne ses weke na die datum van hierdie kennisgewing aan die Hoof Uitvoerende Beambte, Raad van Handel en Nywerheid, Privaatsak X753, Pretoria, 0001, gerig word. Die aandag word daarop gevestig dat die skale van reg wat in die aansoek genoem word, dié is wat deur die applikant aangevra is en dat die Raad, afhangende van sy bevindinge, hoër of laer skale van reg mag aanbeveel.



# Verwoerd and Lenin's days are numbered

30/5/91  
WHAT do Verwoerdburg and Leningrad have in common? Probably as little as their namesakes, except that both sets of city fathers are under pressure to change their names.

A number of Verwoerdburg businessmen are rebelling against the town's name, which they claim is retarding business.

At the same time, Leningrad's Communist Party chief has dismissed attempts to return the city's name to St Petersburg.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that, at a Verwoerdburg town council forum this week, a businessman claimed

610am 30/5/91  
Business Day Reporter  
local business was losing out on development opportunities and foreign investment because of the town's association with apartheid's architect, Hendrik Verwoerd.

Louis Norval, of the Verwoerdburg CBD Association, said multinationals would be embarrassed to have the town's name on their letterheads.

Association chairman Dudley Pound said BMW and the Development Bank of Southern Africa had avoided Verwoerdburg because it was named after a politi-

30/5/91  
cian responsible for apartheid.

Pound said National Sorghum Breweries had moved its head office from Verwoerdburg because of the name.

Meanwhile Sapa-AP reports that Leningrad Communist Party first secretary Boris Gidaspov said yesterday a drive to change the city's name dishonoured the citizens who had fought to protect it during the Second World War.

The proposal to rename Leningrad follows moves by several cities to shed names imposed by communists under Stalin or erase monuments to old-line communists.

# 'Odd partnership' seen as SA's hope

B1 Day 30/5/91

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Progress towards settlement that is taking SA back into the world community depended heavily on the physical survival of the "strange partnership" between President F W de Klerk and ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) said yesterday.

Presenting the annual Strategic Survey, IISS director Francois Heisbourg said developments in SA were unusual because progress depended "very much on two individuals."

Without one or the other, a "dangerous" situation would become "disastrous", but while they and their work survived they were fated to succeed in their efforts to create a democratic SA.

He said the "explosion" of township violence had been expected and was proof that repressive societies were at their most volatile when they em-

barked on reform.

But the survey acclaimed De Klerk's ditching of apartheid and held out more hope for South and southern Africa than anywhere else in a "seething continent" beset by repression, corruption, bloody uprisings, violence and ethnic and religious fighting.

It said black township violence had threatened at times to imperil the process of transition and the hope that a post-apartheid SA would escape the factional strife and economic decline of other African countries.

But events were marked also by profound and irreversible political change "which cleared SA's path back into the world community".

The survey said: "Under the leadership of President De Klerk the National Party, which has ruled SA since 1948 and had constructed the apartheid state, has performed a remarkable

political volte face."

It said the ANC's own hopes for the future had been complicated by the "paralysing" division in its own ranks and its alliance with Cosatu and the UDF.

Tension was mirrored in the violent clashes with rival political parties including the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

A key factor in the violence was Inkatha's determination to "wring acceptance from the ANC as a legitimate political party which could not be excluded from the constitutional negotiations without plunging the country into civil war".

The black political rivalry was only one factor in a "highly combustible cocktail of political and social issues".

Lending credibility to ANC claims of a "third force", the report said it was clear the bloodletting was being provoked to an extent by maverick white right-wing elements in the police force itself.

It added: "There was, however, little supporting evidence" for allegations that this amounted to a government conspiracy to derail negotiations for which De Klerk continued to push throughout the year.

But the impetus for negotiation remained strong.



# Another Labour MP joins Nats

6/Day 30/5/91

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party is still in power despite losing one more MP — Patrick McKenzie (Bonteheuwel) — who yesterday announced he had now received a mandate from his constituency to join the NP.

McKenzie's decision ends six days of yo-yoing between the NP and Labour and leaves the latter with 46 seats plus the support of one independent.

That means that just five more defections stand between Labour and the loss of control of the 85-seat House.

The group who have joined the NP, now dubbed the "Brown Nats", will be attending their first caucus meeting this morning, although it is understood a small band of about six "new Nats" are already reconsidering and have been involved in talks with the Labour Party about a possible return.

A senior Labour MP said last night the talks were at an advanced stage and an announcement could be expected shortly.

As the "bruin twis" continues to dominate the political week, President F W de Klerk is becoming more involved.

Yesterday he declined to sack either the Minister of Local Govern-

ment and Agriculture, Andrew Julius, or the deputy-minister of Education and Culture, Abe Williams.

Last night Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse put a formal request to President F W de Klerk to fire the two, and the LP caucus is expected to ratify that today.

While no confirmation could be obtained from Tuynhuys, a Labour source indicated De Klerk had told Hendrickse that he would only fire the two men who defected to the NP yesterday if it could be shown that they no longer enjoyed the support of the majority of MPs.

De Klerk clearly is banking on the NP winning a majority shortly, and does not want to fire two of the men who have already thrown their weight behind the NP.

While Labour sources quietly acknowledge that they were unlikely to be able to "hold the line", there was a creeping note of desperation among "white" MPs in the NP that they may not be able to get a majority by Monday when voting on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures is due to take place.

● See Page 12

# Talks to set up a catalyst for peace

ATTEMPTS continued yesterday to set up an eight-person group which would serve as a catalyst in creating the "facilitating committee" mooted at government's peace conference last weekend.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches joint chairman Louw Alberts said yesterday he was talking to a range of people who would act as catalysts in establishing the committee.

None of them would be drawn from political groups.

He declined to say which individuals had so far agreed to take part in the group, but said an announcement would be made in the next few days.

The mechanism or forum to combat conflict in society would be decided by the "facilitating committee", he said.

The committee, agreed upon at the weekend summit, was to draw into

the peace process parties which had not attended.

Meanwhile, a government source said yesterday that although the Rustenburg group had not been mandated to bring together facilitators to establish the facilitating committee, there was no objection to members of the Rustenburg group being seconded to the committee.

The ANC has indicated it probably would be prepared to take part in the facilitating committee, if its functions coincided with ANC proposals.

The ANC has called for a code of conduct for political parties and police as one of the measures to help reduce conflict and unrest.

Inkatha has so far resisted attempts by church bodies to establish a peace mechanism or forum because it considers church bodies to be too close to the ANC.

## Jockey Club told to repay fines

SUSAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court judge yesterday ordered the Jockey Club of SA to repay fines totalling R10 000 it imposed on trainer Alan Forbes after two of his horses tested positive for a prohibited substance.

Stipendiary stewards convicted Forbes twice of contravening Jockey Club rules after they held that the winners of two races on December 7 1988 and April 1, 1990, Fastoll and Northern Sheik respectively, had tested positive for the anti-inflammatory drug Naproxen. He was fined R5 000 in respect of each conviction.

Forbes's appeals against the convictions were dismissed by local executive stewards of the Transvaal and Free State district of the Jockey Club and head executive stewards.

Mr Justice van der Merwe overturned both convictions yesterday after holding that the hearings in front of the stipendiary stewards were unfairly conducted and in breach of Jockey Club rules.

He ordered the Jockey Club to pay Forbes the R10 000 fines plus interest.

## Women's League delegation in talks with FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and a delegation of the ANC Women's League were still locked in talks three-and-a-half hours after the group had entered Tuynhuys last night amid speculation that they planned a sit-in in the presidential office.

Included among the group was Winnie Mandela, on her first visit to Tuynhuys. Two others in the delegation of about 15 women were carrying their babies.

They arrived for the meeting at 5pm. Leading the group was Women's League president Gertrude Hlope

and Ruth Mompati, an ANC National Executive Committee member.

Security at Tuynhuys was heavier than usual. Hlope said as she was escorted through the gates to Tuynhuys that the women would be discussing "the problems of SA" with De Klerk.

It is understood that the violence and breakdown in talks between government and the ANC were top of the delegation's agenda. The delegation presented a petition on violence to De Klerk.

Another issue almost certainly discussed was the hunger strike by prisoners claiming they should be freed because they were sentenced for politically motivated crimes. The league had been trying to arrange a meeting with De Klerk for some time.



# Feast of browns for the Great White

predatory characteristics as he gobbles up the minnows of the House of Representatives. 304A

By ARTHUR MAIMANE

**W**HEN PW Botha ruled he was feared for being an old crocodile that snapped its huge jaws at any sign of dissent — and woe betide any outspoken dissident. His successor is taking on the shape of a Great White Shark gobbling up the minnows in the House of Representatives. FW de Klerk's recent underwater manoeuvres are not important in themselves because this colourful, not to say confusing, house born of apartheid is not of any national importance. Only a laughable minority of coloureds bother to vote for its 85 MPs.

But the wheeling and dealing should be a warning to all other politicians who wish to negotiate a new constitution with him. This man is dangerous.

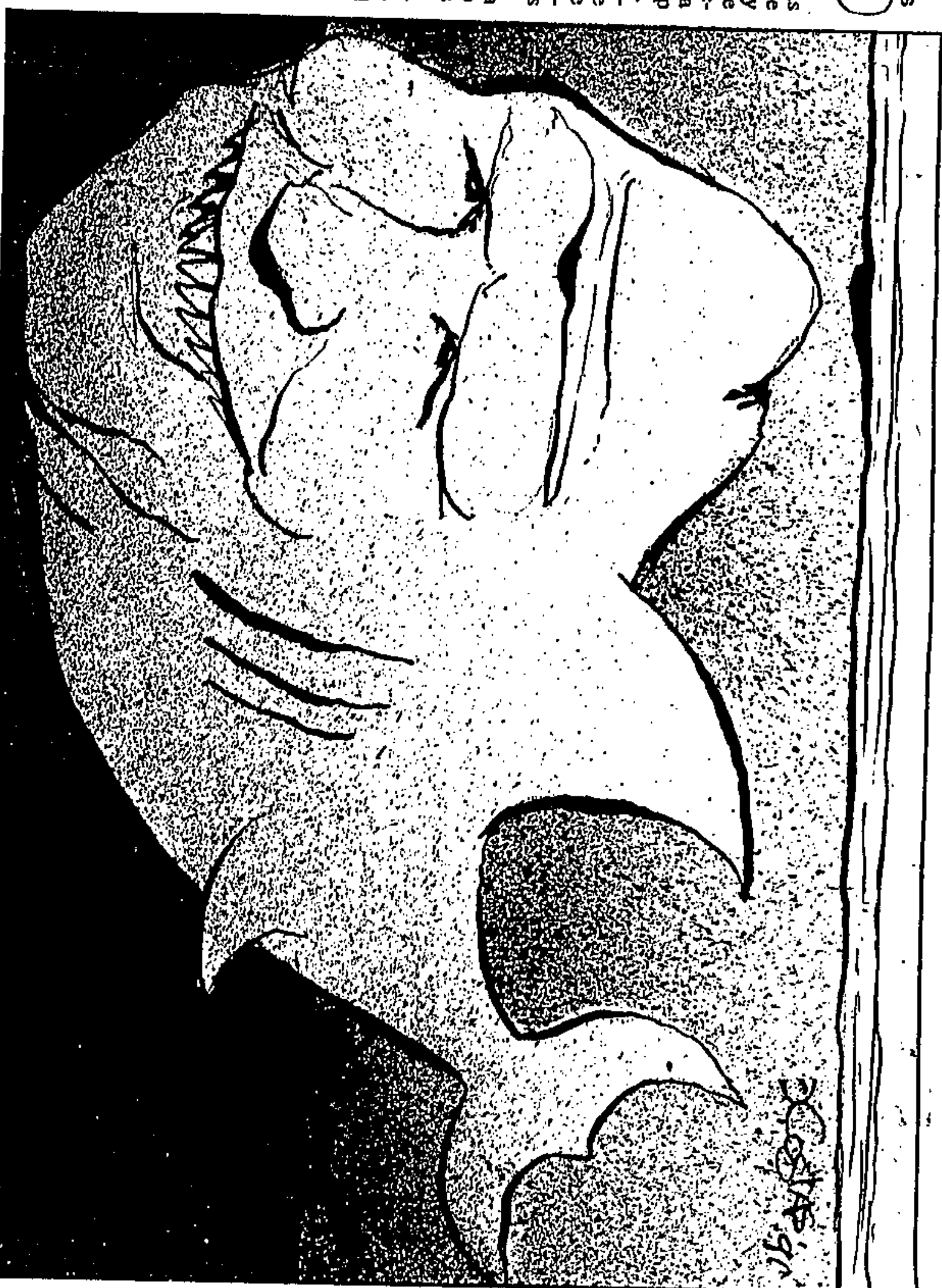
And worse, according to Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse who's losing his seven-year majority in the Reps to the Nats. The goateed reverend gentleman has complained that he was "betrayed and double-crossed" by Nats who have "prostituted the trincamental constitution they wrote". They "used and abused me and my party" before dropping him in the — well, enough said.

