S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

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OCTOBER

Terre Blanche and his men go west

THE Pretoria headquarters of the AWB is standing empty. Two weeks ago the leader, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, and his staff moved out of the office in the Willie Marais Building in Waterkloof.

The AWB's new headquarters is in the Western Transvaal home town of the Terre Blanche family, Ventersdorp.

Phone calls to the Pretoria office are redirected by telephonists to two numbers in Ventersdorp.

"ET packed his bags and moved out about two weeks ago," said a woman in an adjoining office in the Waterkloof building. Residents of the plush suburb have frequently complained that the AWB's visible presence in the area posed a security risk, but the owner of the building, HNP founder member Mr Willie Marais, ignored their pleas for eviction.

S/Times 11/10/87

By DE WET POTGIETER

Defections

Earlier the AWB was virtually compelled by pressure to move out of offices in Sunnyside. The premises were virtually gutted by fire soon afterwards.

Observers said the AWB's move from Pretoria was an indication that its support was on the wane.

In contrast to the huge crowds of chanting supporters who flocked to meetings at the Pretoria City Hall and the controversial Skilpad Hall in earlier times, fewer than 500 people turned out for last weekend's rightwing protest rally on Pretoria's Church Square.

Adverse publicity about Mr Terre Blanche's private life has seen the departure from AWB ranks of several of his top men, including the deputy leader, Mr Jan Groenewald, advocate Chris Beyers, Mr Willie Olivier — former private secretary to Dr Verwoerd — publicity chief Mr Dries Alberts and Mr Manie Maritz.

The latest defection, two weeks ago, came from ex-journalist Mr Chris Beetge, who was editor of the AWB newsletter, Sweepslag.

However, Mr Terre Blanche claimed this weekend that he had relieved Mr Beetge of his duties.

He said the move to Ventersdorp was a "practical and administrative" one, and formed part of a decentralisation plan.



Johannesburg AWB leader Leonard Veenendal and Darrel Stopforth at an anti-black demonstration

Leadership struggle heats up on eve of DP congress

By Peter Fabricius

The Democratic Party leadership struggle heated up yesterday as supporters of Dr Zach de Beer lashed out at those backing a continuation of the present three-man leadership to avoid giving the DP a "Prog image".

The De Beer camp claimed last night that the support for the continuation of the troika leadership was merely a tactic to ensure that DP co-leaders Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall would retain their leadership positions.

They also warned that if the leadership contest degenerated into a struggle between the con-stituent parties of the DP, it would cause enormous damage.

Lobbying in the DP is reaching fever-pitch in the run-up to the congress in Durban on Saturday, when the party will decide whether to continue with the troika or to choose a single leader.

The contest has developed into a straight fight between those backing Dr de Beer as sole leader and those in favour of continuing the three-man leadership.

Supporters of the troika are now punting for a "structured troika" with a formal division of functions between the three leaders.

Dr de Beer would continue as parliamentary leader, Mr Malan would be extra-parliamentary leader and Dr Worrall would be leader in charge of developing the party machinery and grassroots support.

SA may deal Maggie an ace

LONDON — South Africa may take a major political step to provide support for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher as she faces her Commonwealth critics next month, it has been speculated in Britain. STAR (E) 2/10/89

The *Sunday Telegraph* said one move could be the freeing of Mr Nelson Mandela. "Such a development would undermine Mrs Thatcher's critics in the Commonwealth and hand her a propaganda coup at the conference in Kuala Lumpur."

But, the newspaper said, Mr Mandela's release would have to be accompanied by steps to end the ban on the African National Congress and allow talks with the organisation. (30+A)

Britain's confidence that a major step would be made was evident from reports that Mrs Thatcher was considering a visit to SA. — The Star Bureau.

ROLE AS GO-BETWEEN FOR PEACEFUL FUTURE

RIAAN SMIT

304A

THE DP would have to get more and more involved with extra-parliamentary organisations if there was to be a peaceful outcome in SA, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said at the three-day Human Rights Conference in Port Elizabeth on Saturday.

De Beer, analysing the election result and the next five years, said the situation was "finely balanced" and "inevitably" the initiative was with President F W de Klerk. B/Day 2/10/89

"He has given powerful assurances of his determination to seek a negotiated solution.

"He has acted courageously in allowing the protest marches of the last two weeks, which ... have let some steam from the boiler, impressed international observers and in some degree paved the way to negotiations."

The DP, De Beer said, wanted to be "helpful and constructive" and would not allow itself to be influenced by considerations of party advantage.

"We shall try, where we can, to act as go-betweeners, to interpret the attitudes of one side to the other."

The NP, however, had to remember that the DP started from the premise that full and equal human dignity was the only acceptable basis for democracy.

"And the extra-parliamentary leaders must know that we stand for small government, the protection of citizens against arbitrary interference by the authorities, and for free markets and free enterprise," De Beer said.

B/Day 21/10/89 (304A)

How whites can be part of the majority

DENIS WORRALL, co-leader of the Democratic Party, outlines his party's challenge to President F W de Klerk

FOR some time political commentators have described white politics in SA as being poised between two eras. The first was the era in which white interests predominated. This was the age of apartheid, and the NP was the party that effectively dominated it.

The new era recognises that the interests of all South Africans have to be taken into account in finding answers. Its style is negotiation and consensus; its politics inclusive; and its defining value is democratic non-racialism. By definition it is anti-apartheid.

The general election confirmed that white South Africans are entering this new era. The election showed that there has been a fundamental shift in white perception of their interests and in their concept of political morality.

New generation

This is the background against which President F W de Klerk, having publicly acknowledged he has an overwhelming mandate to bring about a new SA, starts to put his stamp on the country.

He begins with a great deal of goodwill and with certain advantages. De Klerk represents a new generation of NP leadership. The difference between him and P W Botha is more than just a 20-year age gap. Botha came from the pre-1948 generation of NP leaders, which shaped the concept of apartheid.

Whereas Botha's consciousness as an Afrikaner nationalist was formed during the "struggle" phase of Afrikaner nationalism, De Klerk's is a product of the "triumphant" phase. He is a modern man, less sectional, more open to the influence of non-political elites, and eager to come to grips with the rest of Africa and the international community.

But De Klerk has also inherited two inter-related problems. The first is the state of present constitutional negotiations, where Botha left off; and the second is the nature of his power base.

Apartheid was Afrikaner nationalism's way of satisfying black aspirations without losing political control. It failed mainly for economic reasons.

To his credit Botha abandoned the more ideological aspects of apartheid and began to dismantle "petty" apartheid. But he failed to put anything in its place, with the result that white South Africans, accustomed for more than three decades to the idea that government had a "plan" for the future, are in an ideological and psychological vacuum. This, more than anything else, explains the growth of the CP.

The modern political history of white SA is really the story of the Afrikaner's rise to dominance and the steady but certain moulding of constitutional and political relations to suit his thinking. The party Botha helped build was a party which spoke for Afrikaner interests. The NP De Klerk inherited can no longer speak for Afrikaners. This is the role of the CP. With the more verligte of Afrikaners in the DP, the NP is now the party of moderate Afrikaners and conservative English-speakers.

De Klerk and his party have put group rights at the base of their approach to the future. The present radical groupings are their constitutional building-blocks. The political security of whites is to be achieved by constitutionally defining a role for them as a group, much in the way Ian Smith tried to do in Rhodesia.

This approach is both flawed and dangerous. Aside from the fact that it is opposed by the great majority of blacks, of every 100 South Africans no more than 12 are white. In the year 2000 the figure will be nine. In the year 2020 it will be about seven. Security based on white numbers is therefore illusory. Yet the NP must adopt this approach because it knows that every step towards a non-racial SA is a step away from NP-dominated politics.

Claim

There is an alternative approach, and it is demonstrated by Dirk Mudge and his multiracial, pro-Western DTA in Namibia. Mudge in effect said to his white supporters: "If we look at the colour of our skins, then we will be a minority. But if we look at what we want for ourselves, and see how many blacks share the same interests and values, we realise we are part of a political majority."

This is also what the DP is saying to white voters. It is not white numbers which must be represented in the form of government and in government policy, but rather the interests and values which whites claim for themselves. Black South Africans also want the security of their private property and persons. They want essential services in their home. They want political and religious freedom. They want the right to engage in commerce. In fact, millions of blacks support private enterprise.

None of these aspirations has anything to do with colour. They are shared by millions of South Africans. And when we recognise this, we recognise that whites can be part of a political majority. This was the DP's message to white voters. And this is also our challenge to De Klerk and his government.

It is an approach which they know is completely in line with the best in Afrikaner nationalism's political thinking. It is the point of view of the racially unselfconscious Afrikaner. The tradition underlying this is best expressed by the Afrikaans dramatist and poet, N P van Wyk Louw, in his plays and essays. Van Wyk Louw developed a concept of "liberal nationalism" which reconciles in a most original way the Afrikaner's striving for a cultural and linguistic identity with the multiracial and multicultural nature of SA society. Clearly, given its political base, the NP is precluded from presenting this point of view.

There are two reasons why it is critically important that this particular approach to the SA situation be reflected. The first is that Afrikaner support for a new form of government is as necessary as black support if it is to work. The second is that it is a creative approach: it puts the emphasis where it should be — on language, culture and a sense of historical place. It is also echoed in the Freedom Charter, the strategy document of most "liberation" organisations for a post-apartheid SA.

SA is moving into a fascinating and exciting phase. But much will depend upon the nature of political leadership and the assumptions which are made. It is also a dangerous phase, bearing in mind De Tocqueville's observation that a bad regime is at its weakest when it begins to reform. — Daily Telegraph.

We made many mistakes, says Barend

LOS ANGELES — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, addressing a meeting of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, said at the weekend that the SA government had made "a lot of mistakes" but would not make any more.

Government's aim was "to incorporate the blacks into our system, but in a way that we will not repeat our mistakes.

"There is no way we will repeat our mistakes, and we have made a lot of them," he said. "We have been governing for 40 years, but we will not repeat our mistakes. That's why you see us moving away from so many apartheid laws and regulations." BIDay 2/10/89

Du Plessis said SA's proposed political reforms were aimed at unifying its multiracial society and were "not just talk" aimed at pacifying creditor banks.

In response to a suggestion that government was talking reform only to be bailed out of its debt problems, he said "we do not need a bail-out".

About $8bn of SA's short-term debt falls due in June next year.

Du Plessis also said he held informal talks earlier last week with bankers during the annual meeting of the IMF and World Bank, but he did not elaborate.

□ Du Plessis is due to address businessmen in San Francisco and Munich, West Germany, before returning to SA on Sunday. — Sapa-Reuter. 304A

—Facing up to SA's options—

Reports by PAT CANDIDO of The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth

THE options for a new South Africa were simple — negotiation and change or violence, a Human Rights conference was told here.

Politicans and academics stressed the urgent need for dialogue at a grass roots level incorporating all stratas of society from the Afrikaans Weerstands Beweging to the African National Congress. All agreed that the road ahead would be extremely difficult with many pitfalls but that a start had to be made as soon as possible becuase time had run out.

About 200 people attended the conference organised by the Human Rights Trust In the Eastern Cape Training Centre which had MPs from the Conservative Party, National Party and Democratic Party sharing a platform and answering some forthright questions.

The Proposed Bill of Rights with or without the the protection of group rights was widely discussed.

Dr Zac De Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said the time had come for the State President, Mr F W de Klerk to enter into consultation with respresentative black leaders in order to find out for himself what the minimum reforms were that would have legitimacy.

"If he puts forward some tentative steps towards piecemeal reform because these are what the National Party committees are ready to approve, and such steps are at once rejected by representative black leadership we shall be no better off and possibly vantage for itself in the process.

On the economic front, he said people were getting poorer while economic aspirations among the less privileged were rising. The "rob-the-rich-to-help-the-poor" school of thought was quite strong. This threatened the working of the only system which had proved its efficiency as a generator of wealth which was never created by governments but only by people

"If you kill the geese who lay the golden eggs, there will in the end be less and not more for everyone else." He said the new South Africa would never be reached as long as "we perceive ourselves as separate, competing groups of people who just happen to inhabit the same territory.

All had to accept that "we are inescapably one nation".

A former Dean of Law at the University of Port Elizabeth Dr Tertius Delpot, who is also MP for Sundays River and chairman of the general parliamentary Committee for Consitutional Development and Foreign Affairs, said a key issue in the election had been what direction should be taken into account for bringing the disenfranchised people into the system.

There was no easy solution and South Africa did not want



The Argus
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He said the CP would be open to discussion on what land shoul go where and did not have any plan for themassive forced removal of people.

He said people should accept that the CP came very close to running the country. In fact during the last election they only needed only 1 700 votes to swing the decision in their favour. And there ws no doubt that when the Government started speaking to the ANC, many erstwhile supporters would join the CP.

He said the problems facing Mr De Klerk were enormous and with Mr De Klerk allowing marches which circumvented the State of Emergency, the situation was steadily worsening.

"We as white people have stolen no land and we resist any actions which will remove us from our fatherland — we will resist any assassination of our identity," he said.



Dr Zac de Beer, co-leader of Democratic Party

wo[illegible] than we [illegible] before the election," he said

Full and equal human dignity was the only acceptable basis for democracy He said a Bill of Rights would be neither meangingful nor feasible or even desirable unless full and equal rights of citizenship — including in particular an equal and equiv[illegible]nt franchise for all — w[illegible] first recognised, acceptec [illegible]nd implemented

He said absolute fairn[illegible]ss and equ[illegible] treatment was sential [illegible], [illegible]e the whole fort shou[illegible] abandoned.

"I thin[illegible] [illegible]e siutatior[illegible]s quite fine[illegible] [illegible]lanced and [illegible] evitably [illegible] itiative is v[illegible] Mr de [illegible] He has gi[illegible] powerfu[illegible] assurances of determination to seek a [illegible]-gotiated solution He has a[illegible]-ed courageously [illegible] allowing the protest marc[illegible]s of the last two weeks w[illegible]n in my view have let some steam out of the boiler, impressed international observers and in some degree paved the way to negotiations. But now this must be followed up — and quickly."

The next five years would be finely blanaced, but on both sides there was a better climate for negotiation, but each side could be overestimating its ability to gain advantage.

to become another experiment in African politics.

He said a great deal depended on the role disenfranchised people would play "Will they be prepared to enter negotiation or even join the negotiating group or will they try to opt for a radical takeover."

His government would not talk to people committed to a radical takeover and seizure of power. Many serious problems would have to be debated to find a system of democracy which did not allow for minority domination.

He said the Government had been accused of equating a Bill of Rights with apartheid It had been said a Bill of Rights protecting group rights would merely be a continuation of the old policy.

This was not true because ethnicity was a fact of nature and this had to be taken into account when a new dispensation was worked out

Mr F Jacobs, Conservative Party MP for Losberg, said the right of self determination was an important human right and was enshrined in the Charter of the United Nationas. Mr Jacobs, who answered a wide spectrum of questions from black delegates said he did not see himself as a racist.

'Build up to negotiation and avoid polarisation'

TOO much focus was placed on negetiations between the ANC and the governmnent, Mr Mike Olivier, chairman of the Five Freedoms Forum said here at the weekend.

Mr Olivier was speaking at the opening of this year's Human Rights Trust conference

He said the process of negotiation should be built up at grass roots level on local issues instead of heading for polarisation.

The ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement did not want to negotiate with the government.

"We should be looking at negotiation at local levels. We must build up the process of negotiation instead of heading for polarisation."

He said parties usually agreed to negotiation when there were no options open to them. Pressure could be used as a force toward negotiation.



President De Klerk . . . praised for his courage

The government had become increasingly sensitive to international pressure. Pressure from labour had also brought about many changes.

"The mind boggles at negotiation between all groups in South Africa. The PAC and Azapo do not want to negotiate at all. Nor does the CP"

He said the government was experiencing many pressures. The decline in the economy, the defiance campaign, labour action and a virtual collapse of the education system.

Eventually the governnent had to accept negotiation as inevitable.

Problems facing those who wish to negotiate included the fact that many organisations were denied the right to function politically.

Afrikaner perceptions and the need for survival forced them to hang on to what was theirs. There was the National Party adherence to group concepts and restrictions on the media.

He said the lack of unity among anti-apartheid organisations was also hindering negotiations with the government.

Pressures must be focused on moving the key parties towards negotiations, he said.

Mandela 'the best possible negoiator'

NELSON Mandela was a man prepared to give consideration to white fears, Professor Fatima Meer, professor of sociology at the University of Natal, said here at the weekend.

"We have the best available negotiator in Mandela, all of us, black and white, Nationalist, Inkatha, MDM: let us use him and pray that the nationalists will provide us with the opportunity," she said.

Speaking on Mandela — The Man And The Myth, Prof Meer said Mandela had grown into consciousness like a messianic presence, embodying in himself the dreams and aspirations of the disenfranchised and the hope of South Africans in general for a prosperous and peaceful South Africa.

Disenfranchised South Africans see exemplified in him the power of black people to overcome their powerlessness. They glow in his enormous prestige. They see how against him every Nationalist state president pales into insignificance.

"He consecrates in his person that unity which deludes them in the fractionalised violence of the township. His very isolation in the last 28 years has placed him above the factionalism so that today those whose hopes are reflected in him range from members of Inkatha to members of the MDM, Cosatu and



Prof Fatima Meer

even members of the National Party."

She said Mandela today was a youthful 71-year-old who would easily pass for 60. He was tall lean and very much in control of his physique. In fact he was very much in control of everything around him. He had a geniality and warmth which endeared him to all as a friend.

Mandela's most ouststanding trait was his belief in himself, his conviction that what he represneted was just and right for himself, his people and his country.

'Violence breeds ... more violence'

A cult had developed within the security forces, especially the SAP, to condone the use of excessive force against protesting communities, Mr Jan van Eck said.

Mr Van Eck, Democratic Party MP for Claremont, said the S A Police had thousands of superb and highly motiviated and highly disciplined policemen. But very few of these were to be seen when the riot police moved into unrest situations.

He said quite often officers in charge had their decisions questions and countermanded by people who were not even at the scene He said he had monitored the crisis in the Western Cape's black and coloured townships virtually on a daily basis for the last five years.

The continuing cycle of violent conflict between the state and the oppressed in the Western Cape should be a cause for deep concern to those working towards a negotiated future

He said if violence was allowed to continue — allowed because it was in the power of the Government to stop it — the prospects of negotiation would decrease.

In 90 percent of cases peaceful protests and gatherings of people on street corners turned violent only when the police arrived.

He said the most violent policemen, the ones mos likely to shoot to kill or violently disperse a peaceful crowd had become heroes specially to junior policemen.

One of the most disturbing features of police conduct during the unrest had been the way the police openly scorned ignored and insulted educational and church leaders who had tried to negotiate with them.

President De Klerk could "massively increase the prospects of negotiations by curbing improper police actions.

With the world watching his every move .....

Time is critical for FW

3044 Sowetan 2/10/89

FOCUS

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will have to placate an impatient international community and increasingly restless country soon - or face sanctions that will bring South Africa close to financial ruin.

Pressure for swift reform by De Klerk came from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and bankers attending the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Washington this week.

His first deadline is the Commonwealth leaders' conference in Kuala Lumpur - which is just three weeks away - where Thatcher will stand alone against tougher sanctions.

At a meeting this week with veteran politician Helen Suzman, KaNgwane leader Enos Mabuza, and Idasa's Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the British Prime Minister said she needed "help from Pretoria".



KaNgwane leader Enos Mabuza, Idasa's Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and veteran politician Helen Suzman met with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher this week.

Critical

After the Downing Street talks, Mrs Suzman said President De Klerk "really must give Thatcher more than rhetoric and he must make his move before the Commonwealth meeting.

"Time is critical. I cannot say how important it is for the Government to move now - and not shoot itself in the foot again."

De Klerk has impressed foreign observers with the Government's low-key approach to protest marches.

Also, the opening of facilities to all in Johannesburg and the announcement that beach apartheid and the use of public amenities was receiving "urgent Cabinet attention" have been welcomed - but much bolder initiatives are needed, observers believe.

Three months

After discussions with Thatcher, Slabbert said that only the Government could lift the state of emergency, release political prisoners and spell out what it meant by "talks about negotiations".

He said his impression of attitudes among leaders in Europe was that President de Klerk had no more than three months before the expectations he had raised would begin to turn sour.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said bankers he met in Washington were "very impressed" with De Klerk's plans, but were waiting for the President to "transfer words into deeds".

Another deadline that looms is the rescheduling of the country's foreign debt by mid-1990, and the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Chris Stals, agreed in interviews in Washington this week that international banks were under pressure from anti-apartheid groups not to reschedule the debts.

Leading economist Ronnie Bethlehem of JCI, writing in the latest issue of *Leadership*, warns that the President must show evidence of his seriousness on reform before this month's Commonwealth leaders' conference.

The main item on their agenda is intensification of financial sanctions at a time when the country's net gold and foreign reserve position is weak, says Dr Bethlehem.

After the election "expectations are high, both at home and overseas, for new and bold reform initiatives. If these are not forthcoming, and reasonably soon, there will be disappointment. This was precisely the situation that existed in August 1985," he says.

Expectations of important policy changes were not met by the Rubicon speech of former President P W Botha and "all hell broke loose. America's Chase Manhattan bank acted, triggering an international crisis and collapse of the rand - partly because the reserve position was weak.

"South Africa cannot afford a Rubicon Mark 2. It would be 'too ghastly to contemplate', especially given the now very different situation that has to be faces domestically regarding the Mass Democratic Movement and externally regarding the ANC sanctions.

Perceptions

Economists and business leaders have reacted positively to steps already taken by President de Klerk, including talks with African leaders like Kenneth Kaunda, Joaquim Chissano and Mobuto Sese Seko.

Standard Bank economist Nico Czypionka said international perceptions of the country had improved. To reinforce this sentiment, "visible steps have to be taken", he said.

Foreign bankers would like to do business as usual but needed to have something to sell to their critics, he said.

304A 3/10/89 STAR

Broederbond also denies links

Govt 'not involved in talks with ANC'

The Star's London Bureau and Sapa-Reuter

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday dissociated himself and his Government from talks which took place in London over the weekend between a number of prominent Afrikaner leaders and the ANC.

In a further development, both the ANC and Professor Willie Esterhuyse, a member of the party of Broederbonders who attended the talks, have denied that the talks were on behalf of the Broederbond or the South African Government.

According to reports, the group of Afrikaner leaders included Mr de Klerk's brother, Dr Wimpie de Klerk; Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange; Professor Esterhuyse, head of the political philosophy department at Stellenbosch University; and Professor Sampie Terblanche, prominent Stellenbosh economics academic.

President de Klerk said in a statement: "The Government was not involved, directly or indirectly, in the discussions which, according to reports, took place over the weekend between a number of prominent South Africans and the ANC.

"On June 22 1989 I clearly stated the Government's viewpoint on discussions involving a variety of groups who, without a mandate or accountability, try to enter into dialogue with the ANC. However well it may be intended, the general result of such discussions is that they are exploited by the ANC and others to conceal the true nature of revolutionary organisations, and to promote an undeserved image of reasonableness of these organisations.

Destabilising

"Participants in discussions of this nature play into the hands of forces which are still intent on destabilising South Africa and on destroying good order.

"It is, pre-eminently, the responsibility of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to investigate the situation of banned organisations vis-a-vis peaceful negotiations and, in this light, to evaluate and regulate their legal position."

Professor Esterhuyse said he and others in the group had met the ANC's chief of information, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in their individual capacities, as they had done on a number of occasions already. He said that he deplored the fact that the media linked the group's discussions with the ANC to the Broederbond and the Government.

An ANC spokesman yesterday indicated the organisation's attitude was that it had met an individual group, not representatives of the Broederbond.

The spokesman said press reports "of ANC officials meeting a formal delegation of the Broederbond" were untrue.

"It's possible some were members, but this was a meeting with Afrikaner intellectuals, not Broederbond," he added.

The spokesman said he did not "rate the talks as very significant".

"We've had 20 meetings with Afrikaner intellectuals in recent years, in various places — most of them unpublicised."

Watch on AWB squad

(304) Sowetan 3/10/89

POLICE have "taken note" of claims of the existence of an AWB suicide squad but would act against "radicalism, terrorism and crime" wherever it was found, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, was reacting to a Sunday Press report that the AWB had formed a suicide squad, of which arrested Johannesburg AWB leader Mr Leonard Veenendal knew about.

Veenendal has been arrested in connection with a handgrenade and machinegun attack on United Nations offices in Outjo, Namibia, last month. A man was killed in the attack.

The suicide squad, said to be known as "the Israelites," were supposedly prepared to carry out suicide attacks on political targets and then kill themselves.

The AWB's elite Aquila unit had also split, said the report.

Mellet said yesterday police had taken note of the claims but were prepared at any time to act against all forms of radicalism, terrorism and crime no matter who was responsible.

"Terror is terror, no matter who is carrying it out. We will act against anyone who breaks the law," he said.

3/10/89 Star

Further meetings planned

By Chris Whitfield,
The Star Bureau

30/4

LONDON — The African National Congress is planning more meetings with South Africans, including two with large groups early next year.

A spokesman for the ANC's London office said these included a meeting with more than 100 Afrikaner women planned for January in Amsterdam.

Another large meeting with Afrikaner intellectuals was being planned for early next year but the spokesman could not give details at present.

Several smaller meetings with white South Africans, such as that in London at the weekend, had been scheduled for the next few months.

"It is a policy of ours to have meetings with Afrikaners so that they can see what we are all about," he said. "People who come expecting to find bush fighters, their faces twisted in terror, in fact find sensible human beings who care about the future of their country."

He said the only reason the latest meeting had aroused attention was because of press reports speculating that the banned organisation was talking to Broederbond officials.

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Govt unlikely to attend the Paris 'indaba'



President Mitterrand ... force behind summit.

The Star's Foreign News Service and Political Correspondent

The South African Government seems unlikely to attend the major "indaba" with the ANC which is being organised in Paris.

Cabinet Ministers Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe are on the huge guest list for the indaba, according to reports from Paris.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today that as of late yesterday evening the Government had received no invitation to the indaba

But his reaction indicated it was unlikely the Government would attend.

He said: "SA's problems ought to be solved by South Africans inside South Africa."

President Mitterrand is behind the planning of the major peace summit on South Africa, involving all concerned parties, diplomatic sources revealed today.

The summit venue is likely to be Versailles, and the date about mid-November, on the eve of the annual Franco-African summit which is usually held at the beginning of every December.

The summit was planned to include SA Cabinet Ministers, parliamentarians and intellectuals who would face ANC leaders and such personalities as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

President Mitterrand and selected French Ministers would attend, and also four or five African leaders. President Kaunda of Zambia and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast are being mentioned, as well as President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

The summit would also include observers from the United States and the Soviet Union.

President de Klerk would be invited, and so naturally would Foreign Minister Mr Botha. But the French side would also like to see NP member Mr Glenn Babb in the SA delegation, for he speaks fluent French and knows the scene here.

President Mitterrand's chief aides in arranging this summit are his wife, Danielle, and his youngest son, Jean-Christophe.

She founded the France-Liberte Association in 1982 which has close links with Africa. For several years one of her closest aides was Breyten Breytenbach.

Jean-Christophe is at present his father's chief adviser on African affairs. Ten years ago he was a foreign correspondent in West Africa for Agence France Presse.

School wants to question Clase

By Peter Fabricius and Sue Valentine

Representatives of the Johannesburg High School for Girls want to question Minister of Education and Culture Mr Piet Clase before deciding the school's fate.

No final decision was taken at last night's meeting of the management council and the Save Our School (SOS) Committee.

SOS Committee chairman Ms Sharon Bond said the school's management council would prepare the questions to put to Mr Clase.

Ms Bond said most of the questions were on the issue of the school choosing to become a non-racial school in a free settlement area.

To what extent the Government would subsidise it also needed clarification.

The Johannesburg High School for Girls really has only two immediate options — to apply to become a private school under present policy with a maximum subsidy of 45 percent or to be transferred to another education department, according to Government sources.

Asked to clarify official policy on multiracial schools, the sources conceded it was not a practical option for the school to apply for its neighbourhood to be declared a free settlement area.

Even if the area did become a free settlement area this would not take place before the end of the year, too late for the 1990.

865 workers reinstated

The Industrial Court yesterday reinstated 865 Sasol workers, basing its decision on the legitimacy of the strike which led to their dismiss-

Restrictions

3/10/89 STAR

What the Broeders were doing in London



Professor Sampie Terblanche of Stellenbosch University, a Broederbonder and DP member who attended London talks with the ANC.

By Patrick Laurence

The Afrikaner Broederbond is once again under the spotlight following the weekend meeting in London between Afrikaner notables — some of whom are top Broeders — and representatives of the African National Congress.

But the exclusive 15 000-strong Broederbond is much more difficult to typecast today than it was in the heyday of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd from 1958-66.

In those days it was a small, secret and cohesive body working to promote Afrikaner interests, which — stripped to their essentials — translated as Afrikaner domination.

304A

Survival

No less a man than Dr Verwoerd told his fellow Broeders. "The Afrikaner Broederbond must gain control of anything it can lay its hands on in every walk on life in South Africa."

Dr Verwoerd's words echo those of an earlier chairman of the Broederbond, Professor J C van Rooy: "Our solution for South Africa's problems is that the Afrikaner Broederbond rule South Africa."

Today, judging by two Broederbond study documents, the first drafted in 1986 and the second as recently as June this year, the Broederbond's objective is much more modest: it is Afrikaner survival, not overlordship.

It is against that background that the presence of Broeders at the London meeting should be seen.

Whether they admit it or not, they were on an exploratory mission to see whether an accommodation with the ANC is possible which will meet the aspirations of the black majority without sacrificing the Afrikaner's survival.

The purpose of the two study documents is to separate those elements in South Africa's political economy essential to Afrikaner survival and those which can be jettisoned.

Thus neither a black president nor even a government in which the majority of members are black are in themselves inimical to Afrikaner survival. They are, however, subject to important provisos:

- The presidency must be stripped of executive power and, possibly, occupied by representatives of the different races on a rotational basis.
- Decision-making at central government level must be by consensus or "concurrent majorities", meaning that whites will have an effective veto.
- Major segments of power must be placed under the control of the different groups/races as own affairs.

The Broeders at the London meeting would have been less than human, and certainly not fulfilling their responsibilities, if they did not bounce these ideas off the ANC interlocutors.

A new line of thinking on the Broederbond is rapidly crystallising as conventional wisdom: the Broederbond, having been marginalised during the presidency of Mr P W Botha who preferred the advice of the securocrats, is re-emerging as a central force under President F W de Klerk.

New deal

Central to this thesis is the close alliance between Mr de Klerk and his Minister of Constutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. Dr Viljoen is a former Broederbond chairman and the man whose primary mandate is to negotiate a new deal with the black majority.

Dr Viljoen, it may also be noted, is a former university colleague of the present chairman of the Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange.

But in noting the reappearance of the Broederbond on centre stage under Mr de Klerk (whose brother, Dr Willem de Klerk, was at the London talks) there is one anomaly.

Not all Broederbonders are members of the National Party; some are members of the Democratic Party, including co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and a member of its national board, Professor Sampie Terblanche.

A cyncial and hostile interpretation of the presence of Broeders in the upper echelons of the DP is that they are obeying Dr Verwoerd's injunction to gain "control of everything".

There is, however, an alternative and less conspiratorial explanation.

In the past decade, the Broederbond has been in advance of the National Party, anticipating — to cite two examples — the party's decision to give coloured people representation in Parliament and its suggesting of the idea of opening the presidency to all races.

Thus, Broeders Malan, Terblanche and Willem de Klerk found themselves at odds with the NP but still in accord with the revisionist course taken by the Broederbond when it embarked on a pursuit of Afrikaner survival as distinct from domination.

They may have been prompted in part by the belief that a strong party on the left of the NP would push it more rapidly and comprehensively along the survival path mapped out by the Broederbond



Mr Wynand Malan . . . one of the co-leaders of the Democratic Party and a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

Change has become inevitable in this fluid society

B/Day 2/10/89

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KEN OWEN

THIS country has become a fluid place. The rigid framework of Verwoerdian apartheid has collapsed, opening an historic opportunity to remake South African society.

If I thought it depended on the government to seize this opportunity I would be deeply depressed. If I thought it depended on the ANC, or the militant madams and their guilt-ridden kids, I would be much more deeply depressed. But the outlook makes me very cheerful.

In fact, the process of change has gathered a momentum of its own. As the Institute of Race Relations has pointed out so often, the changes in the law follow — they do not precede — changes in the structure of the society.

Labour unions organised strikes before they were legal; influx control collapsed before the pass laws were lifted; job reservation evaporated long before the law was changed; private schools were integrated unlawfully.

On every front, the people of this country — the ordinary *ous*, black and white — are changing the realities by the choices they make from day to day. Apartheid has been reduced to a nonsense, the capricious remnant of what was once a pervasive system of oppression and control.

The key word is "control". The officialdom no longer has the ability, or the resources, or the will, to maintain that control. In the Sixties, political demonstrations were smashed up so that they stayed smashed up, in the Eighties, thanks to television and the interest which foreigners take in our affairs, the demonstrators win every round.

One of the better British newspapers reported, with a nice touch of malice, that the police resorted to "violence" to break up the Pretoria women's march. Those friendly British bobbies, of course, use "force", not "violence", but even in this country the rhetoric has fallen behind the facts: once upon a time demonstrators were coated with blood, today they are usually coated with blue dye.

The breakdown of government control shows on every side. The centralised system of transport has simply collapsed, thanks in part to the mini-buses, and in part to a shortage of inspectors. In a country where every skill is in short supply, it takes a Verwoerdian pathology to keep issuing and examining permits for a lorry to carry a load from Jo'burg to Durban.

Johannesburg's abolition of the municipal colour bar in the past week, an act of high symbolism, was actually less than it seemed. The white bus service is bankrupt, ruined by a lack of passengers; the pools were segregated by custom, not by law; the parks, libraries and theatres have been desegregated for a decade.

So what has changed?

The single most important change is that the National Party has lost the will to maintain control. The days when Verwoerd's inspectors stalked the land, separating lovers and spouses, or dividing learned societies into four equal parts, or examining permits and fingernails, are gone.

Namibia is launched on the road to freedom, the securocrats are out of favour, and the generals are anxiously wondering how they can justify conscription when there are no visible enemies.

For the first time I can remember, the Cabinet is dominated by men in the financial and economic ministries who are all determined to free up the system, and all headed in more or less the same direction.

Barend du Plessis, still trying to recover from the humiliation of having all his sums made ridiculous by the salary increase granted to civil servants during his absence in Berlin last year, is determined to restore fiscal discipline.

Kent Durr's Anglo-Saxon reputation rests on his ability to keep tidy books. Dawie de Villiers has been telling everybody he knows that he is determined to create a lean, mean administration. Wim de Villiers will, we may be sure, provide the thrust for privatisation and deregulation.

With luck, we'll get government off our backs, which is a kind of freedom. But it is important to note that government is in retreat not because it has reformed, or undergone some road-to-Damascus experience, but because ordinary people have changed the realities.

For example, some years ago the private schools, led by the Roman Catholics, simply brushed aside apartheid. They began to admit children of all races. Piet Koornhof begged the newspapers to suppress the news, which they did for a year or more, while the breach in the dyke got wider and wider.

In recent weeks, I have listened in fascination as principals and teachers from Roman Catholic schools (one of them now non-denominational) have outlined the difficulties which they had to surmount: the timid conformity of the first black students; the rebellion (soccer for rugby) when the numbers reached 20%-30%; the special programmes and new techniques designed to overcome cultural deprivation; the negotiations with pupils over disciplines and syllabi; and finally soaring academic standards and a high level of university success.

Last week, government yielded to the new reality, announcing that the threatened girls school, Barnato Park, would be permitted to survive as a private, multiracial institution. The dyke has broken; through the breach one can glimpse the multiracial education system that lies ahead for almost all of us.

Personally, I do not expect the constitutional endeavours of President de Klerk's government to succeed, certainly not soon. The Nationalists remain wedded to groupthink; until they accept the equality of individuals, and the idea that human rights vest in those individuals, they will not find common ground with the majority of South Africans.

That is a pity, but it is not a disaster. Change flows relatively easily through this society; it is up to the rest of us to strengthen that flow.