De Klerk, he claims, "finished the demolition job against me" when, a week ago, the president welcomed 12 Labour Party MPs into his own party the very day after he had promised Hendrickse he would stop the rot of defection. What did he expect from fellow politicians after 13 years as leader of a party?

Hendrickse has, like a true politician, tried to put a brave face on the massacre of his ranks by describing the brand-new "brown Nats" as a few leaves falling off a tree: their politicised retort is that they've fallen off because the tree is dead.

On Monday the defectors claimed there would be 17 more by Friday, giving the National Party a majority of 47. If they're proven right, then Hendrickse will lose the power he has wielded for all seven years of the trincamental system. He will this weekend have to adjust to losing the trappings and perks that go with a Cabinet Minister's salary, the chauffeured Mercedes to which he's entitled and much more; but there'll be a fat pension — his six-figure salary for life if he decides to retire — and free travel on South African Airways. Tickets to ride; but where to?

The lure of office is evidently enticing, and the "brown Nats" can't be unaware of what lies ahead when they hold the reins in the



House of Representatives. Admittedly Nick Isaacs quit Labour some time ago to form his own Democratic Reform Party with four others, but they dissolved it three weeks ago to join the Nats. And he angrily insists they have not been lured or enticed with promises — or even threats — by De Klerk's press gang that Hendrickse claims has shanghaied his once-loyal followers.

Minnows could say the same after rising to bait floating in the water — or swimming into the wide-open mouth of a Great White Shark they think is a safe underwater cavern. It's a danger that may still not be apparent to aspiring constitutional negotiators.

This is not meant to suggest the head of state is not an honourable man — and quite charming too, when I've met him. Only a warning that he's a canny politician who has even

turned the Nats completely round from the credo of apartheid which, according to Planning Minister Henrus Kriel, has become "a political dodo".

When he introduced the repeal of the Group Areas and the Land Acts on Monday, Kriel paid tribute to his president for being a visionary "who recognised the fact that we were defending the indefensible" and had "put his political career under the guillotine".

And he's turned round coloured MPs who should still detest his party for its sins of the past. And done it the week in which Hendrickse threatened his party would block passage of the repeals which De Klerk so desperately needs to fulfill his promises that all apartheid legislation would be off the statute books by the end of June.

In the same repeal debate the Democratic Par-

ty's Jannie Mombreg, MP for Simonstown, recalled that in 1967, coloureds were uprooted from his constituency and dumped 15km away in Ocean View — "one of the most evil, despicable acts" in 43 years of Nat rule. But now, he notes, their MP has defected and become a "brown Nat", which must be the "ultimate indignity" for the bitterly displaced.

Well, Jannie, politics is a funny old game and motives aren't necessarily what they could be in the civilian world.

But for FW to wring high-falutin' platitudes from Kriel — who's suspected of still hankering after what he now calls "the experiment that went wrong" and has been accused in parliament of being part of a destabilising fifth column — confirms that this shark will be a dangerous protagonist at the negotiating table. FW de Klerk plays a mean game of poker.

## Nats are set to swallow Labour 304A

By ARTHUR MAIMANE: Cape Town

THE take-over bid for MPs of the (coloured) Labour Party by the once-white National Party looks likely to succeed before Monday's vote on the repeal of the Group Areas and Land Acts which Labour has threatened to block. *w/maul 30/5-6/6/91*

By Wednesday, Labour's majority had been reduced from a peak of 76 out of 80 in 1984, to 45 out of 85 — just two short of losing their majority, and the stream of defections was expected to turn into a flood by the weekend.



# Nats notch up yet another LP defector



NEW NAT ...  
Patrick McKenzie

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party yesterday edged closer to its goal of taking control of the House of Representatives when the Labour Party MP for Bonteheuwel, Mr Patrick McKenzie, joined the growing band of defectors on the Nat benches.

Nationalists were last night confident that more MPs would cross the floor, with Fish River MP Mr Carolus Koeberg apparently targeted as the next candidate for defection.

By last night a depleted Labour Party was claiming 46 MPs — just three more than is needed to be assured of control of the House.

However, the NP will probably not be able to count on all six independents.

Both sides were confident they would have a majority when voting on

crucial land reform legislation takes place early next week.

The independent MP for Border and former LP member, Mr Peter Mopp, told Parliament yesterday that the LP was "at the end of its road" and that funeral arrangements for the party could be proceeded with.

He said it was a pity the LP had become irrelevant and blamed the demise of the party on the leadership style of Mr Allan Hendrickse.

Mr McKenzie, who last week likened Labour MPs crossing the floor to Judas's betrayal of Jesus, yesterday formally followed their example.

He told Parliament that the 46 members of his constituency committee in Bonteheuwel had unanimously decided that he should join the NP.

LP MPs said the party was working hard at getting at least five of the defectors back in the Labour fold.





Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

**BABE IN ARMS:** Some of the women who saw President De Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday took their babies with them. Among the women who saw the President were Mrs Winnie Mandela, left, and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, right.

## Deadlock as FW holds talks with ANC women

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk and the ANC Women's League struck deadlock on the issue of releasing hunger strikers after an historic meeting lasting more than five hours last night.

League president Gertrude Shope led a delegation of 22 members to the meeting in Mr De Klerk's office in Tuynhuys to discuss various problems, including violence and political prisoners.

The delegation included Mrs Winnie Mandela, head of the league's PWV region and wife of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Despite the deadlock, Mrs Shope described the meeting as a "breakthrough".

"It was a breakthrough because at least we sat down and discussed a few things together," Mrs Shope said.

"Unlike 1956 when the State President didn't want to talk with the women when they wanted to see him."

She was referring to an unsuccessful attempt by the ANC Women's League in 1956 to see Prime Minister J G Strijdom.

Sources close to the talks disclosed that Mr De Klerk had given each of the 22 delegates a hearing.

Political observers said it was clear that Mr De Klerk had taken pains to show respect to the women.

The delegation — dressed in black

to mourn the violence — arrived at Tuynhuys at 5pm and left after 10.30pm.

About 70 ANC women lining the entrance to Tuynhuys sang the anthem, *Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika*, as they left.

Mrs Shope said that the talks ended in deadlock and the league would meet today to review the talks before holding a Press conference.

Although she did not say so, it is understood that disagreement over the release of hunger strikers caused the deadlock.

Mr De Klerk issued a statement after the meeting, saying that he believed women had a "very important contribution to make in changing attitudes which underlie the culture of violence gripping our country".

"In respect of your main plea on the hunger strikers, the government is deeply concerned about the situation."

He was satisfied that all prisoners who clearly qualified for release had been released.

"All that now remain are those individuals who have committed serious common law crimes, such as murder, rape, assault and robbery."

Mr De Klerk said he had taken careful note of the plea to curb and end the violence.

The government would continue to play its part in changing attitudes which "underlie the culture of violence gripping our country".

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# Coetsee warns on hunger strikes

ARGUS

30/5/91

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By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

THE government has delivered a firm warning that hunger strikes will not influence its handling of the release of political prisoners.

In a clear setting out of the government's position on political prisoners, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee warned that the government would not release people indiscriminately "based on a mere claim of being a political prisoner".

This would "discredit the entire judicial system" and the principles of criminal justice and the rule of law.

All prisoners seeking release on the basis of a claim that they were being held for political reasons had to submit an application for release in terms of procedures agreed by the ANC and the government.

On the question of hunger strikes — which Mr Coetsee described as a strategy to pressure the government into releasing prisoners — he said: "It must not be expected of the government to consider the release of prisoners

because they wilfully endanger their lives and health.

"The only basis on which the release of prisoners claiming a political motive will be considered is that of an application by individual prisoners dealt with through the mechanisms agreed on.

"It is absolutely unwarranted and irresponsible of prisoners to place their lives and health in jeopardy while their action as such cannot have any influence on the ultimate outcome of their applications for release.

"It is even more absurd for a prisoner to embark on a hunger strike, demanding release, when he has not even completed an application form."

Mr Coetsee said the government had "gone to extremes" to create mechanisms to effectively fulfil its obligations under the Pretoria Minute "and to ensure that each and every prisoner has the opportunity to apply for release".

He said every application was dealt with "expeditiously and re-

sponsibly in order to ensure objective evaluation and consideration".

However, many of the applications received before and after April 30 — at least 90 percent, based on a "random representative" sample — fell outside the guidelines for defining political offences and this "frustrates the process".

The last category of offences announced on April 24 was "virtually a general amnesty" except for murder, rape, robbery and serious bodily harm.

Human rights lawyer Mr Willie Hofmer has rejected Mr Coetsee's remarks.

"Among those still not released are persons who have been convicted only of attacks on strictly military targets in which no serious injuries were caused.

"In any event the government had committed itself to completing the process of releases by April 30 and it has provided no reasons why the so-called serious cases could not have been completed by that date."



OBIN RENNICK — plain "Mr." when he arrived in South Africa in 1987, now "Sir" as a result of what he has done here — leaves behind him a diplomatic trail such as has never before been blazed by a foreign ambassador in this country.

Foreign Minister P.W. Botha concedes this, as do senior ANC figures. Both have at times had cause to lament Sir Robin's energy and efficacy, but their admiration for his professionalism is unquestionable.

He changed the timid approach of British diplomacy in South Africa to one of innovative risk-taking, bordering on the interventionist.

Opposed with equal vehemence to apartheid and sanctions, he occupied a powerful position which he exploited adroitly on both sides of South Africa's political fence.

Sir Robin cultivated key contacts in Government and resistance circles. The Government had to listen to him because Whitehall mattered, and activists were made to listen to him. Sir Robin established a network of "township attaches" — bright young diplomats dubbed "Robin's Batmen" — who implemented important aid packages and made sure that the British Embassy was in touch with township developments.

Sir Robin took unashamed delight in being able to bring together at embassy functions groups ranging from the Afrikaner Volkswag to the PAC. He impressed all with his detailed political knowledge and quick wit.

He was an inveterate message-deliverer. It was typical and appropriate that this week, while packing his bags, he was still sending out feelers to see whether Britain could help to narrow the gap between the Government and the ANC on the need for a representative summit on violence. His style is to urge and cajole.

Sir Robin let his formidable diplomatic mask slip slightly this week in an interview, and spoke frankly about his impressions of South Africa.

#### ON THE 'OLD' SOUTH AFRICA:

When I came, one saw an attempt to govern mainly by repression, nailing the lid down on an increasingly explosive cauldron. There was only one way that that could have ended — in disaster.

#### WHAT BRITAIN TRIED TO DO THEN:

It was a bleak and difficult period. Internally one was engaged mainly in defensive operations, like trying to persuade

# 'Trail blazer' moves on

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Sir Robin Renwick, possibly the most influential foreign diplomat South Africa has seen, leaves for a new life in Washington on Monday. SHAUN JOHNSON encouraged him to let the diplomatic mask slip a little before he leaves for his new post.



Mandela ... De Klerk ... extraordinary great qualities of leadership.

**ON FW DE KLERK'S ROLE**  
The Afrikaner intelligentsia played an important role in the changes, but the main credit must go to President de Klerk. He has taken very courageous decisions. His first decision as President was to allow the Cape Town protest march. That was a massive turning point.

#### ON WHETHER DE KLERK HAS A 'MASTER PLAN':

I don't know whether he has a design or a definite outcome in mind. But I do believe that when he took over it was his intention to change things in quite a fundamental way. Whether it was all in his mind on day one to go as far or as fast as he has, I don't know. In all political decisions, if one works out all right it becomes easier to take the next.

#### ON FW'S POLITICAL STYLE:

He's shown great qualities of leadership. When difficulties and turbulence have arisen, he's reacted calmly and dealt with them rationally. It's a pleasant contrast to the past.

#### ON WHETHER DE KLERK UNDERWENT A 'CONVERSION':

I think the direction was clear from the outset. I well remember a meeting I had with him not long after I arrived in 1987. He said he was determined to ensure that Rhodesia's mistake was not repeated here — to leave it far too late to negotiate with real black leaders. So I was more optimistic when he took over than quite a lot of people were.

#### ON NELSON MANDELA:

Since he came out of prison I have been able to see him many times, and he is a man of extraordinary dignity, personal

authority and charisma. I walked down the street with him in Johannesburg the other day, and by the time we were halfway, all the office workers were hanging out of the buildings. I don't think they wanted to see me. One does develop a great affection for the man. I think if I'd been locked up for 27 years I'd be surprised if I were able to show such magnanimity and lack of bitterness. He is in my book a great man.

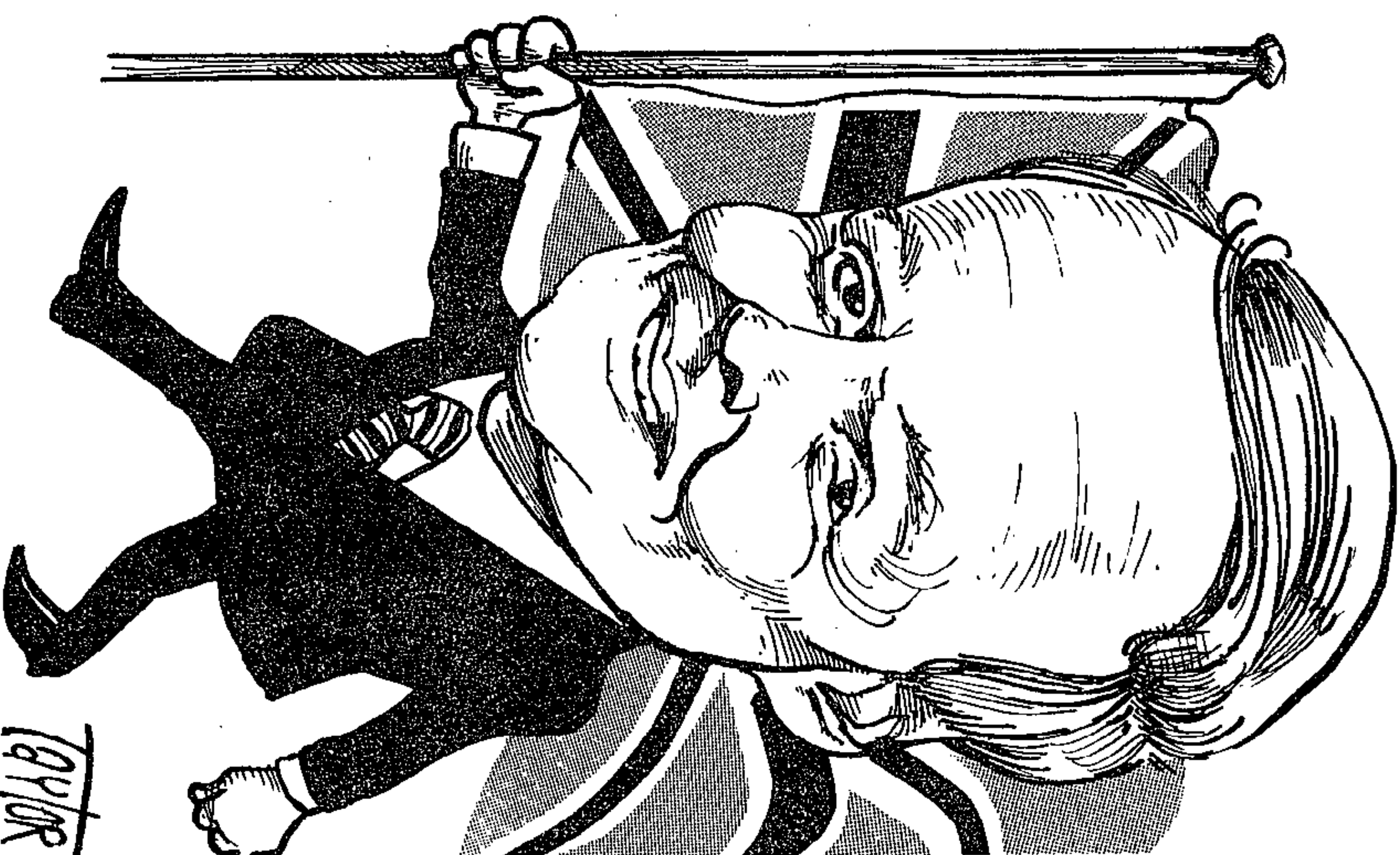
#### ON MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI:

I've known him well throughout my time here, and also my friend Laurens van der Post is a friend of Chief Buthelezi. I've always had good relations with him, and I've been warmly received in Ulundi. It's important to remember that when the Government would have dearly liked to have done a separate deal with him, he refused to negotiate until Mr Mandela was released and the ANC unbanned.

#### ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER FIGURES:

Outsiders can't contribute unless there are internal efforts. These come in different camps. Apart from the Helen Suzmans and Van Zyl Slabberts, I found within the Afrikaner establishment some very good allies.

Ministers, including Barred du Plessis, Dawie de Villiers, Gerit Viljoen and P.W. Botha have shown political courage. So have people like Neil van Heerden, Johan Heyns, Pieter de Lange, Willie Esterhuysen, Her-



Taylor

mann Gillmore and sections of the Afrikaans press.

#### ON P.W. BOTHA:

I have to say that in all my meetings with him, there were very frank exchanges, but they were always 'correct' exchanges. I think it's tragic (how he ended up). I think he did start off attempting to change, but that process got completely stuck and by the time I arrived

there seemed little prospect of acceptable new initiatives.

#### ON RELATIONS WITH POLITICAL PARTIES:

I've had very good relations with the Government and the Democratic Party, and with Mr Mandela and many of his senior colleagues in the ANC. Also with Jerry Mosala, who was the president of Azapo, and with Mr



Buthelezi ... Botha ... I knew him well ... tragic how he ended up.

(Clarence) Makgweni and his colleagues in the PAC.

#### ON THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY:

It's the only party I've never been able to make any real impact with. I understand the anxieties they're reflecting, but the great Afrikaner statement is 'Ons sal 'n plan maak'. Where is the plan? The CP is declining to join in negotiations, and that seems to me an indefensible position.

#### ON THOSE WHO PROPOSE A 'BOERESTAT':

I think it's unworkable to have a 'Boerestaat', but at least (people like) Professor Caryl Chesson are intellectually honest.

#### ON PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS:

There will be many periods of great difficulty, but I don't believe they will break down entirely. Neither side can prevail by force, and the Government can't go on governing without the assent of the majority. Negotiations have to succeed, and, on a good day, everybody understands this. On a bad day, there's a lot of screaming and shouting.

#### ON SOUTH AFRICANS:

I would really like to record that what impressed me and my family most has been the extraordinary concentration of really high-quality people who are really trying to do something about the situation in a positive way. In fact, it is the highest concentration of people I admire that I've met anywhere.

#### ON LONG-TERM PEACE IN SA:

This is not the Middle East. You don't have the same sort of millenarian hatreds. I believe that in the end here there will be an historical compromise between black African nationalism and a large and important white community.

#### ON HOW BRITAIN ASSESSES MAJOR SA POLITICAL GROUPS:

The Government must ensure that the security forces act correctly. Let me make it absolutely clear that we do not agree with the ANC or the IFP on all points politically — they would be amazed if we did. There have been the most horrendous acts of violence in the last 18 months, and many of those have come from Inkatha supporters, while quite a few have also come from those calling themselves Comrades, ANC supporters.

#### ON THE LESSONS OF AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE:

Having been involved with Africa for the past 30 years, the fact is that a very large part of this continent is today in a state of economic and political decay. My fundamental belief is that the history of this continent has been vitiated by one-party states where there is no accountability of the rulers to the 'masses' they purport to represent, who never get any choice as to who they want to represent them.

#### ON THE WORLD'S ATTITUDE TO AFRICA:

What used to be the 19th century 'Scramble for Africa' is giving way to a scramble to get out of Africa. The Chinese were the first to leave, the Russians are following, and all these disinvestments are in another sense a sign of people heading for the exits. There is a lot of riding on SA for the rest of Africa. Because, if there is a success here, it may be possible to arrest the decline of most of the rest of Africa. If there is not

#### ON WHETHER INTERNATIONAL INTEREST IN SA WILL DIE WHEN APARTHEID DIES:

There is a real danger that when apartheid is gone the world will lose interest in South Africa. Namibian independence has not been followed by great floods of external assistance. I have warned repeatedly against

creating Utopian illusions that after apartheid a flood of investment or aid will be forthcoming in South Africa. A certain amount will — at the moment we are the largest aid donor to black South Africans — but whether investment will really flow back is an open question. It's not a tap you can simply switch on and off. But there's a danger that you will slip down the international agenda, and that's why it's so important you make a success of things here.

#### ON HIS NEW POST:

Washington, as Britain's biggest and most important relationship, is an entirely different sort of post. Here we have a very good, small, personal team. It is also a much more normal relationship (with the US). I don't think the methods applicable here would be very appropriate there — especially the sort of very tough high-profile speeches I used to have to make.

#### ON WHO WILL RULE SA:

It seems to me that no party can any longer hope to govern this country against the wishes of all the others. Therefore the country's problems can only be solved by negotiations and, I believe, some form of coalition government.

#### ON WHO BRITAIN WOULD LIKE TO SEE RULING SOUTH AFRICA:

It's not my job to decide who's going to represent South Africans. My job is to help South Africa to get to one person, one vote so that the people can decide for themselves.

#### ON WHY WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD BE OPTIMISTIC:

Just look at the massive changes that have happened. Even in small ways. One of the great joys to me of life here recently is that we no longer have to listen to that appalling 'comment' on SABC radio. I used to have to set my alarm for one minute after it ended, or I would be in a bad mood all day. To South Africans I say that I honestly believe this country will battle through its problems. You've got skills and resources, you've got leaders of outstanding quality. You have arguably the most beautiful country on earth. When people ask me about emigration, I tell them that if I were a South African I would find it extraordinarily difficult to contemplate. There are far too many things I would miss too deeply about this place. You're going to need some luck, of course, but I have a lot of hope for your future.



# Labour and love lost in floor-crossing fiasco

There are blessed times in parliamentary life when us Gallery scribes are rendered all but redundant. Hansard says it all. The Hansard people, as you know, perform the Herculean and hair-raising task of recording each and every syllable uttered in the various Houses. These screeds are then published for the historical record.

When things get as hot and bothered as they have in the past few days (what with the unseemly stampede of Labour Party members to become "Brown Nats"), the verbatim transcripts need very little improvement. But allow me to give a bit of background.

It was Monday in the chamber of Parliament. The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill was being debated. Many coloured MPs — the numbers kept changing — were making their first appearance as "Brown Nats", and seating arrangements had not yet been altered to allow for them to sit with the "White Nats".

There were Nats all over the show, as Dave Dalling, DP chief whip, pointed out.

"Mr Speaker," he said, "I must admit that I feel the atmosphere in this chamber today is just a little claustrophobic." Then he launched into what sounded like a passable cover version of the old Steeler's Wheel hit "Stuck in the Middle with You".

"I have Nats to the right of me," he sang, "Nats to the left of me, Nats to the front of me, Nats behind me, New Nats, Old Nats, ex-Nats, White Nats, Coloured Nats..."

The DP had clearly decided that with every Tom, Dick and Hennie



On 30/5/91  
The House  
SHAUN JOHNSON

Star 30/5/91  
wanting to join the Nats, mockery was the best policy. In fact, the trouble had been started earlier by Jannie Mornberg (DP Simon's Town), who had asked in the House of Assembly "whether it is permissible that Honourable Members of the same party do not sit on the same side of the House?"

## Adjourn

The Chairman said this could be sorted out later by the Speaker, but by then Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) decided that he *really, really* wanted to see the multi-coloured Nats sitting together, and he wanted to see it now.

"May I suggest," he asked the Chairman unctuously, "that you adjourn these proceedings and seek the opinion of the Speaker? We are busy with serious matters here. In this House deliberations take place according to order and defined procedures."

The Chairman was not impressed.

Then, with emotions running dangerously high, things careered off the subject entirely.

"Honourable Members are not allowed to sleep in here either," yelled an Honourable Member.

Now if there is one thing Tom Langley

hates, it is being accused of sleeping in the House. The reason his eyes are closed for long periods, say his colleagues, is that he concentrates better that way. The accusation sent him off the deep end.

"I will begin to talk about people whose hands are dripping with blood," he growled viciously in the direction of the interjector. "If they want to talk about such things (ie his allegedly soporific approach to debates) we can talk about adulterers, people that shoot other people dead, and of wife beaters and all that sort of thing."

The Brown Nats were all but forgotten in the storm of white acrimony this occasioned. The Chairman battled gamely for order. "Was the Honourable Member referring to members of this House?"

"I didn't name names," said Mr Langley. "I said we can talk about it if they want to talk about it. I am not scared. I am not scared."

"You are a coward," bellowed the NP's J J Vilonel.

"Mr Chairman, that drink-befuddled Honourable Member wants to call me a coward."