Some people demand change, loudly and bravely, others simply change things; some corporations damn the Nationalists, others draw black people into their management as equals; some people march, knees akimbo, others work for change. Some demand open schools; others teach. Every little bit helps.

The courts, once an instrument for the maintenance of repressive laws, function sometimes now — in the Carletonville case, for example — as levers for freedom. The Johannesburg municipality, a repressive institution for so many years, has opened a crack in the wall of apartheid.

This country must, it has often been observed, pass through two revolutions: one social and economic, the other political. The political revolution will, of necessity, entail a great leap forward, a leap into the dark, perhaps. The social and economic change may be more gradual.

However, the more economic and social change we achieve now, the less disruptive the political revolution is likely to be; and anyway, if we wait dumbly for the state — or its left-wing mirror image — to solve our problems, we may wait forever. So let's get on with it.

Star 3/10/89

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Dr Piet asks US public about reform

WASHINGTON — The South African Government wants to know what Americans think.

At least that's what Ambassador Piet Koornhof is saying in a mass mailing that includes a questionnaire and a reprint of a *Reader's Digest* article arguing against US economic sanctions on Pretoria.

Among the questions are:



Dr Piet Koornhof ... wants to know how Americans feel.

- What is your opinion of the South African Government's reforms to eliminate apartheid?
- In your opinion, will punitive US sanctions promote positive political change in South Africa?
- A recent editorial "concluded that sanctions against South Africa have increased US dependence on the Soviet Union for strategic minerals". Does this concern you?

Mr Delarey van Tonder, the embassy's press and information counsellor, said several thousand letters had gone out to academics, politicians, businessmen and public figures.

"Your opinion is important to me, to my Government and to South Africans — black and white — who are striving to build a truly open and democratic society," Dr Koornhof wrote in a letter accompanying the questionnaire.

Dr Koornhof's letter said South Africa and the United States "share the ideals of democracy and freedom". — Sapa-AP.

Inkatha at new European indaba

ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON — Within hours of official confirmation yesterday of the Paris indaba, it emerged that a conference on SA featuring Inkatha — possibly even leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as Soviet African experts and businessmen from EC countries — would take place at the weekend in Saarbrucken, West Germany.

It is being organised by the Dutch-based Foundation for Economic and International Co-operation, described as non-aligned but with strong Inkatha links.

Meanwhile, the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation, which confirmed it was organising the Paris indaba, has strongly intimated the date may be brought forward from the scheduled November 20-25.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports, however, that the indaba was in the balance after premature reports about it.

Last night Idasa executive director Alex Boraine, confirming the organisation had been approached some months ago for assistance, said: "The French government was very embarrassed about the premature announcement as not all invitations had been sent."

Sapa reported yesterday that Foreign Affairs in Pretoria had said the department was aware of no invitation by the French government to the SA government.

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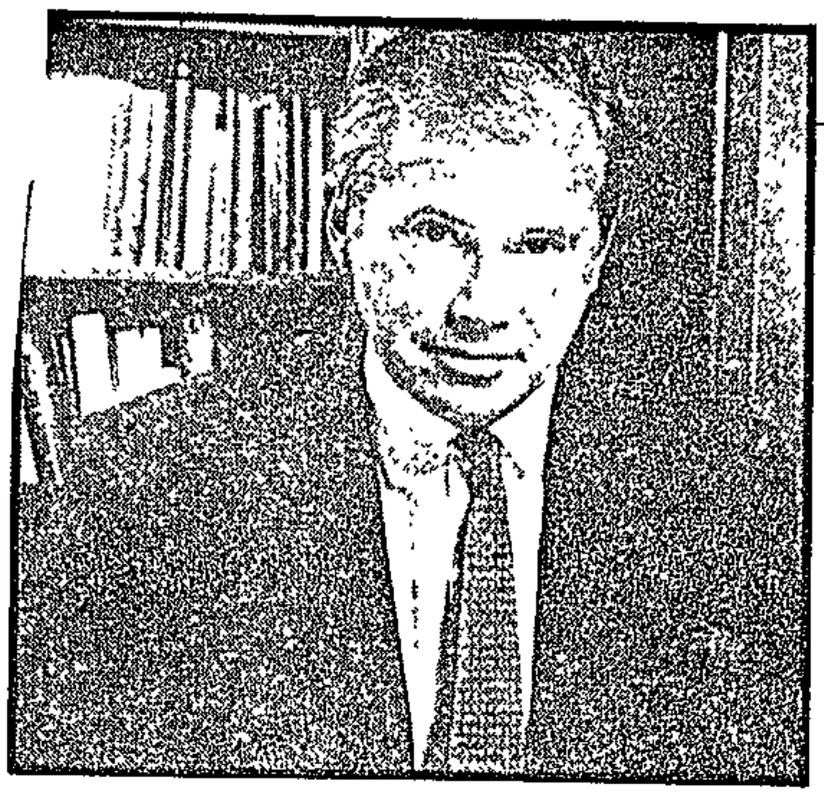

Chris Ball



P W Botha

ARGUS 4/10/89

30KA

Judge by the bounce of the Ball

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

RETIRED President P W Botha's attack on former chief executive of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, for assisting in the funding of a UDF newspaper advertisements two years ago has resulted in a major parliamentary investigation.

A joint committee of Parliament on Parliamentary Privilege under the chairmanship of deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, has now tabled an 81-page report with 26 recommendations which include a stiffening up on measures to prevent members of parliament abusing parliamentary protection for free speech and increases in penalties for contempt of parliament.

The committee was appointed on the recommendation of a parliamentary select committee which looked into claims that Mr Dave Dalling MP (DP Santon) had abused parliamentary privilege by accusing the chairman of the Ball Commission of Inquiry, Mr Justice George Munnik, of being unable to be impartial when he found Mr Ball knew the true purpose of a R100 000 overdraft he granted to businessman, Mr Yusuf Surtee, who used the money to pay for UDF advertisements.

Mr Ball maintained he had not known and in a parliamentary debate Mr Dalling claimed Mr Justice Munnik should have recused himself because he was a friend of Mr Botha and because Barclays Bank had closed the Judge's account more than once because of overdraft problems.

The committee has recommended that reflections on the conduct of a Judge, including reflections on his character, honour or motives and charges of a personal nature "cannot be made unless the discussion is based on a substantive motion.

"The conduct of a judge as a member of a commission of inquiry may be discussed provided there is no reflection on a judge in his judicial capacity or on his character, honour, motives or personal conduct.

"The judicial decisions of a judge as to fact or law may, within reasonable limits and in moderate langugae, be arguied, provided there is no reflection on his competence, character, honour, motives or conduct."

Vital for business to continue as an agent for change

B/Day 4/10/89

RAYMOND PARSONS, chief executive of Assocom

BUSINESS can make an indispensable contribution towards the goal of reconciliation and negotiation in SA. It must continue to be an important agent of change.

Employers, through their network of contacts at all levels of black society — including the trade unions — are a positive force in bridge-building between the races. The experience gained by employers over several years in the hard school of industrial relations can make a valuable contribution to conflict management at the political level. This will be needed if we are to reduce the inevitable hurdles which are likely to lie in the path of the political transformation over the next few years.

The challenge is ultimately to combine the creation of a broad political democracy with sound economic management in ways which will sustain business confidence.

It is generally agreed that reform needs to be tackled from a position of economic strength. Economic growth is imperative if SA is to secure a stable democratic future, and to meet the legitimate aspirations of all its peoples.

Political change is inevitable — demography alone dictates such a shift — but the process will be a delayed, turbulent one if it is not accompanied by economic growth.

We must continue to open up the economy, create new opportunities for all, normalise our external economic relations — and continue to tackle the obstacles which stand in the way of higher economic growth. Growth is not "a cure for all diseases, an end to all distress", but it makes other aims easier to attain, and softens conflict among them.

Unless the economy can grow at a rate faster than the rate of population growth (presently 2,3% per annum) the country faces an increasingly impoverished future. There are already severe shortfalls in the provision of housing, education, health and welfare facilities for blacks. No government will ever be able to make up this backlog and provide for the needs of the growing population unless it can draw on the resources of an expanding economy.

The economy must grow at a rate of at least 5% per annum if it is to provide employment for the 350 000 work seekers who enter the job market each year. Without economic growth, the racial gap in incomes will widen and the black population will bear the brunt of increased unemployment and declining personal income.

The effect on the informal sector will be serious, as without increasing demand powered by an expanding wage bill of the formal sector, meaningful informal activity will be impossible.

Economic growth is a necessary condition, though not a sufficient one, for continued black economic empowerment. The bigger the cake, the easier it is to ensure that everyone receives a satisfactory portion. Faster growth helps reduce both internal and external tensions.

Economic growth is vital not only to increase the opportunities for meaningful participation in the economy for a growing black population, but also to facilitate important structural changes.

The economy is very dependent on unprocessed metal and mineral export products for which there is a declining demand in the world economy. Unless SA can begin to supply world markets with the beneficiated metal and mineral goods they require, its long-term economic prospects are poor.

The required structural adjustments — broadening the base of the economy, diversifying the manufacturing sector and upgrading mineral and metal products — can be accomplished only with the resources and capacity of an expanding economy and international investment in technology.

President F W de Klerk has taken office at a time when the role of the state and the frontiers of its powers — particularly its relationship to the forces of the market — have also been heavily questioned. He has committed himself and his Cabinet to proceed with privatisation and deregulation and generally to reduce the role of the state in the economy.

What needs to be clarified urgently over the next few years is to distinguish between:

- ☐ Things government need not be involved in at all;
- ☐ Things only government can ensure are done; and
- ☐ Things only government can do.

This process is essential to our future economic performance, though it should not be seen as a panacea for all economic ills.

Although SA can reasonably allocate enough time to undertake the political and economic changes required, we must not assume that such time is unlimited. We cannot ignore overseas perceptions.

We want to normalise our foreign economic relations. We must be seen to be taking the opportunities which now exists.

There are certain symbolic steps in the short term which, if taken, will demonstrate clearly to our friends overseas what the new direction is going to be.

We must not assume that all international opinion concerning SA is immutable. If, indeed, overseas opinion were an unalterable thing, it would be a waste of time to discuss SA at all. We have seen overseas perceptions shift in the case of Namibia, so it can be done.

We must help our friends overseas to help us, bearing in mind the converging events which could affect SA in the near future. There is a note of urgency in the air. The events are:

- ☐ The rescheduling of SA's foreign debt, which has become a target for those seeking additional financial sanctions;
- ☐ The reconvening of the US Congress this month when SA is likely to again be discussed; and
- ☐ The Commonwealth conference this month, in which Britain in particular will come under pressure about SA.

We must try to keep these pressure points to the minimum. We must give SA a breathing space under cover of which to address the fundamentals. And if useful gestures of reconciliation and flexibility are deemed desirable to create a suitable political climate within SA, they can also serve to assist our friends abroad.

All in all, a decisive and exciting five years lie ahead. All great leaders have had one characteristic in common — the willingness to confront unequivocally the major anxiety of the people in their time. It is now mainly in the hands of key white and black leaders whether the next five years will herald a political breakthrough or a political dead-end.

The next couple of year will also determine whether the economy will unlock its true potential or continue to be hobbled by inflation and balance of payments problems. So we have to get both the political and the economics right.

This is not a challenge which faces only our political leaders — it is also one which faces business if it wants to prosper and survive in the decade ahead.

In the immediate post-election phase there are new grounds for optimism. President de Klerk begins his term with a great deal of goodwill from the business community. Most businessmen are more than willing to give him a chance — indeed, the business sector is anxious that he should succeed in getting SA out of certain political dead-end streets. The opinion among many businessmen is that President de Klerk has made good start and has inspired confidence.

But business will also be keen to ensure that deeds match words and that the necessary energy, drive and political will exists to achieve reconciliation and negotiation in the years ahead. And it will also be the responsibility of business to be supportive of all those efforts which it genuinely believes will move SA in the right direction.

☐ This is an extract from an address by Raymond Parsons to the Free State Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Sky 4/10/89 (304A)

304A SAA 4/10/89

'Don't restrict reports on debates'

Committee upholds privilege of MPs

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A parliamentary joint committee has recommended that neither MPs' absolute privilege during debate, nor the freedom of the media to report parliamentary debates and reports, should be restricted.

But it has recommended a tightening up on penalties for the contempt of Parliament and abuse of parliamentary privilege.

And it has recommended that the same form of privilege should be given to provincial administrators and members of provincial executive committees when they take part in meetings of the extended public committees of Parliament.

The committee also recommended an investigation into the extent of protection that should be given to statements made in municipal councils.

Privilege allows members of Parliament to make any statement without fear that they can be questioned by or impeached by any court or individual outside of Parliament.

The committee said there were limitations on this freedom set by Parliament as there was a clear conflict between a member's right to express views freely and the right of a person to defend his reputation.

"It happens from time to time that the privilege of freedom of speech is abused." The committee came to the conclusion it was impossible to curtail freedom of debate without eroding freedom of speech.

Overcome

To overcome the problem, the committee has recommended that the rules of Parliament be altered to give a parliamentary committee, when considering an alleged abuse of the privilege of freedom of speech, the power to impose penalties — including the power to suspend members.

Suspended members would be considered to be on "unpaid leave" but the power to expel members permanently should be removed and suspensions should be restricted to 30 days.

It recommended a new standing joint committee of Parliament be appointed to deal with all issues of privilege with new procedures for raising issues of breach of privilege.

The aim would be "to increase the deterrent effect of non-compliance with the rules of debate".

The committee recommended that Parliament should retain its powers of penal sanctions for infringement of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act with Parliament.

This includes contempt of Parliament and being able to set a maximum term of six months' imprisonment.

The committee recommended increasing the maximum fines for contravening the standing rules of Parliament for an individual to R5 000 and for a corporate body to R50 000.

While the media would remain free to report what a member had said, including any unparliamentary statements, they would be obliged to point out that a member had been requested to withdraw a statement.

'No reflections on judge's conduct'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The attack of retired President Botha on the former chief executive of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, for assisting in the funding of UDF newspaper advertisements two years ago, resulted in a major parliamentary investigation.

A joint committee of Parliament on parliamentary privilege under the chairmanship of Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, has now tabled an 81-page report with 26 recommendations which include a stiffening up on measures to prevent members of Parliament abusing parliamentary protection.

The committee was appointed on the recommendation of a parliamentary select committee. It looked into claims that Mr Dave Dalling (DP, Sandton) had abused parliamentary privilege by accusing the chairman of the Ball Commission of Inquiry, Mr Justice George Munnik, of being unable to be impartial when he found Mr Ball knew the true purpose of a R100 000 overdraft he granted to businessman Mr Yusuf Surtee, who used the money to pay for UDF advertisements.

ACCOUNT CLOSED

Mr Ball maintained he did not know and in a parliamentary debate Mr Dalling claimed Mr Justice Munnik should have recused himself because he was a friend of Mr Botha and because Barclays Bank had closed the judge's account more than once due to overdraft problems.

The committee has recommended that reflections on the conduct of a judge, including reflections on his character, honour or motives and charges of a personal nature "cannot be made unless the discussion is based on a substantive motion".

"The judicial decisions of a judge as to fact or law may, within reasonable limits and in moderate language, be argued, provided there is no reflection on his competence, character, honour, motives or conduct," it said.

Tighter penalties for 'abuse of free speech'

30kA

ARGUS 4/10/89

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

A Parliamentary joint committee has recommended neither the freedom of speech of members of Parliament nor the freedom of the media to report Parliamentary debates and reports should be restricted.

PRIVILEGE

But it has recommended a tightening up on penalties for the contempt of parliament and on MPs who abuse the parliamentary privilege of free speech.

It has however recommended that the right of freedom of speech should be given to provincial administrators and members of provincial executive committees when the take party in meetings of the extended public committees of parliament.

The committee also recommended that an investigation should be held into the extent of protection that should be given to statements made in municipal councils.

The right of freedom of speech allows members of parliament to make any statement without fear that they can be questioned by or impeached by any court or individual outside of parliament.



Danie Schutte

However the committee pointed out that there were limitations on this freedom set by parliament as there was a clear conflict between a members right to express views freely and the right of a person to defend his reputation.

"It happens from time to time that the privilege of freedom of speech is abused." The committee came to the conclusion it was impossible to curtail freedom of debate without eroding freedom of speech.

To overcome the problem the committee has recommended that the rules of parliament be altered to give a parliamentary committee considering an alleged abuse of the privilege of freedom of speech the power to impose penalties including the power to suspend members.



Brian Bamford

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It recommended a new standing joint committee of parliament be appointed to deal with all issues of privilege with new procedures for raising issues of breech of privilege

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The committee recommended that parliament should retain its powers of penal sanctions for infringement of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act with Parliament, which includes contempt of parliament, being able to set a maximum term of six months imprisonment.

And although a fine has never beeen set in the past for contravention of the Standing Rules of Parliament it has increased the maximum fines for an individual to R5 000 and for a corporate body to R50 000.

While the media would remain free to report what a member had said, including any unparliamentary statements, they would be obliged to point out that a member had been requested to withdraw a statement or had been ordered to withdraw.

The committee which heard evidence from a number of media representatives including Mr Brian Bamford QC on behalf of the Argus Group, recommended "the present position relating to the publication of parliamentary proceedings should remain unchanged."

The public had a right to be informed about the proceedings of parliament and this should not be interfered with unless there were sound reasons

It however pointed that the publication of parliamentary proceedings was regulated by common law aswell as parliamentary law.

It felt that "the further development of the law should be left in the hands of the courts."

Wednesday, October 4 1989

B Day 4/10/89

Creation of wealth 'could be reformer'

304A

TANIA LEVY

THE creation of wealth — if not fatally impeded by financial sanctions — may well prove to have been one of the most effectively subversive activities in modern SA, concludes SA Foundation director Gavin Lewis.

In an article to be published in November's SA International, Lewis says the economy, not government, is the real engine of change in SA.

Major reforms of recent years were driven by a combination of black resistance on the ground and by the labour demands of a growing economy.

Lewis says that at the time of ex-State President P W Botha's Rubicon speech many business leaders spoke out with unprecedented bluntness.

Today, however, "the protest politics approach of that time is seen in most business circles as having been counter-productive in terms of achieving state policy changes".

Lewis lists the emergence of the black trade union movement, the burgeoning black consumer movement and informal sector, the collapse of influx control and steady erosion of residential segregation as some of the symptoms of an economically-driven liberation.

Although there remains room for business to do more for blacks in the formal economy, business cannot be the decisive factor in SA, he says.

In SA, unlike in the West, the government is not beholden to business for its continued existence.

Government is influenced by other powerful lobbies, not least conservative white labour and state bureaucracy, who have more votes than business has. In a sense the state employs its own electorate — about 40% of the white workforce are state employees, says Lewis.

B/Day 4/10/89 (304A)

DP sits late on Johannesburg by-elections

EDYTH BULBRING

THE DP's electoral college sat last night to decide on candidates for the by-elections in Highlands North and Berea next month.

The Johannesburg wards were left vacant by the election to Parliament of DP councillor Lester Fuchs and DP leader Tony Leon.

Shortly before going to press the electoral college announced that advocate Sias Reyneke was chosen as the candidate for Berea.

Reyneke did not submit a nomination but his name was introduced by the electoral college last night.

The front-runners were former NP member Christine Burgess, who lost to Fuchs in last year's municipal election, and James Drija, a member of the Hillbrow branch, who was active in Fuchs's parliamentraty election campaign.

It was learnt that Burgess pulled out of the nomination contest yesterday afternoon.

There were murmers in party ranks that the electoral college would introduce former provincial council opposition leader Douglas Gibson as a candidate.

However, sources in the DP said Gibson's senior status in the party would have undermined the new leadership of Ian Davidson in the DP council caucus.

Davidson said yesterday Gibson was a "highly respected member of the DP and had a great future in the party.

"I cannot comment as to why he did not put in a nomination," Davidson said.

The two seats are considered safe for the DP and it is not known whether the NP plans to put up candidates.

Sources in the party said the two strong contenders for the Highlands North nomination were former schoolteacher Barbara Friedman, who was Leon's campaign manager, and Clive Stevens, an active DP member in Houghton.

Results of the nomination contest were not known at the time of going to press.

House privilege changes mooted

B/Day 4/10/89. (304A)

ADELE BALETA

THE joint committee on parlimentary privilege has recommended that the President enjoy the parliamentary privilege of freedom of speech.

The committee was appointed in March 1988 to enquire into and report on all aspects of parliamentary privilege and to propose appropriate amendments to the Standing Rules and Orders and related legislation.

The report, the first of its kind in SA's parliamentary history, was completed in May this year, and has now been published.

In a statement released in Pretoria yesterday by Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte, the committee concluded that legislation should be amended to offer the President the same protection as MPsregarding freeedom of speech.

Parliament's power to imprison should be retained and the Powers and Privileges Act should be amended to provide for imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, the committee said.

It also suggested the Standing Rules increase the penalty for breach of privilege to an amount not exceeding R5 000 in relation to an individual and an amount of not more than R50 000 for a corporate body.

The committee emphasised the distinction between "breach of privilege" and "contempt" and stressed the need for correct usage of the terms.

Privileges, which are specific, include freedom of speech and debate, freedom from arrest and the exclusive right of a House to regulate its own proceedings. A House could not create new privileges without legislation.

When any of these rights are disregarded it is a breach of privilege.

Contempt is an offence against the dignity or authority of a House. This includes defamatory or disrespectful writing or statement about a House or the obstruction of the business or an officer of the House.

The power to punish for contempt is discretionary.

The committee recommended current procedure whereby appointed ad hoc committees investigate specific breaches of privilege or contempt be substituted by the appointment of a Standing Joint Committee on Privilege.

A new procedure for raising a breach of privilege or contempt should be implemented.

The present position relating to the publication of parliamentary proceedings should remain unchanged.

Another suggestion was the qualifications and disqualifications of MPs should be prescribed by statute. While Parliament should have the power to suspend a member it should not have the power to expel.

3044

5/10/89

Cape Times, Thursday,

'No need to force SA into talks'

MUNICH. — The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, says there is little point in using South Africa's debt position as a means of forcing the country into "ill-conceived schedules for negotiation".

Mr Du Plessis was reacting to statements by the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, who warned that discussions on further economic measures against South Africa would be held if negotiations were not started soon.

Mr Du Plessis said: "I strongly reject claims that South Africa needs to be forced into starting negotiations.

"It is also quite inappropriate to lay down schedules and time limitations for negotiations on a matter so complex as designing, negotiating and implementing constitutional reforms in South Africa, and to link access to international financial facilities to progress in this regard," said Mr Du Plessis.

He also castigated "radicals" in South Africa for spreading "blatant untruths" about the reluctance of the government to negotiate and their efforts to encourage further financial pressure on South Africa.

Mr Du Plessis is in Munich, where he addressed a meeting of the Munich World Affairs Council on Tuesday night.

In his review of United States policy on South Africa, Mr Cohen this week told the Senate foreign relations committee that four specific South African laws needed to be repealed. He named them as the Land Act of 1913, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act.

He said he hoped the South African government was already working on mechanisms to repeal these laws before the opening of Parliament in February.

He said he hoped Mr F W de Klerk would use his executive powers to deal with issues that did not require parliamentary approval. These would include lifting the state of emergency, releasing political prisoners and unbanning restricted political organisations.

He said the Bush administration also wanted to increase aid to black South Africans, specially in education, and would be asking Congress to approve direct support of South African universities, previously off-limits as government-controlled institutions.

Senator Paul Simon, chairman of the Senate's sub-committee on Africa, said he was happy with the administration's position of "no new sanctions at the present time". He also supported Mr Cohen's call to Congress to lift sanctions against Namibia "immediately after UN certification of the November elections". — Sapa and Own Correspondent



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILIOMEE

Way must be found for white and black needs to be satisfied

Carl Times 5/10/89 304A

THE recent meeting between Broederbond intellectuals and an ANC delegation was, to use a lofty Churchillian phrase, not the beginning of the end but perhaps the end of the beginning.

The pre-negotiations phase of our politics, involving intermediaries and fact-finding missions, started in July 1987 with the historic Dakar talks organised by Idasa.

It has culminated in the ANC meeting the core of the Afrikaner political establishment without involving the National Party proper. To take this process further the next phase must see mandated representatives of the two main antagonists, the NP and the ANC, entering into talks about a negotiated settlement.

Whether such talks will take place soon is difficult to predict. But the time is ripe for an assessment of the meetings over the past 27 months, all designed to clear the decks for "real" negotiations. To what extent have they rubbed off on the ANC and NP and changed their political thinking? Have they helped or hindered genuine negotiations?

Injustices

The following are my impressions as a participant in two such meetings (Dakar and Leverkussen) and as organiser of a recent international conference held in Bonn which looked from a comparative perspective at the conflicts in South Africa, Northern Ireland and Israel and the attempts to promote settlements there.

White South Africans have no intention of meekly accepting black majority rule and are quite willing to cling to what they have.

In the first place the meetings helped white South Africans face up to their past and the bitter struggle blacks fought against historic injustices. There was no escaping the fact that the ANC for nearly 50 years had tried in vain through peaceful means to secure a place in the sun — and that it was impossible for the ANC to renounce violence if that implied a condemnation of its decision in 1960 to take up arms.

The fact that some Government speakers now put emphasis on a common commitment to a peaceful future as a prerequisite for all negotiating parties may mean this particular message is sinking in.

Secondly, the issue of violence and how it is perceived by people at the receiving end is probably understood much better than before the Dakar meeting. Virtually every party of internal South Africans has made it clear to the ANC that it has no hope of a political settlement if its bombs indiscriminately maim and kill. Unlike the Rhodesian war, the battle for South Africa is being fought in the cities and at this stage there still appears to be an inverse relationship between the efficacy of the ANC's armed and political struggle.

For its part, the ANC has time and again raised the issue of State violence, ranging from police brutality to South Africa's truly appalling rate of executions.

Police reform

During the Bonn conference several experts on Northern Ireland pointed out how important it was to break the spiral of violence before it became self-perpetuating. Ways must be found whereby the police can be held accountable to the local community and that a city's commissioner be as public and respected a figure as the mayor.

The De Klerk administration appears to be realising the need for at least some police reform. Whether it understands how far it needs to go is another matter.

Thirdly, the pre-negotiations missions have created a better understanding of how tough real negotiations will be. Internal South Africans came back with few or no illusions about the ANC's bottom line on negotiations, both procedurally and substantively. The ANC is most unlikely to enter into secret, indeterminate and drawn-out negotiations. It will not take up any positions in unilaterally designed State structures and it will not accept white group rights and white vetoes.

What it will consider is an NP acting on behalf of whites, but it must be an NP that has admitted brown and black people as members.

Some Afrikaners have tried to disabuse the ANC of the notion that the white establishment, and particularly its Afrikaner core, is on the point of cracking. Despite international ostracism (or because of it) white South Africans have no intention of meekly accepting black majority rule and are quite willing to cling to what they have.

White fears

The most serious obstacle to negotiations is in fact a common perception among members of the ruling group that, in the apt words of Richard Haass, "the status quo is possibly superior to and certainly less risky than compromise".

Aware of the need to deal with white fears, the ANC has come up with its new constitutional guidelines, but even this does not really interest most whites. Whites are beginning to be ready for a genuine sharing of power, but there are no indications that they are contemplating abandoning power.

There cannot be true negotiations if the balance of power between whites and blacks approximates a master-slave relationship.

In this connection it is imperative that major political movements take a completely new look at alternative electoral systems.

Neither the Westminster system (which the ANC favours) nor a system of proportional representation (proposed by the Democratic Party) can assure whites that in a post-apartheid system they will not form a permanent, helpless minority.

A system will have to be found which will make moderation pay and which will force political parties to forge alliances across ethnic lines.

Fourthly, the pre-negotiations talks have helped to induce a better understanding that an underlying economic agreement must accompany any political settlement. PAC president Zeph Mothopeng has remarked that there cannot be true negotiations if the balance of power between whites and blacks approximates a master-slave relationship.

Share options

In its constitutional guidelines the ANC has stated that it finds it intolerable that 87% of the land and 95% of the instruments of production are in the hands of the ruling class.

For understandable reasons whites find the idea of nationalisation quite unacceptable. However, there is now a growing feeling in the white establishment that ways will have to be found of visibly and substantially transferring wealth to blacks. A possibility increasingly mooted is that of a dramatic increase of share options schemes which could enable workers for a company to acquire up to a quarter of its stock over the next seven to 10 years.

An economic agreement that the private sector has to remain profitable can only be reached if whites give a commitment that tangible redistribution is a priority on the economic agenda. Here, too, the pre-negotiation talks have helped to make whites understand the depth of black opposition to a system which has excluded them for so long from the wealth of the country.

Superpowers

Finally, the pre-negotiation meetings have, sadly, reinforced the impression that white and black South Africans would probably never be able to reach a settlement on their own. However much one would wish times to be different, there is simply too much distrust and suspicion on both sides to start talking without mediators who are also prepared to underwrite any settlement.

But the role of the superpowers is also limited: they are necessary but not sufficient for successful negotiations.

The pre-negotiations meetings have helped to dispel quite a few illusions and myths and in doing this have prepared the way for real negotiations. Both the Government and the ANC are now much better informed about their adversary. The mutual demonisation has been substantially reduced. South Africa has travelled some distance since July 1987 when the previous State President was reported to be seriously considering arresting the 60 South Africans returning from Dakar.

(Professor Giliomee is the head of the Department of Political Studies at UCT.)

B|Day 5/10/89

-NEWS FOCUS

Iron Lady turns on her English charm

304A

SIPHO NGCOBO

LONDON — It was 4.50pm UK time on Monday when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher welcomed me and three other black SA journalists — Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste, City Press editor Khulu Sibiya and Frontline's Nomavenda Mathiane — to No 10 Downing Street.

Over the next hour she did not say much she has not already said. But sitting in the White Room, where President F W de Klerk had sat earlier this year, she elaborated on British policy with a surprising politeness and persuasiveness.

She said how impressed she was with protest marches being allowed in SA, with the stay of certain executions, and so on.

While we interviewed her for a full hour on her government's policy on SA, she maintained such politeness that at one stage I wondered if it was indeed the "Iron Lady" we were interviewing.

She kept her winning smile and maintained her diplomacy throughout. But behind the English smile, there was nothing new for freedom-loving South Africans.

Yes, she was still opposed to sanctions against SA and that was the line she would push at the next Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur.

And, of course, she wanted Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners released. She would not come to SA until that happened.

Thatcher was determined in her demand for an end to apartheid and for negotiation between the NP, the ANC, PAC and other political organisations. But she could not talk to either the ANC or PAC while they espoused violence.

On a possible visit to SA, she said not only could she not come before the release of political leaders, but also not before they could express their views. "It is no earthly good releasing them unless they are free to say what they wish," she said.

CP granted vote recount in Gezina

Pretoria Correspondent

There will be a recount of votes in the Pretoria constituency of Gezina where the National Party defeated the Conservative Party by seven votes on September 6.

The Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday granted a recount request by defeated CP candidate Mr Daan van der Merwe, who lost to Mr Karel Swanepoel.

Mr van der Merwe turned to the court yesterday to settle the controversy on the number of special votes cast on September 6 and the manner in which the Gezina voters roll was administered.

Mr Justice Mynhardt ordered the Director-General of Internal Affairs, Mr G B S van Zyl, to present the court registrar with all election documents and reports.

The electoral officer for Gezina, Mr H H Strauss, was ordered to hand over to the registrar all applications, envelopes and controlling lists for special votes.

Mr van der Merwe claims there were irregularities with postal votes.

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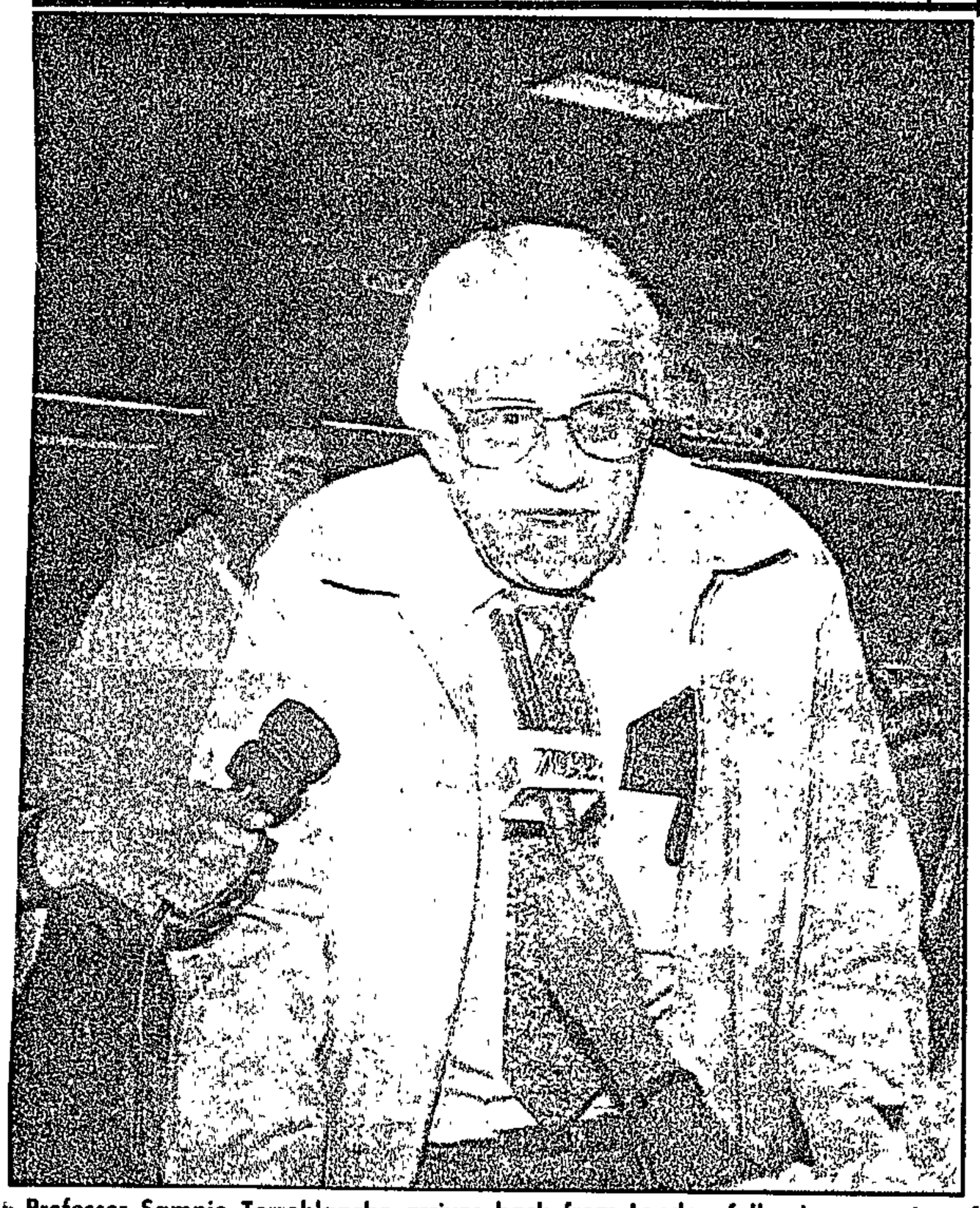


Professor Sampie Terreblanche arrives back from London following a series of "investigative talks" with the ANC. ● Picture By Herbert Mabuza.

Academics back in SA after ANC talks

By Jovial Rantao

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, a political economist who was part of the group of white academics who met and held talks of an "investigative nature" with the African National Congress in London, arrived back in the country yesterday.

Speaking to the media at Jan Smuts Airport, Professor Terreblanche said the meeting with the outlawed organisation was one of the many he had had in the past two years.

Professor Terreblanche said that contrary to reports in the Sunday press, the group did not attend the talks as representatives of the Broederbond.

He said the talks mainly concerned ANC guidelines and a document presented at a meeting in Lusaka this year of the Organisation of African Unity.

NAMIBIAN SITUATION

The group met a delegation from the ANC led by the organisation's director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Professor Terreblanche was accompanied by Professor Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of President F W de Klerk; Professor Willie Esterhuyse, professor of philosophy and ethics at Stellenbosch; and three other people whom Professor Terreblanche declined to identify.