"Who called him a coward?" asked the beleaguered Chairman.

"I did," yelled Mr Vilonel, "and I repeat it — he's a big coward."

Mr Vilonel had to withdraw the remark that Mr Langley was a big coward. Mr Langley had to withdraw the remark that Mr Vilonel was a big drunkard. And so things went on.

Need some light bedside reading? I'm prepared to loan out my Hansards. At a price.

# Judge me by my history, says Kriel

Minister of Planning Hernus Kriel said in Parliament yesterday that he had learnt to confess his sins but had not learnt to do so on street corners.

Replying to debate on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, he said the Minister of Health Services in the House of Representatives, Chris April, had said on Tuesday that he should confess.

"I learnt from my father that I should confess my sins," said Mr Kriel. But I did not learn that I must do so on street corners and public platforms.

"What I did learn is that where I've done wrong, I must put things right. This is what I'm busy doing."

In response to what he termed "an unkind claim" by Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) that he had shown no compassion or remorse in his speech introducing the Bill, Mr Kriel said that on the con-

trary he had said that all policies should be tested against the principle of justice.

"Judge me by my history," he said.

"As a student I was kicked out of the NP because I advocated that coloured and Indian people be represented directly in Parliament and that the Land Acts and Group Areas Act be scrapped."

Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid Piet Marais said the NP had been wrong when it thought apartheid would bring justice.

## Corrected

It was not true that the NP was making changes as a result of necessity rather than conviction. He said the NP had brought about change because it could no longer live with injustice.

Apartheid's price had been too high. It had taken the NP a long time to realise this.

Mr Marais said the White

Paper on land reform did not exclude the possibility that material losses caused by apartheid could be corrected.

It had never been the intention of the Government that it would be unapproachable on this issue.

However, a rand spent on an injustice of the past was a rand which could have been used for the future.

Bitterness surfaced during the debate, which has no precedent for at least the last 25 years.

Three Conservative Party MPs — Dries Bruwer (Lydenburg), Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron) and Braam Oosthuizen (Smithfield) — were named by the chairman, Dr Helgard van Rensburg, after saying members of the NP and the Cabinet were traitors.

If the Speaker confirms the naming, the three MPs will be suspended and may not enter the precincts of Parliament for five working days. They would receive no pay during this time.



# FW, ANC women talk for 5 hours

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk and the ANC Women's League struck deadlock on the issue of releasing hunger strikers, after a historic meeting at Tuynhuis lasting more than five hours last night.

Women's League president Gertrude Shope led a delegation of 22 members to the meeting to discuss various problems including violence and political prisoners.

The delegation included Winnie Mandela, head of the league's PWV region.

Despite the deadlock, Mrs Shope described the meeting as a "breakthrough".

"It was a breakthrough because at least we sat down and

discussed a few things together," Mrs Shope said.

"Unlike 1956 when Prime Minister J G Strijdom didn't want to talk with the women when they wanted to see him."

Sources close to the talks disclosed that Mr de Klerk had given each one of the 22 delegates a hearing.

Political observers said it was clear Mr de Klerk had taken pains to show respect to the women.

The delegation of women — all dressed in black to mourn the violence — arrived at Tuynhuys at 5 pm and left after 10.30 pm.

Mrs Shope said the talks ended in deadlock and the league would be meeting today to review the talks before holding a press conference.

Although she did not say so, it is understood disagreement over the release of hunger strikers caused the deadlock.

Mr de Klerk issued a statement after the meeting, saying he believed women had a "very important contribution to make in changing attitudes which underlie the culture of violence gripping our country".

"In respect of your main plea on the hunger strikers, the Government is deeply concerned about the situation," Mr de Klerk said.

He was satisfied that all prisoners who clearly qualified for release had been released.

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# Coloureds ready to forgive the NP past wrongs

w/mail 30/5-6/6/91

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**J**OHN WILLIAMSON has a neat two-bedroomed house in Mitchell's Plain, where he lives with his wife and children. He works as a carpenter and, in his free time, enjoys gardening.

Williamson does not belong to any political party, but holds strong views on the way things should be. If it were to come to a vote, he'd back President FW de Klerk like a shot.

For Williamson, the African National Congress is a black organisation — and to put it politely, Williamson does not have a good opinion of black people.

Those with whom he is most in contact are workers on building sites, whom he despises for a number of reasons. "They knock off the minute the whistle goes, it doesn't matter whether the job is finished or not."

Whereas, says Williamson, he and his fellow artisans understand something of the millions of rands it takes to erect a building, and that time is money: they would work on to complete their day's schedule.

All his life he's believed in putting in that little bit extra, and it's got him somewhere: house, garden, kid about to finish school and start learning the trade.

But black people, says Williamson, expect everything for nothing. "They just want it given to them on a plate without having to work for it," he says.

Another vote for De Klerk could come from Elise Erasmus, who in 1985 lived in Elsies River. Her husband worked as a clerk; she tended their house and cared for their young son.

Political turmoil was the order of the day then: the coloured community in particular was, in the words of a United Democratic Front leader of the time, becoming radicalised by brutal police actions aimed at crushing the schools revolt.

But Erasmus confided then that while she opposed apartheid, she supported then state president PW Botha. In her view, he was trying his best to put things right while those active in the streets and the schools were troublemakers, putting at risk her child and everything she and her husband had so far managed to achieve.

For Labour Party MPs she had nothing but contempt. They had started off fighting apartheid but had compromised by joining the tricameral parliament. She suspected them of being intent only on feathering their own nests.

Church minister, the Rev William Bantam, recently resigned as a member of the Labour Party to join the NP and is now recruiting

More and more Labour Party MPs are crossing the floor to join the National Party. **GAYE DAVIS** examines the causes of the increasing support for the Nats in the coloured community

members in Mitchell's Plain, where eight NP branches have been launched in the past five weeks.

He says that while the Labour Party MPs who have crossed the floor enjoyed only minimal support previously, the picture is likely to change dramatically now that they are with the NP.

"The LP had one branch in Mitchell's Plain with not more than 100 members. I've been instructed not to disclose precise figures but every NP branch here except the one most recently launched has more members than the LP branch used to. Support is high and rising.

"People felt let down when the LP abandoned its resistance politics and joined the tricameral parliament," said Bantam. "But the stigma was directed at the party rather than individual members. The new NP members will find a lot of additional support now they've changed."

Those joining the NP were "mostly blue-collar workers" but there were also a lot of professional people who were "running scared" from the violence in the black townships and perceived the ANC as largely a black organisation.

"They want a negotiated settlement rather than confrontation and I think that the NP, especially De Klerk, needs a much broader support base to achieve such a settlement."

Bantam cited a backlash against the ANC as another factor. "The campaigns by the United Democratic Front (in the 1980s) were supported mostly by the youth. Many parents built up an aversion to the fact that their children were out of school and to the violence in the streets."

Bantam is so buoyant about his recruitment campaign he is planning a rally in Mitchell's Plain to "introduce the people to the leadership", to be addressed by De Klerk or the Cape NP leader, Dawie de Villiers.

"I think people are prepared to forgive the NP its past wrongs," Bantam said.

Five years ago any of this would have been inconceivable. Are the politics of the Western Cape about to undergo a radical transformation?

Surveys show the support could be there.

Late last year the Social Values Study conducted by Markinor showed 24 percent of coloureds supported the NP while only eight percent backed the ANC.

Last month, the Human Sciences Research Council's Group for Information Dynamics telephoned a representative sample of 2 066 people in urban and rural areas across South Africa and found that support for De Klerk had grown from 64 percent reflected in the first such survey in February to 73 percent. Support for Nelson Mandela remained at one percent.

Coloured people form the biggest slice of the Western Cape's population cake. Of the more than 3,2-million people in the region, 54,7 percent are coloured, 23,3 percent white and 22 percent African.

Traditionally, coloured and African people have been separated from one another. They have lived in different areas, been administered, housed and schooled by different state apparatuses. Coloured people overall enjoy slightly higher levels of education and occupy different places within the regional economy.

They read *Die Burger*, which speaks to them in their own language — another factor separating them from African people. ANC officials put a great deal of blame on the fact that the ANC has had no newspaper and no say in the content of radio and television programmes.

University of the Western Cape rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel, believes the ANC has failed in translating a commitment to non-racialism into its organisation, leaving people's ambiguity about majority rule unanswered.

Gerwel's predecessor, Professor Richard van der Ross, historian of the coloured people and a founder member of the Labour Party, cites a cultural affinity with whites as counting strongly in the NP's favour.

Allan Boesak has told the ANC it can't hope to win coloured people's hearts and minds with "a mix of SACP and MK rhetoric" and that the ANC's alliance with the SACP is a major obstacle for the organisation in coloured areas.

According to the ANC's Amos Lengesi, total ANC membership in the Western Cape is "more than 50 000". In Mitchell's Plain, there are six branches with a total membership estimated at 1 000. Small wonder that Bantam claims the NP is giving the ANC "a run for its money" in the area.

The ANC is profoundly concerned about its apparent failure to recruit significant numbers in coloured areas.



# Emissary extraordinaire

cluding Barend du Plessis, Dawie de Villiers, Gerri Viljoen and Pik Botha, have shown political courage.

On PW Botha: "I

have to say that in all my meetings with him, there were very frank exchanges, but they were always 'correct' exchanges. I think it's tragic (how he ended up). I think he did start off attempting to change, but that process got completely stuck.

On relations with political parties: "I've

had very good relations with the Government and the Democratic Party, and with Mr Mandela and many of his senior colleagues in the ANC. Also with Jerry Mosala, who was the president of Azapo, and with Mr Clarence Makwetla and his colleagues in the PAC."

On the Conservative

Party: "It's the only party I've never been able to make any real impact with. I understand the anxieties they're reflecting, but the great Afrikaner statement is 'Ons sal 'n plan maak'. Where is the plan? How can you have self-determination with no separate geographical definition?

On those who prop-

ose a 'Boerestaat': "I think it's unworkable to have a 'Boerestaat', but at least (people like) Professor Carel Boshoff are intellectually honest."

South African 30/5/1991

South

a bleak and difficult period. Internally one was engaged mainly in defensive operations, like trying to persuade the Government not to hang the Sharpeville Six, to release prisoners and generally to try to limit internal damage. One can never tell how much how much that achieved. I don't know what I've achieved here, but it has been the most rewarding four years I've spent anywhere."

On when the change

started: "Namibia was the first major breakthrough in my time. It was a highlight. It helped unlock things in southern Africa."

Protest

On the role of FW De Klerk: "The Afrikaner intelligentsia played an important role in the changes, but the main credit must go to President De Klerk. He has taken very courageous decisions, moving well ahead of his former colleagues."

On the role of FW de

Klerk: "When I came one saw an attempt to govern mainly by repression, nailing the lid down on an increasingly explosive cauldron. There was only one way that could have ended - in disaster."

On what Britain

tried to do there: "It was

Sir Robin Renwick, possibly the most influential foreign diplomat South Africa has ever seen, leaves for a new life in Washington on Monday. Sowetan Special Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON encouraged him to let the diplomatic mask slip a little before he left.

activists were made to

listen to him: Renwick established a network of "township attaches" (bright young diplomats dubbed "Robin's Batmen"), who implemented important aid packages and made sure that the British Embassy was directly in touch with township developments.

Renwick took un-

ashamed delight in being able to bring together at Embassy functions groups ranging from the Afrikaner Volkswag to the PAC.

Wicked

He impressed all with his detailed political knowledge and his quick-witted - wit.

Renwick was an in-

tervenientist. Opposed with equal vehemence to apartheid and to sanctions, he occupied a unique and powerful position, which he exploited adroitly on both sides of South Africa's political fence.

Renwick cultivated

key contacts in Government and resistance circles. Government had to listen to him because Whitehall mattered, and the ANC on the need for a

charisma. I walked down the street with him in Johannesburg the other day, and by the time we were half way all the office workers were hanging out of the buildings. I don't think they wanted to see me! One does develop a great affection for the man. I think if I'd been locked up for 27 years I'd be surprised if I were able to show such magnanimity and lack of bitterness. He is in my book a great man."

On Mangosuthu But-

helezi: "I've known him well throughout my time here.

Courage

I've always had good relations with him, and I've been warmly received in Ulundi. It's important to remember that when the SA Government would have dearly liked to have done a separate deal with him, he refused to negotiate until Mandela was released and the ANC was unbanned."

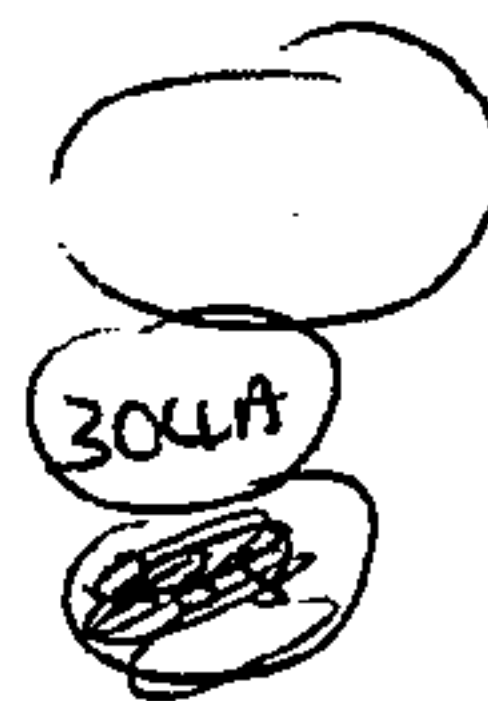
On relations with

other figures: "Outsiders can't contribute unless there are internal efforts. These come in different camps. Apart from the Helen Suzmans and Van Zyl Slabberts, I found within the Afrikaner establishment some very good allies. Ministers, in-



# The dorp where time stands still

Smefen 30/5/91



"NOW don't talk about what happened 20 years ago when this gentleman comes in," commanded Annette, a farmer's wife with grown children, encountered at the local office of the ruling National Party.

I watched him get out of a battered orange Datsun. He was wearing a broad-brimmed brown hat with a leopard skin band which he dropped to the floor when he entered the office. The years had been no kinder to him than they had to his car and I almost failed to recognise him at first.

He certainly didn't remember me and, even if I was as preserved as Dorian Gray, I would have been surprised if he had.

There were so many reporters in court.

## Immorality

In January 1971 this neat little dorp in the Free State, where 700 Afrikaans-speaking whites support two churches and an immaculate rugby ground, was the centre of a great scandal.

For the masters of apartheid it was the worst kind of scandal because it occurred among the plateland Afrikaaners, who were their most fervent supporters.

It was both tragic and ridiculous.

Seven white men and 14 black women from the local township were charged under the old Immorality Act which forbade sexual relations between the races. The age of the males ranged from their early 20s to their mid 50s. They were arrested by a keen young policeman - recently transferred from Johannesburg - for doing what Afrikaaner males have been

COLIN SMITH of the *Observer*, London, revisits the rural town of Excelsior in the conservative heartland. The Free State dorp was torn apart by a sex-across-the-colour-bar scandal 20 years ago and even now, in a very different South Africa, it is not a subject the inhabitants like to dwell on.

doing since anybody could remember; hence the large population of Afrikaans-speaking people of mixed race, known as coloureds.

Normally, a blind eye was turned or people were let off with a warning. An exception was usually made in the case of English-speaking white liberals who contravened the Act, since they were "subversives" and it was a chance to harass them.

But for a veritable commando of farmers from the same tiny dorp to appear in court under the Immorality Act was unheard of. Quite apart from the gleeful interest taken by the English-language Press, in those days often the only effective opposition to the Government, Bloemfontein had not seen so much of the international media since Field Marshal Lord Roberts' captured the state capital from Christiaan de Wet.

Charges against the youngest of the men were dropped because of lack of evidence. "If it had been true I would rather have him dead and buried in that ground," his father, a genial beef farmer, told me at the time.

When I pointed out that almost anywhere else it would not be considered a crime at all and that the coloured community were hardly the result of an epidemic of virgin births, he gave me a pitying look. The crime was getting caught.

One of the defendants felt the same way. Johannes Calitz, a town councillor, member of the

church choir, and the community's only butcher, put his shotgun in his mouth and blew the top of his head off. The next day charges against all the five remaining accused were dropped.

A clever Afrikaaner defending lawyer had bailed out the black women and had them examined by a doctor. He confirmed something that was so routine that nobody else had thought about it. In order to extract their confessions, all the women had been beaten up by the police.

The lawyer let the State Prosecutor know that he might have to raise the matter in open court before all these English journalists. "Vultures come where angels fear to tread eh?" growled one of the five as he filed past the Press benches.

## Propaganda

"We're a small community. Those people were our friends, our neighbours," Annette told me before the arrival of the farmer who had been one of the five accused. "Calitz's widow only left here recently. Most of them are still here. We see them all the time."

When we met she was supervising the mailing of some party propaganda to voters - like her own daughter studying journalism at the local university in Bloemfontein - temporarily out of Excelsior. The town is part of the constituency of Ladybrand where, in a by-election last week, President FW de Klerk's reform-

ing National Party was given a slap in the face by the Conservative Party. The Conservatives, who are mostly disaffected Nationalists, determined to bring back apartheid no matter how peniless sanctions make them, increased their majority from 70 to 1 358. I asked Johannes De Jager, the Conservative Party's local spokesman, if he really wanted to see the return of the legislation which had contributed to his fellow shopkeeper Calitz's death.

"The law is the law," he smiled.

There must be few places that better illustrate the metamorphosis this country is undergoing than the exterior of the defeated party's offices in Excelsior. The windows and sides of the wooden building are covered in black aerosol graffiti which says simply "ANC" - the message being that the National Party is no better than the African National Congress.

"The National Party has grown up," said Annette. "I think between them the Conservative Party and the ANC will be as disastrous for this country as Paul Kruger. Look what happened!"

"He led us into that unnecessary war and 30 000 Boer women and children died in the British concentration camps at Bloemfontein.

"My own grandmother lost two children. The conditions were like you see of the Kurds in Iraq. If those people had lived, there would be 10 million whites in this country today instead of five million."





## Momberg kicked Hernus out of NP

PLANNING MINISTER Mr Hernus Kriel was kicked out of the National Party in his student days by Mr Jannie Momberg, now the DP MP for Simon's Town, for urging the scrapping of the Groups Areas and Land acts.

Mr Kriel said this yesterday in reply to a claim by Mr Colin Eglin, DP Sea Point, that he had shown no compassion or remorse when introducing the the Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Bill.

"As a student I was kicked out of the National Party because I advocated that coloured and Indian people be represented directly in Parliament and (the Group Areas and Land) acts be scrapped.

"The Honourable Member for Simon's Town will agree with me: He was the member of the youth branch that kicked me out," Mr Kriel said. — Sapa

THREE members of the Conservative Party were banned from Parliament without pay yesterday after saying that members of the National Party and the cabinet were traitors.

Chairman Dr Helgaard van Rensburg named Mr Dries Bruwer (CP Lydenburg), Mr Cehill Pienaar (CP Heilbron) and Mr Dries Oosthuizen (CP Smithfield), who all referred to members of the NP or of the cabinet as traitors.

Being "named" means that (if confirmed by the Speaker) members are banned from Parliament for five working days, for

## 3 CP men banned from Parliament

which they will not receive pay.

At the start of proceedings yesterday, Dr Van Rensburg reminded members of an earlier decision by the Speaker on the use of the word treason.

Mr Oosthuizen said the

NP and the cabinet were the biggest traitors to date in South Africa.

Dr Van Rensburg said there was no doubt in his mind that this was a calculated attempt to ignore the decision.

He said it was clear Mr

Bruwer had deliberately used the word treason in his speech, despite the earlier ruling against it, and he had already asked him to withdraw other words.

Dr Van Rensburg asked Mr Pienaar if he was referring to anyone in particular when he said the CP would "deal" with the traitors of the Afrikaner nation.

"I was referring to that whole side of the house," he said indicating the National Party.

He, too, was then named. — Sapa

● See John Scott's "Notes in the House" — Page 5

## Spooks in Bush water supply

WASHINGTON. — Secret service agents are to investigate the water supply at the White House and President George Bush's holiday home because a third member of the Bush family — Millie, their spaniel — has been diagnosed as suffering from an auto-immune disease.

Both Mr and Mrs Bush suffer from Graves's disease, an ailment of unknown cause that afflicts the thyroid gland, which caused the president's heart to beat irregularly. Graves's disease is not con-

tagious, and doctors said it was a coincidence that the couple should have both succumbed.

But in the latest twist to the saga of the Bushes' health, White House staff have confirmed that Millie, an English Springer Spaniel bitch, is suffering from lupus. This means that within 16 months, three members of the household have been stricken with an auto-immune disease. Auto-immune diseases are characterised by the immune system turning against itself.

Mr Bush himself remains sceptical of the link and said the White House water "tasted fine to me".

Nevertheless, he said the water supply at the White House and the presidential retreat at Camp David would be checked for the presence of iodine and lithium, which have been cited by some specialists as possible causes of thyroid disorders.

Like the president, Millie is said to be responding well to treatment. — Daily Telegraph



**TALKS ...** ANC Women's League president Ms Gertrude Hlope leads her delegation, which included Mrs Winnie Mandela, to the Tuynhuys for talks with President De Klerk last night.

# Winnie, FW in talks

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## Political Staff

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk** and an ANC Women's League delegation — which included Mrs Winnie Mandela — were locked in marathon talks at Tuynhuys until late last night.

It was Mrs Mandela's first visit to Tuynhuys.

Leading the group of about 15 women were Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Hlope and Mrs Ruth Mompoti, an ANC National Executive Committee member.

The women arrived at 5pm, two carrying babies.

While being escorted through the gates to Tuynhuys amid a heavy security presence, Mrs Hlope said the women would be discussing "the problems of South Africa".

It is understood that the ongoing violence and the breakdown in talks between the government and the ANC were at the top of the delegation's agenda.

Another issue almost certainly discussed was the hunger strike by political prisoners.



LADYBRAND FM 31/5/91  
**READING THE BONES**

The bones of by-elections can be read in different ways. They may also turn out to be just bones.

After the Conservative Party's strong performance in retaining Ladybrand last week, its claim that it now enjoys more support among whites than the National Party is not to be laughed at.

But the anti-apartheid grouping takes comfort in the fact that more than 5 000 people still voted Nat in Ladybrand, in conditions that were most unfavourable for the ruling party.

In the 1989 general election the CP took the seat with just over 48% of the vote. The NP won just under 48%, the DP the remaining 4%. This was one of the seats the Nats felt they would have won if the DP had not split the vote. The CP majority was only 80.

In last week's by-election the CP majority

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 31/5/91**

rose to a healthy 1 258, and its share of the total vote rose to over 55% — a swing of 7%. The DP did not stand this time, and the Nats' total dropped by 717 votes.

There are 14 House of Assembly constituencies in the Free State. At present the NP has eight and the CP six. If elections were to be held now in the other 13 seats, the 7% swing evident in Ladybrand would certainly deliver Bethlehem and Virginia to the CP, and probably Fauresmith, Winburg and Kroonstad. That would give the CP 11 seats and leave only the three Bloemfontein constituencies to the NP — and one of those would be vulnerable to the CP. The trend would extend to many Transvaal constituencies.

But, unfortunately for the CP, this kind of analysis has become largely academic. Elections are not going to be held in the other 13 seats; in fact, it is highly unlikely that there will be another general election using the white voters' roll. President F W de Klerk wants to deliver a negotiated settlement before September 1994, the latest that a general election can be held under the present constitution.

De Klerk has promised that whites will be consulted by referendum when major constitutional change is proposed. Judging by Ladybrand, does the CP have any chance of blocking De Klerk by drawing a majority of white votes away from him?

It would seem not. The CP now commands the majority of white support in the Free State, but certainly not in the Cape and Natal and probably not in the Transvaal. And De Klerk could expect solid DP support in a referendum, which suggests that the CP still has a lot of ground to make up.

In any case, by the time a question is put to the electorate, apartheid laws will be long gone. A return to CP policy would be impossible, and even conservative white voters would soon become resigned to this.

De Klerk obviously must keep an eye on the mood of the electorate. But contests such as Ladybrand are fast becoming political fossils, irrelevant to national politics. ■



ARGUS 31/5/1

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# Why coloured support for the National Party is nothing new

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk has spoken of a "powerful stream" of interest among people of colour in joining the National Party since it opened its membership to them last year.

His assertion that the MPs in the House of Representatives who have joined the National Party are a manifestation of this is not necessarily correct.

Judged by the percentage polls in the 1989 general election these "New Nats" do not have such a large following. These polls were dismally low, in spite of the special votes arrangement which made it possible for people to record their votes weeks before the actual polling day.

In addition to this, a large number of potential coloured voters had not bothered to register.

An extreme example was Mitchell's Plain, the seat of one of the first of the "New Nats", Mr S D Fisher. The percentage poll here was 1,93.

On the other hand it would be wrong to take the defection of coloured MPs to the National Party too lightly.

Labour leader Mr Allan Hendrickse alleges that the National Party actively poached his MPs.

Cape Nationalist leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, maintains that there was no canvassing, that there were no promises or coercion and that the "New Nats" unconditionally accepted principles and policy of the party.