"We had in-depth discussions with the ANC in connection with the guidelines," he said. "We also discussed the Namibian situation, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and other relevant matters."

Stressing that he attended the talks in his personal capacity and not as an economic adviser of the Democratic Party, Professor Terreblanche said he was in favour of more talks with the ANC as such talks would help create the atmosphere for future contacts between the ANC and the Government.



Message from the Chairman

This report is in many ways an unusual and surprising one. First, it is unusual because it starts with the future I regard this as an exciting departure point, for the simple reason that too many of us spend too much of our time reviewing past mistakes and divisive conflict. How much better it would be for us all if that energy and attention were refocused on future options and opportunities

How much more positive it would be if we could explore a vision for the future rather than rake through the ashes of the past

Second, this report is surprising in that it exists at all. The Indaba organisation is nearing the end of its third year of operation Its critics, and these exist on both the left and right of the political spectrum, scarcely credited that it would survive beyond its inception They did not, I fear, fully grasp the potential that the Indaba proposals had to light a beacon of hope in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans of all races

Nor did they understand the developing dynamism of the Indaba organisation and its ability to draw from the Indaba experience, to pilot that flame of hope into the uncharted waters of reform and future planning.

It is on this last point that I would like to focus my message For a non-racial, democratic future to be realised, and its full and vital potential recognised, a process of identification and planning must take place. For the apartheid structures and shortcomings of today to be effectively replaced, for the division and distrust of many decades to be reshaped, and for a climate to be created in which South Africans can negotiate their common destiny, we need examples to follow and resources to draw on.

It is into this area that the Indaba has grown, driven by the certainty that in negotiation politics lies the answer By the conviction that we CAN pull back from the abyss of conflict and civil strife And by understanding that past negatives must be replaced by a practical, comprehensive, and positive plan As this report will show, this is the end to which the Indaba is committed and working, as its programmes and activities take on an increasingly national character and importance.

O D Dhlomo

Dr Oscar Dhlomo

THE YEAR AHEAD : 1990 AND BEYOND

The role of the Indaba in helping South Africa move forward into negotiated change and the post-Apartheid era that lies beyond has never been more relevant than it is today. Far from withering away with the passing of time the Indaba Foundation has matured into an organisation playing an ever-increasing catalytic role at both regional and national levels

The future has never been easy to predict largely due to the fact that the South African political environment in which the Indaba operates is in a continuous process of flux and change What seems to be a fact of life today can often turn out to be a fact of history tomorrow

Nonetheless, the Indaba has learned from its successes, mistakes and failures over a three-year period In addition it has developed roles which are clearly of major importance Thus its medium term future is reasonably clear, but the emphasis placed on its various activities and programmes will depend upon factors beyond its control and upon the financial resources that are put at its disposal

The Indaba started as a regional initiative designed to help unblock the South African political log-jam Since then its national significance has grown It is the Indaba's intention to continue to develop and expand this national role

The Indaba's negotiation experience will be of immense value as South Africa moves towards and into its negotiation phase It is the Indaba's intention to make this experience (the successes as well as failures and mistakes) available to South Africa

The Indaba has recognised that it is vital that the concepts involved in "Win-Win" "Interest-based" negotiation are introduced into and absorbed by the South African political culture It is for this reason that the Indaba has developed a Negotiation Skills Training Programme which it is making available to leaders across the political spectrum

Clearly the Indaba - as a result of its history research experience and project development - is ideally placed to offer a vital resource to South Africa's future negotiators. For example, its experience and understanding of the processes of climate-creation, trust-building and consensus-seeking would be foolish to ignore

Building the future is not just about negotiation and constitution making Just as important is preparing the people of South Africa for the inevitable non-racial future that lies ahead

In this regard the introduction of the Indaba proposals in the KwaZulu Natal region should be seen by all democrats, irrespective of their political persuasion, as an important opportunity to get all South Africans used to the idea of non-racial government in other regions and in South Africa as a whole. It is for this reason, more than any other, that the Indaba will continue its efforts to persuade the South African Government to agree to the introduction of the Indaba plan, or an acceptable variation thereof, in the KwaZulu Natal region By so doing we believe we can facilitate the process of change at a national level

It is also important to change the attitude of individuals The Indaba would like to double and redouble the activities of its Unity Through Youth programme and provide an ever-growing number of students with the skills and experiences that will be essential to them in the post-negotiation era

Education is one of the most pressing needs facing our society - equality is not an end in itself Nor is quantity Besides being discriminatory, South Africa's educational systems are outdated and unsuitable for preparing the youth of today for the challenges of the 21st century The Indaba's Advisory Board on Education is busy designing such a new system and can be expected to play a significant and constructive role in developing a national education system for the future

Economic development is the third vital factor in designing the post-Apartheid future. As many countries in the underdeveloped world have shown, the best laid constitutional and educational plans are of little value if they do not have the necessary economic development to support them There is no doubt that South Africa will need a massively expanding economy if it is to care for its people and meet their reasonable needs and aspirations It is for this reason that the Indaba is in the process of appointing a Director of Economic Policy Development tasked with the establishment of an Economic Advisory Board to look at ways and means of promoting economic growth

All these tasks cannot be completed in a day or a year or even in a decade But it is important that we all start to turn our attention to them! 1990 and beyond will see the Indaba increasingly making a substantial input into the design and creation of a democratic, non-racial South Africa that cares for its people, plays an important role in Africa, and assumes its rightful place on the world stage

1988/89 : THE YEAR'S REVIEW

Introduction:

This 12-month review (1 August 1988 to 31 July 1989) identifies as it does the Indaba's growth into two distinct spheres of operation. The experience of almost three years of sustained pressure for change, and the repeated demonstration (through independent research) of support for it, has developed in the Indaba a resource of national significance

It is a resource that manifests itself in the identification of those factors that are required to facilitate change, and then investigates and where possible introduces them This process of "planning for peace" is arguably the key to providing a structure and climate in which positive negotiation can begin to take place; it is also a process which is goal-oriented, yet strategically flexible

The nature of this work and the continuing pressure for constitutional change underlines the Indaba's constructive approach to unbarring the gates to South Africa's full potential and a major role in Africa as a whole

Operational Philosophy:

In setting out this guiding philosophy it is important to restate certain key points that have remained constant factors since the Indaba organisation's inception

- The Indaba remains non-partisan and does not align itself with any political party. It is however committed to interaction with ALL political parties and groupings, without bias or favour, with a view to playing a catalytic role in evolving an acceptable and workable national solution
- The Indaba's attitude and approach to Government remains non-confrontational, in spite of the organisation's absolute opposition to apartheid This position has been justified by the measurable progress shown in recent months in regard to dialogue on the Indaba proposals and programmes for change, detailed further below
- The Indaba has continued, over the 12-month reporting period, to be almost entirely South African-funded Where external donations have been received, these have been directed into one or more of the Indaba's programmes in the educational or negotiation fields. It is anticipated however that in the future significant international funding will be sought for the full range of the Indaba's activities as it is increasingly recognised as a key national resource
- In regard to the Indaba proposals for non-racial power-sharing at regional level in KwaZulu Natal, it has been recognised that it is the process of negotiation politics that is important rather than the finite detail of the proposals themselves This fact has been clearly transmitted to Government and other key players, and has led more than any other single factor to progress in this regard

It is also important to reclarify that the Indaba has never seen its proposals as an end in themselves, but rather as step in national solution-seeking As a consequence of this philosophy it is likely that the real process of consensus-seeking and full negotiation can now begin

- In the full conviction that such negotiation - at both a regional and national level - will produce consensus over a process period the Indaba remains committed to the principle of democratically testing the outcome through one or more referenda
- The Indaba remains determined to share its experience and growing resource with any groups or individuals positively committed to peaceful change and negotiation-politics It has no "pride-of-ownership" in this regard

Structural Development:

The Indaba has developed two distinct spheres of operation in response to the perceived need to play a catalytic and facilitative role in both the regional and national process of change

While there has been a natural evolution of structures within the Indaba, it is anticipated that 1990 will see the formalisation of this separation into two distinct but associated Foundations.

The KwaZulu Natal Indaba Foundation:

It is anticipated that the existing KwaZulu Natal Indaba Foundation will continue to operate with the pursuance of regional constitutional reform as its principle objective, in a short to medium-term time frame It will remain directed by the present Steering Committee, and will seek to initiate full negotiations with Government and other key groups with the present Indaba proposals serving as agreed points of departure

Negotiation Skills Programme

INDABA IN ACTION

Negotiation Skills training is available to any political party or grouping across the political spectrum



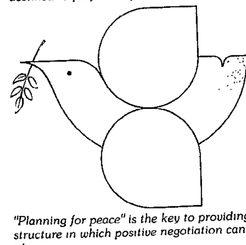
The UTY programme brings together senior high school students in an apartheid-free environment



It is the process of negotiation politics that is important rather than the finite detail of the proposals themselves



A democratic, non-racial South Africa is destined to play an important role in Africa.

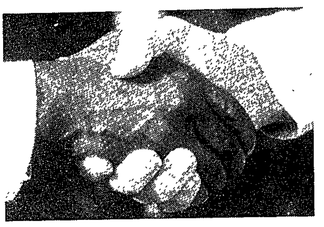


"Planning for peace" is the key to providing a structure in which positive negotiation can take place.

The Indaba

REPORT & PLANS AHEAD

The Directors' Report



The Steering Committee will consider, on a regular basis, the prospects for success, and will regulate the activities and life of the Foundation, accordingly.

Indaba-in-Action:

It is planned to constitute a second Foundation, provisionally called the Indaba-in-Action Foundation, with the objective of developing a range of programmes to help prepare society for transition and change, both regionally and nationally It is anticipated that through this development the Foundation will develop a nationally-accessible resource that will contribute significantly to building a climate for successful negotiation and resolution.

A new Steering Committee will be constituted to direct the activities of this Foundation. It is anticipated that its members will be drawn from the widest cross-section of the South African spectrum, and will confirm that the Foundation will be absolutely non-aligned in both its approach and composition

Although this Foundation will continue to develop its regional role, and pilot many of its programmes in KwaZulu Natal, its commitment will be to national development and progress. In this regard success both in terms of social and constitutional reform in KwaZulu Natal would be seen as a step in the national reform process.

The two Foundations will obviously rationalise resources where practical, and will work together to bring closer a non-racial, democratic South Africa

Finally, it should be repeated that the life of this Foundation will be regulated not by regional success but by an ongoing national need, adjusting its strategies and programmes to the dynamics of the changing situation

THE INDABA PROPOSALS : TOWARDS NEGOTIATION

Interaction with Government:

Relative to a publicly-perceived period of stalemate following the presentation of the proposals to Government on 13 January 1987, very considerable progress has been measurable from the beginning of 1989 to date

February 1989 saw positive meetings between the then-Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr F W de Klerk - then newly-elected leader of the National Party, and Indaba Chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo

In April 1989 a further meeting was held between the Indaba Steering Committee and the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha It was agreed that this meeting would lead to the establishment of a Joint Working Committee comprising equal numbers of representatives appointed by the Indaba and by the South African Government

A statement was then released by Minister Stoffel Botha and Indaba Chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo on July 12, 1989, which read

"Minister Stoffel Botha leader of the National Party in Natal, today held talks with Dr OD Dhlomo, Chairman of the Indaba Steering Committee, and Dr FT Mdlalose member of the Indaba Steering Committee

The talks centred around the advisability of establishing a forum to facilitate discussions between Government and the Indaba Steering Committee

The proposed forum would identify and address points of difference between the Government and the Indaba with regard to the Indaba proposals

It was proposed that the discussions on the above-mentioned matters should be conducted by a committee consisting of five members representing the Government and five members representing the Indaba Steering Committee with a rotating chairman

This proposal will be put to Government and the Indaba Steering Committee for consideration."

While this progress is gratifying, it is not anticipated that it will lead to an overnight implementation of the Indaba proposals It is rather anticipated that the real negotiation lies ahead, and that the process could lead to the eventual recall of the Indaba with Government as a full negotiating partner, along with other key players who declined to initially take part.

Other Key Players:

The Indaba recognises that a dialogue between itself and the Government, although crucial, is only a part of the required process

A central principle of any successful negotiation is that it should not exclude any of the key players or stakeholders. Such exclusion simply guarantees that those excluded will work hard to dismantle and break down any agreement to which they have not been party, and promises a short life span for such an agreement

The Indaba is therefore committed to expanding its contacts with interest groups to both the left and right of the political spectrum and with those players or "gatekeepers", who influence them.

INDABA-IN-ACTION : PLANNING FOR PEACE

Youth Programmes:

Piloted in February 1988, following extensive of research and development the Indaba's Youth Programmes are a recognition that the future belongs to the youth of today Their ability to develop an holistic view of life, free from destructive dogma and prejudice, will be crucial to their capacity to take up the challenges of tomorrow Three programmes have been developed to facilitate this process

The English Advancement Programme:

This programme was borne out of an appreciation of the difficulties faced by black students in coping on an equal footing with students of other races in communicating in English The English Advancement Programme is not an educational alternative, but rather an exercise in confidence building and cross-cultural communication. Standard eight and nine pupils are taken through two three-day "English immersion" workshops in a calendar year before participating in the Unity Through Youth Programme The results have been outstanding evidenced by the dramatically improved levels of interaction shown by those EAP students who have graduated into the Unity Through Youth programme

Unity Through Youth:

This programme is designed to bring together senior high school students of all races to get to know and understand each other in an apartheid-free environment UTY workshops consist of three-day residential conferences, attended by between 60 and 250 students, structured around a range of keynote speakers and considerable periods of group discussion and debate Emphasis is placed on student participation and interaction, and developing attainable action plans for personal and group implementation The programme's success has been confirmed by two years of operation, and will expand in 1990 to include at least 24 conference weekends and over 2400 standard nine and ten students

Youth Exchange:

This programme is in its pilot project stage and flows from the experience of the Unity Through Youth programme in which in the short course of a weekend, meaningful interaction and lasting friendships rapidly developed In the Youth Exchange programme the Indaba will act as a facilitator in arranging "home-exchanges" for students between the ages of 15 and 18 The exchanges will undoubtedly enable cross-cultural communication and understanding to develop, and will contribute to breaking down inter-racial barriers and stereotypes

Negotiation Programmes:

The concept of playing a catalytic and facilitative role in climate-setting and skills-development for negotiation stems from the Indaba's own experience of successful consensus-seeking in 1986 That experience confirmed not only that win/win results were achievable in the South African context, but also that commonality of purpose and interest is underestimated by all sides The Indaba identified this reality in its own deliberations and proved that through the application of an "interest-based" negotiating philosophy and process the achievement of consensus IS possible A number of programmes have been developed to share this experience and facilitate the acquisition of appropriate skills

Negotiation Skills Training:

The Negotiation Skills Training programme consists of three-day training workshops for political and community leaders involved in the present or future negotiation process. The programme is open to participants from ANY political party or grouping The workshops will focus on teaching interest-based negotiation skills and it is anticipated that 20 workshops catering for 200 to 300 leaders will be held during the first 12-month period (commencing in September 1989)

The Innovator Programme:

The Innovator Programme is a computer-assisted facilitation process which helps groups to give input, solve problems, make decisions and/or seek consensus. Used imaginatively the Innovator software and technology will enable high-level participants to establish common ground and work towards the creation of a shared vision of the future Perhaps most significantly the Innovator Programme can be facilitated in two or more locations simultaneously, obviating many of the procedural difficulties so often encountered in preliminary negotiations Little imagination is required to understand the potential this process would have for the early resolution of interests and issues It is anticipated that the Innovator Programme will be piloted in the fourth quarter of 1989

The Black Who's Who:

This project recognises the real shortage of comprehensive information on achievers and leaders in the black community, in all fields of endeavour, and the obstacle this creates in identifying and communicating with them Initially directed at the KwaZulu Natal region, the project will take the form of an annual publication listing prominent and successful blacks in fields ranging from politics, commerce and industry to personnel and training, and from medicine and law to sport and entertainment. This envisaged that the first volume will be published in 1990, with an initial 2000 to 3000 biographical entries, and the publication will be publicly launched in October Inclusion in the Black Who's Who will be decided by an Editorial Board, independent of the Indaba. It is hoped that the KwaZulu Natal Black Who's Who could serve as a forerunner to the production of similar publications in the other regions of South Africa

The Advisory Board on Education:

The Advisory Board on Education is an initiative launched by the Indaba's Directorate of Education Policy The Board's task is to design and implement an open, democratic education system to achieve equality of access and opportunity The inauguration of the Advisory Board on Education in Durban on March 10, 1989, was widely regarded as the most significant development in regional education in decades The Board comprises 25 of KwaZulu Natal and South Africa's top educationalists representing universities, training colleges, technikons, schools and education departments, and while an Indaba initiative, is independent in both its structure and terms of reference In forging appropriate education systems and structures for the future, the Board is also acting as a forerunner to the single education department that lies ahead.

Economic Policy Development:

While constitutional reform may provide a socio-political framework for the future, it requires the driving force of a developing economy to support and underpin it. This reality has always been recognised by the Indaba, and understood to require a high degree of creative and visionary planning To this end the Indaba will announce the appointment, in the fourth quarter of 1989, of a leading economist to the post of Director of Economic Policy The Director's task will be to work with organised Commerce, Industry, Agriculture labour, academics and representatives of the informal sector to forge a shared vision of future economic development in the region, and to launch research and pilot projects in this regard.

FUNDRAISING

However viable its proposals and however dynamic its programmes for change, the ability of the Indaba to develop and contribute to the process of reform in South Africa is entirely dependent on the financial backing of its many supporters

It is appropriate therefore to place on record with a statement of thanks to those companies, organisations and individuals who share the Indaba's vision of the future, and who are prepared to underwrite it with their material commitment

The Indaba's budget is calculated around the strategic goals of the organisation, and is funded by income from both private donors and the corporate sector Fundraising activities are co-ordinated through a substantial computer base by the Indaba's

The Indaba's corporate donor base numbered 96 in July 1987, grew to 186 by July 1988 and had grown further to 253 companies, corporations and groups by July 1989 In addition, the Indaba embarked on a Direct Mail fundraising campaign at the end of 1988, and to date a very much higher rate of response to the direct mail norm has been received in respect of Indaba-in-Action programmes

Thus very many private individuals throughout the country and abroad have lent their support to the Indaba vision, directly benefiting thousands of sponsored students and delegates

Notwithstanding these international donations, the Indaba remains almost 100% South African funded

This is an abridged version of the 1989 Directors' Report. If you would like a full copy, in either English or Afrikaans, please write to The Indaba at Box 2925, Durban 4000 or fill in the coupon below.

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evelopment loans will total R1b

...lopment Bank of Southern ...DBSA) has approved loans of development projects in the ...African region.
...R400m had already been distrib...SA executive director Simon ... yesterday, and the remaining ... be handed out during the ... of years.
... at the signing ceremony for a ... for the Qwaqwa Development ...on (QDC) in Johannesburg, Brand ... of the R400m, R100m had been ... the Lesotho government for its ... road development scheme.

Justified

... said the decision to grant the ... to QDC had not been taken ...

... DBSA shareholders were first ... to determine whether the "de... potential" in the area justified ...

...ised process followed and the ... took a thorough appraisal of the ...omic merits.
... concluded that the scheme was a ... investment which would bene... ... and the region as a whole."
... added that the bank was aware ... ...s had already embarked on a ... attending to other dimensions of ...
... contributed to the bank's deci... ...ant the loan.
...ing the loan, QDC GM Louwtjie

DANIEL SIMON

du Toit said the finance would be used for the further development of infrastructure and the erection of factories at Industriqwa – Qwaqwa's new 900ha industrial township.

Industrial development is being shifted from Phuthaditjhaba to Industriqwa, as development at Phuthaditjhaba was near saturation with 263 factories in full operation.

Du Toit said a major attraction for industrialists was that the new industrial township was situated "strategically" on road networks linking it directly to Durban, Bloemfontein and the PWV areas. Rail facilities were also nearby at Harrismith, 9km away.

He said 19 factories had already been erected at the new site, some with a floor space of 20 000m². Another 17 should be completed during the 1989/90 financial year.

Du Toit added that businessmen in England, Italy, Israel and Taiwan had shown an interest in setting up businesses in the area.

It was disclosed that the loan is to be both short and long term as far as repayments are concerned.

An amount of R3m, which is to be spent on the further developement of infrastructure, will be a short-term loan payable over two to three years. The balance of R31m, for the erection of factories, will be payable over a 15-year period.



Simon Brand (left) and Louwtjie du Toit sign up the R34m loan. Picture: BRIAN ...

...w markets for Armscor

GERALD REILLY

...A — Armscor, confronted by a ... of demands and challenges, would ...us more sharply on commercial ... of armaments technology, De... ... Magnus Malan said here on ... night.
...ng at an Armscor Chairman's ...tion, he said increasingly new ... would have to be opened and ...
... product marketing, the expan... barter trade would have to be ... as well as trade with countries ... not part of the West or free ... that were prepared to sell to and ... SA.
... said the buzz words were now ... disarmament". In some circles ...led peace syndrome had to be ...
..., Africa's harsh realities and ...ies were not always taken into ...
...unities in the new era would in...olidation within the armaments ... rationalistation and a speedy ... from design to production.
... technology would have to be used to bring new products to the market.

Referring to the "peace syndrome" he said: "We also have to deal with a shift in emphasis where security appears to be moving away from the limelight."

Malan warned against concluding that this shift meant security was no longer important as the opposite was true.

Dialogue

The peace process in Namibia would never have materialised without a sound security and foundation, he said.

The present climate in SA, where dialogue surfaced more than ever before, would not have been possible without a firm security foundation — including the state of emergency.

The humiliating defeat inflicted on the enemy in Angola made possible negotiation from a position of strength.

"Our military preparedness ensures African and other leaders are willing and even eager to talk to us," Malan said.

The Brokers Investment Company Limited

(Registration number 84/10977/06)
("BIC")

Offer to minority shareholders

Shareholders are advised that the consortium which acquired control of BIC will make an offer to the minority shareholders of BIC registered as such on Friday, 3 November to purchase their ordinary shares in BIC for a consideration of either a cash payment of 3 cents per ordinary BIC share (although control changed at 1,25 cents per share) or an exchange of shares in Quick Holdings Limited ("Quickco") (which company is listed in the Development Capital sector of The Johannesburg Stock Exchange) in the ratio of 15 Quickco ordinary shares for every 100 BIC ordinary shares.

A circular setting out the details of the offer together with a form of acceptance will be posted to shareholders on Friday, 3 November 1989.

4 October 1989

By order of the board

Sponsoring broker

SENEKAL, MOUTON & KITSHOFF INC.
(Reg No 84/06537/21)
(Member of The Johannesburg Stock Exchange)

Penrose Financial A...

...erican mining man ...s tribute to chamber

... of gold available is not keeping up with the ...'s population growth, an American mining ...tive, Harry Conger, said in Johannesburg ...terday.
... chairman and CE of the Homestake Mining ...ny of San Fransisco, speaking at a banquet to ...rate the Chamber of Mines's centenary, said he ... this a challenge.
... are a lot more people out there in the world who ... enjoy gold and can afford it, but they need ... tactful stimulation."
... credited the chamber with having established the ... for the current strong promotion of gold by the ... Gold Council, which now had the backing of a ...e majority of gold producers in the US, Australia ... Canada. "We should not lose sight of how small ... gold market is in dollar terms," he said.

Research

... gross revenue of all newly mined gold last ... was less than $25bn — the same amount that an ...erican firm raised in 48 hours to buy a cigarette ...ny."
... companies had greatly benefited from SA's ...rch into the problems experienced in deep... mines, and from other research by the ... of Mines Research Organisation, Conger ...
...ities the chamber has supported on rock mechan... and on how to design mines using this data have ... of great assistance to our staff at the Homes... Mine.
...search on ventilation in hot, deep mines also has ... of great help.
... are many, many other examples of the benefits of ... research to the members of the chamber as ... as to the rest of us in the mining industry."
... said the fact that the chamber had survived and ...ered during the political, social and economic ...moil of the past 100 years, was a testimony to its ...ity and strength.
... organisation which we in the industry outside ... Africa hold in high esteem". — Sapa.

...rkers lobby consul...

...Own Correspondent

...OWN — A delegation of striking National Pana...kers and representatives of anti-apartheid or...ions yesterday met Japanese consular officials in ... muster support for the strike.
... of the delegation said that because of the ... government's policy of discouraging Japanese ... from trading or investing in SA, they had to the consulate for help. The workers are all ... of the Electrical and Allied Workers Trade ... SA (Eawtusa).
... consul K Nakajawa undertook to report the meet... Japanese embassy in Pretoria, but said diplo...ats were unable to intervene.
... 190 workers at National Panasonic's Parow ... been on a legal strike in support of wage and ...ands since August 24.
... expected a reply by next Thursday, the ... spokesman said.
... Panasonic manufacturing manager M S Tif... not be reached for comment.

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MERCURY TRUST LIMITED

81/03156/06

Preliminary results and final dividend

The results for the year ended 30 September 1989 are as follows:

	1989 Unaudited R'000	1988 Audited R'000	% increase
Income before taxation	3 564	2 135	67
Taxation	799	255	213
Income after taxation	2 765	1 880	47
Share of retained earnings of associated companies	2 951	798	270
	5 716	2 678	
– Extraordinary item	165	9 740	
– Transfer to general reserve	(165)	(9 740)	
	–	–	
Attributable to ordinary shareholders	5 716	2 678	113
Dividends	2 375	1 610	48
Retained income for the year	3 341	1 068	213
Issued shares ('000)	1 900	1 400	36
Earnings per share (cents)	301	191	58
Earnings per share, excluding associated companies (cents)	146	134	9
Dividends per share (cents)			
– Interim	40	34	
– Final	85	81	
	125	115	9
Dividend cover	2,4	1,7	
Net asset value per share (cents)			
– Book value	2 389	2 206	
– Market value	2 942	2 252	

Comments

Income attributable to ordinary shareholders increased by 113% for the year to R5,7 million. Net cash earnings, before equity accounting retained earnings of associated companies, increased by 47% on the increased share capital.

Directors have maintained the dividend policy of declaring approximately 85% of net cash earnings. Dividends for the year of 125 cents have increased by 9%. Earnings per share have increased by 58% to 301 cents.

These results have been achieved through the strong performance of your company's underlying investments – The Board of Executors, Fidelity Bank and the Storeco/Specialty group.

The directors' response to the takeover bid by Investec Bank Limited has already been sent to shareholders. Your directors recommend that you reject the Investec offer.

The annual report, including the financial statements detailing the results and activities of the company, will be mailed to shareholders on 17 November 1989.

E H R Womersley
Chairman

Declaration of dividend

Notice is hereby given that a final dividend of 85 cents per share (1988 – 81 cents) was declared on 2 October 1989 in respect of the year ended 30 September 1989, payable to shareholders registered at the close of business on 24 November 1989. Dividend cheques will be mailed to shareholders on 13 December 1989.

In terms of the Income Tax Act, South African non-resident shareholders' tax at the rate of 15% will be deducted from dividends, where applicable.

By order of the board

J Kevitt
Secretary

2 October 1989

Penrose Financial A5185a

B/Day 5/10/89. (304A)

Thatcher talks to Sipho Ngcobo of Business Day



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher welcoming Sipho Ngcobo to No 10 Downing Street.

THIS is an edited extract from reporter Sipho Ngcobo's interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

☐ **Ngcobo: Most black South Africans do not regard President F W de Klerk as a reformer. Why do you?**

Thatcher: During the SA elections Mr de Klerk campaigned on a reform programme against opponents on the right who want to try to put the clock back in SA. He has made a lot of statements emphasising his commitment to work for change and a new SA "in which all the people would be fully represented". He has said he wants to discuss with black leaders ways to achieve progress. These are declarations of intent. Obviously the SA government, like all the rest of us, are going to be judged not by what they say but by what they do. But we have welcomed some of the early decisions that have been taken — in particular to allow the large peaceful demonstration which took place in Cape Town on September 13. That is a welcome break from the past

☐ **A good many SA blacks see your attitude to South Africans as suporting apartheid. What has your government got to show for its southern African policies over the past 10 years, including its opposition to sanctions?**

It is certainly true that some people in SA like to interpret opposition to sanctions as support for apartheid. That is simply nonsense. Your own paper has published on many occasions opinion polls which show that the majority of black South Africans, for very understandable reasons, do not want actions to be taken that would cost them their jobs and inflict suffering which neither we nor anyone else would then be able to do anything about. As for my government's record in southern Africa, when I became prime minister almost our first task was to try to achieve a Rhodesian settlement — a task which had defeated our predecessors. We did manage to bring an end to the war in Rhodesia and to achieve a settlement based on supervision and control. We are today engaged in trying to help achieve a similar result in Namibia, also based on free elections and genuine majority rule. I visited Namibia to show our support for the UN plan and we were able to help salvage it when it very nearly broke down on the first day of implementation. In terms of practical achievements, we have a good record.

Time limit

☐ **President de Klerk has asked for five years to get negotiations going with black people for a new constitution — excluding majority rule. Will Britain give him his this and, if not, by when would you expect to see what specific results?**

The SA government certainly does not have five years to get negotiations with black leaders going. They have said that they intend to open negotiations on a new constitution. The NP has set out its ideas but the ideas of others will have to be taken into account in any genuine negotiation and the outcome will depend on the negotiation. I am not going to set some arbitrary time limit but the SA government obviously will be judged by what it can achieve and it does not have unlimited time to achieve results. That is true at least as much for internal reasons as for external ones.

☐ **What effect will the recent SA elections have on Britain's attitude to sanctions at the Commonwealth Conference this month? Is Britain willing to risk a break with countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia on the sanctions issue?**

I certainly do not think that it is appropriate to impose further sanctions against SA when we have just achieve the Namibia agreement, for which the international community has been campaigning for the past 10 years, and a new SA government has been elected which says that it is committed to change. Our priority is to see the Namibia process through to a successful conclusion. There are a great many ways in which the Commonwealth can help an independent Namibia and we shall be discussing that in Kuala Lumpur. There is no question of a "break with countries like Zimbabwe". We brought Zimbabwe to independence and have given a great deal of help to Zimbabwe since independence. I have recently visited Zimbabwe and seen all that for myself. The neighbouring countries would be the first to suffer from more general sanctions against SA and, for very understandable reasons, have not imposed them themselves.

☐ **Do you plan to ask the Commonwealth Conference to send a new Eminent Persons Group (EPG)to SA, including representatives from Zimbabwe and Zambia to give it credibility? Wouldn't this be an exercise in futility?**

I do not think it is the moment to send a new EPG to SA. The EPG has done its work. It put forward conditions for a negotiation which we strongly support. They include the release of the political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning of the political parties and negotiations in which all parties can participate on the basis of a suspension of violence. It seems to me that this concept, based on reciprocal and simultaneous commitments by both sides, still represents the best opportunity for getting a dialogue under way. What we have to do is to try to influence the SA government on the one hand and the ANC and other black movements on the other towards negotiations on that basis.

☐ **When do you expect Nelson Mandela to be released and what other immediate steps does your government consider necessary?**

I do not know when Nelson Mandela will be released. That is a question which can only be answered by the SA government. But I hope it will be very soon. I have made it clear that I do not believe that there will be a real normalisation of the situation in SA or in SA's relations with the outside world before Mr Mandela is released. I also have made clear my hope that other prisoners will be released.

Nat favouritism has 'corrupted' many Afrikaners

CAPE TIMES 5/10/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

3064

THE 41 years of favouritism and pampering lavished by the Nationalist government on white Afrikaners "has not only spoiled them but corrupted many of them", according to Matie academic Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

Writing in the latest edition of the Black Sash magazine "Sash", Prof Terreblanche argues that government patronage has led to a "dramatic" improvement in the relative economic position of the white Afrikaner since the NP came to power.

"In 1946, their per capita income was less than half that of English-speakers. It is now three-quarters of the (now much higher) per capita income of English-speakers."

The economic status of whites, and white Afrikaners in particular, was facilitated by a variety of government-sponsored measures, including discriminatory laws, the systematic enlargement of the bureaucracy ("to create lucrative opportunities mainly for Afrikaners") and the launching of a variety of welfare or redistributional programmes "to uplift mainly Afrikaans-speaking poor whites".

Prof Terreblanche continued: "Not only does the government persist with this favouritism in spite of growing poverty and deprivation in the black community, but it also persists in using favouritism as a method by which to recruit electoral support."

NA

33 000 fewer voted for Nats in September

ARGUS 5/10/89

36(4

Political Staff

THE National Party did not fare so badly in last month's election and it remained language-wise the most representative white political party, says NP director of information Mr Con Botha.

In three articles analysing the election results in the latest edition of the NP propaganda sheet, the Nationalist, Mr Botha said that despite the heavy odds against the NP it received only 33 000 votes fewer that its total two years ago.

He pointed out in a higher total percentage poll this time the DP won an extra 76 000 votes and the CP 70 000 but this strengthened the view that more than 100 000 voters who abstained in 1977 had registered a vote of protest against the government in September.

The NP also had the majority support in each province as well as the majority support in the country.

With 1 041 341 votes the NP had won 48 percent of electorate support while the CP had 31,35 and the DP 19,92.

According to Mr Botha's figures it was only in Natal where another party came close to challenging the NP with the NP taking 43,76 percent and the DP 42,32 percent.

The limited loss of NP voters also indicated that CP growth had peaked.

He said that in 1987 the Nationalist published an analysis of the election results which showed the NP had drawn 60 percent of Afrikaans voters and 40 percent of English.

This had remained unchallenged.

Mr Botha said in 1987 it had been assumed by the NP that the PFP had drawn 10 percent Afrikaans voters and the CP 10 percent English voters of their total vote respectively.

This time, however, it could be assumed the DP had drawn 15 percent Afrikaans voters and the CP 15 percent English voters.

From this base Mr Botha concluded that 62,3 percent of the NP voters were Afrikaans and 37,6 were from English-speaking voters.

"It is clear therefore that the superficial claim by some English-language newspapers that English speakers had deserted the NP in droves has no basis in fact," said Mr Botha.

Sisulu, Mpetha 'to be freed by October 18'



THATCHER

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is confident that President F W de Klerk is on the brink of making a dramatic reform move, according to international businessmen and politicians who have met her in the past week.

They claim that Thatcher and Foreign Secretary John Major are totally confident that the anticipated move will defuse the sanctions pressure they will face at the Commonwealth leaders summit which starts in Malaysia on October 18.

The Daily Mail of London, whose editor Sir David English is close to Thatcher, yesterday claimed that she had won a "crucial compromise" from Pretoria that will pre-empt Commonwealth proposals to impose crippling financial sanctions and a world oil embargo on SA.

The Daily Mail claimed Thatcher had been assured that two of the three most senior political prisoners, Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha, would be released with other "important political prisoners" on the eve of the meeting in Malaysia. The releases would strengthen Thatcher's argument that new sanctions should be forestalled.

IAN HOBBS

□ Nelson Mandela is making arrangements to have a house built in the Transkei, The Independent reported in London yesterday.

His son, Makghato, has been making the arrangements with Transkeian leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, who told the newspaper he had no objection to Mandela returning to live in his original home territory. The report supports De Klerk's indications that Mandela will be released and unbanned, early in the new year, probably in January.

UK policy beacon of sanity — Bicsa boss

TANIA LEVY

SA has become a whipping boy for US civil rights problems, racial oppression in Australia and gross breaches of human rights in many other Commonwealth countries, says British Industry Committee on SA (Bicsa) director general Nick Mitchell.

Bicsa represents British companies responsible for 80% of their country's trade with SA.

Speaking in London yesterday, Mitchell said the continued steadfastness of the British government on sanctions had been a beacon of sanity in the past few years.

The SA government knew the country was governed in a way which was totally unacceptable to most civilised people, and knew it must change, he said.

"The declining proportion of whites in SA makes change a certainty and apartheid a dying dog," said Mitchell.

The recent elections were interpreted by the President as a mandate to lead and manage a strategy of change towards clearly defined objectives.

Mitchell said the future of SA ultimately had to be resolved in SA by South Africans.

The business community in SA can and must play a larger role in keeping up the pressure for change.

The international community can help rather than hinder these pressures for change by calling unequivocally for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations, the repeal of apartheid laws such as the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts and press the urgent need to start a negotiation process with all major players, he said.