At first the party leadership carefully considered whether the MPs should be admitted. In the end it was a question of credibility. With the party having opened its membership to all race groups, these MPs could not be kept out if they accepted the party's principles. In the end the NP could claim it was providing a practical demonstration of the realities of the new South Africa.

A Nationalist majority in the Representatives would save the government a lot of bother as this would eliminate the obstructionist tactics of the Labour Party by which it was desperately trying to achieve some relevancy in the tricameral system.

The defectors maintain that popular pressure from their constituencies led to them joining the NP. They say that, now that apartheid is finally being scrapped, coloured people are willing to forgive the party its sins of the past. They are also apprehensive about the security situation and about the ANC.

The main attraction is of course Mr De Klerk and his actions, as recent opinion polls have shown.

It is interesting to note that coloured support for the National Party is nothing new.

In the pre-apartheid days of the twenties and the thirties and part of the forties, when the coloured males in the Cape were on the common roll, there was substantial coloured support for the NP.

Started in the twenties there was the Afrikaanse Nasionale Bond led by a Mr W H le Grange. This was in fact the separate coloured section of the National Party. At at least one NP congress — in Ceres — there were coloured leaders from the Bond on the stage with goodwill messages.

In the early forties, Mr Le Grange still said that the Bond received all its money and literature from the NP.

In 1929 Mr Bruckner de Villiers won the Stellenbosch seat with coloured support which was especially strong in the Stellenbosch and Paarl areas. He was photographed on the Senate steps with a group of his coloured supporters.

In those days the NP did not put up candidates in the Peninsula.

...the Nationalist leader at the time, was



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The estrangement came with apartheid after the NP came to power in 1948. Then came some of the Nationalists' infamous moves — The Group Areas Act, the removal of the coloured people from the common roll and, in 1968, the removal of the four coloured representatives in the Assembly.

Mr De Klerk got as far as could be expected under present circumstances at the Pretoria peace summit.

The conference was essentially an exploratory one.

There was the realisation that efforts to have a truly representative conference must continue.

A new forum to launch a peace initiative may now be formed.

This would be a negotiated body which would try to include parties which did not attend the Pretoria conference last weekend.

In the meantime, there is a continuation committee to co-ordinate and edit the decisions taken at the summit. It consists of representatives of political parties, the business community and the church.

In addition Dr Louw Alberts, who played a key role in the recent Rustenburg church conference, has been chosen as a facilitator to try and forge a new representative forum.

It is hoped that the churches will play a role in the formation of a forum.

Ned Geref church moderator, Dr Johan Heyns, has indicated that the churches are prepared to act as facilitator of a follow-up conference.

According to an ANC spokesman the movement would consider any positive proposition from independent church leaders. It has been critical of the conference because it maintained that Mr De Klerk called it unilaterally.

The President has acknowledged the importance of the church in reconciliation and the search for peace, provided it was not regarded as the instrument of any political group.

According to the Government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the ideal solution would be to have a multi-party conference which could negotiate on various aspects including a peace initiative and constitutional reform.

He said that an all-party conference should be held as soon as possible to address questions such as violence and demands for an interim government.

If this happened the need for a continuation committee would disappear.

Mr De Klerk's emphasis remains on negotiation and he will clearly be willing to listen to proposals for another conference.

The theme of his opening speech at the conference was that the Government wanted to listen rather than speak.

He called on those who attended not to play small politics, although the temptation was great. Attention should rather, he felt, be given to getting all the role players to become involved in strategies against violence.

The government accepted the final responsibility for dealing with violence, but there was the wrong perception that it was only now starting initiatives to address that problem.

It had spent millions of Rands on expanding the police force and had set aside billions more to address the underlying socio-economic causes of violence.

Summing up at the end of the conference Mr De Klerk said the Government did not want to be player and referee at the same time, an accusation levelled against it by the ANC.

He saw the Government's task as one of efficient administration and the maintenance of law and order.

## Seven CP MPs barred from parliament

IN a week of acrimonious and emotional debate, seven Conservative Party MP's were thrown out of parliament for calling governing National Party members and ministers treasonous.

An equally acrimonious taint was added to the debate when 35 coloured Members of the House of Representatives deserted Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse. These included a minister and deputy minister of his mini-Cabinet, to join the National Party.

The debate which fomented this action was the Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Bill which the CP contested on the basis that the governing National Party was selling out to the ANC. The Labour Party, on the other hand, contended that Chapter 7, which deals with "norms and standards" was a disguised form of apartheid.

Both parties couched their speeches in emotional terms. The CP contended that the land of

their forefathers was to be given away under their feet and that legal titledeed would be eroded, and the LP recounting many instances of violations to their own and their parents' freedoms by the Group Areas Act.

The members were suspended from parliament by the severest form of censure when they were "named" by the Speaker. This bars a member from the precincts of parliament for five days.

In what soon appeared to be deliberate strategy on the part of the CP, three of the party's MPs were named on Wednesday.

Four more were named yesterday — Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Mr Casper Uys (Barberton), Mr Fanie van Vuuren (Ventersdorp) and Mr Louis Stofberg (Sasolberg).



## Spirits high among NP's latest recruits

Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party continued its campaign to sustain its majority in the House of Representatives as the "new Nats" made history at the National Party's first mixed caucus meeting.

The mood in the caucus was said to have been good, with spirits high among the NP's latest recruits.

Thirty-two of the 35 coloured MPs who have joined the NP - most from the Labour Party - gathered for a group photograph outside the joint chamber at mid-

day yesterday. It is bound to go down in the annals of parliament as one of the symbols of President De Klerk's conviction that change is irreversible.

For the second day in a row, the LP hung on to its slim margin of 46 seats (the NP, now with 35 MPs, needs just eight more to take control of the House) and continued campaigning to widen the gap between it and the Nats.

Two of the MPs loyal Labourites have been working on are former supporters and now Independents, Mr Louis Hollander

(Britstown) and Mr Hansie Christians (Ravensmead).

Reports in the Afrikaans morning Press gave Mr Hollander to the NP, but, while he did indeed leave Labour at the weekend, signing an application form to join the NP on Sunday, he cancelled it 24 hours later.

He claimed yesterday he was misled by other defectors into signing up with the NP, but had had second thoughts on Monday because he had not given his constituents a chance to consider the matter.

1/9/91

# 'Brown Nats' at first caucus meeting

CAPE TOWN — History was made yesterday morning when the 35 former Labour Party MPs attended their first National Party caucus meeting.

The foyer outside the caucus room was abuzz with animated conversation as the newly accepted Nat MPs waited for the rest of the caucus members to arrive.

As "old" party members and Cabinet Ministers stepped out of the lift, they heartily greeted their new colleagues with handshakes and broad smiles.

"It's exciting, I feel like a child going to school for the first time," said one of the new members.

Once the old members had entered the room, the new members filed in to be greeted by applause.

At a photo session after the caucus meeting had ended at about 12.30 pm, one of the most senior new NP members, Jac Rabie (Reigerpark), said it had been "a historic, emotional, dramatic meeting, marked by a nice sense of unanimity".

Stan Simmons (Belhar) said it had been a "whole new experience".

Abe Williams (Mamre) said it had been "very good".

Thirty two of the 35 new coloured Nationalists posed for a photograph with the chairman of the NP caucus, Piet Swanepoel, on the steps leading down to the Big Chamber's lobby.

The other three new Nats were not available.

● The browning of FW's Nats — Page 8



Defections by coloured MPs are part of a bigger political game, writes Patrick Laurence

# The browning of FW's Nats

Star 31/5/91 304A

**S**OUTH Africans are witnessing a fascinating and significant political development: the browning of President F.W. de Klerk's once pure white National Party.

The change in the NP's hue has been caused by the entry into its ranks of nearly 35 coloured MPs who were elected to the coloured chamber of the tricameral parliament.

More MPs are expected to follow them and give the NP control of the 85-member House of Representatives.

The switch of allegiance by these MPs occurred in two phases over the past 10 days. First, minority parties in the chamber dissolved themselves and freed their MPs to join the NP, then, more critically, MPs from Allan Hendrickse's majority Labour Party (LP) began to defect.

With a bare majority of seats still in the LP's hands — 46 against the 69 which it won in the 1989 election — Mr Hendrickse is struggling to prevent the NP from seizing control of the chamber via its new converts, or "brown Nats". But few observers expect him to succeed, even if he persuades the five independents to vote for it.

The defection of these coloured MPs to the NP is the product of several factors, including anxiety

about their own future and the belief that they have a better chance of surviving in the changing political environment with the backing of the NP.

Disillusionment with Mr Hendrickse and resentment at his alleged nepotism was a catalyst in the defection of LP men.

The NP positioned itself to receive recruits from across the colour line as far back as last September, when it presciently amended clauses in its constitution restricting membership to whites.

But the NP did not, to begin with at any rate, actively woo coloured MPs to its ranks.

It certainly changed its outlook radically last year after it unbanned the outlawed resistance movements, invited them to the conference table and accepted that it would have to contest a one person, one vote election within three or four years.

Its preferred strategy, however, was to seek support across the colour line by building up a grand coalition of "moderate" or "Christian" forces and to leave its coloured and black auxiliaries to do most of active campaigning in their own communities.

Two important and obvious potential allies were Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and Mr

Hendrickse's LP.

It therefore made no sense for the NP to woo LP members — that would merely weaken and alienate a prospective alliance partner.

But the issue was pre-empted by the MPs who began to knock on the NP's door.

The NP could not send them away without the label "racist" being tied around its neck, a label which would be fatal to its ambitions of forming a grand alliance as a foil to the ANC and its partners in the emerging Patriotic Front.

Once the NP reconciled itself to accepting the coloured MPs, and to the notion of the LP as a political opponent rather than a potential ally, the NP began to pursue the issue energetically.

There was one immediate reason for doing so: Mr Hendrickse's strong opposition to Mr de Klerk's new Bill to scrap the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which allocated the bulk of farming land to white farmers.

Mr Hendrickse's opposition was prompted by his conviction that the Bill did not go far enough, that it removed apartheid in name but not in substance. As he put it: "Apartheid is dead. Long live apartheid."

Mr Hendrickse's opposition

threatened to delay passage of the Bill and to prevent Mr de Klerk from fulfilling his promise to the West to clear the statute book of apartheid laws by the end of June. Failure to meet the deadline, particularly if it was associated with suspicion that Mr de Klerk was involved in a mere name-changing exercise, as Mr Hendrickse charged, could have serious consequences: it could wreck hopes for an early lifting of world sanctions and the unqualified return of South Africa to international respectability.

The importance of the "browning of the NP" lies beyond the appearance of new faces in its parliamentary caucus. The conversion of the "brown Nats" was preceded by the establishment of NP branches in coloured areas, notably Eersterus, near Pretoria, and Mitchell's Plain, near Cape Town.

What South Africa may well be witnessing is the transformation of political allegiance by large sectors of the coloured community to the NP as the battle between it and the ANC looms.

Many of South Africa's 3 million coloureds, particularly those living outside the strongly politicised urban areas in the Western Cape, are essentially conservative. As a minority they, too, are not without fears of the black majority.

The coloured people, like the Indian community, have long been caught between the conflicting demands of the actual power of the white minority and the potential power of the black majority. Forced to choose between the NP and the ANC, many may prefer the NP, provided it has fully excised its apartheid past from its image and platform.

An opinion poll published by the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport late last year put coloured support for the NP at 25 percent, only a fraction below the 29 percent accorded to the ANC. Another poll shows that if the NP can persuade Zach de Beer's Democratic Party to join its grand alliance, then it is could easily capture a majority of coloured votes.

The same situation pertains in the smaller Indian community. Its 950 000 members are, on the whole, better off than their coloured compatriots; their smaller numbers and greater affinity make them better potential recruits to the NP coalition.

The NP's strategy here seems to be one of favouring an alliance with J.N. Reddy's Solidarity Party, the majority party in the Indian chamber.

Winning support in the black community is a much more difficult task. Although individual blacks have already joined the

NP, its courting of black voters will be through allies.

The most important of its prospective allies is the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is strongest in the Zulu heartland of Natal and KwaZulu, but which has recovered some of its lost support in the Transvaal. Mr de Klerk's trouble shooter, Gerrit Viljoen, has referred warmly to Mr John Mavuso's National Forum as another prospective ally. Its support, like those of ANC dissidents and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, however, appears to be minimal.

The NP is looking hopefully in another direction: the independent black churches, of the which the Zionist Christian Church is easily the most important. They have generally exercised a conservative influence in the black community, urging chastity, discipline and restraint on their followers.