The US and Europe should encourage this with minor concessions on sanctions.

"The stakes are enormous, no less the future of a continent. Success could lead to a prosperous, free SA. Failure will lead to a future without hope for more than 100-million people in an economic desert."

Cautious optimism is reported from British businesses

LONDON — British business interests in South Africa were "cautiously optimistic" about future political trends and reform, Lord Marsh, chairman of the British Industry Committee on South Africa, said in London yesterday.

Speaking at an informal luncheon, he warned, however, that expectations raised by President de Klerk's new government would be difficult to satisfy.

"Early progress towards a process of real negotiations is essential and the international community will be looking for tangible steps such as the release of political detainees and the unbanning of political organisations."

ENCOURAGING

Lord Marsh said a number of factors had lead to this cautious optimism. The September election results had been interpreted by Mr de Klerk as a mandate for change and early statements from his new government were encouraging "in terms of recognising the inevitability of reform".

"There are indications of a greater willingness by government to listen to the voice of business, and demonstrations conducted peacefully and legally may ease a climate of tension," said Lord Marsh.

Another encouraging factor was that progress towards Namibian independence and increasing dialogue with other southern African states pointed to greater realism on all sides, he said. — Sapa.

PARIS TALKS

No thanks to the revolution

The latest challenge to De Klerk's government to start dialogue with all South African parties came unexpectedly through an ANC leak in Paris. Without waiting for an official French invitation, however, Pretoria reacted swiftly.

South Africans should solve the country's problems in SA, was the response from Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to the *Paris Indaba* proposal. He added that any leader or party committed to a peaceful solution could come to the conference table.

It may have come as a relief to De Klerk that the planned Paris meeting was leaked. It was intended to draw in the ANC, certain SA Cabinet members and other prominent people, with French President Francois Mitterrand and four or five African leaders also in attendance. It placed the Pretoria government in a position where it could reject such a venture out of hand before having to respond to diplomatic communiqués.

The leak may also have caught the French wrong-footed. At the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation — run by the French president's wife — it was confirmed to the *FM* that the indaba was on. According to a nervous spokeswoman, before she hung up abruptly, it would be "very soon . . . about a month." The list of invited people and a draft agenda for the five-day programme has been seen in Paris on foundation letterhead paper.

Officially, the Foreign Ministry in Paris knows nothing: it is sticking to the taboo on top-level contacts with the SA government (a taboo in force since Mitterrand was first elected president in 1981). But the president's wife, who set up the recent Dakar meeting, offers a convenient cover — perhaps in the same way as F W de Klerk's elder brother, Willem, at the Afrikaner-ANC talks in London last weekend.

In SA there also seems to be confusion about who is actually responsible for the official guest list and invitations. Idasa executive director Alex Boraine says the French government is organising the talks. They will be attended by "leading people in SA as well as by South Africans resident outside South Africa."

He adds: "The conference is being planned, and will be hosted, by the French government and all invitations will come from the French government. Idasa's sole role would be in an advisory and facilitating capacity. We will not decide who should attend and will make no decisions. That will be the sole prerogative of the French government."

However, a French Embassy spokeswoman in Pretoria says the proposed indaba is a private initiative by France Liberté, a human rights foundation run by Danielle Mitterrand. "The French government can only encourage this type of meeting and it is not excluded that it will give support on the logistic side," she says. "We, as the French Embassy, have no part in organising the event, and therefore don't know who has been invited."

Obviously, nobody expects Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his successor at the Department of Education & Training, Stoffel van der Merwe, nor Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals, to pitch up in Paris to join a gathering which meets under the banner of bicentenary celebrations of the French Revolution.



De Klerk



Mitterrand

Even though P W Botha has had Mandela to tea, and Van der Merwe and Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok have had meetings with him, and even if De Klerk had not disapproved of the latest *toenadering* with the ANC in London, the context is unpalatable. The revolution theme will probably, if not certainly, deter other moderates such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi and businessmen.

In any event, in the corridors of the Union Buildings the idea of a meeting sponsored by the French is not on. Foreign Affairs officials see this as an attempt by the French to regain some prestige after its Revolution celebrations in July fizzled out. In London the idea of the SA government allowing itself to be upstaged by anyone, especially France with its ardent support for sanctions, in opening dialogue is regarded as "pure pie-in-the-sky fantasy."

The Foreign Office in London regards any talk of the French wresting foreign initiatives on SA away from Margaret Thatcher as "utter rubbish." It is open to speculation that the French may have been motivated by mischief; but Madame Mitterrand is regarded as sincere and over-ambitious.

On Monday, after an interview with four SA black journalists, Thatcher attended a fund-raising reception for the Harold Macmillan Trust (which sponsors teacher training for Third-World countries). She said: "The winds of change are once again blowing in SA and we hope this time they will come to a fully successful and democratic conclusion."

Apart from all the briefings she gets (the latest from KaNgwane's Chief Enos Mabuza), Thatcher may have been inspired by an SA Foreign Affairs' full-page ad in the London *Sunday Times*. After putting the familiar case against sanctions, its conclusion reads: "More fundamental changes are imminent. And it's going to happen."

De Klerk's reaction on Monday to the London talks between Afrikaner intellectuals — described as an inner Broederbond circle — and the ANC was a forerunner to Pretoria's rejection of any official representation at the planned Paris meeting. De Klerk dissociated himself and his government from the London talks, and said government was not involved "directly or indirectly" in the discussions. He added he did not approve of them.

"However well it may be intended," he said, "the general result of such discussions is that they are exploited by the ANC and others to conceal the true nature of revolutionary organisations, and to promote an undeserved image of reasonableness of these organisations." That may well be his response to an official invitation from the French, should they still use semi-official channels to channel such an invitation.

In London, the ANC's external relations director, Thabo Mbeki, also poured cold water on the significance of talks with the Afrikaners. It was just another of the getting-to-know-you meetings which have been going on — 20 in the last two years at venues from Dakar to Cologne, London, Lusaka, Harare and elsewhere — most of them unpublicised. The Afrikaners were representing themselves only, not government nor the Broederbond, and "if the SA press chooses to blow it up out of all proportion, there is nothing we can do about it," says Mbeki.

After the initial reports about the talks there was a scurry from various quarters to downplay and distance themselves from the ANC meeting. Stellenbosch philosopher Willie Esterhuyse, who acted as leader of the group, immediately said he was not a Broeder. In London, Stellenbosch principal Mike de Vries, who in the past criticised students who had talks with the ANC, categorically denied he is or was involved in the talks.

Naspers downplayed the talks, saying only that *Die Burger*'s newly appointed editor, Ebbe Dommisse, had been in London on other business and was invited to the talks as an observer (see ***People***).

Ironically, no word of denial on his role at the talks has come from Willem de Klerk who has previously met the ANC. Could his younger brother have known? ■

ALBERTON ODU

DP to select a leader or leaders tomorrow

STAR 6/10/89 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party faces its biggest test tomorrow when more than 500 delegates meet in Durban to choose a leader or leaders.

Last-minute lobbying continued yesterday for what is expected to be a close choice between continuing the present three-man leadership or opting for a single leader.

There is general agreement that if a single leader is chosen it will be Dr Zach de Beer.

The other two co-leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, have both come out in favour of continuing the troika though they have also made themselves available for a single leadership position.

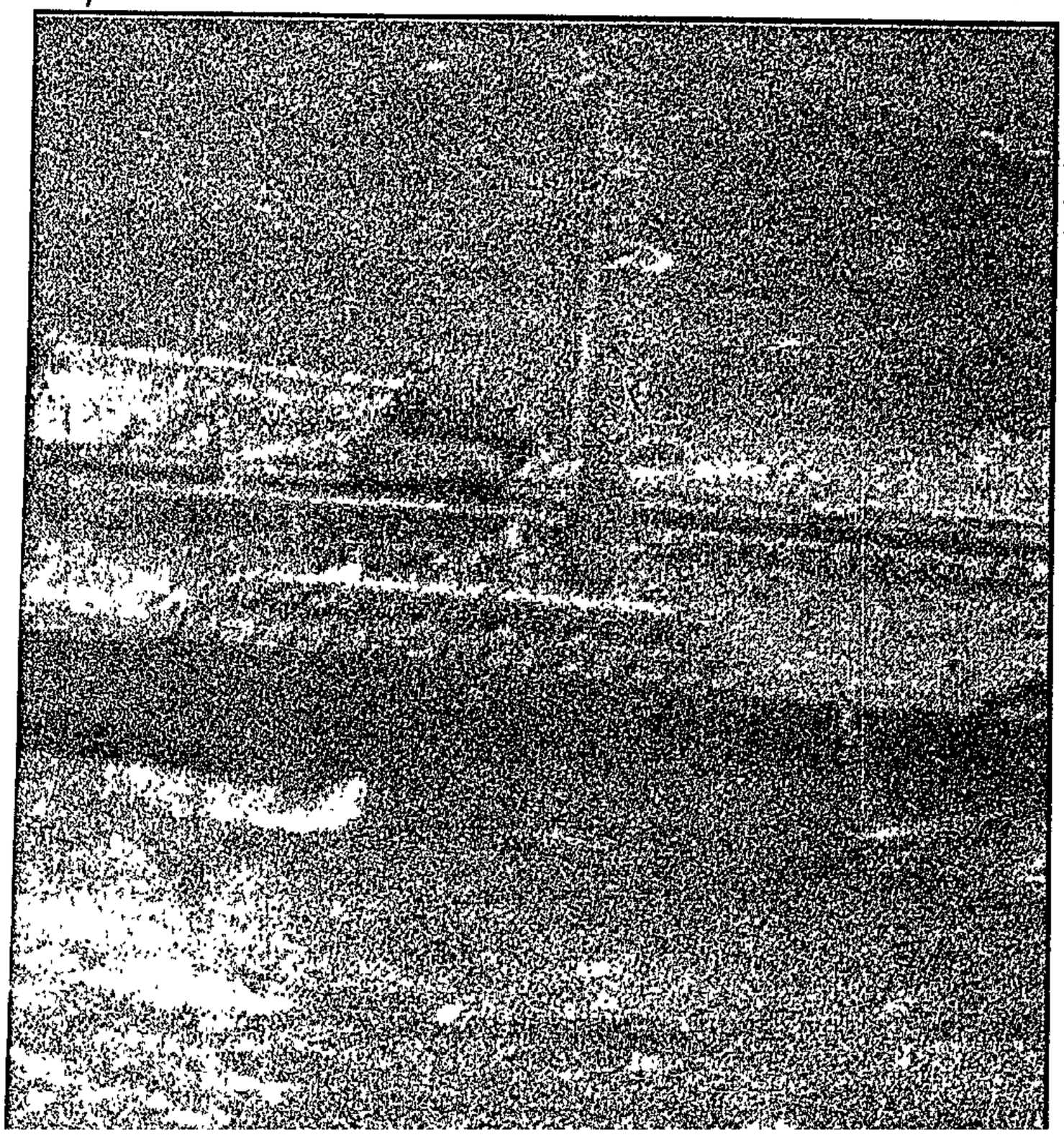
Other candidates might also be available for the single leadership. Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon, Umhlanga MP Mr Kobus Jordaan and Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe have been mentioned.

Members of the old PFP fear that the Malan and Worrall camps might say that delegates should vote against Dr de Beer to avoid giving the DP the image of the old PFP.

Tensions have increased between Mr Malan and conservatives within the old PFP over the entrenching of human rights in a new constitution.

There have also been grumbles from the Malan and Worrall camps that so far the old PFP has been winning all the positions in the new party.

The congress will also elect a national chairman, 10 representatives to the national council and four to the national executive.



Eat, drink and be merry

Greed, delegates at a winelands conference on Ethics and the Public Sector agreed, is a human failing that will always be with us. And since greed, not need, is the well from which corruption springs, we should accustom ourselves to the idea that we will never be rid of it. The question is how best to contain it.

The fact this conference took place at all testifies to the widely held perception that SA is enjoying more corruption than can easily be explained by greed alone. Thus the first task the conference set itself was diagnostic: how much corruption is there in the country and what factors contribute to a climate in which corruption flourishes?

Immediately one encountered disagreement. Auditor-General Peter Wronsley said: "The whole idea of widespread corruption (in the public sector) is not right . . . and it's not fair." He distanced himself from "the idea that everybody is getting on to the gravy train because disaster is just around the corner."

Not a day later, however, the retired Justice Victor Hiemstra had the following to say: "There is a strange atmosphere in the land, as if people have no faith in the future and consequently want, as soon as possible, to make as much money as possible. By the time they are discovered, so they reason, the whole affair will have collapsed anyway." There was an atmosphere of "let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." said Prof Lourens du Plessis.

If there was disagreement as to the quantum of corruption, there was more consensus as to causes. Delegates were anxious to avoid joining the "blame it all on apartheid" bandwagon, but there can be no escaping that apartheid, more than any other factor, creates a climate in which corruption flourishes. Some years ago, Johan Degenaar popularised the notion of apartheid as a form of "structural violence." On the basis of what emerged at this conference, it could also be said to be a form of structural corruption — a system whose very existence encourages corruption of both a moral and political kind.

South Africans have always been attracted to the idea that passing a law is a good way of solving a problem. But as Lourens du Plessis noted, "personal and communal morality can and will be more decisive than the law in determining the incidence of corruption in a society. Even the most stringent laws against corruption are in themselves but empty shells, if not backed by personal and communal convictions averse to this kind of misdemeanour."

When it comes to laws and remedies, the country isn't lacking (see below). But, as was implicit in various speeches, the country is seriously lacking in the sort of moral and political consensus necessary to make a framework of laws efficient. As philosopher Willie Esterhuyse pointed out, a community gets the public office bearers it deserves. "A community which doesn't record public moral protest and which doesn't value the maintenance of central moral-ethical norms and values, will be a community without office bearers with a high sense of responsibility and integrity."

Though Esterhuyse doesn't say so, it is to state the obvious that SA fits that definition comfortably.

What is true at the moral level is even more the case when we get to politics. The broad aim of government is to further the national interest. In the local context, however, *landsbelang* is normally an excuse for taking a secret decision to further a sectional interest. A system which pursues sectional interests in the guise of the national interest is obviously corrupt. Worse is the fact that a system, like SA's, where secrecy and coercion are commonplace, is exactly the sort in which corruption flourishes.

As David Welsh noted, "the need to persuade is the obverse of the power to coerce. Politicians who have to use powers of persuasion are simultaneously likely to be politicians who are accountable; and accountability is the outstanding feature of political systems in which power is properly circumscribed."

The second aspect of the conference consisted of examining formal remedies available for combating corruption and maladministration. The legal arsenal is already impressive: Section 19 of the Government Service Act of 1984 which deals with misconduct; the Advocate-General Act of 1979 which deals with the dishonest, unlawful and improper uses of public monies; Section 54 of the constitution which deals with ministers convicted of criminal offences; and the State President's power to appoint commissions of inquiry.

One of the more interesting contributions came from the Auditor-General, Peter Wronsley. He noted that if a minister was convicted of an offence and given a heavy sentence, but with the option of a fine, then he was entitled to stay on as an MP. Wronsley suggested that any minister or MP found guilty of a criminal offence is not fit to serve in parliament.

He also pointed out the serious deficiency whereby the constitution offers no sanction against a minister or MP found guilty by a commission of inquiry of irregular or scandalous conduct. He said that when a commission explicitly said a person was not fit to hold a public office which required integrity, then such a person certainly wasn't fit to sit in parliament.

Wronsley made the further point that, in his view, the taxpayer lost far more money through the lawful pursuit of dubious goals and the uneconomical, inefficient and ineffective pursuit of good goals, than from "chisellers." Retired Auditor-General Joop de Loor agreed, pointing out that with the trend towards increasing examination of the effectiveness with which goals were pursued, auditors were playing a larger role.

The man most obviously responsible for formulating and maintaining acceptable ethical standards in the public sector is Advocate-General Piet van der Walt. It was thus interesting to hear him say that current guidelines for the protection of the integrity of the government were inadequate. He called for legislation similar to the Ethics and Government Act in the US. The other interesting point to emerge from his speech was the proposed broadening of his investigative powers to allow him to play more of an ombudsman's role when citizens feel they are wronged by a State body or official.

Judge Hiemstra looked at the role of commissions of inquiry. He noted that their efficacy in fighting corruption depended upon the commissioner and, in particular, the advocate of the commission who was "the axis around which everything turned." Governments often don't listen to the recommendations of commissions — "If Erika Theron had been listened to, coloureds would be throwing fewer stones today."

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Hope never dies in the shadow of the gallows

Next week marks the 26th anniversary of the opening of the Rivonia Trial, now marked as International Prisoners' Day. This year, the focus is on Death Row inmates.
IVOR POWELL reports

ON October 11, 1963 — as an act of solidarity with the accused in the Rivonia Treason trial which had opened two days earlier — the United Nations passed Resolution 1181, calling for the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

Thirteen years later, in 1976, the UN passed another Resolution, number 21/6C, declaring the day as an annual International Prisoners' Day.

In South Africa — which has been called the "imprisoned society", which has often had the highest rate of incarceration per capita in the world, which until this year was second only to Iran in frequency of legal executions — the day has a special relevance.

But to none more than to those who find themselves on Pretoria Central Prison's Death Row.

The *Weekly Mail* is in possession of two documents — one overtly activist, the other soberly academic — which deal in depth with the lives and expectations of death experienced by those awaiting execution.

The Shrinking World of Pretoria was written by exile Phyllis Naidoo in Harare. The other, *The Living Dead: Living on Death Row*, was written by the University of the Witwatersrand's Project for the Study of Violence director Lloyd Vogelman and was first delivered to a legal convention earlier this year.

The two documents agree in points of substance to a surprising degree.

The Death Row which emerges is a place of unrelieved monotony and boredom, as it is a place of fear; a place of pointless and corrosive hope as it a place of despair. The banality is as

Cells are not large: "If you stand up and face the bars, stretch your hands and you will touch both walls. Your ceiling high up holds the fluorescent lights. Befriend them for they will stay with you until you leave this cell — 24 hours per day", Naidoo writes.

You get five blankets which are almost invariably dirty, both documents testify. There is a basin and flush toilet in the cell ("...possibly for the first time in your life, you have the use of a water borne toilet," Naidoo wryly observes) as well as a folding tray/table and a bed. That is all, except for the sound of a local radio station blaring continually — whether you like it or not — through speakers in the wall.

THREE more people were hanged in Pretoria this week, bringing the total for 1989 to 42.
The three were Khethokule Stephen, 26; Samuel Sam Kokoi Mogohlo, 23, and Alphius Thantsha, 35.
A fourth man, Leon Faasen, was granted a stay of execution.
Fifty-four Death Row prisoners have been reprieved this year.

At 6am each morning a bell rings, marking the start of the new day. At seven, there is a prisoner count, then a five-minute communal shower, and every second day, a shave. At 8am a breakfast is served of soft porridge (with, according to informants, insufficient milk and sugar) and cold coffee (described as being "like dirty water")

Lunch follows a mere three-and-a-half hours later, at 11.30.

Another three-and-a-half hours later, it is time for supper — the day shift workers on Death Row, like most prison workers, keep office hours, regardless of the fact that it means three meals in seven hours and 17 hours without food.

Between meals there are two visiting periods per day, 30 minutes of exercise in enforced silence.

Prison library books, censored newspapers and religious literature — the only kind that may be sent in from the outside world— are available for the long hours the prisoners are alone in their cells.

Perhaps because of their continuous exposure to artificial light, a high percentage of prisoners require spectacles on Death Row.

But, according to Vogelman: "Unlike an ordinary prisoner, it is alleged that the Death Row prisoner may receive spectacles, but not free of charge...

"Similarly according to the sister of a Death Row prisoner, should such a prisoner complain of toothache, the tooth is merely extracted. No conservative dentistry is carried out."

"It appears," Vogelman speculates, "that the attitude underpinning such a policy is that unnecessary expense on such prisoners is wasteful. This attitude is further confirmation to the prisoner of Death Row that his life and his complaints are worth little."

If life is worth little, it often goes on for a very long time. The "Addo Youth Congress Four" spent more than 800 days on Death Row, and it is not unusual for prisoners to await execution for 18 months or more.

But, according to Vogelman, prisoners seldom give up hope. Significantly, he observes, a feature of the fickle but necessary friendships which spring up on Death Row is their directedness to the future.

He recounts a prisoner's report of two inmates under the shadow of the gallows talking of setting up a business together and hotly debating whether to live in Cape Town or Johannesburg.

As Vogelman observes, "a future planned means death denied."

Many turn to religion.

Much of the inmates of Death Row's time is taken up in framing appeals and pleas for clemency.

In the event that these are unsuccessful, notice of execution is finally handed down and the prisoner is moved to the awaiting-execution cells — the "pot".

"Some reports suggest that the (up to) seven prisoners who occupy the 'pot' are often manic. They laugh, make jokes and speak for the whole night. The mania often extends to discussions about the process of hanging. Jokes would be made about who had the largest neck and how much rope the hangman would need."

Near the beginning of the prisoner's stay in the 'pot', he is taken for neck and body measurements. This is done in order to calculate the requisite strength of rope and length of drop to make a clean job of it.

The day before the prisoner finds out what the hangman looks like, he is served a special meal, usually a whole, deboned chicken. Usually that night is taken up in singing hymns or freedom songs.

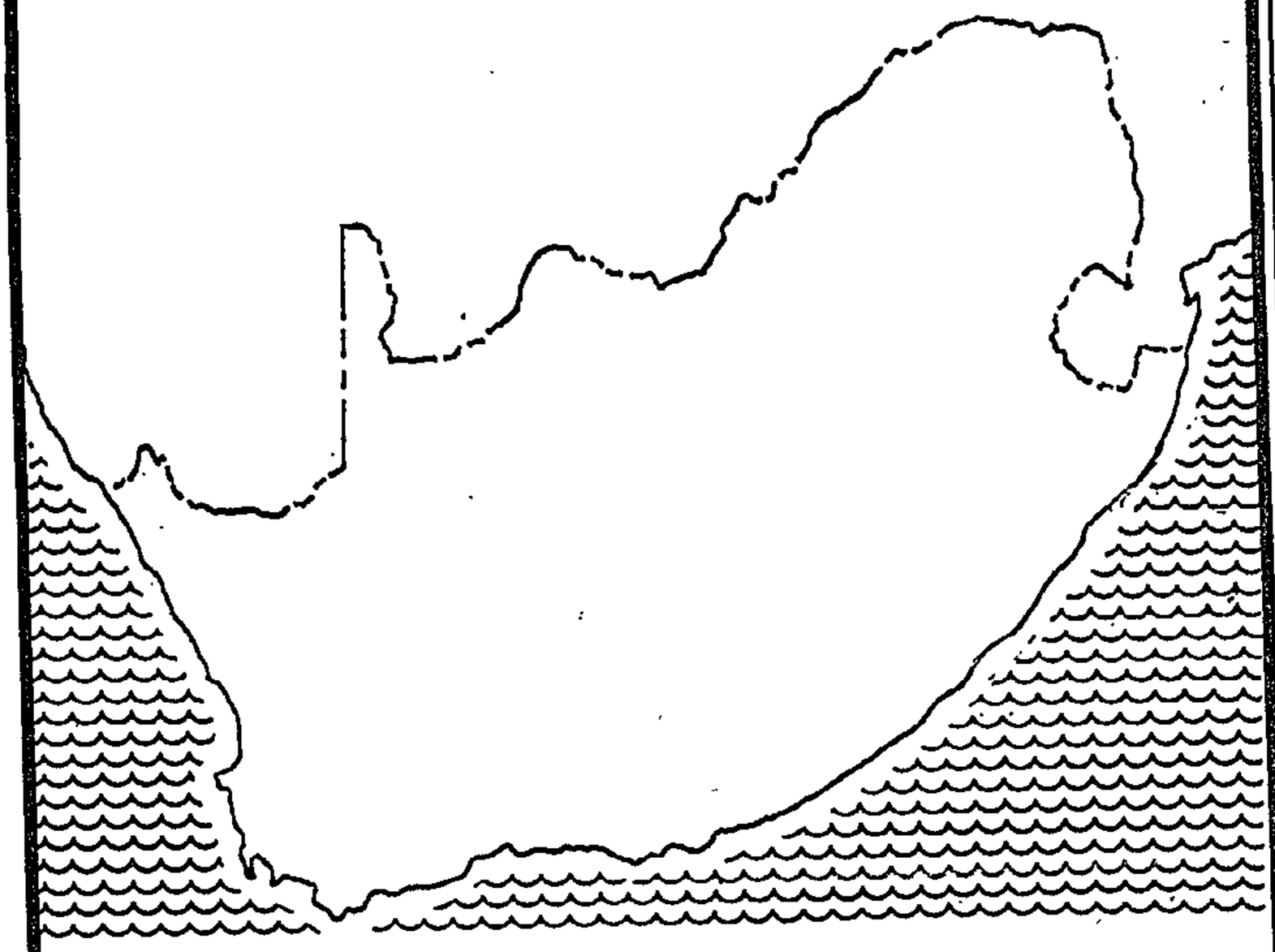
At 6am the prisoners, in the company of a doctor to certify death and a policeman to take fingerprints for purposes of identification, are led up the gallows — which can hang seven people at one time. Ropes — in the case of black prisoners, Naidoo claims, often stained with the blood and vomit of the previous user — are placed around the prisoners' necks and then a hood.

● Pickets in Johannesburg and other protests are scheduled for October 11.

●This article has been put to Prisons Service for comment. They have not yet replied, but their response will be published as soon as it is practicable.

COMRADE
CHIEF DALINJEBO
SABATA

YOUR REBURIAL IS A VICTORY FOR THE STRUGGLE



YOUR UNDYING SPIRIT AND THAT OF COMRADE CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI WILL CONTINUE TO POWER THE WHEEL OF LIBERATION.

REST IN PEACE!!!!

Issued by: The Mandela Campaign, 37 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein

FW decides: I can do without Guards

B/Day 6/10/89

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The white-helmeted State President's Guard, escort to the country's chiefs since 1967, has had its ceremonial wings clipped — by order of the President himself.

Without fanfare, the spit-and-polish guardsmen have been banished from their ceremonial duties at the President's offices and residences in Pretoria and Cape Town, it became known yesterday.

This is because F W de Klerk apparently wants more emphasis to be laid on the executive aspects of his position.

A spokesman for the Chief of the Army, under whose jurisdiction the State President's Guard falls, would not comment yesterday on what effect this would have on the future activities of the infantry unit.

"No finality about precisely which ceremonial functions are to be reduced has been reached," he said. (304A)

New oil threat lurks from damaged tanker

B/Day 6/10/89

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A predicted switch in wind direction this afternoon could blow hundreds of tons of leaked crude oil from the stricken tanker Pacificos onto the coast around Port Elizabeth.

Last night, with the tanker steaming slowly out to sea under her own power, but into 4m-high seas lashed by gale force winds, an estimated 1 000 tons of light-crude oil was already spreading a deadly pollution trail across the ocean.

The 268 466 ton ship was holding a position about 54 (nautical) miles out to sea throughout yesterday.

☐ With all communications between the ship and shore cut by the howling gale, gusting up to 70 knots (more than 100kmh/), there were fears among potential salvors that the 268 466 ton ship could break up if the weather remained bad.

Our East London correspondent reports that a second crack has been discovered in the hull of the supertanker.

The vessel's agents reported that the original crack had opened up and was about 30m long.

An estimated 500 tons of Basrah light-crude oil had leaked from the tanker by 9am yesterday and the ships' captain predicted that he could lose another 500 tons from ruptured cargo tanks during the course of the day and last night.

Already the oil slick of thick, red-brown light-crude is 24km long and running to the north-east of the ship away from the coast.

However, if the wind changes it will be blown back to shore.

Yesterday Capt Braam Thomas of Pentow Marine in Cape Town, which hopes to win the salvage contract, said that the damage was worse than at first thought.

However, they did not expect to get an accurate assessment of the damage until divers had been able to make an inspection.

The Pacificos, with a full cargo of oil from the Red Sea for Brazil, was still under the command of her Korean captain and able to steam under her own power.

Thomas said it was still not known what had caused the damage. "Perhaps just the weather," he said.

Two Kuswag anti-pollution vessels are on the scene, but the wind and rough sea is preventing them starting anti-dispersant spraying.

B/Day 6/10/89

(351)

on the night in question. — Sapa.

Battle for DP reins hots up on eve of congress

BT Dmy 6/10/89 (304A)

Political Staff

DURBAN — The battle over the DP's leadership structure hotted up yesterday as many of the expected 400 delegates for the party's congress tomorrow began streaming into Durban.

After weeks of intensive lobbying, the factions favouring either a continuation of the troika or the election of a single party leader were both confident of victory last night.

However, it became apparent that a number of delegates had not yet made up their minds on the issue and were prepared to be swayed by last minute appeals when the topic is debated by congress tomorrow morning.

Should the party decide to scrap the troika and opt for a single leader, Zach de Beer is widely expected to get the job. Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan have come out in favour of retaining the triumvirate.

In a late twist to the continuing battle, the pro-troika group was all but claiming victory last night after indications that the Stellenbosch constituency might withdraw a resolution calling on congress to "now elect a single leader-in-chief for the party".

Should this happen, the pro-troika lobby expects to have an edge when congress debates two resolutions backing the status quo in the DP leadership structure.

Sapa reported yesterday that a "senior DP source" in Durban had said there appeared to be "a widespread belief" from delegates around the country, with the exception of the southern Transvaal, that the troika should be retained.

However, the single-leader lobby described this as "a last, desperate attempt" to stave off the inevitable.

"We expect Zach to win," one predicted confidently.

Delegates in the De Beer camp said that most regions — as well as a majority in Worrall's own Berea constituency — favoured as single leader for the party and that De Beer would prevail.

DP CONGRESS FM 6/10/89 (304 A)

Follow that star

Zach de Beer is still favourite for leadership of the DP in Durban on Saturday despite continuing efforts by co-leaders Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan to preserve the troika.

Malan's re-entry into the leadership stakes, after indicating he was not interested, appears to have complicated the issue.

De Beer's supporters believe Worrall is insisting on continuation of the *status quo* or some variation, possibly a rotating chairman, because he realises his appeal within the party has waned considerably in recent months while De Beer's has increased. Malan's intentions are less clear; he is regarded as having little chance of winning an election for leader.

It seems that if De Beer's backers can gain the approval of delegates to the DP congress on Saturday, to go for a leadership vote, he will win fairly easily against Worrall and Malan.



De Beer

The Worrall camp appears to want delegates to agree to postpone the leadership question even though the DP's founding congress resolved that a leader would be chosen at the party meeting in Durban.

Delegates from the DP's Stellenbosch constituency are proposing the congress should "in the interest of the future of the DP, now elect a single leader-in-chief." During the 1987 election Stellenbosch was contested by Esther Lategan, one of three independents (with Malan and Worrall).

Lategan, after the split between Worrall and Malan, joined Malan's National Democratic Movement. It now seems the influence of both Worrall and Malan has waned in Stellenbosch.

It is also known that former Worrall/Malan backers like Johann Rupert, son of industrialist Anton Rupert, have been very sympathetic towards President F W de Klerk.

De Beer's increased popularity within the party has been ascribed to his remarkably successful election campaign — particularly his four TV debates in which he made an impression on voters.

Worrall, by contrast, is widely regarded as having tarnished a shining image by not performing well on TV.

Loyal Worrall supporters, like Simon's Town new MP Jannie Momberg, will put up a strong show on Saturday. Worrall and Malan will get support for their stand from Natal and country constituencies; for instance, motions from the Umlazi and Bloemfontein North constituencies propose that the troika should continue. De Beer backers, like Houghton MP Tony Leon and former PFP Transvaal chairman Douglas Gibson, are intent on settling the leadership question. A strong PFP element remains in the party's Southern Transvaal region.

None of the three leaders is, however, likely to risk party unity when it comes to the crunch.

Too much has been gained since formation of the DP. ■

STAR 7/10/87 304A

Paris confirms peace summit

SATURDAY STAR
FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

PARIS — The France-Liberte Association, founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, yesterday confirmed that it was organising a peace summit in Paris on South Africa.

A spokesman said: "Unfortunately the South African press jumped the gun in reporting this summit before we had finalised plans and sent out all invitations."

He said invitations to attend had been accepted by Broederbond chief Professor J P de Lange, the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki, Anglo American's Mr Gavin Relly, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak, trade union leaders Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, writers Andre Brink and Ezekiel Mphahlele, and singer Johnny Clegg.

The date and venue have not been settled, but the association would like to hold the summit in mid-November in Versailles.

Mrs Mitterrand has the support of her husband, President Francois Mitterrand, and her son, presidential African affairs adviser Jean-Christopher Mitterrand.

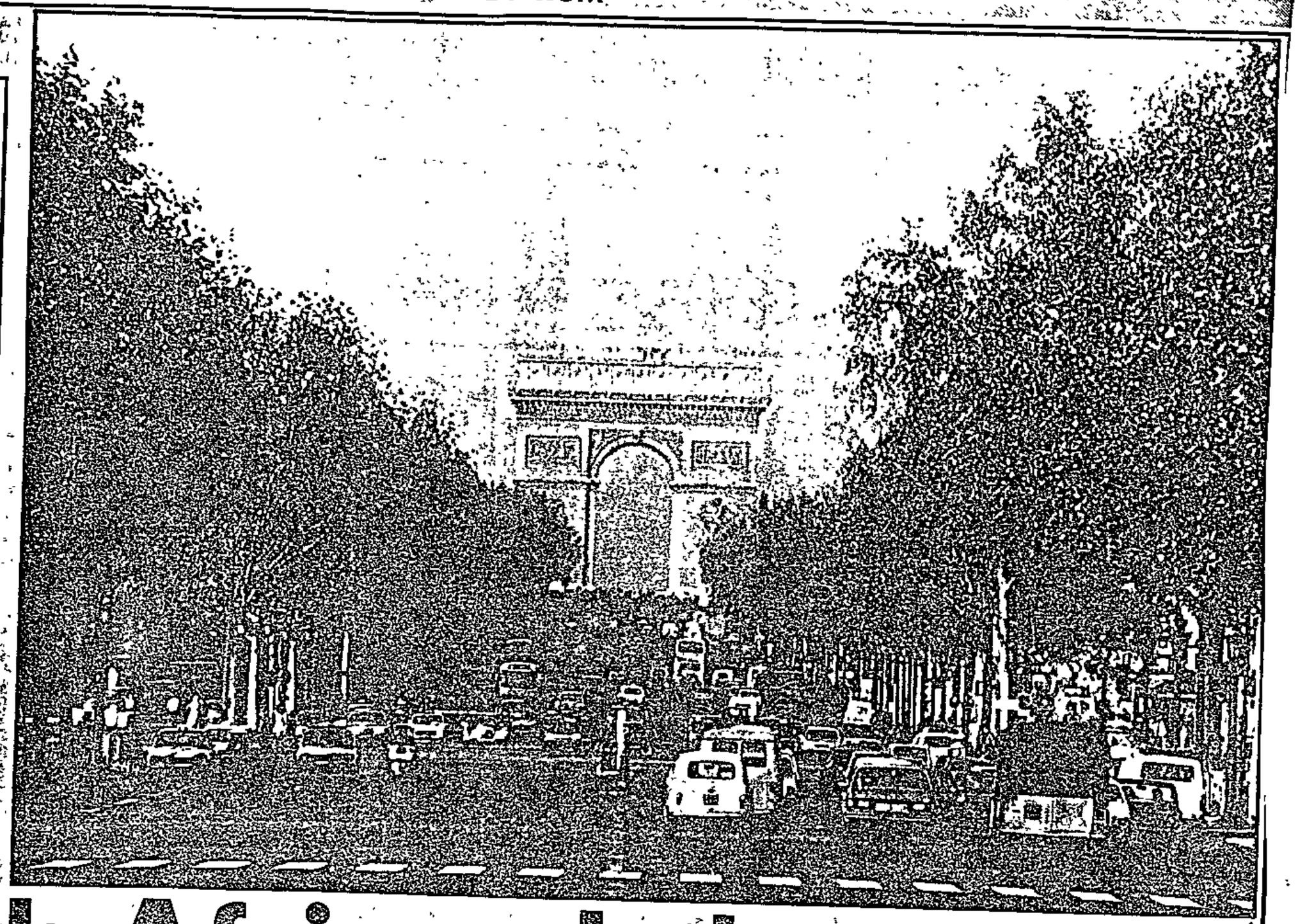
On Tuesday, when news of the indaba was published in South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said no invitation had been received by the Government, and his reaction indicated that the Government was unlikely to attend.

He said: "South Africa's problems ought to be solved by South Africans inside South Africa."

At the time of going to press no confirmation could be obtained as to whether the SA Government had received an invitation.

In reaction to talks between a group of prominent South Africans, including members of the Broederbond, and the ANC in London this week, President F W de Klerk said on Monday that the Government had clearly stated its position regarding groups which, without a mandate or accountability, try to enter into dialogue with the ANC:

"It is pre-eminently the responsibility of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to investigate the situation of banned organisations vis-a-vis peaceful negotiations and, in this light, to evaluate their legal positions."



The South African Laboratory

STAR 7/10/89 304A

French connection spelt out

LAST Saturday the French liberal evening newspaper *Le Monde* published an article entitled "The South African laboratory" by Pierre Mayer, an inspector-general of the Finance Ministry. Informed of the ruling elite. His article is regarded as reflecting the thinking on South Africa by France's rulers. The article is powerful stuff, and nobody at this stage can say that President Mi[illegible]

SOUTH Africa's general elections last month have turned over a leaf. Mr. Botha has been succeeded by Mr de Klerk at the very moment that the country is turning towards unexpected horizons.

The outstanding fact is that southern Africa is emerging from East-West confrontation which has paralysed all hopes of a posi-

come a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Pragmatism is beginning to take over from ideology after a dozen years of incomprehension and lack of initiative.

South Africa has always remained unchanged and consistent in its long history. It possesses the magnificent gift of being able to buy time at little cost.

Will it be satisfied once again to withdraw into its laager? Or will it reply to the challenge issued by world public opinion —

compatible, or even insupportable, because it is by far the largest donor — 10 times more than Britain — and its contribution is at the same time comparitively too heavy and not economically and politically balanced enough.

For instance, France's two-way trade with Nigeria by far exceeds its total trade with French-speaking African countries

Therefore it is likely that after '[illegible]

only composite one which contains, in miniature, almost the entire Third World within its borders, where different civilisations co-exist in the same territory despite differences of history, tradition, aspirations and levels of development.

The relative ratio between South Africa's whites and non-whites, the haves and have-nots, are about the same as may be seen elsewhere in the world

Neither oceans nor front[illegible]

confrontation which has paralysed all hopes of a positive evolution in South Africa and its neighbours.

The Angolan-Namibia affair stresses the regional and African priorities of the conflict. In many ways, it is a family matter between decolonised black Africa and South Africa, or to be exact, the white Afrikaner tribe.

The end of the US-Soviet confrontation and clarification of their differences opens a "window of opportunity" for South Africa on the continent.

The main result will be to make black states adopt more open and pragmatic policies — starting with the more moderate governments — face-to-face with a South Africa, which is growing stronger and becoming more respectable.

On the other hand, there are the more "committed" black states, often the prey of appalling catastrophes, as their utopian dreams of Third World socialism go up in smoke.

It cannot be excluded that South Africa will one day be sued by world public opinion — to pass from white rule to democracy for all races?

The great powers are going to compete with each other in their moves over South Africa. Communications between Moscow and Pretoria were never completely cut off, especially over gold and diamonds.

But the absence of formal diplomatic relations during the past 30 years has muddied their perceptions of each other. Thus, the Soviets have suddenly discovered a surprising and unexpected country in South Africa, which they once viewed quite differently.

The Americans seem to have decided to play an active role of "catalysers", more or less hand-in-hand with the Soviet Union, after the remarkable diplomatic success of Dr Chester Crocker in Angola and Namibia.

The Soviets, as far as they are concerned, are "advising" the ANC and the SA Communist Party to abandon violence, although these movements' lack of unity and military incompetence makes it clear they have no hopes of overthrowing the Pretoria regime by force.

While South Africa's future destiny once more becomes a family quarrel between Africans, the country's power is a challenge to the whole continent.

Thirty years after decolonisation, black Africa is today poorer than ever, and 24 countries are listed by the World Bank as the poorest in the world, out of a total of 37.

Sooner or later, and let us hope that it is sooner, there will be the realisation that South Africa, far from being a provocation for black Africa, is the key to its staggering problems.

South Africa, whether it likes it or not, will have to come to the aid of southern Saharan states, if only for reasons of its own security.

For this neighbourly aid is the main chance for the survival of these unfortunate countries.

For European governments, black Africa's future and real interests are a mystery. What value to them is a zone which represents only 1 percent of world trade? If black Africa disappeared, then this event, seen from afar, would go more or less unnoticed, if one can say so.

The question arises: How will black Africa face the increased general competition resulting from the European Community when it becomes a united zone in 1992?

The commitment of France in this context threatens to be in-

Finance Ministry. Informed sources say France's reason for holding the Paris indaba summit are spelt out in the article in a newspaper which is considered as one of the world's 10 leading opinion-making dailies.

Pierre Mayer is a member

President Mitterrand agrees with every sentence. But it undoubtedly describes how he sees the challenge — as one of worldwide import which will give him the historical niche he craves if his Versailles summit is a success. This is what the article said:

therefore it is likely that after 1992, France will have to adapt its trade with Africa with Common Market policy.

For the French, southern Africa remains the "hidden face" of the Earth. France is very active north of the Equator but it is absent from the south, partly because of distance but mainly through blindness.

In comparison, Britain's presence in Africa is wide-ranging and diverse.

If France really wants to have a presence south of the Sahara it must show less ideological bias and more passion.

Fortunately, however, South Africa's Afrikaner — who retains several dramatic memories of the past under British colonialism including forced ties with the Anglo-Saxon world — holds an apparently immeasurable reservoir of sympathy for our country.

Over and above Africa and Europe, South Africa remains the final challenge which faces the civilised world in the northern hemisphere.

Among all the industrialised countries, South Africa is the

Neither oceans nor frontiers will save us from the immigration of famished poor from the Third World.

Seen from afar, the South African problem is not an insoluble enigma, except for those who refuse to face facts. The problem is in fact a universal one, and without doubt the major challenge of the coming century.

South Africa, in other words, is the "laboratory" of the new world and it is in everybody's interest that it becomes, without bloodshed, a plural democracy, the quintessence of Europe and America, and perhaps the hope of the Soviet and Chinese masses.

South Africa must break out of its isolation, like the Soviet Union, China and all closed societies, however old they are.

It must open its society to the world, which is one and indivisible — otherwise there will be an implosion.

That is South Africa's destiny.

F W shows new style in Cabinet meetings move

7/10/89

STAFF **PETER FABRICIUS**
Political Correspondent

3044

STATE President Mr F W de Klerk has stepped up the number of Cabinet meetings and decreased the number of Cabinet committee meetings.

Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general in the State President's office, confirmed yesterday that the Cabinet would meet weekly on Wednesdays.

Under President Botha they usually met fortnightly and the State Security Council met on alternate weeks.

Dr Roux said that because of the more frequent Cabinet meetings, the Cabinet committees would need to meet less frequently.

Cabinet meetings would start slightly later than in the past and would continue through lunch.

"There will be a 20-minute adjournment for light snacks,." Dr Roux said.

The changes appear to confirm impressions that Mr De Klerk will consult his Cabinet more than his predecessor.

Doc's cure-all: Scrap apartheid

304A W/E ARGUS 7/10/89

By MICHAEL SHAFTO
Weekend Argus Correspondent

ABOLISH apartheid now, rugby boss Dr Danie Craven has pleaded with President De Klerk — "and give yourself a year to rid the country of the other big three discriminatory laws."

The release of Nelson Mandela should be another priority, he said in Stellenbosch last night.

Speaking on the eve of the Currie Cup final between Western Province and Northern Transvaal at Newlands, Dr Craven said the only way to save sport in South Africa — not rugby alone — was the speedy abolition of apartheid.

White Paper

"The government should then issue a White Paper giving itself a year to get rid of other major blots on the nation's good name — the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and discriminatory legislation covering education.

"These heinous Acts can no longer be tolerated."

Dr Craven said he had guarantees from the sanctum of the International Rugby Board that the moment apartheid was outlawed nations would line up to tour the country.

"One thing I cannot understand is how a government can stand by and watch the suffering of sportsmen and economists — to name just two sections of the community so badly hit by apartheid — and do nothing about it.

"To me that is like a father watching his son bleed to death and doing nothing to help him."

Britain and France had implored South Africa to abandon apartheid. France was to hold a conference on the South African problem.

"South Africa has refused to go. Why? If the government doesn't want to sit down at the same table with the ANC abroad, then invite it here. It is its country; it is our country.

"To say we will do that only when the ANC denounces violence is rubbish.

"The mental violence caused by apartheid has wrought far more anguish and suffering than any bombs planted by the ANC.

"You cannot blame people so discriminated against for taking action. It is we, the whites, who have caused the violence."

One-man, one-vote had to come.

"The provision of more, bigger and better sporting facilities for non-whites to drain off superfluous energy is another area to which the government should pay urgent attention."

Dr Craven, whose political sympathies lie to the left of the National Party, said it was important, especially for rugby, to remove the influence of CP policy. "The CP is a party for people harbouring grudges. Remove the grudges and there would be no party."

He was pessimistic about rugby's future under present conditions. Ireland had cut ties, Wales was expected to announce similar steps "and inevitably other countries will follow."

He added: "What reason do they have to support us when it can only do harm to any individuals who might be brave enough to give us their loyalty?"

Professional

Professional rugby was just a step away. More than the money, the reason was to secure regular tours. Tours were the life-blood of a game.

Dr Craven believed it was time for rugby to evolve. There should be two international rugby boards — one amateur, one professional. He would also like to see the major South African unions breaking away and forming their own body.

"The SARB would keep going — and me, well, I'll remain an amateur until I die."

BEELD: We want a white homeland . . . but who must do the work?

CHAIN REACTION

DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT may be wrong about many things. About one thing he has always been right. You could not knock down one piece of apartheid and expect the rest to remain standing. Like dominoes, the chain reaction was bound to bring down the whole lot eventually.

That, in a large part, is what has happened to apartheid. Once removed from the factory floor, sports fields, hotels, restaurants and lovers' beds, it was only a question of time before getting to the country's constitution.

Even Dr Treurnicht might realise some day that it was not all the fault of his former Nationalist colleagues. On reflection he might come to admit the futility of ever having thought that an apartheid system could be upheld for all time against a vast black majority and a world that stood in growing opposition to it.

It remains one of the supreme ironies of apartheid, nevertheless, that it had to run its course, that it had to reach its ultimate goal in 1968 of a South African parliament voted for only by whites, for its utter unworkability to be revealed.

It brings to mind the rather cynical observation attributed to Nasionale Pers chairman Dr Piet Cillie, when he was still editor of Die Burger, that apartheid had to be implemented to prove to the Afrikaner that it could not work.

OF course, though apartheid was Afrikaner-Nationalism's rather peculiar and certainly brutal refinement, the racism that went into it has never been the exclusive preserve of the Afrikaner nationalists. As pointed out in the first article in this series, on the drafting of the 1910 constitution, anti-black feelings have always been much wider than that.

Removing apartheid from the ordinary spheres of society has in many ways proved a quizzical, sometimes quite laughable affair. One recalls Dr Piet Koornhof's efforts, as Minister of Sport, to introduce multi-racial sport in the name of "international sport", pretending hard that it was not because of apartheid's failure that this was happening but because of its success!

One recalls the laborious progress towards hotel and restaurant integration and the silly arrangement whereby restaurateurs in all parts of the country were able to call a government office in Pretoria at all times of the night to request permission for people of colour to be allowed into their establishments.

There are numerous other ludicrous examples, most of which are less funny than tragic.

But of all, it is the clumsy attempts at reshaping the constitution and the political system that have been most intriguing. That was to be expected, for since 1910 the prime purpose of racism, as of apartheid, was to keep power in white hands.

THE process started not long after John Vorster kicked the last coloured representatives out of parliament, in exchange for the Coloured Representative Council, on which occasion he invited the future to be his judge.

The future has judged him harshly. The CRC collapsed, and in a first fumbling attempt at restoring some semblance of coloured and Indian voting rights, three separate parliaments were proposed, of which the white parliament would be the supreme power-holder and for which reason the plan never got off the ground.

The question of black voting rights was not even at issue at that stage, though it was becoming increasingly apparent to the government, too, that separate development, in spite of some homelands taking independence, was turning into a most costly failure. Nothing had come of the Verwoerdian dream of turning the black stream away from the urban areas by 1978.

It was the next constitutional step, however, that finally caused South Africa to turn the corner away from the 70-year-old racist ideal of keeping political power exclusively in white hands.

When the tricameral parliament was launched and "healthy power sharing" was declared to be the new policy, former State President, Mr P W Botha called it a step in the dark. And so it proved to be.

THE consequences have been as confusing and traumatic as they have been far-reaching. The National Party split, leaving Dr Treurnicht's Conservative band to champion the tenuous cause of all-white rule. The UDF coalition was formed to oppose the exclusion of blacks and the new parliament's racist structure. Inside parliament, the power-sharing relationship between P W Botha and his National Party and Allan Hendrickse and his Labour Party was turning distinctly unhealthy.

The most pointed commentary at the time of the constitutional change was probably this one from Kwazulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi: "Under the old parliamentary system based on the Westminster model, blacks could legitimately aspire to acquire the vote. This justified democratic opposition to apartheid and gave blacks a stake in the political process of the country. This more than anything else made it possible for blacks to remain committed to non-violent means of bringing about change.

"Blacks will in future not desire to work for inclusion in the political process which the new constitution will determine for us. This means that to an ever-increasing extent black politics will aspire to reformulate the state rather than seek inclusion . . ."

IT is indeed the challenge ultimately facing President F W de Klerk. Although he still talks of group rights and insists on no domination of minorities by majorities, the signals coming from him are certainly better than anything we've heard from Nationalist leaders before.

But creating the climate for negotiations is one thing, and getting to the point of actually sitting down to talk could prove another. The ultimate test, however, will come with what takes place across the negotiating table.

For all the hope and expectation, which is good and exciting considering the gloom we've been through, there is just that niggling reminder of Paul Kruger's words when he left his meeting with Milner in Bloemfontein over the *Uitlander* question shortly before the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War: *"It is my country they want . . ."*

Mixing business with politics angered Verwoerd

GOVERNMENT'S attitude to organised business has come a long way since 1960 when an angry Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd said he would have nothing to do with Assocom.

Rejecting suggestions from Assocom on how to avert a national crisis following Sharpeville, Verwoerd warned Assocom, not to meddle in political issues and cancelled his attendance at the opening of the 1960 Assocom congress.

Although the statement which caused the furore was published at the time in an Assocom publication and received widespread Press comment, the bitter correspondence between the Prime Minister and Assocom was only revealed in 1986.

The upheaval was caused by Assocom's recommendations that:

☐ The Union should be developed as a single economic entity;

☐ Restrictions which prevent members of any race from conducting business operations in any part of the Union should be progressively relaxed with a view to their ultimate withdrawal.

Repealed

☐ The work reservation provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act should be repealed;

☐ Restrictions on the mobility of labour should be progressively relaxed;

☐ Trade unions should gradually become representative of workers of all races.

A letter from his assistant private secretary to Assocom's President D H G Mosenthal expressed Verwoerd's reaction.



H F VERWOERD

"The attempt to pass this off as purely business reasoning and non-political because of the character of your organisation, which says that it does not intervene in politics, makes no impression upon the Prime Minister or government.

"You have taken a political stand in this matter of colour policy as active opponents of government and the opposition Press recognised this and made the most of it.

"It will, therefore, serve as little good purpose to discuss your political statement with you as to discuss the same points of policy with an opposition party."

In his reply, Mosenthal emphasised that Assocom was essentially an economic organisation concerned with furthering the economic interests of its members and the country at large.

He stressed Assocom was strictly non-political:"This statement was made publicly because we regarded it as in the interests of SA that our views on the way in which the Union can achieve optimum economic progress should be known."

Differed

Verwoerd's private secretary replied:"The Prime Minister cannot agree that your association's statement was of an economic character. It was nothing less that a brief resume of United Party policy on points with which the government party has consistently and openly differed in principle and in practice.

"Those points were the subject of continual political controversy during the past 10 years at least ... no statements which try to persuade people that, when your chamber suddenly actively propagates these United Party policies, they suddenly become non-political and economical can be accepted as correct...

"The Prime Minister therefore regrets that your organisation, by this action, has disrupted the good relations which he and his government always sought to maintain with your association..."

It was some time before government and Assocom again had any meaningful contact Although Verwoerd did appoint two members of Assocom to his advisory council.

In the early Seventies, Prime Minister John Vorster was persuaded to open an Assocom congress, but warned Assocom to stick strictly to business.

Moment of truth for DP congress

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — Tension mounted in the Democratic Party last night as delegates poured into Durban for its potentially divisive leadership congress.

With both pro-troika and single-leader factions claiming victory last night, the moment of truth for the fledgling party has dawned.

Despite intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations yesterday on the leadership issue, it appears that no agreement has been reached on ways to defuse a potentially damaging debate at today's congress.

Last night the pro-troika camp was claiming "a tremendous last-minute surge for the triumvirate" but the single-leader faction were quietly confident of victory.

De Beer favoured

However, it appears that the majority of delegates still favour a single leader — and if this is the case, Dr Zach de Beer will be elected to the position.

But a significant number of DP delegates, particularly those who were members of Dr Denis Worrall's old Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's old National Democratic Movement, favour the retention of the troika arrangement.

They are supported by some members of the former Progressive Federal Party, such as the MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, who believe the continuation of the troika is the best way of welding unity and recruiting new support for the DP.

The leadership issue is the first item of discussion on the agenda of today's one-day congress, which is expected to be attended by more than 300 voting delegates and, with observers, by about 750 people.

It is clearly seen as the most important matter on the agenda and if it is resolved by voting along old party lines, this could be damaging to the DP.

Despite the tensions, it is unlikely these will lead to any significant splits and many delegates are hopeful that the party will close ranks, whatever decision is taken.

DP TROIKA TO STAY

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party congress today voted strongly in favour of retaining its "troika" leadership of Dr Zac de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall.

The vote count, after a tense debate, was 330 in favour of retaining it and 213 against. This was a considerable setback for the former Progressives who had strong hopes of getting former PFP leader Dr De Beer elected as the DP's single leader.

By DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

The mood at the DP's congress was overwhelmingly in favour of retaining the existing troika leadership.

Speakers supporting the election of a single leader were loudly barracked at the start of the debate and had to be restrained after Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) made a point of order calling on them to act as democrats and to "stop this behaviour".

Speaker after speaker urged the congress to retain the troika in order to broaden the appeal of the party to Afrikaners and to blacks and to avoid a divisive power struggle .

"The people with the safest seats are the people who are in favour of one leader. They do not know what it is like to be out there in the desert. There are thousands of Afrikaners hoping for a political home," said Mrs Freda van Rooyen of North Rand.

"If we elect one leader we will cut out a huge proportion of the voting public," said Mr Mark Lowe, a Durban city councillor and former member of the Progressive Federal Party.

"Our first priority is to win Afrikaner support," said Mr Chris du Preez who was the DP's candidate in Vereeniging, adding his support for the troika.

Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton) was loudly jeered at the start of the debate when he called for the election of a single leader, saying this had been the feedback he had received from Houghton where he said he received 10 000 votes. "We are going to have to bite the bullet," he said to slow clapping from the audience.

"Live democracy"

Dr De Beer and his supporters, who urged the party to "do the tough thing" of electing a single leader now rather than in the future, were swamped by the bulk of congress delegates.

Dr Worrall and Mr Malan both urged the party to retain the troika.

Mr Malan said the DP had to "live democracy" in practice through collective leadership .

Dr Worrall said: "We are not one party yet, but we are getting there."

He asked the delegates to consider where the appeals for a single leadership came from.

Speakers in favour of the troika pointed out that the strongest supporters of single leadership came from MPs representing safe DP seats.

to the State President for clemency for Jordaan and Saayman. — Staff Reporter.

ing an appeal against sentence.

DP decision to keep troika greeted by mixed reactions

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The Democratic Party sets out towards an uncertain future under the three-man leadership which the party has decided to retain for the next two years.

Opinion in the party about Saturday's decision to continue the troika leadership ranges from "disastrous" to "elated".

Some members are predicting the party will be paralysed by indecision under three leaders and others believe it is now poised to make big inroads into National Party support.

This is because they believe the congress delivered the message that the DP is a new party, not the old Progressive Federal Party in disguise.

A strong anti-PFP feeling dominated the congress and has left bitter feelings among members of the old PFP.

The anti-PFP mood was evident in the decision not to elect former PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer as single leader, in the election of mainly non-PFP members to the national executive and council, and in the heckling of stalwart Progs such as Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Some former PFP leaders were even complaining that the "Nats have taken over the DP" but there was no evidence of a breakaway by them.

DP Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg, supporter of Dr Denis Worrall and pro-troika lobbyist, said it was time to see the DP as much more than a political party.

Under three leaders the party had a much greater chance of talking to the leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC.

In a few years' time it was possible the DP could still have three leaders — one white, one black and one Indian.

Mr Momberg said he came back from the congress elated because it was clear that a new party had been established, different from any of its constituent parties.

He did not think it had been a bitter congress, as many believed.

But party insiders said last night that the troika would be "disastrous" administratively.

INDECISION

"Anyone who knows how hard it has been to get a coherent and consistent decision out of the three leaders would never have backed this decision," one said.

Critics of the troika predicted that the party would become paralysed by indecision and that continuing the three-man leadership would perpetuate the divisions within the party rather than overcome them.

They said the party had opted for the troika because it was still not integrated enough to opt for a single leader.

"But when will it ever be?" one asked.

● See Page 11.

Thumbs-down for the former Prog stalwarts

9/10/89 STAR 304A

The Democratic Party congress's decision on Saturday to continue with a three-man leadership was a slap in the face for the old Progs and a clear sign that the three strands of the party have not yet really merged, reports Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS

DURBAN — It was a bad day for the old Progs — especially the leaders. As someone said, by the end of the day, the congress floor was awash with true-blue blood.

Whether it was a good or a bad day for the Democratic Party, perhaps only time will tell.

What is clear is that the DP is now a very different party from the old Progressive Federal Party, if not in policy then at least in tone and spirit. If the DP's first ordinary congress in Durban on Saturday reflected the mood of its grassroots support — and one must assume it did — then the party's rank and file have given a distinct thumbs-down to the old PFP leadership.

By a margin of 330 to 213 they rejected the idea of a single leader, who would have been former PFP leader Zach de Beer, in favour of retaining the troika — the three-man leadership of Dr de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

Old Progs

Of the four members of the national executive, not one was an old Prog. Of the 10 members of the national council elected by congress, only four were ex-PFP.

The congress elected as national chairman former PFP member and Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe.

But that was only because he had come out firmly in favour of the troika — as a permanent arrangement.

Mr Malan's former National Democratic Movement — the smallest constituent party which merged to form the DP — seemed to be the victor.

Of the four executive members elected, three were former NDM members — Dr Esther Lategan, Mr Pieter Schoeman and Professor Sampie Terreblanche.



All for one? . . . Dr Zach de Beer (left), Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall attempt to paper over the deep divisions that made themselves felt at the Democratic Party congress. What became clear was that a vote for a single leader was a vote for Dr de Beer and thus for the old PFP.

The fourth — Mr Pat Rogers from King William's Town — is a former member of Dr Worrall's Independent Party.

If Mrs Helen Suzman had been there — which she wasn't — she would undoubtedly have repeated the quip she made at the DP's April launch.

"The biggest hijack since Entebbe — and this time we have no Jews to rescue us."

And another old Prog muttered more darkly: "The Nats already had the Government. Now they've got the opposition too. Unless you're Afrikaans and not an old Prog, you don't have a chance anymore."

The mood of the congress hit young Mr Tony Leon — the Prog whizzkid from Houghton — like a freak Arctic wave.

He was one of the first speakers and in his usual spunky style went straight onto the attack.

. "I find it an extraordinary suggestion that anyone should consider continuing with the status quo . . ." he said.

And the congress jeered. Undeterred, Mr Leon retorted. "I've been heckled by Nats before," and that really set them off.

Later Mr Leon thought he'd let them know who they were dealing with and said he had 10 000 Houghton votes behind him.

That was the clincher. Whether Mr Leon completely misread the congress or intended provoking it, is not clear.

But with that remark he lost it completely. The rich Anglo/Jewish Johannesburg northern suburbs were as far from the nerve centre of this congress as possible.

The locus of this congress was somewhere in the platteland. And the voice of the congress was Mrs Frieda van Rooyen, a delegate from North Rand.

"I'm an Afrikaans speaker from the platteland," she told congress, "and I notice that's it's those with the safest seats in Parliament and the strongest power bases who are for the single leader.

"You don't know what it's like to be out there in the political desert trying to persuade people to join.

"There are thousands of Afrikaners out there who think like we do and long for a political home but are still scared. For them we must keep the troika."

Prog stalwarts Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Harry Schwarz, Mr Peter Soal, Mr Roger Hully and Dr de Beer himself stood up one by one to plead for a single leader.

Mr Eglin was most convincing. If the congress did not plump for a single leader it would merely be postponing a difficult decision until a time when it would be even more difficult — like before an election.

By continuing with the leaders of the three factions in the party, the DP would perpetuate the symbolism of division.

And Mr Schwarz warned that maintaining three leaders would exaggerate the ideological differences in the party because these differences would inevitably be exploited by the leaders to promote themselves.

But the congress spurned their advice and dismissed them as prima donnas.

Paradox

If the troika decision was bad for them, was it also bad for the DP?

That was hard to say. There was a paradox in the congress. Though it soundly defeated the attempt by the old Progs to wrest control, everyone agreed that if it had come to electing a single leader, Dr de Beer would still have been the choice.

And most delegates — who were chosen on the basis of one for every 200 members — must have been former PFP members.

Yet it was obvious that most of them either agreed with the non-PFP delegates that the DP could not afford a PFP image, or feared a breakaway by the Malan and Worrall factions if Dr de Beer was chosen.

Either way, the clear message was that the DP has not yet really welded into a single force.

Perhaps the political developments of the next two years will also test the wisdom of those — like Mr Tian van der Merwe and the Malanites — who believe the DP's "collective leadership" should be permanent because it is an "expression of confidence in the politics of consensus and reconciliation".

'Prog' old guard hit hard as DP 'troika' triumphs

Cape Times 9/10/89 30/4

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MOVES by Democratic Party newcomers to forge a new identity for the fledgling party received a major boost at the weekend as the "Prog" old guard took a hammering at the party's crucial Durban congress.

First, powerful elements of the old PFP establishment were convincingly defeated in their bid to have Dr Zach de Beer installed as the DP's sole leader.

Then delegates to the one-day congress confirmed their determination to stamp a new image and personality on the party by electing predominantly pro-troika candidates, including a number of new faces, to the DP's decision-making bodies.

On the one level, the congress represented a victory for DP co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, who favour the continuation of the collective leadership structure . . . for time being at least.

Plattelanders

The two leaders also managed to avoid a straight contest for a single leader with Dr De Beer, which the former PFP leaders would probably would have won, and thus live to fight another day should the party opt to dissolve the troika at a later stage.

On a second level, the groups who succeeded in putting their imprint on the congress — and possibly the future direction of the party — were the plattelanders, Afrikaans-speakers, the youth, former Nationalists and advocates of co-operation with extra-parliamentary political groupings.

Another feature of the congress was the extent to which DP members were increasingly prepared to vote across old party lines, both on issues like the leadership structure and for leadership positions in the party.

Despite the lengthy and potentially divisive debate on the leadership issue, which served to open some old wounds, the vast majority of the 543 voting and 400 non-voting delegates appeared to accept the outcome of the pathbreaking congress in a good spirit.

However, there were a few private complaints from disgruntled former Progs, such as: "The Nats have taken over the party" and "You have to be an

To page 2

From page 1

DP Cape Times 9/10/89 30/4

ex-Nat to get anywhere in the party".

There were also some public expressions of dissatisfaction at the way delegates reacted at the congress.

When the MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, was loudly barracked at the start of the debate for his single-leader stand, he enraged a number of delegates by retorting: "I've been heckled by Nats before."

Later Mr Harry Schwarz, who emerged on the losing side in both the leadership debate and the contest for national chairman of the DP, raised eyebrows when he told congress: "Some of the attitudes expressed by people at this congress are utterly unacceptable."

However, Dr De Beer was magnanimous in defeat, praising delegates for the way they handled the leadership debate and urging his disappointed supporters to accept the democratic decision of congress.

"Individuals are not important: The party and what its stands for is," Dr De Beer said in his closing address.

Earlier, Dr De Beer said during the lively debate that a continuation of the troika would "signal to the outside world that unification of the party is incomplete".

The final vote was 330-213 in favour of continuing with the troika.

● DP set for growth — Page 9

DP set for new growth phase

Cape Times 9/10/89 304A

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party was about to enter the next phase in its growth and development, the party's three co-leaders said at the weekend.

After a lengthy and potentially divisive leadership debate at the weekend, Mr Wynand Malan pledged his loyalty to his co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall.,

He said all the party's delegates should strive to act as "leaders and statesmen" in the communities as the party entered a new growth phase.

Mr Malan said earlier that two major challenges faced the party now that the election was over. The first was to extend the party's organisation in new areas and consolidate structures in existing areas.

The second was to convey the party's message in such a manner that the "tens of thousands" of DP suppporters who voted for the National Party in September out of fear for the Conservative Party would in future vote for the DP.

Dent in invincible NP

Dr Worrall said the DP was entering a new phase in its development as "a new party with a new personality and a new identity".

He said that at the beginning of the year the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement were "little parties meandering to nowhere".

While the DP could have done better in the election the five-month-old party had "done enought to dent the invincibility of the NP.

"The NP went into the election with a parliamentary majority of 80 seats. It came out of the election with a majority of 20 seats.

"We campaigned for a 'hung' Assembly. We failed to meet tht goal by only nine seats."

Dr De Beer said the DP had reached the next phase its expansion and growth in which the common destiny and interdependence of all South Africans would feature prominently.

Dr De Beer said the party had not yet made "a massive breakthrough" into thr ranks of its political opponents and that "thus far we have consolidated our natural supporters rather than converted masses of our opponents".

One of the highest immediate priorities facing the party was to raise funds to help broaden the party's base.

DP to develop links with outside groups

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party has firmly committed itself to building up links with extra-parliamentary organisations, both in single-issue campaigns and by participation in local democratic structures.

At the party's national congress here at the weekend, delegates overwhelmingly supported a Western Cape resolution calling for the development of these links and the appointment of full-time staff to implement the programme.

The DP candidate in Maitland in the September 6 election, Dr Esther Lategan, who proposed the resolution, said the party's politics was not just about the elections.

The challenge was to mobilise South Africans for an inclusive South African democracy for every South African.

A broad spectrum of activities had to be developed to promote this aim, including participation in specific programmes, such as education and environmental affairs, and in local community structures, such as the Paarl Democratic Forum.

components

193 MANUFACTURING - Non-metalic mineral products
E.g. cement, bricks, stone-crushing. But for quarrying See: MINING - Other

194 MANUFACTURING - Paper and products

195 MANUFACTURING - Printing

New council, new leader and new role

Staff
9/18/89

Far from being phased out, the President's Council, under the leadership of former Minister of Health Willie van Niekerk, seems set to play a major role in the State President's reform programme. Details are likely to be announced next month, reports MICHAEL MORRIS.

South Africa's new President's Council under former Cabinet Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk, is expected to play a leading role in President F W de Klerk's drive for reform.

It is apparent that the President's Council is to be entrusted with a major reform-related project. (30cm)

Details are expected to be outlined when the council meets for its next sitting on November 13. The State President will address the council three days later.

This emerged in an interview with former Health Minister Dr van Niekerk after his election as chairman of the council.

He said he was not in a position to divulge details of the council's agenda until its meeting next month and he would not be drawn on recent reports that the Government intended bringing blacks into the council or converting it ultimately into a non-political "constitutional court".

But he added: "We are going to tackle an important project which will be announced in the near future. This council will deliver something important ... that you will see. I feel very optimistic."

He indicated on the day of his election that reform was the essence of the new council's agenda.

He said in the interview: "We will have to work fast because steps need to be taken urgently. We need to get things done and show that we are getting them done."

He acknowledged that when the previous President's Council had approved legislation which had been rejected by one or both of the junior Houses — the Representatives or Delegates — it had been criticised for merely "rubber-stamping" Government policy.

"I do not want to say too much about the old President's Council. This is, after all, a new council and I would want the public to judge us on what we do. I think that would be fair."

He rejected suggestions that the downgrading of all but four members to part-time status reflected Government lack of interest.

"This was merely an exercise to cut down on Government spending and in no way should it be deduced that we feel the President's Council is not important."

Asked whether he was disappointed to have been moved from the Cabinet, Dr van Niekerk said: "No. The fact is that I was the only one with experience in the President's Council. I think it is going to be exciting and I believe we will have an important role to play."

Meeting will 'test FW'

LUSAKA - The outlawed African National Congress said over the weekend that this week's meeting between South African President FW de Klerk and clergymen would test the sincerity of his promise to abolish racial segregation.

De Klerk said on Friday that he had agreed to meet anti-apartheid clerics Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Reverend Frank Chikane at their request to discuss ways of opening dialogue between the state and its oponents.

"The meeting itself is not an indication that De Klerk is serious," top ANC official Mr James Stuart said in Lusaka.

"They (the clergymen) are testing his avowed public statements that he is ready to enter into some negotiating process to dismantle apartheid" he added.

De Klerk has promised to give the voteless black majority a limited role in government over the next five years.

The three clergymen - the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Reformed Churches leader and the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches - have been pressing the government to talk with movements such as the ANC, the main guerilla group fighting white rule.

Asked whether the clergymen had consulted the ANC before arranging the meeting with De Klerk, Stuart added: "They are National leaders in their own right."

He said Tutu wanted negotiation to start and would try to "remove the remaining whatever obstacles there may be in the way of starting negotiations." Sapa-reuter.

Big business calls on detainees and begin negotiations to release FW

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk has been advised by big business to release political critics held in detention if they are needed at black/white negotiations aimed at a new constitution.

The advice comes from the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a special article in its latest business review headlined: "We wait, Mr President."

Assocom sets out the argument: "The President has repeated time and again that his policy is to negotiate with the representatives of all the groups who make up our complex society.

"Here we hope that his programme is not restricted to group leaders whom he chooses but that he will boldly accept leaders whom the groups themselves select.

Action now

"And if they are in detention they should be released to participate in these negotiations, leading to a new and equitable constitution."

Negotiations took time, but it was imperative that forward-looking action was seen to be happening now.

"All talk and no action will irrevocably damage the image that Mr De Klerk is so carefully creating for his government and himself," says the article.

"There is much that can be done immediately to ease the tensions which exist in our society as a result of the racially humiliating legislation of the past and the emergency regulations, which in effect flow from most of those laws.

"Overseas perceptions would be less harsh if these immediate steps were taken.

"The more strident demands for further sanctions against this country might be muted, relieving some of the economic pressures from which we are currently suffering.

"And foreign creditors might agree to defer the repayment of debts which divert resources that should be employed to finance economic growth and infrastructural development."

But foreign influences could not be held responsible for all of the economic pressures and distortions from which the private business sector was suffering. They were largely of South Africa's own making — or rather the result of government mismanagement and blurred policy definitions.

"People in business are pragmatists — they are not beguiled by shimmering visions of the future," says Assocom. "Their philosophy is based on realities — on action not promises, on facts not fantasies."

Given hope

If the State President hoped to secure the support of the business community, he had to move forward not only on socio-political issues but also on economic issues.

"The actions of Mr De Klerk since the election results were declared, and the statements he has made, give hope that South Africa will at last move along a road leading to real and constructive change.

"The overall riding consideration is the timescale. Mr De Klerk must be seen to be a man of action. There must be movement along his chosen route, without any road blocks.

"One cannot call indefinitely for patience."