The NP has looked covertly at the Zionist Church ever since it hosted President Botha at its headquarters in Morija in 1985. Remembering the warm welcome it gave Mr Botha, the NP has continued to cherish the hope of drawing its disciplined members to its side in the struggle against the ANC.

Whether Mr de Klerk will be able to translate their conservatism into electoral support remains to be seen. □

## Minimum standards

won't work

The cockeyed proposals for maintaining neighbourhood standards in the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill were not serious and not meant to work, Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said yesterday.

The proposals were a sop to the National Party electorate.

No minimum standards would work in any circumstances unless the Government immediately began to provide homes and sites to the homeless on a massive scale.

"Where are the homes for the homeless? Where is the consultation? Where is the consensus, and ultimately, where is the reality?"

Few neighbourhoods would set up committees, and few local authorities would co-operate with committees.

Existing by-laws on standards were in any event virtually unenforceable, he said. — Sapa.



# ANC women give FW 'a tough time'

Political Staff

31/5/91

CAPE TOWN — The ANC Women's League gave President de Klerk "a tough time" during five-hour talks on violence at Tuynhuys on Wednesday night, according to members of the 22-woman delegation.

Disclosing details of the historic first meeting between a Nationalist State President and the women's arm of the ANC, one member said: "We gave De Klerk a tough time."

Initially, Mr de Klerk was very "undermining".

The 22 women, including ANCWL president Gertrude Shope and Winnie Mandela, had the impression that Mr de Klerk thought the meeting would be over in 40 minutes to an hour.

They started debating an agenda prepared by the women.

They said Mr de Klerk was unhappy with it because he felt he had discussed some of the points with the ANC previously.

"We told him we were an autonomous body. We told him we were lay women asking him as head of state and as a father to

consider these things," one of the women said.

She said they found his views on violence ridiculous.

"He was trying to blame the ANC. He surprised us by standing very firm in defence of the Inkatha Freedom Party. I am convinced that this man is not prepared to fully ban Inkatha's cultural weapons of death. His views convinced me that we still have a lot to do if we want peace in South Africa."

## Shocked

The delegation was taken aback when Mr de Klerk brought up the subject of AK-47s. "We told him the AK-47 was no longer the ANC's cultural weapon. Rightwingers, bank robbers and other bandits were using it as well."

She said the women were shocked when Mr de Klerk said he could not understand why the ANC had not terminated its armed struggle.

"He said the armed struggle was hanging like a sword over our heads. I don't think he realises how much discussion went into the decision to suspend it."

When they came out at 10.30 pm, Mrs Shope said the

meeting had ended in deadlock but was nevertheless a breakthrough. "It was a breakthrough because at least we sat down and discussed a few things together. Unlike 1956 when the prime minister (J G Strijdom) didn't want to talk to the women when they wanted to see him."

In a statement after the meeting, Mr de Klerk said he believed women had a "very important contribution to make in changing attitudes which underlie the culture of violence gripping our country."

"In respect of your main plea on the hunger strikers, the Government is deeply concerned about the situation."

He was satisfied that all prisoners who clearly qualified for release had been released.

"All that now remain are those individuals who have committed serious common-law crimes such as murder, rape, assault and robbery."

He said he had taken careful note of the plea to curb and end the violence.

The Government would continue to play its part in changing attitudes which "underlie the culture of violence".

304A

# CP 7 ejected for treason claim

Star 31/5/79

304A

CAPE TOWN — In a week of acrimonious and emotional debate, seven Conservative Party MPs were thrown out of Parliament yesterday for calling governing National Party members and Ministers treasonous.

The debate which fomented this action was the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, which the CP contested on the basis that the NP was selling out to the ANC.

Speeches were emotional, with CP members claiming that the land of their forefathers was to be given away from under their feet and that legal title deeds would be eroded.

The members were suspended from Parliament by

the severest form of censure when they were "named" by The Speaker. This bars a member from the precincts of Parliament for five days.

In what soon appeared to be deliberate strategy on the part of the CP, three of the party's MPs — Dries Bruwer (Lydenburg), Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron) and Braam Oosthuizen (Smithfield) — were named on Wednesday.

## Accusation

Four more were named yesterday — Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Casper Uys (Barberton), Fanie van Vuuren (Ventersdorp) and Louis Stoffberg (Sasolburg).

Towards the end of the debate, CP leader Dr Andries

Treurnicht said any group who turned its own people's land into everybody's (alle-mansgrond) land was guilty of treason.

Earlier in his speech, before making the treason accusation, the CP leader used a string of adjectives to describe the Government's behaviour. These ranged from breach of trust, obviously stupid, misleading and dishonest, to tyrannical and illusionary.

The Speaker asked if Dr Treurnicht was attempting to challenge the Chair's decision that speakers would be suspended if they made accusations of treason. The Speaker said he would make a ruling on the CP leader on Monday. — Sapa.



## Vierkleur drops to half-mast

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The Boerestaat Party will hang its vierkleur at half-mast at its Randburg head office today to mourn the Boer nation's humiliation by the British, BP leader Robert van Tonder announced yesterday.

Mr van Tonder said the BP did not regard Republic Day as a day of celebration, but rather commemorated it as a day of mourning because:

- The British forces took Johannesburg on May 31 1900.
- On May 31 1902 the Boer nation had to sign a humiliating peace agreement in Vereeniging which made a mockery of the Boer nation's freedom.
- On May 31 1910 the Boer nation was roped into the Union of South Africa together with 14 other nations.

The BP leader said former prime minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd misled Boers on May 31 1961 by telling them the Boer Republic had been won back.

Mr van Tonder added that in a reconstituted Boer homeland May 31 would be scrapped as a public holiday.



THE PEACE PROCESS

FM 311591

# LOOKING THROUGH A WINDOW

## A SECOND SUMMIT IS UNNECESSARY — ALL-PARTY TALKS HOLD THE KEY

The point about the peace process is that it is a process — and that it continues. Who did or did not attend last week's peace conference is less important than that the major political powers in the land — broadly, the government, the ANC and Inkatha — rein in the weapons of death and the killing stops.

The ultimate success of the process will be measured by criteria such as the averting of a civil war and the willingness of foreign investors to commit long-term funds to SA. As Sacob's Raymond Parsons (who attended the summit) has pointed out: "What SA must now guard against is the replacement of external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead."

Estimates of that ceiling hover around the 2%-a-year growth mark, which assumes no political

meddling with monetary policy if unemployment soars further, and no disruptive transition to a centralist State influenced by the Marxist theory that wealth is finite and needs to be spread around more evenly by confiscatory legislation.

The economic potential of SA — making possible growth rates of 6%-7% a year, new wealth and work — needs to be unlocked, but in Parsons' words, "we can only unlock that potential if the political negotiations are back on track and if violence is eliminated."

This of course points to the tragic, and circular, nature of the violence.

Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, pointed out to the summit that the post-apartheid reconstruction of the economy would directly be targeted on the conditions that led to violence in the first place: "It is not a mere coincidence that violence seems to be rife in informal settlements and hostels where people are forced to live under disgraceful and unhygienic conditions."

Amelioration of these conditions depends on appropriate



King Goodwill at rally ... the heart of the matter

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funding; funding is always limited by the economy's capacity to grow; and that growth faces the "internal sanction" of violence. Perhaps it was for this reason that government decided to convene a talking-shop on the issue — its top men like Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen believe in rational debate as a solvent when passions are high. Unfortunately, this isn't always so.

Last Sunday, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu addressed a mass rally at the FNB stadium in Johannesburg. He made a powerful and sensible plea for his subjects to "desist in the use of violence for political purposes." His presence outside KwaZulu was a major step, authorised by the KwaZulu Cabinet. He also spoke forcefully on the issue of cultural weapons: "I am the Zulu nation. He who attacks the Zulu nation attacks me... The call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons by Zulus is an insult to my manhood. It is an insult to the manhood of every Zulu man."

The sensitivities revealed here suggest how far we have to go before a constitutional settlement acceptable to all is found. While cultural weapons should obviously not be on aggressive display in unrest areas, in the long term the Zulu nation clearly feels it has the right to bear these arms.

From what was said at the conference, at the FNB rally, and by those who did not attend the summit, an outline of how the current violence arose can be formed. It is not a clear-cut issue, but these are among the major factors:

□ The call by the ANC-in-exile in the mid-Eighties to make the townships ungovernable and to replace local "government" structures and officials with "representative" ones had effects which have far from abated, particularly since the programme continues in various forms. It is called "mass action." From this period date people's courts, necklacings, "liberation before education," and so on;

□ The behaviour of the police and SADF during the State of Emergency — in certain well-publicised incidents — led to violent confrontations that fuelled sanctions campaigns and lost the security forces credibility among blacks, which can only be regained



Viljoen



Dhlomo



Parsons

through a long process of confidence-building at community level;

□ The denigration of Inkatha — and "Zulu pride" in general — by the ANC led to attacks by Zulu imps spurred on by motives of self-defence and helplessness, certainly engendered in part by the conditions of life in the hostels and squatter settlements; and

□ The emergence of what the ANC terms a "third force" — but one, in the FM's view, composed of political malcontents, possible rogue elements within the security establishment and, above all, criminals exploiting the situation. This coincided with gun-running to the Reef as part of a general infestation of southern Africa by AK-47s.

It should be remembered that this last "group" is not cohesive in the way any of the others might be — but also that it has nothing to lose and everything to gain from continued violence. They will have to be dealt with by the police — and the communities that give them succour need redemption from helplessness. "There is no simple solution," F W de Klerk pointedly told the conference, "because of the tremendous complexity of the problem and the deep divisions which need to be bridged."

He also said there was "a need to address the fundamental causes of violence, and not only the symptoms." By this, of course, he meant that reform must continue

— that the legacy of apartheid is a "fundamental cause" of violence, however tangled and obdurate the problem has become.

This view was almost immediately reinforced by Viljoen. Speaking to the Cape NP mouthpiece *Die Burger*, he agreed with the view expressed by many at the Pretoria summit that another peace conference was pointless. Rather, the proposed multiparty negotiating forum should be facilitated as soon as possible — and it was for this forum to debate ways to achieve peace and transitional arrangements as a first step towards wider constitutional talks.

Viljoen said that proceedings at the peace summit led to a new realisation that the multiparty conference must take place as soon as possible. And it would negate the need for the "continuation committee" proposed by De Klerk further to investigate

methods of ending the violence, with a parallel body sounding out the views of those who boycotted the summit.

Viljoen favours the early establishment of a multiparty forum and the creation of broadly acceptable transitional mechanisms as a means of defusing tension and easing political frustration over the perception that the reform process has stalled (*FM* May 24).

There is the possibility of a second conference being convened by the churches — but the initial proposal has effectively been rejected by government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. So it would be as meaningless without their participation as De Klerk's meeting was without the attendance of the ANC, PAC, SACP and the SA Council of Churches. It would be disappointing in the extreme if another round of political tit-for-tat arose out of the convening of another conference on violence. The conferences would merely become a relatively polite form of violence themselves.

What was also learnt at the summit was the need to consult widely before launching initiatives that affect a broad political spectrum, and to have independent conveners and chairmen. Some senior Nationalists who slammed the refusal by the ANC and other groups to attend the Pretoria meeting now agree that consultation — petty as it may seem as an issue on which to hold up the peace process — has to be a priority in future dealings with extra-parliamentary groups.

The need for impartiality was stressed by former MP Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert who told the summit that all groups in SA had no choice other than to keep searching for impartial referees and mechanisms to assist in the transitional phase and the monitoring of violence. He said government could not be both participant and referee and government opponents could not simply reject attempts at negotiation in an effort to get out of a dilemma.

It now remains to be seen whether the ANC's hedging on the issue of multiparty talks can be overcome. In April the congress threatened to break off negotiations with government on a new constitution if violence had not been ended by May 9 — and the rest, including the peace summit, is history. We wrote at the time: "There are some deadlines to be met — the expiry of the statutory term of the current parliament is one — and the ANC should be aware that many people, here and abroad, will grow impatient if it refuses to participate in all-party talks aimed at justice for all."

"Of course, violence is in some ways the most important issue of all — but who in the months ahead, if constitutional talks fail, will be seen to foster it most? Government or the ANC?"

Viljoen's impatience with another conference on violence is understandable — and his sincerity in wanting to get on with reform is patent. So the question we asked in April still stands, and the answer is, after all, clearer after the peace summit. Those who delay a settlement foster violence. ■



## PARTY POLITICS

## CORRIDORS OF POWER

FM 31/5/91

304A

Allan Hendrickse was fighting a desperate rearguard action this week to retain control of the House of Representatives. The National Party launched an all-out bid to oust him and smooth the way through parliament of its key land reform Bill.