Soares to share SA experience with EC leaders

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

The President of Portugal, Dr Mario Soares — the first head of state from Europe to visit South Africa in many years — is to brief European Community leaders on the reform situation in South Africa, he told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

President Soares yesterday held talks lasting 80 minutes at the State Guest House with President de Klerk. Also present was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The first European leader to hear at first-hand about South and southern Africa will be President Mitterand, of France. The Portuguese leader begins a State visit to France in a matter of days after his visit to SA.

He has been here to visit his son, Dr Joao Soares, who was critically injured in an air crash in southern Angola nearly two weeks ago. Dr Soares is in the H F Verwoerd Hospital, in Pretoria.

Asked whether he had received any assurances in regard to the Commonwealth heads of state meeting, which starts in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, tomorrow President Soares said that "no dates or calendar" was mentioned during his talks with President de Klerk.

"I have no pretensions about coming here and in giving my opinion. I know how difficult and complex the situation is in South Africa.

"I have spoken to President de Klerk and to the Foreign Minister about what we in Europe think is happening in South Africa. I support the policy of reform which President de Klerk has promised and support the fact that President de Klerk has promised to end apartheid."

Mr de Klerk said that President Soares had not been "prescriptive as to what we should do. South Africa must find its own solution, and that solution must be homemade. South Africa does not live in a void.

"We want to break out of the isolation which some forces are trying to force on us. I have used this opportunity to tell President Soares of our philosophy and our vision of the future."

Both Mr de Klerk and President Soares described their talks as "cordial and at the same time positive — "we spoke the language of frankness," is how President Soares described it.

President Soares told reporters that his son had been "very near to death" when he had arrived in SA.

He praised "the proficiency of the hospital, the competence of the doctors and nurses, and the tenderness shown to my son and to the other occupants of the aircraft."

President Soares said his son was now conscious — "he cannot speak but at least can communicate by writing.

According to hospital sources Dr Soares, jun, is likely to remain in hospital for a considerable period of time.

Wimpie says ANC is ready to compromise

STAR 10/10/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Rand Afrikaans University professor Dr Willem de Klerk believes the ongoing discussions between South African academics and the African National Congress could play a vital role in paving the way for negotiations between the Government and the banned organisation.

In his first interview since the recent meeting between prominent academics and a top ANC delegation in London, Dr de Klerk said a range of burning questions had been discussed — to a "very positive" effect.

Dr de Klerk, brother of President F W de Klerk, disclosed that he had been involved over the past two years in discussions between academics and the ANC. This was his third encounter with an ANC delegation.

"The discussions are confidential, thorough and positive. The ANC is prepared to make strong compromises. They openly say that their documents are not the holy Gospel."

Dr de Klerk, a political commentator and founder member of the Democratic Party, indirectly dismissed speculation that he was keeping mum about his ANC contact because it was perceived as an embarrassment to the Government.

He said: "I will continue to be part of the South African group. In this way I am doing something for my country and for politics."

He said the academics had "no direct intention" to play a mediating role between the Government and the ANC.

They did not want to interfere with the Government's schedule or actions.

Asked whether he would discuss his experiences with his brother, he said: "Yes, I will. I am making my experiences and viewpoints, as continually polished through the discussions, available to anyone."

He refused to reveal the venue of the London meeting, saying he did not want to "embarrass our host".

Leon brushes off drubbing (30cm)

SMTR 19/10/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Democratic Party "wunderkind" Mr Tony Leon, newly elected MP for Houghton, is still smarting from the drubbing he took at the DP congress in Durban, but he's bouncing back.

Commenting on the heavy heckling he faced when he put in a vigorous plea for Dr Zach de Beer as single leader of the party — a view which placed him with the minority — Mr Leon said: "This incident will not keep me down. I just have to bite the bullet."

Though he was on the losing side in the 330-to-213 vote, he said: "I strongly believe that dissenting views should be encouraged."

Mr Leon was jeered when he told the congress: "I find it an extraordinary suggestion that anyone should consider continuing the status quo."

Losing his cool, Mr Leon responded sarcastically: "I've been heckled by Nats before."

Then he tried the note of authority, reminding his fellow-Democrats that he had 10 000 Houghton votes behind him. That brought even louder sneers.

Yesterday Mr Leon said philosophically: "Well, last year I received a standing ovation at the PFP's disbanding congress. This year I was heckled. That's politics."

He had accepted the decision to retain the leadership troika of Dr de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

"I'll go along with that decision. Besides, I'm a democrat," he said, indicating that defeat in one battle did not mean his retreat from the political war zone.

DP critical of Nat appointments

Many who lost on election day rewarded

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Many aspirant or seasoned politicians did not see their dreams turn to dust with their defeat in this year's general election. They have been rewarded by being elected indirectly to Parliament, nominated by the State President as MPs or appointed to the President's Council.

Because of its dominant position in Parliament, the National Party can appoint or nominate many more party loyals to prime positions than the opposition parties.

Inappropriate

Commented Democratic Party spokesman Mr Peter Soal: "The opposition parties tend to bring back quality people who did not make it at the polls or people who have not stood for election but are assets to the party.

"The Nats, however, reward good service by putting some utterly inappropriate people into the President's Council or in Parliament."

Indirectly elected and nominated MPs receive the same salaries as elected MPs, about R70 000 a year including perks. In terms of the new President's Council system — 56 of the 60 members will in future serve on a part-time basis — part-time members get a salary of R15 000 a year.

The NP has five indirectly elected MPs, the Conservative Party two and the DP one. The State President nominates another four.

Among the NP's indirectly elected MPs are Mr Glenn Babb, who put up a spirited fight against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg; Mr David Graaff, who lost his seat against the DP in Wynberg; and Mr Piet Swanepoel, who lost his Kuruman seat to the CP.

Three of the four nominated MPs suffered defeat at the polls. They are Dr Sampie Golden (Wonderboom), Dr Willem Odendaal (Sasolburg) and Mr Danie Schutte (Maritzburg North). The fourth, Mr Alex van Breda, did not stand for election.

In terms of the constitution, the NP as the majority party in the House of Assembly may designate 20 President's Council members.

Many of those have been filled by unsuccessful general election candidates, including Mrs Anne Routier (who lost in Bryanston), Mr Tjol Lategan (defeated in Lydenburg), Mr Attie Grobler (ousted in North Rand) and Mr Craig Williamson (twice unsuccessful at the polls).

The DP indirectly elected Mr Andre de Wet, who lost in East London City, while one of its three President's Council members, Mr David Gant, stood for election but lost.

The CP's indirectly elected MPs are former MP Mr Daan van der Merwe, who lost in Gezina, and unsuccessful Bloemfontein East candidate, Mr Francois Pauw.

The party's President's Council members were all defeated at the polls — Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (Krugersdorp), Dr Servaas Latsky (Alberton) and Mr C M Oosthuysen (Sunday's River).

Get on with it, FW is told (30/4A)

10/10/89

By Michael Chester STAR

Big business has advised President F W de Klerk to release political critics held in detention if they are needed at black/white negotiations aimed at a new constitution.

The advice comes from the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a special article in its latest business review headlined: "We wait, Mr President."

Assocom sets out the argument: "The President has repeated time and again that his policy is to negotiate with the representatives of all the groups who make up our complex society.

RELEASED

"Here we hope that his programme is not restricted to group leaders whom he chooses but that he will boldly accept leaders whom the groups themselves select.

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PRESSURES

But foreign influences could not be held responsible for all of the economic pressures and distortions from which the private business sector was suffering. They were largely of the Government's own making.

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If the State President hoped to secure the support of the business community, he had to move forward not only on socio-political issues but also on economic ones.

Team with Cabinet ties in secret talks today outside London

BROEDERS TO MEET ANC



PROFESSOR MIKE DE VRIES

Annette and Ashley scrum down for new TV drama — on rugby!



By DRIES van HEERDEN

A SECRET meeting between top members of the Broederbond and ANC leaders is to take place today at an undisclosed venue in England.

Among the Broeders expected to meet ANC top brass face-to-face are men with close ties to new Constitutional Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who has been given the task of spearheading negotiations with blacks over a future constitution.

Sources said yesterday participants may include:

- Stellenbosch University rector Professor Mike de Vries;
- The newly appointed editor of Die Burger, official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, Mr Ebbe Dommisse,
- Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk;
- Stellenbosch professors Willie Esterhuyse and Sampie Terreblanche;
- The chairman of the Deciduous Fruit Board, Mr Louis Kriel.

Among the ANC officials at the talks will be Chief of Information Mr Thabo Mbeki, a moderate who is widely tipped as successor to the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo.

Senior

Mr Mbeki, who cannot be quoted in SA, made a number of conciliatory remarks in a recent TV debate on the BBC. He has also hosted previous meetings between the ANC and Afrikaner cultural and academic leaders.

Some of the South Africans are said to be in Britain for a meeting organised by the Jubilee group — a London-based religious organisation which has in the past been actively involved in seeking reconciliation in South Africa.

AWB HAS SECRET SUICIDE SQUAD, BOASTS ACTIVIST



FOLLOWER ... Leonard Veenendal with Eugene Terre Blanche, who is said to call him "my little fanatic" Picture: JUHAN KUUS

By HERMAN JANSEN

AN AWB ACTIVIST arrested in Namibia following an armed attack on a United Nations base has boasted that a secret suicide squad within the organisation had plans to undertake death missions.

The man, Leonard Veenendal 23, a Johannesburg swimming pool attendant, appeared in court in Otjiwarongo this week with four others in connection with the August 10 machine-gun attack on a UN base in Outjo. A security guard was killed in the attack.

Yesterday the police officer investigating the case disclosed that a cache of arms had been discovered in Namibia.

"We found R1 and R4 rifles, rifle grenades and ammunition which were apparently earmarked for future attacks," said Chief Inspector Charl Human of the SWA Police.

"If we hadn't uncovered this arsenal, more people would have died."

Meanwhile, the Sunday Times was told this week of a diabolical "counter-revolutionary" plan allegedly hatched by members of the AWB's so-called security arm, Aquila.

Award-winning photo-journalist Mr Juhan Kuus revealed that he had been told by Mr Veenendal, the AWB leader in Johannesburg, that there had been a split in Aquila between the "intelligentsia" and the "warriors".

"I spent a lot of time with Veenendal and I became convinced that he was very serious when he said the militants would die for their beliefs," Mr Kuus said yesterday.

"I have been warned, as recently as Friday, not to repeat what Veenendal and other members of the AWB told me over a period of weeks. But I believe the time has come to talk." Mr Kuus said that during a two-hour

□ To Page 2

heading negotiations with blacks over a future constitution.

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Some of the South Africans are said to be in Britain for a meeting organised by the Jubilee group — a London-based religious organisation which has in the past been actively involved in seeking reconciliation in South Africa.

For Professor De Vries and Mr Dommisse it will be their first encounter with the exiled organisation.

The venue is being kept a close secret but sources said yesterday it will probably be in the English countryside outside London.

The meeting is of particular significance because of the Broederbond members' close ties with senior Ministers, particularly Dr Viljoen, at a time when the new De Klerk government is embarking on fresh attempts to get influential black leaders involved in the negotiating process.

Although it is not an official delegation of the Broederbond, the fact that so many senior members of the organisation are expected to attend is seen as highly significant.

Passports

For Stellenbosch rector Professor De Vries, a meeting will be of particular importance. Earlier this year he was involved in a public rumpus with members of his Students' Representative Council who travelled to Lusaka to meet the ANC.

He was also, in 1986, the head of the university when then President P W Botha threatened to withdraw the passports of Matie students about to leave on a visit to Zambia.

Professor De Vries is on a two-month leave of absence from Stellenbosch and has been in Europe for the past few weeks.

Mr Dommisse, appointed editor of Die Burger last month, is the third senior executive of the NP-supporting Nasionale Pers group to meet members of the ANC.

Earlier Mr Hennie van Deventer, editor of Die Volksblad, and Dr Piet Muller, editor of the magazine Insig, had similar encounters.

But Die Burger's status as mouthpiece of the NP in the Cape makes Mr Dommisse's visit the more significant. In the recent election campaign Die Burger published strident leading articles criticising members of the Democratic Party for their so-called "ANC-connections".

Professor Esterhuyse, a professor of philosophy and ethics, is considered to be very influential "behind the scenes" in influencing government thinking

Reached for comment in London last night, Professor Esterhuyse refused to confirm or deny that he was to meet ANC members. "My movements are my own concern and I don't have to report to anybody," he said

According to sources most of the team left South Africa for London on Friday and are expected back early this week, at the latest on Wednesday.

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Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Gaz. Times 11/10/89 (304A)

DP platteland speaker made biggest impact at congress

THE speaker who made the most decisive impact on the Democratic Party's crucial leadership debate at the weekend was someone the vast majority of the 900 delagates had never heard of before the congress.

Mrs Freda van Rooyen entered the three-hour debate after a move to limit discussion to the 90 minutes originally earmarked for the debate had been rejected because, as one speaker put it, "So far we have heard only the prima donnas (MPs and other elected representatives), not the grassroots members."

Mrs Van Rooyen, a North Rand delegate who described herself as representing Afrikaans-speaking plattelanders, inadvertently gained the attention of delegates by crashing off the back of the stage before she made it to the microphone.

Once she had recovered her feet she told amused delegates that she was definitely not a prima donna, "because before I made an entrance I made one heck of an exit".

Her most telling observation, which earned her the loudest applause of the congress and cries of "Well said", was that the most ardent supporters of the single leadership concept were the party heavyweights in the safest urban seats.

The succinct remark, rich in implication, cut through almost two hours of rhetoric and intellectual gymnastics and captured the essence of what the pro-troika faction had been thinking but unable to express as poignantly.

On one level, it succeeded in casting a net of suspicion around the motives of the entire single-leader campaign, suggesting as it did that its adherents were bent of promoting sectional interests at the expense of the common good of the party.

On another level, it underlined the urgency felt by many of the newcomers for the party to grow rapidly beyond its traditional areas of electoral support by broadening its appeal and forging a fresh identity.

On a third level, it amounted to a demand for the party hierarchy to pay greater attention to input of the rank-and-file members whose needs and experiences might often differ from the establishment in a fast-growing party.

As Mrs Van Rooyen went on to say: "They (the MPs with the safest seats in largely English-speaking constituencies) do not know what it is like to be out there in the desert hungering for a political home."

The mood was that the party, if it wished to grow and meet new challenges, had to take risks by dispensing with traditional ways of doing and seeing.

As such, the troika leader who had the greatest success in consolidating his views and status was Mr Wynand Malan.

Although many of the DP rank-and-file have not yet mastered the intricacies of Mr Malan's vision of a "flex-flow system" which might serve as an integrative model capable of creating the space needed to accommodate the differing value systems operating in South Africa, most of the delegates had a clear grasp of the merits of collective leadership.

The extent to which Mr Malan's supporters, numerically the smallest element when the DP was founded six months ago, made their mark on the new party was perhaps most graphically illustrated by the election of candidates to positions on the party's decision-making bodies.

Former National Democratic Movement members captured most of the 14 positions on the national executive and the national council, while ex-Progs managed only three. Many senior former PFP office-bearers failed to win positions.

Former members of the Independent Party, apart from Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Jannie Momberg, played a low-key role and were not elected to new positions.

It was clear that while divisions still existed in the DP, old party lines were becoming blurred and the new party was evolving a distinctive personality.

Commonwealth has 'little faith in FW'

SIPHO NGCOBO (304A

THE Commonwealth Secretariat believes that President F W de Klerk's peaceful handling of anti-apartheid protests cannot be sustained for long and that his post-election promises are a commitment he cannot translate into actions.

In an interview with Business Day in London at the weekend, Commonwealth deputy secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said the organisation was not impressed with De Klerk's promises as Pretoria had a history of unfulfilled promises.

"De Klerk's professions of a genuinely changing South Africa is a commitment that the De Klerk regime would not be able to translate into action.

They do not have the capacity and the ve to tolerate defiance campaigns, par-ularly protest marches," he said.

lowever, the Commonwealth would wait and see how De Klerk's intentions would translate into genuine political change. BDay 11/10/89

"One day De Klerk will change his mind and use force to stop the marches. And that will be when the whole thing blows up on his face," he said.

The Commonwealth did not believe De Klerk's changes would include one-man-one-vote.

French play down their indaba on SA

B/Pcm 11/10/89 ROBERT GENTLE (88) 304A

LONDON — The Danielle Mitterrand Foundation in Paris yesterday broke a week of silence over the planned indaba on SA by finally issuing a formal Press communique confirming the event.

The communique revealed little that was not already known, and sought to play down Press speculation on exactly when the indaba was to take place and who would be attending. The media would be informed about this "in good time", it said.

The communique also seemed to downplay any suggestion that the French were wresting the initiative on SA from any government, and stressed that the indaba was merely a continuation of a process already under way for a number of years.

The foundation was merely interested in allowing "well-intentioned people to get together to try and work out their problems".

Some observers saw the formal statement as a thinly-veiled attempt to persuade certain key participants who distanced themselves from the event to reconsider.

Thatcher best as 'honest broker'

STAR 11/10/89 (KBS) (304A)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has delivered a strong plea to Mrs Thatcher and her government to intervene in South Africa.

He has in mind an "honest broker" role for Mrs Thatcher in leading the drive for change.

His appeal, made at a fringe meeting at the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool yesterday, is expected to please the British Premier, who is known to cherish hopes of taking a more active part in solving the South African question.

Chief Buthelezi believed the prospects of the politics of negotiation getting off the ground to dismantle apartheid and establish a just society had never been greater in the more than 40 years of National Party rule.

GROUNDSWELL DEMAND

"There really is a groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa into a multi-party, multiracial, Western-type democracy," he said. "It is because the ideal of the majority of black South Africans is to evolve towards the kind of democracy which Great Britain would really applaud, that gives added importance to Mrs Thatcher as an honest broker.

"History demands it.

"But more importantly, it is because the return of South Africa as a favoured state amongst Britain and its Commonwealth allies will be judged as the best for all by all that we turn to Mrs Thatcher and ask her to take the lead."

NP may pass by-election by

11/10/84 EDYTH BULBRING (304A)

THE NP has not decided if it will contest the Highlands North by-election, Turfontein MP Andre Fourie said yesterday.

Highlands North and Berea in Johannesburg were left vacant when DP leader in the council Tony Leon and Berea councillor Lester Fuchs were elected to Parliament.

In Berea's by-elections DP candidate attorney Sias Reyneke will take on Hillbrow businessman Taffy Whyte.

Council sources in the NP said the DP's Highlands North candidate Clive Stevens would romp home as the seat, which falls within the Houghton constituency, was won last year by Leon with a 1 599 majority.

Fourie said there was still time for the NP to come to a decision as the nomination court sat on October 20. The by-elections will be held on November 8.

FW gets a memo

● From page 1

and unbanning, political organisations;
5. Releasing all political prisoners; and
6. Reprieving all those sentenced to death.

Chikane told the conference: "We made it clear we need results. Without results we can't have negotiations."

If the Government failed to show results after Wednesday's meeting, it would "discredit the method of talking," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said there had been a "far better atmosphere" than during his last encounter with De Klerk. While Mr de Klerk showed concern, he did not come up with specific undertakings.

The three had not met President de Klerk as negotiators, but had gone to "help create a climate conducive to negotiations by identifying key items the Government might undertake."

Meanwhile, State President FW de Klerk last night said South Africans needed, through dialogue, to get away from talking past each other.

Addressing a Press conference at the Union Buildings after almost three hours of talks between him, the Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and three prominent church leaders, he said one of the biggest problems in the country was mistrust.

The time had come for the bona fides of his Government to be accepted, the President said.

His Government was committed to building a new South Africa in which all would have full rights, with protection for minorities.

The three church leaders - Archbishop Desmond Tutu, archbishop of Cape Town; the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches - last week asked Mr de Klerk for yesterday's meeting.

Archbishop Tutu and Mr Chikane held a separate Press conference at St Laban's Cathedral after the talks, which lasted almost three times as long as originally scheduled.

304A

Decisions for DP – and not just about the leader, either

Now that the election celebrations are over, the Democrats have some hard talking to do at their congress. Will they shed the old PFP image? And will there be retrenchments in the leadership department? Tomorrow will tell.



Zach de Beer

THE Democratic Party that meets tomorrow in Durban is a party in flux, with various issues under scrutiny.

For example, a decision taken earlier this year by the DP's national board on the leadership question could eventually play a pivotal role in influencing the character and support base of the party.

For at its meeting in Cape Town on May 31 the party's board withstood mounting pressure from big business to disband its leadership troika before the election.

Party insiders said at the time that potential donors were using a R2-million "carrot" in a bid to pressure the party to unify under a single leader before the September 6 poll.

The party's decision not to bow to outside pressure from big business — despite its urgent need for funds ahead of the election — had important consequences.

On the one hand, the troika arrangement allowed the fledgling party to broaden its appeal well beyond the traditional support base of the old Progressive Federal Party.

On the other, the new party, in line with its changing profile, tapped a broader base for the finances it needed for the election and general development of the party in the months ahead.

Significantly, the DP ended up with a much broader base of small donors than had been the case with the PFP, while the number of large corporate donors was smaller.

In addition, many of the individual businessmen were less generous than in the past with their donations.

As one DP staffer put it: "A lot more of the big guys nailed their colours to the National Party mast than ever before."

Larger donors were apparently happy to support the PFP while there was no possibility that the party might come to power.

However, faced with the prospect of the party holding the balance of power in a hung Parliament, a number of big donors "came out of the Nat closet".

A comparison of the advertising budgets of the DP and the NP during the election suggests that the ruling party was awash with cash.

The DP says it spent roughly R1-million in newspaper and movie ads. The NP is conservatively estimated to have spent R25-million, but party representatives have declined to confirm or deny this figure.

While it would be simplistic — and misleading — to suggest that there has been a parting of the ways between big business and the DP, there is a more open questioning of the role of big business among the rank-and-file party supporters.

This was particularly evident in the run-up to the election as somewhat bemused DP candidates were asked at election meetings to explain what the party planned to do to stop big corporations ripping off the hard-pressed "little guy".

Voters at DP meetings increasingly wanted to know what the party felt about the continued concentration of economic power in the hands of a few large corporations, and the growth of monopolies and cartels.

There were also questions about how the DP's free enterprise stand would impact on the ability of large corporations to continue showing huge profit margins while the "ordinary" consumers were battling with spiralling prices.

More than ever before, there were calls during the election for the parliamentary opposition to the left of government to fashion itself as a "consumer friendly" pressure group, acting in concert with unions and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

Economic and consumer-related issues are likely to play an even bigger role in the DP in future as the party expands its base beyond white voters to often less well-heeled sections of the community.

However, in view of the row surrounding "participation" in the past few months, the party is likely to tread cautiously in this area.

There are significant differences of opinion within the DP on what approach the party should follow when it comes to expanding into coloured, Indian and African areas.

Arguments revolve around questions of finance, infrastructure, the physical safety of members trying to break new ground in a hostile environment and, perhaps most importantly, the need to develop common strategies or at least a *modus vivendi* with extra-parliamentary political groupings.

But as early as this weekend's DP congress in Durban, people classified coloured, black and particularly Indian could play a decisive role in how the party decides to handle the leadership question, among others.

Indeed, the DP has significantly more signed-up Indian than white members in the Natal coast region where the congress is being held.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall may well come to rue the day he spoke out in Durban against DP participation in the House of Delegates election.

'Bridging the gap of mistrust'

Argus 12/10/89

304A

The President

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has announced a series of consultations with South African leaders, declaring his door open to all those who sought peace But he refused last night to be pinned down to timetables and specifics.

He said after almost three hours of his first major talks in office with black church leaders at the Union Buildings yesterday that no government embarking on changes of this magnitude could adhere to specific timeframes.

"We are involved in a step-by-step process Each step must be carefully considered," he said at the end of talks with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane originally scheduled to last about 45 minutes.

One step would determine next, he said. "We will be with black leaders on the possible spectrum," he said, listing black businessmen as well.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied to the meeting by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gernt Viljoen, said he would take the six-point memorandum given him by the clergymen as "an input" amongst others in the phase of dialogue in which South Africa was now involved.

Yesterday's meeting would be one of a series, he said, there were many others in the South African community with viewpoints. The Government was not prepared to consult just one or two, and would canvass the views of political and church leaders.

This process would involve Dr Viljoen, and himself on occasions, and would be addressing the obstacles to negotiation stipulated in the churchmen's memorandum, concerns which had been raised in many other quarters.

Government would be seeing church leaders of various denominations in the "not too distant future".

24 HOURS
NEWS WATCH

Mr De Klerk said he had reminded the clerics that he had before acknowledged the existence of these obstacles to negotiation.

"My impression (of the talks) was in general that one of the biggest problems we face in this process in which we are involved is the problem of mistrust," he said. "And one of the biggest challenges we face is to bridge that gap."

He hoped that this and other meetings would help do that.

"Once again this afternoon it became apparent to me that we need through dialogue to move away from talking past each other.

"So often I found there is a lack of recognition for the definitive statements we have already made in respect of the goals we have set ourselves," he said.

People had to realise they were no longer arguing about "if", or whether all South Africans should have a vote. They should start talking about now to attain that structure and how to structure negotiations.

South Africans were arguing much too much as if there was a divergence of opnion on whether discrimination should be eliminated and they should get these rights.

The government's bona fides must be accepted. It was ready to attain these goals, he said.

He said the release of political prisoners was noted in the memorandum but not discussed at any great length with the church trio. The name of Mr Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned African National Congress leader, was not mentioned.

He said the clergymen had expressed a basic wish for South Africans to get going on the road to negotiations. Mr De Klerk said he hoped yesterday's meeting would become a milestone towards that and not a negative one.

On the state of emergency, and anomalies it presented when jailed ANC leaders were released to find their organisations banned, Mr De Klerk said he had stated previously that normalising the situation and addressing the security question was a priority.

This would be done on condition that good order and stability remained.

The government wanted to reach a point where the emergency could be lifted. If this was impossible, it at least wanted to review areas it could adjust in an effort to normalise the South African situation.

The six points proposed by Archbishop Tutu and his colleagues reflected arguments and demands also made elsewhere. The government had identified these.

Asked if another meeting was planned with the church team, Mr De Klerk said it had not been raised but he had nothing against further encounters and continuing discussions.

On whether he may, if he viewed it necessary, impose restrictions on the eight political prisoners whose release he had just authorised, he said he hoped it would not be necessary. The responsibility was theirs' and of their friends.

Mr De Klerk stressed that the door was open to negotiations, there was no need to kick it down. "What is necessary now is constructive involvement in negotiations as to how South Africa should look."

Responding to a query on what would happen to those who disagreed with government, he said that as a democrat he wanted to issue the assurance that the right to disagree was an important one, and would remain so.

"The mere fact that you don't agree with the government is not a sin. It is your right to do so," he said.

Turning to the futures of laws like the Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act, he said the government was not married to any particular method or any act.

"But through dialogue we must decide what to put in its place," he said.



LEADERS MEET: President De Klerk with the three church leaders Mr Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Rev Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

'We want an end to crisis'

WHILE the release of the prisoners was a dramatic act, it is going to be undermined in its significance by the people not being free agents, by not being able to consult, Archbishop Tutu said yesterday.

"Our concern is that genuine negotiatons should get off the ground.

"Why we took the initative to approach the State President is precisely because we seek a way out of the impasse — a way of resolving the crisis of our country," Archbishop Tutu said.

Archbishop Tutu said they also gave Mr De Klerk an assurance that they did not want any further sanctions "not even present ones if we were to get the kind of commitment that we were asking for and a specific timetable.

"The door is open for those who want to agree with them. For those who don't the door is not open."

On his impressions of Mr De Klerk, Mr Tutu said: "He is a totally different kettle of fish, as it were, from what was the case under the previous dispensation. As church people you always assume people are saints until the contrary is proven."

The Churchmen

From ESTHER WAUGH
Argus Correspondent

A high-powered church delegation said President De Klerk's "open door" policy would not work unless he provided concrete results.

In a memorandum handed to Mr De Klerk at yesterday's historic meeting the three church leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Frank Chikane and Dr Allan Boesak, demanded the government should immediately:

- Lift the State of Emergency;
- Lift restriction orders served on people in terms of the emergency regulations, and other legislation;
- Release detainees held without trial;
- Lift restrictions imposed on organisations and unban political organisations;
- Release all political prisoners;
- Reprieve all condemned prisoners and declare a moratorium on the death penalty.

In addition, the church leaders demanded that the following steps be taken in the next six months (the period leading up to the next parliamentary session):

- Allow exiles to return to South Africa;
- Repeal all regulations and laws which enable the government to prohibit or inhibit free political activity;
- Repeal the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act; and
- Embark on negotiations with liberation movements, including the ANC.

Addressing a press conference at St Alban's Cathedral in Pretoria, Mr Tutu said they had "intensive talks" with Mr De Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Mr Tutu said the church delegation made it clear that they were not negotiators but saw themselves as facilitators of negotiations by helping to create a climate conducive to negotiations "by indicating certain key items which the government would be able to undertake in the short and medium term.

"We came away impressed that there is a concern, such as we were expressing, and we were listened to, yes. But we have to say that we did not get specifics, which would satisfy those we believe we were representing," he said.

Dr Chikane pointed out that the delegation made it clear to the Mr De Klerk that his "open door statement" was one which would not itself make negotiations possible.

"Nor is it going to facilitate a process of negotiation as long as the representatives of the majority of the people are under chains. Their hands are tied.

"You cannot talk about negotiations when people are restricted, those who are in exile can't participate and their organisations are restricted or banned. They won't be able to consult with anybody after they have had such talks.

"We made them understand that their 'open door' policy excludes the majority of the people unless they meet those first six points that we have stated. Their policy of negotiation is a non-starter until they have actually met those particular conditions," Dr Chikane said.

"If their negotiation is that of consultation with people it is not going to resolve our problems," he added.

According to Dr Chikane, the government has restated its commitment to negotations and the abolition of apartheid.

"That is what the State President has said in his inaugural speech but they have not moved beyond rhetoric. We have said we would like to see movement to meet those conditions. Then we can say to our people: 'Now we have arrived'.

The church leaders said they were given no indication when the eight political prisoners would be released.

From page 1

FW Cable Times 12/10/89 (28) 3044

The talks were regarded as the highest-level meeting between the government and anti-apartheid leaders since July 1986, with the exception of recent meetings with jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Archbishop Tutu said he told Mr De Klerk the prisoner release announced on Tuesday was a "dramatic act" but that its significance was threatened with undermining by the government's refusal to lift the three-year-old state of emergency.

His announcement that he would not call for a suspension of his sanctions campaign fuelled the likelihood of intense debate at next week's meeting of the leaders of the 48-nation Commonwealth for the imposition of additional financial pressure on Pretoria.

The exclusion of Mr Mandela from the prisoner release was not discussed yesterday but anti-apartheid activists who met him on Tuesday quoted him as saying the priority was the release of all other political prisoners before his own freedom.

At a separate news conference at St Alban's Cathedral in central Pretoria, Archbishop Tutu and Mr Chikane said President De Klerk had failed to give specific undertakings on the six steps they said were necessary to create a climate for negotiation.

Mr De Klerk's "open door" statement could not facilitate negotiations "as long as the majority of people are under chains", Mr Chikane said, referring to restrictions and bannings.

"Unless the six points are met negotiations will be a non-starter."

The three leaders had made it clear blacks could not identify their own negotiators as long as they were not permitted to "organise and interact freely".

Archbishop Tutu said there had been a "far better atmosphere" than during his last encounter with Mr De Klerk. While Mr De Klerk showed concern, he did not come up with specific undertakings.

The three had not met President De Klerk as negotiators, but had gone to "help create a climate conducive to negotiations by identifying key items the government might undertake".

Archbishop Tutu said that if the government followed the steps, "we would be ready to say to our friends: 'Put the sanctions programme on hold because it appears there is a commitment here which we can accept'."

He added: "If these things happen we'll say to our people: Give them a chance. They are serious."

Mr Chikane said President De Klerk had "not moved beyond his inaugural speech rhetoric".

If the government showed movement on meeting the six conditions, "then we can talk on how to negotiate".

Archbishop Tutu said the three had decided to take the initiative to "seek a way out of the impasse we have."

UPI and Sapa

Clerics meet FW but the president steals the show

W.Mail -13-19/10/89

AS officials begin to make seating arrangements for next week's crucial Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur, they might as well set a symbolic place for FW de Klerk.

By his extraordinary actions in the week preceding the gathering in Malaysia, De Klerk has succeeded in imposing his presence on the forum from which South Africa excluded itself in 1961 — and in stalling a widely-expected push for increase in pressure on the Pretoria government.

South Africa's new president has succeeded in doing this by making two unexpected, innovative moves. However, the strategy carries dangers for him in the longer term.

This week, De Klerk breathed new life into his carefully-nurtured "reformist" image by announcing the unconditional release of all the Rivonia trialists still in jail (with the exception of Nelson Mandela), and by holding an extended and conciliatory meeting with three of the country's leading anti-apartheid clerics.

According to diplomatic observers in Pretoria, there is no doubt this will be enough to ensure the sting is taken out of the Kuala Lumpur meeting. The Commonwealth will not be subjected to the bitter splits over the South African question which it endured at Nassau in 1985 and Vancouver in 1987, when British policy came under virulent attack.

This is, in part, because other issues have crept higher up the agenda. But, although all sides deny the timing of the announcement that the six Rivonia trialists, along with Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress veterans Jafta Masemola and Oscar Mpetha, had anything to do with the imminent Commonwealth summit, it will have enormous bearing on the deliberations.

The British would not be so gauche as to publicly claim any credit for the releases. De Klerk himself has been at pains to emphasise that the views of "moderate black leaders, including the leaders of the self-governing territories (it is believed he was referring specifically to kaNgwane's Enos Mabuza and kwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi), carried special weight". He has also stressed that the timing had simply to do with the bureaucratic processes of review which are invoked in the cases of long-term "security" prisoners.

Nevertheless, the political sophistication implied by the timing is self-evident.

And the announcement had an additional, important, corollary: it set the tone for De Klerk's audience on Wednesday with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the Reverends Allan Boesak and Frank Chikane.

What could have been a timeous and telling denunciation of Pretoria's new man as a reconditioned version of his predecessor, was necessarily turned into something different.

De Klerk was able, via a change in style and not much more, to emerge as a paragon of reasonableness and openness. He allowed a meeting which was scheduled to last 45 minutes to go on for close to four hours.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

He emerged, smiling winningly, with a glowing report of the frank and cordial nature of the conclave. Although he hoped the clerics would change their views on "certain issues" (for which, in particular, read sanctions), he made a concession that is difficult to imagine coming from PW Botha's mouth: "My general impression (of them) was that, yes, there is a basic wish on their side that South Africa should get going on the road to negotiations ... I hope that today's meeting will become a milestone on the positive road ahead."

This has undoubtedly been De Klerk's week, and he has won the battle of Kuala Lumpur before the first shots have been fired. While there will doubtless be strong denunciations of Pretoria from many delegates, these will not be translated into a stiffened policy.

But it is worth noting that De Klerk's tactics will not result in a lessening of Commonwealth pressure, either. In this fact resides the risk attached to his strategising.

It will not take long before the state president's qualificatory comments about the "negotiation process" are properly digested. In his press conference after the meeting with the churchmen, he made three low-key — but pivotal — points.

He would not be drawn into discussions about time-frames for his promised reforms. This extended to the church delegation's core demands for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of organisations and the repeal of discriminatory laws.

He characterised the church delegation as only one of many, and not peculiarly significant in itself. And while he spoke of an eventual system in which all South Africans had "the vote", the inevitable rider of "minority protection" was added.

What De Klerk had done was to agree on the sentiment, and not the substance, of the church leaders' concerns — which are, in essence, those of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement. This is an excellent short-term strategy but, as Tutu indicated, would shortly be put to the test.

The talks were "open and fruitful", he said as he emerged from the meeting room, "but no solutions were reached". Later, at a press conference, he said De Klerk "had not given clear-cut responses to the demands".

It was these demands, he implied, that would be the true test of how serious De Klerk's "climate-building" was.

This is why the president's relief in Kuala Lumpur is in itself dangerous. His ammunition has been the release of key political prisoners, and a magnanimous approach to his high profile "enemies".



The president and the priest ... Two leaders hold talks on apartheid

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

Now Sunday is set to be release day

W Mail 13-19/10/89

●From PAGE 1

discussions this week in Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison between cabinet ministers and Mandela, who is the only Rivonia trialist excluded from this week's release list, and between Mandela and the six other ANC leaders.