When the *FM* went to press, Hendrickse was claiming 52 seats in the 85-seat House (43 seats gives control). This followed a mass exodus last week of Labour Party MPs to the NP. The Nat group was claiming 30 members, but Hendrickse said at a press conference on Monday that two of those who were reported to have crossed the floor had not done so. There are also four independent MPs and one from the Freedom Party.

Hendrickse said he was "100% sure" that the 52 remaining members of his caucus were loyal and would remain so. But only minutes later, at another press conference, one of the rebels, Stanley Fisher of Mitchell's Plain, predicted that the NP in the HoR would have as many as 47 MPs by the end of the week.

The fight for control has finally shattered the working relationship between the LP and the NP in the three-chamber system. Hendrickse openly accused the Nats of manipulating the HoR and offering rewards of executive positions to MPs if they split.

His Health and Welfare Minister Chris April — who angrily rejected earlier speculation that he, too, was a rebel — accused Cape Nat leader Dawie de Villiers of being the "architect" of the attempted takeover of the House.

Labour's deputy leader Miley Richards claimed in Cape Town on Monday that President De Klerk had personally told him during a break in proceedings at the Pretoria peace summit on Saturday that the NP would control the HoR by Wednesday. De Klerk was unavailable for comment.

The NP's information director Renier Schoeman denied that the party had actively recruited Labour MPs. He said their moves had been spontaneous.

Jac Rabie, a former Labour MP and leader of the United Democratic Party which disbanded last week so that its five MPs could join the NP, said he was aware of coercion being used by the Labour leadership to keep more MPs from breaking away.

Hendrickse says he has no doubt that the NP is trying to take control of the HoR to ensure approval of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Bill, which was being debated this week. The Bill provides for the scrapping of apartheid in land issues, but includes a chapter providing for the maintenance of "norms and standards" which Labour has rejected because it believes the

measure is inherently racist.

It is essential for De Klerk to have the Bill passed within the next few days to meet his international commitment to have the remaining apartheid laws off the statute book by the end of June. If Labour — as the majority party in the HoR — rejects the Bill, it will have to be forced through the Nat-dominated President's Council, which means delaying its passage.

Senior Nats deny Hendrickse's allegations, but there is little doubt the party now sees Labour as a major parliamentary obstacle



Hendrickse ... is it the end of the road?

to the continuation of the reform process in a way acceptable to the Nat caucus.

In a revealing comment, Hernus Kriel (Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Minister) virtually admitted as much when he introduced the Bill at a joint sitting of parliament on Monday. In the face of heated Labour interjections he said the party's rejection of the chapter on norms and standards was the "straw that broke the camel's back" and caused the exodus of MPs — because, said Kriel, many of them wanted the measure included in the legislation.

Control of the HoR would smooth the way for any measure — including constitutional reforms — that De Klerk feels he needs as part of the process. (To become law without recourse to the President's Council, a Bill has to be passed by all three Houses. There seems little doubt that the House of Delegates will support De Klerk in this case.)

If the Nats don't gain control of the House, Hendrickse could make the passage of virtually every piece of legislation extremely difficult. De Klerk is not likely to use his prerogative to dissolve the House and call an election to break the deadlock.

It is clear that for many of the HoR MPs the principles involved in staying with Labour or crossing to the Nats are not as important as the security of being in the ruling party. The tug-of-war over those in

the LP who are wavering will probably hinge on what positions they can be offered in a new administration.

Up for grabs will be the six-member Minister's Council, plus various official offices within the House.

Hendrickse claims that these are the carrots being used to try to lure away his MPs, but the Nats allege that he is doing precisely the same thing to keep his majority intact.

In the wider scheme of things the goings-on in the HoR over the past few days are largely irrelevant. But they do point to a general repositioning of "system" politicians in the face of the political changes and realignments likely to occur over the next few years.

Many of the Labour MPs who have joined the Nats are personally conservative and clearly see a more secure long-term future in the party than in an alliance with the ANC — which is the direction some Labour left-wingers believe the party should go.

A large slice of Labour voters, particularly in the platteland, are also conservative and are likely to back the NP rather than the ANC. This issue was raised last week by former church leader Alan Boesak who is making a political comeback and clearly hopes to challenge ANC leaders in the western Cape.

In an interview published in *Vrye Weekblad* he said the ANC was out of touch with "coloured" people in the rural areas of the Cape, and would lose their support to the NP unless a new approach was adopted.

Chris Frelmond



## Opinion

By F VAN ZYL SLABBERT

SOUTH AFRICA is in fundamental transition away from domination, hopefully towards a democratic outcome.

This has been true, since 1974, of more than three dozen countries in the world. And so a considerable body of comparative research has developed. Although we have our own unique features, there is a great deal we can learn — particularly on how to avoid some obvious mistakes.

Four modes of transition have been identified. A pact between leadership cadres; *unilateral imposition* from above, such as a coup; *massive reform* short of violence from below; *violent revolution* from below.

South Africa has elements of all four in her midst. There are signs that a search for a *transition pact* as well as demands for *massive reform* are emerging as the dominant modes of transition.

We have a slim chance of developing a transitional pact that can constrain the demands for reform within manageable limits. We have to do this against a legacy that has and is generating political demands which will outstrip economic performance for quite some time.

### Short of democracy

If this gap between demand and performance continues to widen, violence and instability will threaten our transition.

Research shows four general outcomes to attempted transitions away from domination:

- Regression to a new autocracy — most common
- Stabilisation short of full democracy, that is, interim arrangements
- Democratic instability — Argentina, Nicaragua
- Consolidated democracy.

We hover between regression to autocracy and stabilisation short of democracy.

The issue of violence is crucial for making progress — that is why this type of conference and any others in future have to be taken seriously.

When it comes to violence, the Government is as much part of the problem as any of its opponents. There are no neutral players in this game nor are there any self-evident referees or monitors.

It is dangerous if Government wishes to be both participant and referee and as dangerous for opponents of the Government to reject attempts at negotiating or bargaining ourselves out of this dilemma.

# The future SA: Avoiding some patent mistakes

That is why we have no choice but to continue to search for a non-partial mechanism or mechanisms to monitor the management of transition as well as violence.

As far as conferences of this nature are concerned, I wish to offer a few observations:

The more inclusive they are the more likely they are to succeed.

All parties suspect each other of playing politics with peace — it serves no purpose to restate these prejudices when we come to these conferences.

### All can contribute

We cannot waste time with tub-thumping, moral/radical outbidding or one-upmanship.

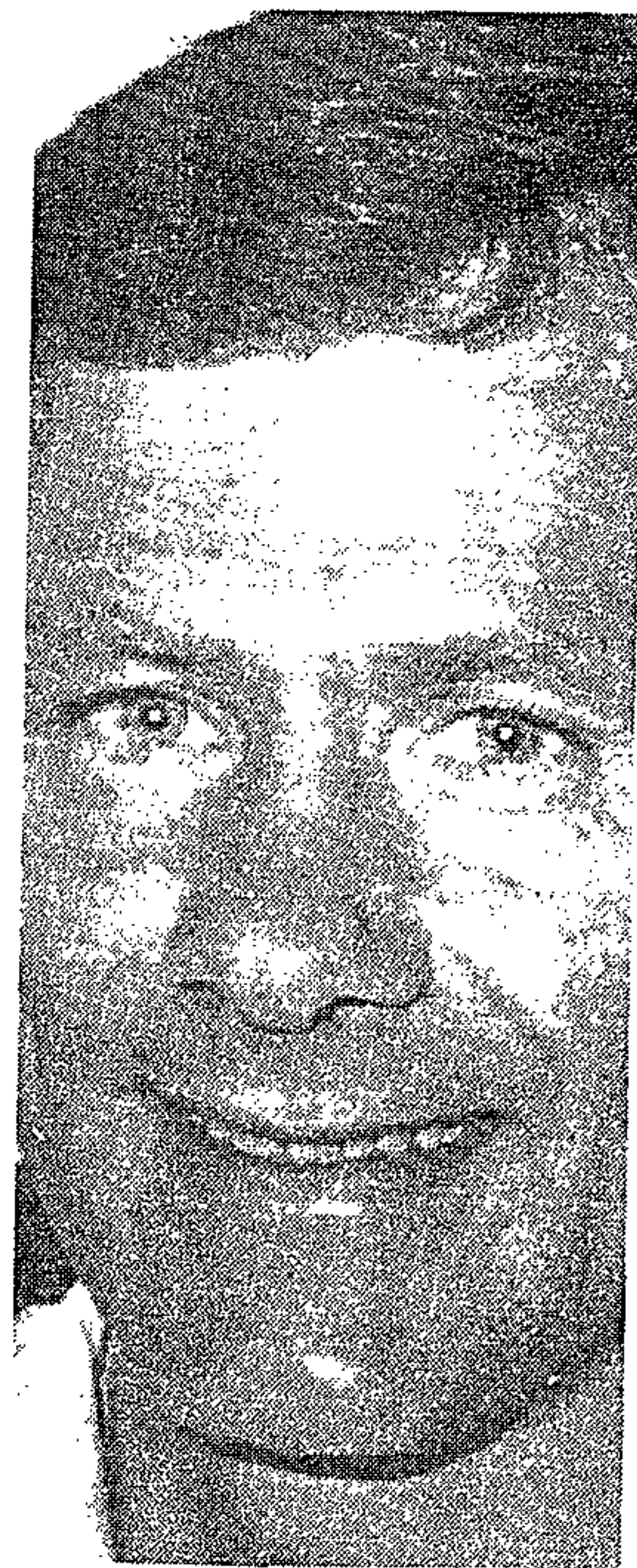
The chairman has to protect all speakers with equal dispassion. Proposals should not be accepted which predate negotiation, that is, ideas such as peace secretariats, codes of conduct and so on, must be the consequences of negotiation, not the conditions for it.

Never foreclose the process of bargaining.

Our country is a jewel of great fortune; do not let us let it slip out of our hands because of meanness of spirit and lack of charity.

I have yet to meet an organisation or interest group in our country that has no capacity to make a contribution to our transition — whether from left or right. We have to explore this capacity in the spirit of never ever giving up.

□ Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, a former leader of the opposition, is a political consultant and teaches at the Graduate School of Business at Wits University. He delivered this address at the State President's Peace Summit in Pretoria.



Dr VAN ZYL SLABBERT: In the violence there are no neutral players nor self-evident referees.

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# Nats still unable to unseat Labour

## Now Solidarity MPs talk to Nats

Political Staff

TEN MPs of the ruling Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates have held talks with the National Party on the possibility of membership, it was revealed yesterday.

However, nominated MP Farouk Cassim, a spokesman for the group, said talks had also been held with the Democratic Party and Inkatha and the 10 would consider all avenues before making a decision.

"We have been invited to move into any one of the parties."

Mr Cassim, of Stanger, said the group's main motivation was to be able to play a political role, rather than the largely administrative function being carried out by the HoD at present.

The group did not plan to take power in the House. If at some stage it gained majority support it would refuse to accept any of the positions to "try to collapse the Own Affairs system".

Mr Cassim named the group as: T L Gounden (Camperdown), Poonasamy Naidoo (Verulam), Abdus Kahn (Eastern Transvaal), Sattar Akoo (Laudium), Yusuf Seedat (indirectly elected), the Rev Cyril Pillay (Montford), Manilall Naranjee (Marianhill) and Ganie Mohamed (Rylands).

A spokesman for HoD Ministers' Council chairman Dr JN Reddy's office said he would not be commenting on the development.

### Political Staff

AFTER eight days of aggressive "recruiting", the National Party has still not amassed a majority in the 85-seat House of Representatives.

The NP yesterday paraded 32 Representatives MPs who attended a NP caucus meeting for the first time, claiming that three other MPs were also within the party's ranks.

One, however, Mr Louis Holander (Britstown), has still to decide whether he will join the NP.

At present, the LP has 46 seats, and the support of one independent; the NP 34; the Freedom

Party has one MP and there are three independents.

President F W de Klerk said last night that the inclusion of coloured MPs in the National Party's caucus was proof of the NP's "absolute commitment" to fundamental change.

He was speaking during an interview on the SABC TV2/3 news programme.

If ever there was a step which demonstrated the NP's sincerity, this was it, Mr De Klerk said.

During the interview, he dismissed suggestions that his government was finding it difficult to end apartheid and was clinging to vestiges of the system, like own affairs.

Mr De Klerk said own affairs

was part of the present constitution, but that the government did not believe it "must be maintained as is in a new constitution".

During the interview Mr De Klerk also:

● Promised to take "firm action" against members of the security forces where there was evidence that they had acted without fairness;

● Expressed confidence that the security forces "as an entity" were loyal to the government of the day;

● Said he did not for a moment expect the ANC or any of the major players to pull out of negotiations, saying this would be "a disaster" for any such party.