Mandela has met twice this week with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, twice with his fellow ANC leaders and once with MDM leaders.

The government is pushing for the released prisoners to take a low profile — and are holding out the release of other prisoners, including Mandela, in return. They fear a threat to the security situation and are still concerned by the events after the release last year of ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

Ramaphosa yesterday did not spell out exactly how the men would be welcomed, saying the Rivonia trialists were members of the ANC and would have to report to their organisation and consult with its "collective leadership".

Representatives of the MDM said they would give the lifers time to rest with their families and therefore did not know exactly what their political programmes would be.

But said Peter Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress, "They are members of the ANC. We will be expecting them to act like leaders of the ANC."

Ramaphosa warned the government not to refuse the men passports. He said the government would be indicating that it is not interested in reaching détente and resolving conflict if it barred the recently-released members of the ANC from crossing borders.

It is believed that the ANC leaders and the MDM are weighing up the possible gains to be made by the ex-prisoners leading mass marches and public rallies against the implications for other prisoners and the likely Security Force response.

On the other hand, they have to take into account popular excitement being generated by the releases.

The first signs of state reaction have caused some concern: Security Forces on Wednesday used teargas against youths gathering in Athlone Stadium, Cape Town, to welcome Mpetha, and broke up crowds that gathered at his house, saying they were "illegal gatherings".

Slamming all speculation that the MDM could go softly on campaigns around the releases in order to secure the release of Mandela, Mokaba said: "The release of our comrades has to be unconditional. We are not aware of any condition that says the people must stop struggling in order that our leaders must be released. That is not what the comrades are asking us to do."

Businessmen, churchmen on agenda: lack of timetable seen as obstacle

FW aims to meet range of black leaders



President de Klerk meets prominent anti-apartheid clerics (from left) SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches the Rev Allan Boesak.

STAR 12/10/89. (3044)

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Norman Chandler

President de Klerk is planning to meet representative leaders of black business as well as other political and church leaders following his three-hour meeting yesterday with a church delegation led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He made it clear at a press conference after yesterday's talks at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen would mainly be involved. The discussions would be with leaders of "various constituencies".

But yesterday's talks brought Mr de Klerk face to face with the enormous difficulties he confronts in forging the "new South Africa" he promises.

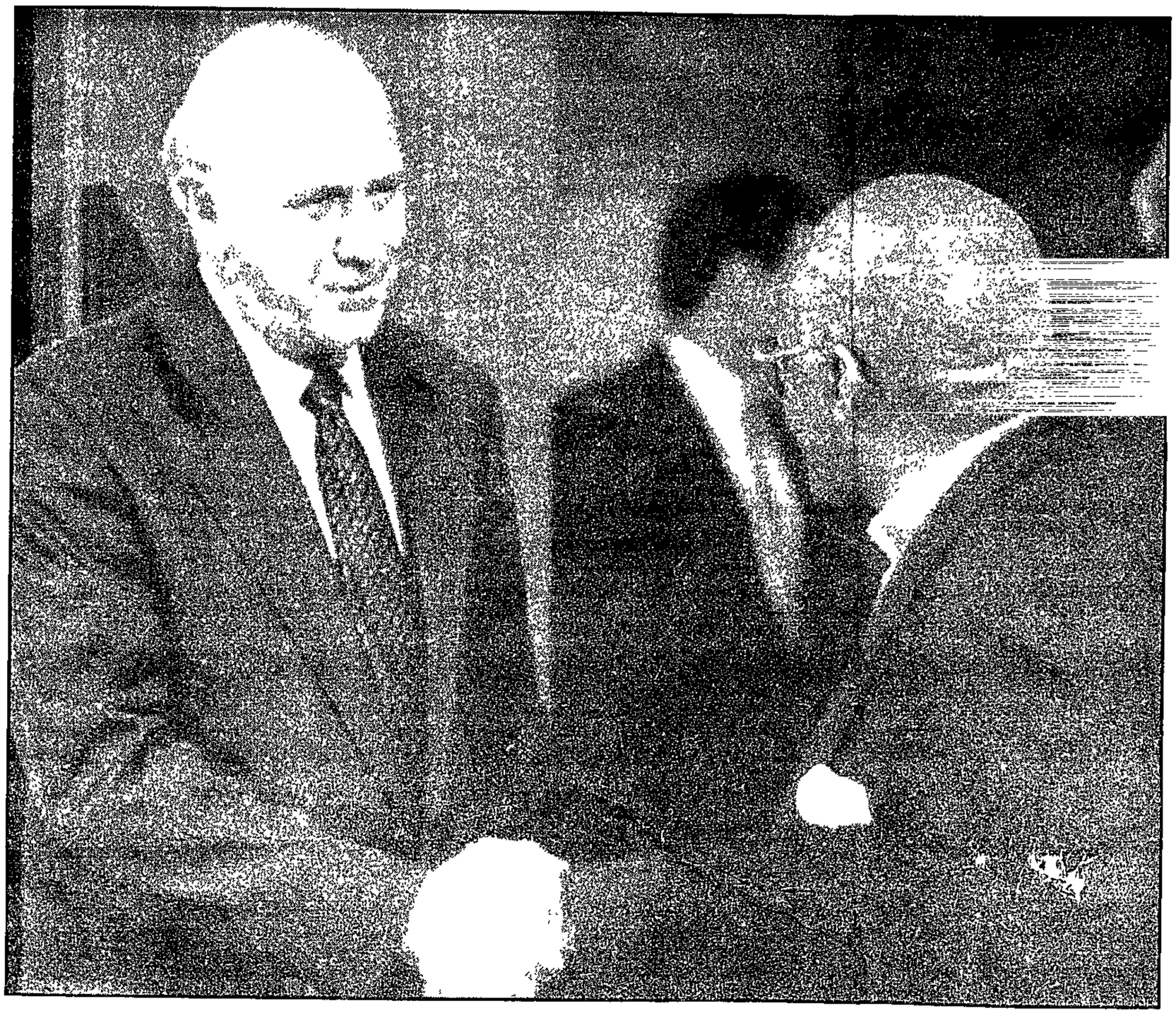
The church leaders — Archbishop Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane — expressed unhappiness with the State President's refusal to give a specific timetable for minimum requirements set out in a memorandum presented to him during the meeting.

These were the lifting of the state of emergency and restrictions on people, the release of detainees, lifting of restrictions placed on activities of organisations, the release of political prisoners and the reprieve of all those sentenced to death and the declaration of a moratorium on the imposition of the death penalty

Additional issues raised were the abolition of discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act.

Mr Chikane said afterwards: "If there are no results, the talks held in Pretoria will be discredited. We made it clear we need results. For without results, there cannot be negotiation."

But despite their differences, both parties acknowledged the value of the discussions.



Shake . . . President de Klerk greets Archbishop Tutu yesterday before the talks on reform.

Significant role

Mr de Klerk said he personally would take the initiative for talks with church leaders of various denominations. This would, however, not be "in the immediate future".

He would do so because the Church had a significant role in "creating an atmosphere for real interaction between the peoples of this country".

Mr de Klerk said he had impressed upon the church delegation that the time had come to change their attitude and to assist the Government in creating a climate conducive to negotiation.

At separate press conferences afterwards, both delegations gave their impressions of what Mr de Klerk termed "talks about talks".

Mr de Klerk urged the churchmen to "re-evaluate their attitude" by accepting the bona fides of the Government in its commitment to reform and a new, fair dispensation in which blacks would be represented in all spheres of government.

While Mr de Klerk said he hoped the meeting would "become a milestone on the road ahead", the church delegation promised to "say to our friends that the sanctions programmes should be put on hold" if the Government appeared to be committed to reform.

They also assured the State President that the lifting of the state of emergency would not lead to confrontation and violence.

Mr de Klerk acknowledged the need to address the specific issues raised by the delegation: "I committed the Government to address the obstacles in an orderly manner."

Explaining his refusal to reveal a particular time schedules for reform, Mr de Klerk said: "We talked about time frames and time schedules, and I strongly emphasised, in that regard, that no government could adhere to specific time schedules and spell out in concretised terms what would happen on whatever date."

The reaction to one reformist step would determine when the next step would be taken.

Mr de Klerk deplored the "lack of recognition for definite statements" the Government had made regarding reform adding that mistrust is one of the major problems to be faced.

He expressed the hope that the meetings to follow would contribute towards lengthening the list of issues "on which we agree."

DP LEADERSHIP

Vive la difference

Democratic choice, it would appear, triumphed at the weekend's post-election congress of the Democratic Party (DP). However, the 330-213 vote decision by party delegates to opt once again for the existing troika of Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan to lead them for another year merely underlines the vast cultural differences which will continue to haunt the DP.

There were ample examples on the congress floor of the personality splits which dominate the fledgling party. On the one hand the De Beer faction was strongly represented by the former Prog element, in particular from the southern Transvaal region, while Afrikaner sentiments were voiced by ex-Nats and platteland constituencies.

The disappointment of the Progs runs deep. "We've given them (Malan's former National Democratic Movement, Worrall's Independent Party and the ex-Nats) everything ... our organisational structures and our fund-raising expertise, and what do they do? They take all the family silver as well!" exclaimed one visibly upset former PFP member.

"What we have done is to bring together those who belong with us," said De Beer in his opening speech, still optimistic that congress would muster its support behind one leader — himself.

On policy matters such as the total dismantling of apartheid, the need for the rule of law and a bill of rights, delegates did not differ. However, De Beer conceded to the congress that, while the DP has "consolidated our natural supporters rather than converted masses of our opponents," the party would have to move ahead again "to make the breakthrough we aim at." The breakthrough, he said, would be to concentrate on the National Party. "These are .. the people we want to convert and recruit and it is to their viewpoints that we would have to take a penetrating look."

Ironically, it was exactly on this score that De Beer failed to convince the majority of congress delegates to elect one leader. Various pro-troika speakers used the same argument to strengthen their own objectives.

Simon's Town's new MP Jannie Momberg said: "The Nats look for a home. The DP, led by Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Zach de Beer, presents an attractive home for them."

Defeated Bloemfontein North candidate Marleen Webber received thunderous applause when she said the Afrikaner platteland looked up to the triumvirate: "If we elect the three it would demonstrate how three streams flow into one."



De Beer, Worrall and Malan ... three to tango

Speaking strongly in favour of a one-man leadership, Colin Eglin, who has had a fair share of previous leadership crises, said failure to do so would convert the symbolism of unity of the party into the trenches of division of the future. "The leadership issue, from the time of the elections to now, has already been a divisive factor. It is easier not to decide," he said

Party stalwart Harry Schwarz said postponement would result in a situation where people would tend to take decisions based on different philosophies. "Historically, troikas have not worked," he said.

Failed ploy

Not so, said Green Point's Tiaan van der Merwe, the only former Prog to side with the Worralites and Malan backers: "No single propaganda ploy of the Nats has failed as miserably as the troika issue."

Delegate Alan Dawson threw the Nat argument back into their faces: "Nothing illustrates a failed single leadership more than that of P W Botha."

Pre-congress lobbying was rife on Friday and Momberg, a senior Worrall lieutenant, was seen to be a major force in rallying former independent, NDM and ex-Nat forces against the one-man leadership proposals — which enjoyed strong support in the English press. Before the congress De Beer was praised for his election TV appearances and statesmanlike image.

The government-supporting Afrikaans press, as well as *The Citizen*, which comes from the same stable, also propagated one-man leadership — though for different reasons.

Had the congress decided on a single leader De Beer would have walked it. Sources in the Worrall camp told the *FM* that both Momberg and Dave Gant, DP President's Council member, had told Worrall that in that event he should back down. That, with Malan's limited power base, would have paved the way for a De Beer victory.

Van der Merwe's role should not be underestimated. His support for the troika may have swung a few former Progs from the western Cape, where he enjoys great respect. He was aptly rewarded for his stance with the party's national chairmanship. Again, this was thanks to the lobbying of Momberg, a former member of the Cape Nats — who never failed to impress with their organising abilities under P W Botha.

Most of the DP has spoken and they hope to attract discontented Nats to strengthen their base in constituencies other than former PFP strongholds. That is still uncertain.

What is certain is the Nats and their press will hound the party's choice. ■

SANCTIONS

Getting to know you

This week's meeting between President F W de Klerk and church leaders Allan Boesak, Frank Chikane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu (who requested it) "will determine our attitude to the State President's intentions and our views on the attitude the international community should adopt in dealing with his government," the clerics say.

OCTOBER • 13 • 1989

Financial Mail

(304 A)

THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

The last Sappe

FMail 13/10/89

Well, they don't call themselves Democrats for nothing. The decision of the party to persist with a troika leadership — rather than vote in Zach de Beer — represented well enough the balance of power in the party, lying as it evidently does in the periphery rather than in the old Prog heartlands.

That periphery — the Cape seats of Helderberg and Stellenbosch suggest its demographic profile — is Afrikaans-speaking, *verlig* and ex-Nat. Indeed, the vote for the troika was an expression of the will of the ex-Nats.

The arguments marshalled by the Afrikanercrats come down to this: the DP must grow in the areas in which it struggles most. It does not in that sense matter whether Tony Leon increased the party majority in Houghton, since all those voters are bottled up within constituency walls. It is in the land of Jannie Momberg that gains must be made — and folk there are unhappy with the image of the Progs.

When the *FM* argued that the party should opt for one leader, and that he should be De Beer (*Leaders* September 15), we did so on the basis of certain assumptions which we believe still to be valid. These are that any party's leadership is the key to popular perceptions of that party — and that the Democrats will be haltered by three leaders of such different political backgrounds as De Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan. De Beer has the advantage of consistency.

Furthermore, we most certainly do not believe that De Beer is excessively burdened by his Prog past — not when his record on human rights is considered. In his TV showings De Beer shed the "English" tinge which is now seen as a political drawback. We did not see him taking on the leadership in order to perpetuate Prog leanings and beliefs, but to make the party's image cohesive and decisive.

The majority at the party congress, however, prefers vagueness at the top. This may well bring short-term strategic benefits in terms of selling DP policy on the platteland — assuming this can be done, or done sufficiently to matter at the polls — but problems loom.

The last election was to have shown which of the three co-leaders brought the greatest dowry to the new party. De Beer quite evidently did that. But now his triumph has been turned against him, and he had some unfortunate allies at the congress — not least Tony Leon who arrogantly rebuffed hecklers as "Nats." No marks for sensitivity there.

Worrall and Malan must now deliver their wider constituencies in return for the power they have been given. Will they be able to do so? Unfortunately we will not know until the *next* election. So there you are.

The party therefore remains an uneasy coalition — unduly subject to lobbying, as at the congress. In Britain the Greens have overtaken the ill-fated Liberal-SDP alliance at the polls, largely because the Alliance could also not agree on one leader. Within the mainstream, Labour Party prospects of achieving power are seriously vitiated by the disproportionate influence of its "sections" — and the Democrats may well have sown similar seeds.

For now they have shown they are not a united party — though in their voter profile they resemble nothing so much as the old United Party. Thanks to Malan and Worrall, the Sappe are with us again. ■

New Democrats refuse to be old Progs in drag

STIRRED BY NATIONAL PARTY TAUNTS, THE NEW 'YOUNG TURKS' OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ARE DETERMINED THAT THE MOVEMENT REACH BEYOND THE WEALTHY, ENGLISH-SPEAKING AREAS.

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE new Democrats, youngish and often Afrikaans-speaking, have emerged as a major driving force in the Democratic Party, determined to reshape its style and strategy.

At the party congress in Durban last weekend, they chose the leadership issue to flex their muscles and outmanoeuvre the "old guard", largely ex-Progs. At the heart of their campaign lay intensive lobbying, including lapel stickers which read "Troika yes" and "Driemanskap ja" — and sheer force of argument.

In the process, the new Democrats demonstrated that the DP is not going to be the PFP in drag, but will endeavour to be a new movement with a power base among white voters and a relevance in the broader political struggle.

The 1989 "Young Turks" believe the DP cannot simply be a party based on the richer, predominantly English-speaking constituencies, trying to extend its influence by trying to capture former opposition seats.

Many of the old Progs, knowing full well from bitter experience that reaching new constituencies is easier said than done, dismiss the new activists. After all, Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement, where many new Democrats first found a political home, was the smallest of the three parties which formed the DP in April and everyone knew the PFP provided the party with most of its members and resources.

But, stirred by taunts in the National Party press that the DP was effectively under the control of old Progs, the new Democrats started building up allies within the party, such as the youth wing, where the national youth leader Michelle Guttler surprised some former colleagues in the PFP by supporting the troika leadership.

Another surprise ally was Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, who took the new Democrats seriously and sympathised with many of their positions, both in the negotiations leading up to the party's formation and in the discussion of post-election strategies.

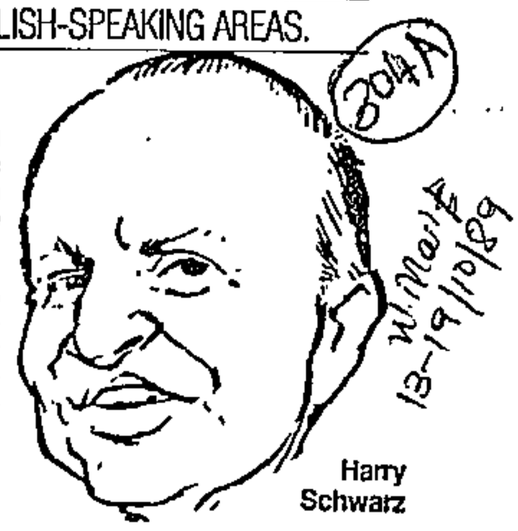
Van der Merwe, who was rewarded by being elected national chairman over Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz and key former-NDM figure "Lang" Dawid de Villiers, made one of the most effective speeches at the congress in favour of the troika, arguing that the party needed collective leadership rather than being dominated by any particular individual.

His theme was endorsed by a delegate from the North Rand constituency, Freda van Rooyen, in a speech which captured the new Democrats mood.

"I am an Afrikaans-speaker from the *platteland*," Van Rooyen explained, "and I noticed that it's those with the safest seats in parliament and the strongest power bases who are for the single leader.

"You don't know what it's like to be out there in the political desert trying to persuade people to join. There are thousands of Afrikaners out there who think like we do and long for a political role but are still scared. For them, we must keep the troika."

Her speech emphasised the urgency with which many of the new Democrats felt that the party had to grow quickly and beyond the traditional areas of opposition support — by broadening its appeal and forging a new identity.



Harry Schwarz

It also emphasised a growing feeling, both among the new Democrats and many rank-and-file old Progs, that the leadership should pay far greater attention to the views of ordinary supporters

Indeed, a resolution, proposed by the Young Democrats and passed unanimously, called on the national executive to draw up a report on the congress resolutions and take it back to party formations to demonstrate the accountability of the party leadership to the members.

So, part of the new Democrats' strategy is to make the party really democratic within its own ranks and not dependent on its leadership.

Then there is the missionary element: trying to ensure that the DP reaches out to white people, showing that there is a path to a new, non-racial South Africa.

A third element of the strategy was that the DP must reach out to the extra-parliamentary organisations and build up links with the broader democratic movement.

This was reflected in a resolution from by a key figure in the new Democrats, Dr Esther Lategan, who fought for a parliamentary seat in Stellenbosch in 1987 and Maitland in 1989 with considerable success even though she failed to win either seat. The DP should build up these lines, Lategan said, both in single issue campaigns and by participating in local structures.

The party's politics was not just about the elections, she explained. The challenge was to mobilise South Africans for an inclusive democracy for every South African.

A broad spectrum of activities had to be developed to promote this aim, including participation in specific programmes, such as education and environmental affairs, and in local community structures.

Her resolution also called for the establishment of "interaction committees" in the different regions and the appointment of full-time staff to develop support and keep the party's public representatives and members informed. There was one vote against the Lategan resolution, that of Harry Schwarz.

The new Democrats' strategy still has to be carried out, but it captured the mood and spirit of the DP congress. Former NDM and "fourth force" people captured the lion's share of the elections for the national executive and national council.

Interestingly, apart from Simon's Town MP Jannie Momberg, former members of Denis Worrall's Independent Party were virtually sidelined in the struggle for the soul of the new party. The old PFP members, however, are still there, though without the dominance they wanted.

Let's rethink past divisions and look at black co-operation

New notes are being sounded on the left. Natal sociologist FATIMA MEER suggests the ANC should change its attitude towards black leaders spurned as "collaborators".

WHILE we stand today on the brink of our political freedom we do so bearing certain liabilities. And if we do not confront these liabilities honestly and frankly they may snatch away from us the fruits of our inter-generational freedom struggle.

Repeated states of emergency have driven our political organisations into secrecy and this in turn has seriously affected our ability to exercise democracy, to consult effectively with our constituencies.

Initially, we welcomed the secrecy and saw it as protecting our leaders from being picked off one by one. We even considered the secrecy necessary for the survival of our resistance, and indeed it has secured that survival, but at a very heavy price.

We have paid a heavy price — we have almost lost the democratic content of our political organisations.

Secret control also means manipulations. The fact that a great deal of our funding today comes from abroad exacerbates secret control.

On the one hand the state precludes democratic consultation, on the other foreign funding relieves dependence on the constituency.

There is a fear that things are being done for people, that there is not sufficient consultation, and at times too there is the feeling that decisions are imposed on people erratically and the sources from which they come are questionable.

These feelings may be unwarranted, but they are there and they can erode the kind of commitment necessary today to dislodge apartheid.

Secrecy also manifests itself in petty tyrannies, in vilifications and rustication of persons basically on personality differences.

Our liberatory movement does not have any organ where the persecuted can expect a just appraisal of the problems that led to his/her vilification.

Divisions have always characterised our political life, but the liberatory ethos managed in the past to maintain these on a rhetorical level and the political integrity of dissidence was respected.

Nonetheless a divisive tendency was contributed by what can be seen today as vulgarised Trotskyism which preached the doctrine of irreconcilable conflict and classified people into "collaborators" and "liberators".

This categorisation — in a sense name-calling — has been affixed today to all incumbents of apartheid institutions, homeland governments, community councils, the members of the two inferior Houses of the tricameral Parliament, and these incumbents in most cases deserve the stigmatisation.

Yet the fact remains that they resent it.

And particularly in Natal, we find that this kind of stigmatisation and distancing of people have reached enormous proportions and have resulted in conflict and in mass bloodshed that seems today to be uncontrollable.

We have tried to bring to the negotiating table the opposing factors in the conflict in the Natal region without success.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkhatha are particularly resentful of being placed outside of the liberatory fold and this in part frustrates all attempts at peace.

Finally, our political struggle suffers from a generational gap.

Sharpeville and the sudden cessation of extra-parliamentary activity in the 1960s caught the disenfranchised off guard and they retreated into silent fear.

The new generation, not having experienced a free ANC and democratic participation under Nelson Mandela, Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo, could not sympathise with the numbness of their parent generation and rejected them as cowards and as irrelevant people.

For us to be truly strong today against the wavering Nats — and the Nats are just waiting for the first little opportunity to move out of this reform mode that is being thrust upon them — if we then are going to succeed in forcing them to the negotiating table, then to me it seems imperative that we must rethink our politics of irreconcilable conflict and seriously consider the alternative of co-operation.

We must try to gather together all our forces, be they homeland governments or community councils.

Our reasoning ought to be that we need the widest and the strongest black resistance against the Nationalist government.

And in order to gain this it would be suicidal if we now continued to maintain and nurture internal conflicts — internal, that is, within the black ranks.

We must try to find ways and means whereby we deprive the Nationalists of every black ally.

I know that this is something that is very difficult to achieve, but I think that if we are going to succeed at the negotiating table and draw the best benefits for ourselves, then we must go there in the strongest possible kind of confrontation.

If there are any weaknesses, and if on either side of the black flanks we have dissenting voices, then that in itself may deprive us of this historical opportunity which is now at our doorstep.

And of course the aftermath is also there. If we are not able to unite our black people then we will find that after we have managed to develop some kind of a new constitution, we may still be confronted with black forces which are arraigned against black forces as has been the experience in Mozambique and in Angola.

These are the experiences, or the lessons of history, from which we should try to draw our own planning.

I'm not so sure that I myself would have considered these thoughts a year ago, but I think times are changing and in these changed times we should consider the thoughts.

So my message is simply this: We should try to do away first with the inter-generational gap that has emerged and which is weakening the fabric of our liberatory movement; we should also do away with the kind of petty name-calling or divisive or puerile politics, which only result in hurting and distancing people, and instead try to strive, work out ways and means whereby we can draw all disenfranchised blacks, together with all democrats of whatever colour they may be, so that we may force the hand of the Nationalists.

☐ This is an extract from Prof Meer's address to The Indicator Human Rights Award function in Lenasia last week. The award was presented to the ANC.

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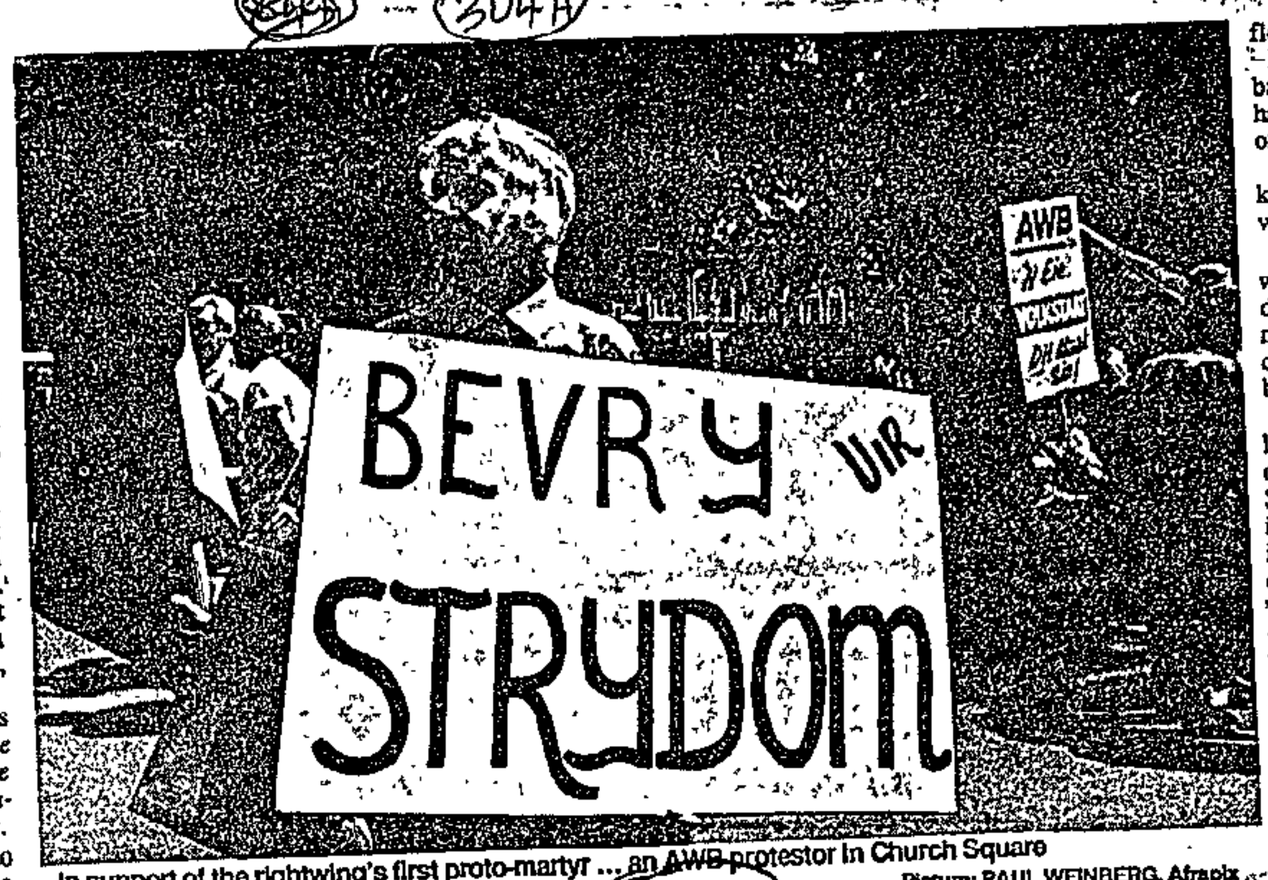

In support of the rightwing's first proto-martyr ... an AWB protestor in Church Square
Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

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Strydom worship and the sacrament of racial purity

A cosmic battle rages between good and evil; the Children of Israel and Satan; whiteness and blackness. So we are told in the gospel of the far-right, full of Christian motifs which mask un-Christian motives. IVOR POWELL reports

A FAR-RIGHT rally in Pretoria's Church Square. Alongside the inevitable banners demanding "Hang Mandela" and "Free Barend Strydom", there is one rather curious slogan: "Israel Loves Yahweh".

This Israel is not the country in the Middle East. It is Afrikanerdom, whose God-ordained mission is the preservation of white purity in Southern Africa.

Obscure though they may seem, the sentiments are as integral to the cause of the Afrikaner extreme rightwing as its first proto-martyr, Barend Hendrik Strydom.

The notion of Afrikanerdom as a new Israel goes back to the Great Trek and the "Covenant" with God made at the Battle of Blood River. But the major contemporary prophet of the idea of the Afrikaners as a chosen nation is a Vereeniging cleric, Pastor FW Neser.

Neser is a prolific publisher of his own works, which bear titles like *The Origin, History and Destiny of the White Race, Christianity and Communism* and *No Stranger over Thee*.

One of his major works, running to five pamphlet volumes, is a treatise entitled *The Ten "Lost" Tribes of Israel*. In it he demonstrates at great length that the Jews, far from being the chosen people of God, the "true Israel", are lapsed, racially impure and part of the great work of infamy which the Antichrist is perpetrating. At great length he describes the wanderings of the lost, pure tribes and their eventual deliverance as ... you guessed it, the Boers of South Africa. Where they inherit a divinely ordained task — to keep their race pure from miscegenation, which is the work of Satan, whose spiritual blackness finds echoes in the dark skins of his minions.

Strydom and his fellow Wit Wolwe, like the extreme rightwing in general, are not the bitter fruit of some unholy immaculate conception. They are the logical outcome of underground currents in white culture in South Africa.

For many years, groups of far rightist ideologues have been putting out propaganda, diversely masked as political analysis and theological exegesis. Strydom and his fellow Wit Wolwe are all too understandable if you read some of these.

"Adam was a white man as can be very easily proved by the fact that Jesus was the express image of God, and Jesus was white because he was a direct descendant of David who was 'ruddy and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to'... Have you ever seen a 'ruddy' black man, one who can blush?"

Thus writes FWC Neser, MSc, and he will send you a free catalogue of books, videos, pamphlets and cassettes if you write to him at his Vereeniging postal box.

In the *Origins* .. Neser goes on to demonstrate that the white Christian nations are none other than the 10 lost tribes of Israel. The Jews, by contrast, racially impure, descended from the seed of Esau, whose name, connoting hairiness, clearly links him to devil-worshipping and the genetic machinations of Satan.

The Jews, Neser goes on, have tricked the world into believing that they constitute the "true Israel".

"This is also why the Jews believe they are soon going to be masters of the world. All major wars of the past century have been planned with this in view."

Rabid, proto-Nazi anti-semitism is merely one of Neser's subplots. The major concern is black-white racism, thinly disguised as obscure Christian scholasticism.

Neser seeks to convince us of a cosmic battle being waged between the forces of God and whiteness on one side, and Satan and blackness on the other. The black races, as he sees them, are black because they are not filled with the white light of God, because they are caught in the darkness of superstition and ignorance — and because Satan and his progeny have had something to do with their ancestry. It is both the destiny and the duty of the pure white races to bring the light of the gospel to these benighted.

Apartheid thus becomes little less than a sacrament. "... the devil is stirring up the nations to fight World War III, and also to remove the last retaining walls that have saved the world from being inundated with the black and yellow races. Should this happen the pure white nations will be absorbed and there will be no trace left on earth of the image of God."

Thus is international pressure for change rendered as something to be resisted at all costs: "This is why our South African policy of apartheid is such an abomination in the eyes of the world. It is the only principle that is still against this tide of colour that has been caused deliberately to overflow the earth."

But when all seems lost for this last bastion of God's law, Christ will have His second coming and the devil of non-racialism will be defeated.

It is sobering to think that this is the kind of literature that Strydom was weaned upon.

His father, Nic, was referring to the writings of Neser in particular when, during his son's trial on charges of multiple murder, he was posed the question of whether he considered blacks to be human beings..

Strydom senior pondered at some length before declaring that it was a difficult question. Some writers, Strydom senior said, are of the opinion that blacks are in fact closer to animals, but he himself liked to keep an open mind on the issue.

What is even more sobering is that, while he languishes on death row, Barend Strydom continues to be exposed to such literature.

In accordance with prison regulations, prisoners "are spiritually ministered to by religious workers of their church or faith... (they are provided with) religious literature furnished by their religious workers."

Neser himself is not one of the six visitors to Strydom at Pretoria Central Prison's death row, nor could it be ascertained whether or not he has access to Neser's literature specifically. But, as prison comment made clear, it would fall within the range of the literature he was allowed.

One of the people who is included on Barend Strydom's visiting list — along with family, childhood friends and, of course, fiancée Karin Rautenbach, is Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder, whose views closely echo those of Neser.

A recent convert to the abolitionist side — at least in relation to political prisoners — in the row over the death penalty, Van Tonder stressed that "Strydom was fighting for freedom. Violence is wrong, you can't blame the man when it's the country which is at fault. Strydom is a political prisoner like Mandela, not a common criminal," he said.

A curious bit of apocrypha, though irrelevant in itself, would seem to give some credence to Van Tonder's claim. Before he went on his Strijdom Square rampage, Strydom put money into the meter in the parking space where he left his car. He also insisted on using a licensed firearm, rightwing sources claim. He didn't want to break the law.

W. Mail 13-19/10/89

DP's Sampie cuts Broeder ties

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — DP executive member and Matie economist Prof Sampie Terreblanche has resigned "with immediate effect" from the controversial Afrikaner Broederbond.

But DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday that he had "no intention whatsoever" of severing his long-standing links with the secret Afrikaner organisation.

The latest developments could become a political hot potato for the DP, although both men said yesterday that they had not come under pressure from within the DP to leave the Broederbond.

Terreblanche said his continued membership of the secret organisation had "become an embarrassment at Stellenbosch" where the perception persisted among many students and academics that the Broederbond was a political think-tank favouring "group-based" thinking.

The left could learn from liberalism

B/Day 13/10/89 (30cA)

DARYL GLASER

in another questioning of conventional left-wing wisdom, says socialists ignore traditional liberal freedoms at their peril.

THE spectre of "liberalism" has long haunted the SA left. It has typically been perceived as something to be fought at all costs.

Revisionist academics of the 1970s expended their energies debunking liberal historiography. National Forum affiliates hold up "anti-liberalism" as a premise of their unity. Socialists in the Congress movement feel compelled to justify their association with liberals in terms often purely tactical and instrumental.

These critical appraisals have one kind of liberalism in mind — the liberalism of capitalist privilege. This proposes that apartheid and capitalism are incompatible, that capitalism will or can sustain an institutional framework of non-racial democracy and, above all, the assumption that such an outcome would be desirable.

This form of liberalism would create a "formal" democracy based on universal franchise and civil liberties but leave the foundations of economic inequality intact.

Pro-capitalist reformism has indeed constituted the dominant tendency of SA liberalism, and the critique on these grounds is well-founded. But it has its limits — and its share of dangers.

The principal danger is that it could encourage SA socialists to think of goals like political pluralism and civil liberties as "bourgeois" or "elitist" —because of their historical association with liberalism.

The gains achieved by working people through the franchise and trade union rights in capitalist democracies, and the massive repression and privations they have suffered under so-called workers' states, should be sufficient to persuade socialists that no democracy is possible without a massive extension of freedoms of expression and association.

It is entirely appropriate, from a socialist viewpoint, to challenge those aspects of liberalism bound up with the defence of private property in the principal means of production.

But liberals also articulate a second concern — that a post-apartheid regime in SA should institute, extend and defend freedom of expression and association for its opponents. This view has always appeared "liberal" (and indissolubly linked to capitalism) only because liberals alone have thus far verbalised it.

If such freedoms existed in a post-apartheid system, they would be "used" by opponents of that regime and indeed by opponents of socialism. But that is what democracy means.

The liberal defence of freedoms of expression and association, indeed of multi-party democracy, is well grounded in the lessons of history and should be wholeheartedly embraced by the left (including the revolutionary left). The expansion of those freedoms is integral to any defensible socialist project.

A principled alliance with liberalism would combine the struggle for socialism with the struggle for political democracy and civil liberties.

The only kind of socialism worth fighting for is one that extends freedoms of expression and association, the right to a fair trial, protection from torture and capital punishment, and other such liberties.

In the present SA context, the left would join forces with liberals to fight against torture, hangings, detention, bans, restrictions, censorship as well as against all racially discriminatory legislation. They would also co-operate in building a genuinely democratic post-apartheid order in vigilantly monitoring and scrutinising the human rights record of post-apartheid governments.

Socialists would also take seriously current efforts to think about a bill of rights for a post-apartheid order and seek to amplify the commitment to civil liberties codified in the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

The alternative to such politics could be a barren, unnecessary and self-defeating battle to the death between liberals and the left.

☐ This is an extract from Glaser's article in the current edition of Work in Progress.

LABOUR LETTER

FW urged to stop conflict

Pday 13/10/89

THEO RAWANA

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk should use the resources at his disposal to ensure that conflict became a thing of the past, SA Institute of Race Relations acting executive director Theo Coggin said in Cape Town last night.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Western Cape region of the SAIRR, Coggin called on De Klerk to play a proactive role in creating a climate for negotiation and reconciliation.

Welcoming the pending release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, Coggin said such an act could only lead to dramatically improved race relations, which were a prerequisite in any plural society.

He urged De Klerk to ensure that conflict — particularly violent conflict — became a thing of the past.

Religion, he said, was the one social institution in SA that embraced an important set of shared affiliations across the entire spectrum of the community.

Pointing out that SA was in the midst of a social revolution, Coggin said it should not be surprising that stresses occurred in such a society.

"Many have ideas as to what that political dispensation should be — others find it easier to decide what it should not be." In the quest of society to break out of the politics of one form of exclusivity, society should not fall into the trap of another form of exclusivity.

Coggin said militarisation was often seen only in terms of the conscription of young white men into the armed forces and the huge amount spent on defence by government.

But, he added, "another process of militarisation has also occurred — the process that has taken place as both the ANC and PAC have seen the revolutionary struggle as complementary to their other struggles, including that of negotiation.

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Rebut

"The revolutionary ethos is the opposite of pluralism for it requires undemocratic, military-style organisation among the populace, and not only among its soldiers. That is no different to an army involved in a process of war in which it tries to get the population on its side so that it can adequately rebut attacks from insurgents."

Militarisation required a kind of unity that was authoritarian and the antithesis of pluralism, he said.

S/Times 15/11/87

Women's group runs into double trouble

By DE WET POTGIETER

POLITICAL DISSENT and financial problems have plunged the influential Afrikaner women's organisation, the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie, into crisis.

There are fears that the SAVF — an umbrella body representing various welfare, church and women's organisations — may come to its political crossroads at this week's annual congress in Pretoria.

Observers expect the R750 000 the organisation lost in investments in Pretoria attorney Mr Albert Vermaas's schemes will be the subject of heated debates.

Some members are upset about the manner in which the funds were invested. They fear the loss of such a huge sum, donated by the public, would make donors less generous in future.

"We want to know who approved that investment and which project's money it was," said a senior member.

A rift is already showing in the ranks of the SAVF. One of its strongest branches, Pretoria North, recently closed down.

The Pretoria North chairman and her deputy resigned as a result of political differences among the members. This branch also used to represent the controversial CP-controlled town of Akasia.

Request

SAVF president Mrs. Una van Graan could not be reached for comment.

Mr H C Lamprecht, director of finances and administration, declined to discuss the issues on the phone.

However, after a request for a personal interview with Mr Lamprecht and Mrs Van Graan, the president's secretary said she was not available. She added that a statement would be made after the annual congress, which ends on Wednesday.

Referring to the R750 000 Vermaas investment, the secretary reported that Mrs Van Graan has said the financial side of the congress would be a closed discussion.

Concerned members, upset by the activities of the SAVF's top management, have said the revelations were causing dissent among members.

Popular

The political differences that have split Afrikanerdom in recent years have also left their mark on the SAVF.

The dissent has come to a head in an alleged campaign to discredit Mrs Judith van den Heever, formerly of the Pretoria North branch and manager of the local service centre for senior citizens.

She is a well-known supporter of the National Party and has been tipped as a future president of the national executive — a position once held by the recently appointed Minister of Health, Dr Rina Venter.

Dr Zach bounces back

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

DR ZACH DE BEER, defeated a week ago in his bid for sole leadership of the Democratic Party, is expected to be formally elected to the influential post of parliamentary leader in the near future.

Such a move would be a soothing balm on raw patches exposed in the party after its post-election leadership struggle.

There has been a proposal in the party for a meeting of its parliamentary caucus after the leadership congress in Durban last week.

If such a meeting takes place, the caucus will almost certainly elect Dr De Beer as its leader. This will formally confirm the interim status he holds as parliamentary leader.

This meeting, and election, will have to take place by the start of next year's parliamentary session in February, or sooner.

Last week's congress decision for the troika leadership of Dr De Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan amounted to a victory for new members of the DP, many of them young, many Afrikaans — and a setback for the "old Prog" faction of former Progressive Federal Party elders.

Isolation

The effect was compounded by failure of the "old Progs" to make headway in the election of members to the national executive, now dominated by members of the "fourth force" of disaffected Afrikaners — largely former members of Dr Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Malan's National Democratic Movement.

Party analysts have pointed out, however, that these delegates must have been supported in the voting by many former PFP members to make the poll tallies that emerged.

Nevertheless, a feeling arose in some circles that members who had kept enlightened opposition alive through the dark years of isolation were now being pushed aside by latter day converts.

Dr De Beer is strongly backed by the "old Prog" faction and election as parliamentary leader will go a long way towards mollifying the disquiet in that group.

Indications are, too, that as part of efforts to forge DP unity, other groups in the party will not push for alternative candidates.



Harald Pakendorf

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S/Times 15/10/89.

New desire to talk is gripping SA

WHO SAID: Stated bluntly, the alternatives appear to be these — talk it out, or shoot it out?

Not F W de Klerk as he contemplates the consequences of releasing Sisulu, Kathrada and Co. and the timing of Mandela's release.

In fact, Nelson Mandela wrote those words three decades ago in a letter to the then Opposition leader, the United Party's Sir De Villiers Graaff.

The letter was dated May 23, 1961, and followed a similar appeal to Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Neither appeal elicited a response.

It was a time of internal upheaval — after Sharpeville and before South Africa became a republic — and the country was seriously condemned by the world for the first time.

It was the second time constitutional change had come about without the agreement and inclusion of the majority of South Africans.

The first time was in 1909 when the Union constitution was agreed to at — you guessed it — a national convention.

There was to be a third time — in 1983 when the tricameral Parliament came into being.

[redacted]

In 1961 an umbrella body, the All African National Action Council, called for a national convention.

Mandela wrote at the time that he could see no workable alternative, except continued oppression under Nationalist rule, and disaster.

I stood on Church Square in a slight drizzle on May 31 of 1961, with tears in my eyes, watching C R Swart become the first State President of the Republic of South Africa and feeling that an historical injustice had been corrected.

Perhaps that event was a mistake. Perhaps it was a part of our historical development which was necessary.

Mandela also wrote in the letter to Graaff that, apart from the National Party, the other important and influential bodies had decided to talk it out.

As Sisulu and the others walk out of jail, they will notice that this time the National Party also wishes to talk it out — that it is the Conservative Party on one hand and the PAC on the other who do not want to talk.

Not that the National Party is contemplating a National Convention, in the sense of a body which will sit for a short period and write a new constitution.

It is looking to what it calls a Great Indaba, which will meet over a long period of time to progressively rid South Africa of apartheid and gradually extend the franchise to all South Africans.

Not that this coincides with the ANC's public negotiating position, which is backed by the MDM internally and, externally, by a wide variety of countries.

[redacted]

But the willingness to talk is there.

That is the difference between the time when Mandela, Sisulu and others went to jail and today.

And it is a major difference because we have turned our collective face away from a partitioned country to seeing it as one country with one people, with all that entails.

It is now time for statesmen on all sides — and there are still more than two — to look for areas of agreement. To disagree is easy and it's a certain way to sink the new hope which has flared.

There is enough to disagree about. The Nationalist Government talks of minority protection and, therefore, of the need to identify those minorities.

The ANC talks of a nonracial nation and views minority protection as a different form of ensuring white privilege.

Yet all now look to talking and not fighting. It is a beginning.

DP congress: Back to the grass roots

S/Times 15/1/87.

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by Tian van der Merwe

national chairman of the Democratic Party

THE national congress of the Democratic Party last week showed a good deal of the character of the new party and it is vital that the manifestations of its newness be understood.

Obviously the temptation is there for political commentators to interpret events around personalities and to suggest that it was a defeat for person X or a victory for person Y.

Such a view I think would be wrong because the most telling aspect of that congress was that the party membership asserted itself and made it a truly grassroots event.

No senior office-bearer of the party could be said to have dominated the congress.

Teamwork

Equally, it would be wrong to suggest that anyone was humiliated. Surely this is precisely what a party congress should be like.

I made a point on several occasions before the election that the newness of the DP offered the opportunity for all members to help shape its image and style to an extent that is not possible in a long-established movement.

I wish I could claim that everyone responded to my call, but in fact the delegates showed their determination to make the DP the kind of political vehicle they want it to be.

Collective leadership gives a better opportunity for the new party's character and public profile to be determined by the full range of its membership rather than by the style of one leader. I think this was a cardinal reason why the congress opted for collective leadership.

Anyone present at the congress would have been impressed with the broad-based nature of its composition, with the quality of debate, with the fact that there were enthusiastic democrats from every corner of South Africa — Afrikaans and English speakers alike — with the fact that old dividing lines were being breached within the party. Such a party is difficult not to take seriously, and is impossible to make a caricature of.

It is important that this broad-based character be retained and expanded despite the fact that its parliamentary representation at this stage emanates largely from traditional opposition heartland.

This can only be done if the membership of the party continues to assert itself and to maintain a high level of activity and internal debate. I would certainly do everything possible to encourage this.

It is clear that the success of the DP lies in its newness, and that no vested interests of the past should be allowed to undermine it.

Encouraging

The most encouraging aspect of the party's broad base is that it was achieved without any sacrifice of commitment or any watering down of principle. When Dr Zach de Beer set himself the task barely a year ago of bringing together those who belong together by inner conviction, he could hardly have foreseen what a success it would turn out to be.

Clearly the DP is today a great deal more than the aggregate of its former constituent parts. Even among its paliamentary representatives it has a number of impressive members who were not members of any of the three former parties.

What the Democratic Party has succeeded in doing so far is to create a real political home for all those in the white community who are committed to an apartheid-free South Africa.

This combination of being broad based, yet ideologically coherent, is of enormous importance and it places the DP in a position no South African party has been in before.

Question

Both because of the unequivocal statements of its spokesmen and the vicious propaganda of its opponents, it is unlikely that anyone with racial hangups will be found in its ranks.

It can therefore move with a degree of boldness and imagination that the NP cannot hope to emulate.

The role of the DP in the future must also be assessed in terms of the National Party's position both electorally and politically.

In voter terms the NP's position is precarious, even though it has a majority of seats. Politically it is all over the place, mainly because its leaders have failed over decades to prepare their supporters for fundamental reform, but have pandered to racial fears instead — even during the past election campaign.

Mr De Klerk personifies this, having carefully built for himself a conservative image and then switched rhetoric after becoming leader.

The National Party is in power and can therefore do things an opposition party cannot. The question is: Have they the vision and the courage?

So far FW has done well, but he has done the easy things and without abandoning any tenets of apartheid. I am confident that a party of the size of the DP, with its growth potential and with its internal coherence and cohesion, will play a major role in shaping the future. Dr Wimpie de Klerk said that if FW wants to do the inevitable right thing, he has to apply DP policy. I think it may well be the DP itself, or jointly with ohters, which will finally lead South African whites into the new South Africa.

Increasingly, South Africans will see that the Democratic Party can plan for the future because it believes in a nonracial system, while the NP can only get there by one grudging concession after another.

The NP product will therefore most likely be an undesirable compromise, while the DP can negotiate the sort of sophisticated constitution which will avoid the pitfalls of the past.



Harry Schwarz

MP for Yeoville, warns that the DP must not abandon its values

We dare not give up the principles we cherish

8/Times 15/10/89.

304A

THE issues in South African politics today are mainly the process of change and the nature of the society which is to come after apartheid.

The process of change is under way and the issue is, unfortunately, no longer one of a simple choice between peace and violence.

There has already been a high degree of violence and there is a question of whether meaningful negotiation will be able to contain escalating unrest, violence and possible revolution.

I am still hopeful that peaceful answers can be found.

There are, however, some aspects of negotiation which are relevant to the end result.

When one enters negotiations, there should be some fundamentals one has in mind:

- What is not negotiable;
- What is desired but is yet negotiable;
- What is the objective to be achieved.

Models

If, even before the negotiations start, one party has given up its bargaining power, the negotiations will either get nowhere or the result may well be very much one-sided.

Theoretically, all parties will argue for democracy, but will no doubt define the term differently.

Everyone will speak of human rights, but when in power often ignore them in order to become entrenched.

Various constitutional models will be on the table, some designed to ensure power, others to bring about safeguards and security for minorities.

There will be different approaches by majorities and minorities and by people with different philosophies. The haves will take one outlook, have-not representatives another, and on the table will be differing economic philosophies.

Those of us who have been in opposition politics for a long time have chosen the path of opposition rather than join the power group because of a set of value standards.

In brief, these are Western economic and political philosophies. The value standards I uphold include human rights, the economic philosophies of free enterprise and the social market economy operating under a democratic constitution in which there is discrimination against none and oppression of no one.

Within the ranks of the Democratic Party, a new concept is being propagated. The new word (though it has been in the dictionary for a long time) is "paradigm".

Within this pattern or model (and this is all it means) it is argued there should not be only one value standard and that we should not try to persuade others to accept our value standards.

The best we can hope for, it is argued, is to be allowed to have sufficient space to operate or exist.

This is surrender before the battle has started.

The purpose of a political party is to propagate value standards and to convince others to accept them — but certainly there can be different value standards.

Let us take specific conflicting standards as an example.

There are those who believe in authoritarianism and those who believe in Western-style democracy.

Feeling

It is the function of those who are democrats to seek to convince the others that their system is best.

The problem in this case is that if they fail, the democrats will not be able to practise their value standards under an authoritarian regime.

No paradigm can be evolved that will allow both to operate.

The same applies to the free enterprise system.

Can free enterprise and socialism operate in the same country?

Certainly some of the means of production could be owned by the state, as in South Africa, and other activities left to the private sector. So a mixed economy of sorts arises.

But how does one deal with a value standard which involves redistribution of privately owned land in terms of a private enterprise system?

There is a feeling in some circles that all that is at issue is a peaceful transference of power and a hope that whoever exercises that power will do so benevolently.

I find this view utterly unacceptable and I believe the people who elected me agree with me. I owe it to them to seek to halt such a process.

We look for security. We seek to oppress no one, but do not want to be oppressed. We do not wish to discriminate, but we do not want to be the subject of discrimination.

We have fought for value standards, including freedom of religion, access to the courts and much more. These are the value standards we have fought to uphold for decades and what we seek is a society after apartheid which is better than apartheid, not a society which is the same or worse. If we fail in this we will have wasted our years in opposition.

Perhaps some who have in the past been part of the apartheid system and have now chosen to abandon it and are advocating a new paradigm may find this difficult to understand.

System

But if there is to be a struggle for the soul of the Democratic Party and if those who want to abandon the course of persuasion succeed, the voters of what some of them contemptuously call the "Anglo-Jewish" constituencies (a term of which I utterly disapprove) will desert them as quickly as they elected them.

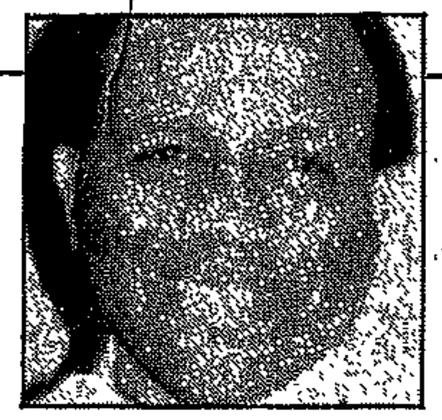
Negotiation means creating a system in which the people who have chosen me to represent them will be secure and the constitutional system I work for will enshrine the value standards they hold dear.

This is my mandate and by this I will stand and hopefully not fall!

S/Times 15/10/89.

Dr STANLEY MOGOBA, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, yesterday called on South African churches to play a major role as "bridge-builders" at a time when the country is moving towards a new era of negotiation and reconciliation.

Speaking at the annual conference of the Methodist Church — the largest Protestant denomination in southern Africa — in Cape Town, he said it was not the role of the church to prescribe political solutions, but rather to act as honest brokers, reconcilers and facilitators ...



F W made impressive start — but we need action, not words

WITH the 1989 election over, and a new State President in office, we are all anxious to see what the next step will be. He is in the unenviable situation of not having a long honeymoon. The pressure is on him to do those things his predecessor was too short-sighted to do.

He has the opportunity to carve for himself a niche in history. But if he follows his promises with another form of the "Rubicon address", or similar egg-dances, negotiations will be stone-dead — never to see the light of day again. That would be a dreadful — indeed, a frightful — situation.

Mr F W de Klerk, I am sure, knows this. He should recognise that the mantle of leadership he has inherited is awesome indeed! Is it too late to hope that the dove of peace which began its song on the beaches of Durban is now singing in the corridors of power in our country, and that the so-called securocrats in the Cabinet have had their day?

But it is early days, and many more challenges will face Mr De Klerk. His apparent sincerity and graciousness; his invitation to South Africans to walk through the door to a new country and not to batter it down — all these are impressive. But we need some action; not just words.

Mr De Klerk pledged himself during his inaugural speech to two very important actions: reconciliation and negotiation. I have long called for these, and I can only say I respect the risk Mr De Klerk is taking in calling for them.

But as one of the spiritual leaders of this land, it is incumbent on me to warn him that if he does not seize the opportunity to take those actions which would free black leaders to set a process of dialogue and reconciliation in motion, our troubles will continue.

The first is to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. For there can be no meaningful negotiations without granting an amnesty to Mr Mandela and all the leaders in prison and releasing them.

The second important action would be for Mr De Klerk to unban the ANC, PAC and BCM, which have been underground for up to 29 years. The banning of these organisations was the most effective way of killing communication between the Government and the majority of the people in our land.

Since then the Government has been talking to itself. Those whom the Government thought would be acceptable leaders were chosen or approved of by the Government. They, therefore, represented the Government and not the people. The Government listened to the echo of its own voice and felt much comforted. Some Government supporters and some rightwing parties are still yearning for and fighting for that lullaby. It's no good. The night is past.

The third action needed, therefore, is for the Government not to appoint leaders for the black people. Some people have raised the question of who will represent the blacks at the negotiation table. This, frankly, is not the business of the Government. It is the blacks themselves who should agree on some acceptable formula of representation.

The role of the church in this pre-negotiation phase should be that of encouraging people to ensure that the ablest negotiators represent them.

It is not the role of church leaders to take part in negotiations. This is the task of political leaders. The work of church leaders is to act as honest brokers, reconcilers and facilitators. Further, as now and as at all times, the church should continue to be the conscience of the nation, so that the negotiated plan can work in the best interests of our land.

This will not be easy and will call for prayers from the whole nation.

To paraphrase the Quaker Gerald Priestland in his book *The Dilemmas of Journalism*, the churchman's main function — in the stages leading to negotiation and reconciliation — should be "to carry selected messages to and fro, building bridges across which people may reach out and understand one another".

OUT! But will they be FREE

Hope from De Klerk

BY ZB MOLEFE

STATE President FW de Klerk is keeping his fingers crossed.

He is hoping the government will not have to impose restrictions on ANC leader Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners when they are released.

"I really hope it is not necessary to re-impose restrictions on those released," De Klerk told a Press conference on Wednesday.

He was asked if Walter Sisulu, six other high-placed ANC members and PAC member Jafta Masemola, would suffer the same fate as ANC member Govan Mbeki, who was released from Robben Island in 1987.

Mbeki is restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial dictrict.

When Mbeki's restrictions were announced, Police Commissioner General Hennie de Witt said the action had come about "because it became necessary to prevent promotion of the revolutionary climate".

De Klerk made his statement of hope after a three-hour meeting with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, World Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, and World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Boesak.

De Klerk said his release of the eight was above all else a gesture of goodwill.

He also told reporters he stood by his "open door" policy.

" We believe in democracy and free speech. Those who don't agree with us are free to do so. The right to disagree with us will be maintained," he said.

In an overview of the meeting, De Klerk said the churchmen had made seven demands.

He was careful to point out that the churchmen were not negotiating with the government, but had acted as faciliators.

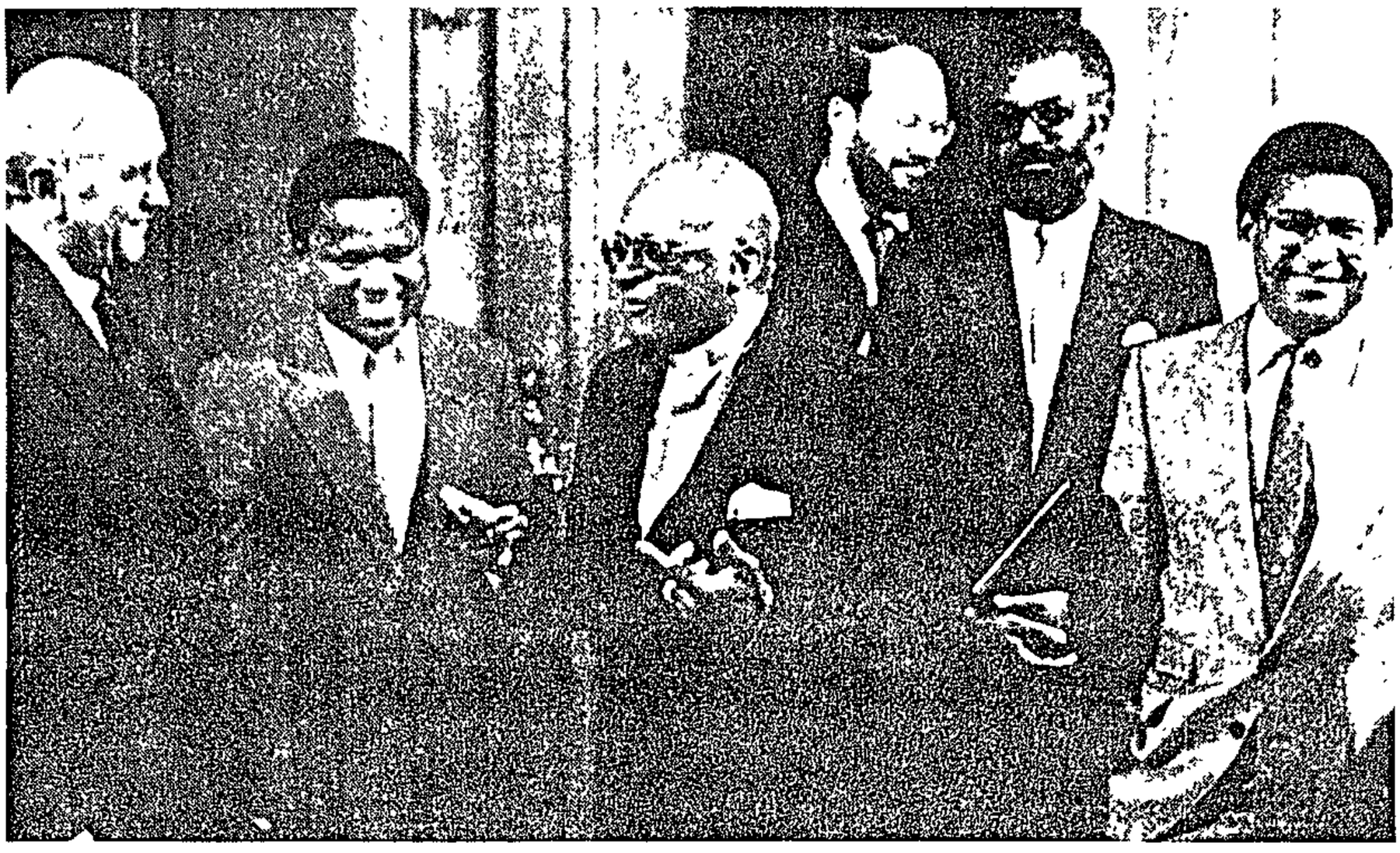
"It was talks about talks," he said.

Asked about the escalation of anti-apartheid marches countrywide, De Klerk said: "It is not necessary to protest, to break down an open door. What is necessary now is to decide what the new South Africa will look like."

The three church leaders later outlined the seven point memorandum which formed the basis of their talks with De Klerk.

The demands they brought for discussion were:

- Allow exiles to return home,
- Repeal legislation enabling government to inhibit free political activity,
- Repeal the Population Registration Act,
- Repeal the Separate Amenities Act,
- Repeal the Group Areas Act,
- Repeal the Land Act and,
- Embark on negotiations with liberation movements.



Desmond Tutu shares a joke with FW De Klerk before talks this week. Frank Chikane and Allan Boesak look on.

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

New task for the people



NEVER in the history of this beautiful but eternally sad and divided country have its people been faced with such a mammoth task – that of winning each other's trust.

We have a government with a bad track record that has resulted in loss of credibility in the eyes of the people. For 41 years it did not take into consideration the aspirations of people of colour. All these years the government thought she existed in a Utopian state. Now the moment of truth has arrived.

Under the leadership of President FW de Klerk, dramatic changes are taking place. There is a cry from the government saying: "Please trust us now and forget about the past. Please appreciate every little step we take for a new social order in this country and, for Heaven's sake, please accept our bone fides."

It is a desperate plea and it is having a ripple effect on people, both black and white, locally and internationally.

Never before have we seen such political activity under Afrikaner rule. The hype is simply uncontrollable. There is a deafening silence from ultra-rightwing groups, there are murmurs and whispers among white leftwing groups and there is a growing vibration and optimism in the black townships.

In his own words – after meeting Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Allen Boesak – President De Klerk said the big challenge was to break through the gap of mistrust.

To prove his intentions and against all expectations, De Klerk announced the release of seven Rivonia trialists, including PAC leader Jeff Masemola, and Oscar Mpetha.

On the other hand, black political movements believe all the changes that are presently taking place should not be attributed to De Klerk but to the masses themselves – those who have fought tirelessly against unjust laws and for the release of political prisoners.

What is really important at this stage? Is it change and how soon that change takes place? Or is it who has done what to bring about that change?

Mistrust is the operative word, and mistrust between the government and the people looks certain to be with us for a long time.

President De Klerk should know that for every concession he makes people will ask questions: Don't you think this problem should not have been there in the first place, don't you think this is too little, too late?

The release of the eight political prisoners is a question in point. The argument is that they would not have gone to prison in the first place had the National Party not introduced apartheid.

There are many more people still in prison for their political convictions.

President De Klerk's assignment now is to correct all the wrongs his predecessors have committed over a period of many years – but he will have to move fast to counteract mistrust.

Playing political games is different from being honest. Many people believe, with justification, that the ANC leaders were released to coincide with the Commonwealth conference this week so that British Premier Margaret Thatcher could attempt to put South Africa's case in a better light.

To digress: those of us who had the opportunity of meeting Britain's Iron Lady at No 10 Downing Street recently were surprised by her influence and involvement in South African affairs.

For instance she knew, although she did not spell it out categorically, that Sisulu, Mphetha and other political prisoners would be released sooner than most South Africans expected.

This is the political ballgame that our people should learn and understand. It is one thing to disregard Mrs Thatcher, US President George Bush and other Western leaders as irrelevant, but it is another when they show the enormous influence they have on our lives.

Was it not Mrs Thatcher who was impressed with the dignity of Mrs Albertina Sisulu when they met at No 10 Downing Street and assured her that she would do her best to get her husband released?

To digress again: I was depressed and taken aback when I learnt that the power struggle within the PAC was continuing unabated. I was told while in London that there was a London PAC group, which allegedly consists of the original PAC executive and the Daar-es-Salaam group under the leadership of Mr Johnson Mlambo.

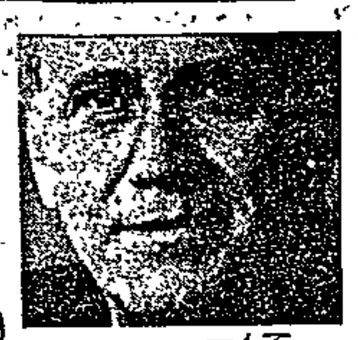
At a time when the forces within are striving for unity with the various political persuasions, we still have people who fight over mundane issues.

One would have thought that, after being in exile for so long, unity would have been of paramount importance. Should the eight prisoners to be released be granted passports to travel abroad, they should not be disillusioned that their long lonely years in prison have been in vain.

In the meantime, let us welcome them back home with dignity. Let us make them feel that through all the years they were incarcerated we were with them, body and soul. After all, they are our authentic leaders who have been tried and tested.

Freedom for Sisulu Eight is high-risk step towards ANC release and a...

FW'S BIG ANC GAMBLE



President De Klerk ... and ANC prisoner Walter Sisulu



S/Times 15/10/89

(30cA)

Your lover or your wife! TV newsman San in love dither as he dates No 3



SAN REDDY: Decisions





By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE three-week-old De Klerk Government is poised to take its boldest — and riskiest — step towards creating a climate for all-race negotiations.

By last night, Mr Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the banned ANC, and seven other top-level security prisoners had been flown from the Cape to prisons near their homes in preparation for their release — expected within the next 48 hours.

If their return to society — in most cases, after decades of imprisonment — passes without upheaval, President De Klerk is expected to take the next dramatic step: The release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The stage would then be set for the most far-reaching process in the country's post-war history: The step-by-step preparation for talks with recognised leaders of all groups to devise a new constitution.

Yesterday international interest focused sharply on SA as world leaders waited for the Government to implement its pledge to free the Sisulu Eight.

Press, television and radio correspondents were massed at the Orlando West home of the Sisulu family and at other prisoners' houses across the country as the excitement mounted.

Unprecedented

The long wait followed a week of intense activity involving Mr Mandela, leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

After announcing the impending release of Mr Sisulu and seven others, the Government took the unprecedented step of permitting leaders of the MDM — including Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Elijah Barayi — to meet Mr Mandela inside the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

A Government statement revealed that Mr Mandela had been given prior information about the release of the Sisulu Eight, but that his own



THE KISS that sealed their bond: Bride Anne

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Sisulu Eight.

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Paarl.

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Mandela had been given prior informatio[n]
the release of the Sisulu Eight, but that
freedom was "not yet on the
agenda".

The prison meetings, plus the Government statement, immediately led to speculation that Mr Mandela — while still resisting invitations to negotiate until his stated conditions have been met — was nevertheless involved in informal "pre-negotiations".

The imminent release of Mr Sisulu and seven others — unfettered by restrictions — also led to frantic activity in MDM and ANC circles. MDM spokesmen said applications would immediately be made for the ex-prisoners to be given passports.

Sources said it was felt that, after so many years in prison, the released men needed to consult exiled ANC leaders before planning the MDM's strategy towards Mr De Klerk's policy of negotiation.

Divisions

Unity among black movements — possibly including attempts to reach an accommodation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement — was said to be high on the agenda.

Divisions within the ANC and MDM — not least about the future status of released prisoners — must also be resolved.

Militants, still sceptical about Mr De Klerk's sincerity, were also expected to insist on further gestures from Pretoria.

It is known that the Government has been discussing the possibility of reforming the law on public amenities and also a dilution — and perhaps even the lifting — of the state of emergency.

However, senior sources said these projects had temporarily been placed on the back-burner until the Government had time to assess the reaction — at home and abroad — to the Sisulu release.

Reaction

In the Government's view, the prisoner release follows the recent legitimising of public protest as opening gambits in a lengthy process of preparing the climate for negotiations for a new SA.

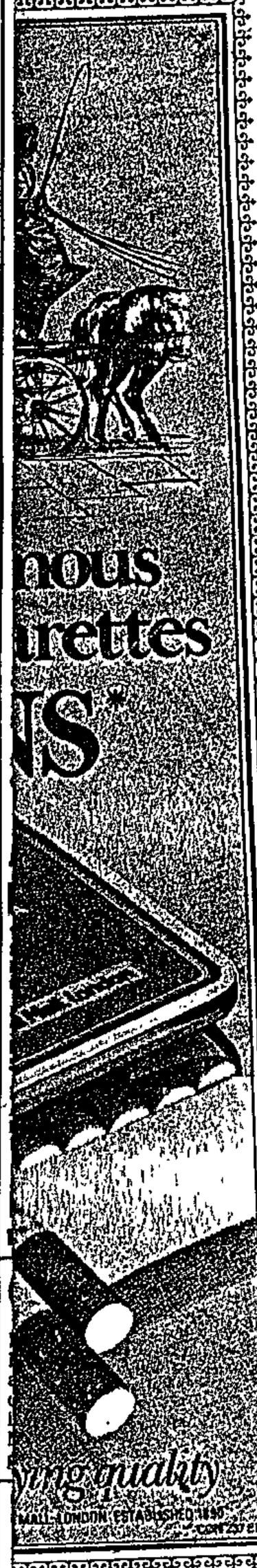
Violence or any other form of serious political upheaval could thus retard the entire process.

Powerful conservative and security lobbies in the Government — which have lately taken a back seat in the reform debate — would also reassert themselves.

As for short-term reform

☐ To Page 2

and Phillip Tucker



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FW's bold and risky step for all-race negotiations

(304A) S/Times 15/10/89

□ From Page 1

plans, the Government is said to have plans for far-reaching alterations to, or the outright scrapping of, the Separate Amenities Act.

Selected slackening of the state of emergency regulations is also being debated.

A senior Government aide said yesterday: "If this momentum can be maintained we could be looking at the start of something very interesting indeed."

Western diplomats say the international attention that would surround a visit by Mr Sisulu and others to Lusaka — followed by the release of Mr Mandela himself — was likely to bring renewed pressure on the ANC to engage in direct talks with the SA Government.

It would be urged to concede, at least temporarily, Pretoria's one publicly stated precondition for talks — forswearing violence and a commitment to peace.

Herman Jansen reports that scores of media representatives yesterday spent another frustrating day at the Sisulu home waiting for the expected homecoming. Young Comrades guarded the dilapidated gate to the modest house in Orlando West.

No policemen were to be seen, and only a trickle of spectators were present.

But at sunset there was sudden excitement.

Mineworkers' Union secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — who together with Mr Murphy Morobe of the UDF is in charge of the Sisulu "welcoming committee" — asked the media to clear their cars from the front of the house.

The crowd of spectators grew and the scene looked set for a rousing welcome after a 25-year absence — a magnificent red moon rising over a dusty Soweto, a whispering crowd and muted freedom songs ...

But it was not to be. Two hours later, with the excitement fizzling out, Mr Ramaphosa left the Sisulu home in his car.

"My gut feeling is the release will be tomorrow," he said.

Democracy begins to sprout in the strangest places

B|Day 16|10|89.

KEN OWEN 304A

THINGS are happening in this troubled land that I did not expect to see in my lifetime. Already the more nimble-minded political animals — people like Harry Schwarz and Professor Fatima Meer — are adjusting to a new climate. For the slow-witted, a cold wind blows.

Private conversations with old friends in the higher echelons of the National Party have convinced me that President de Klerk is in earnest. His vision may be flawed, and his methods dubious, but he plans to bring the people of South Africa to the conference table. He will work to that end.

The ANC, which can draw on the resources of the Western intelligence agencies for information that is denied to other South Africans, came to that conclusion some time ago. It has staked out a negotiating position which, it confesses, is intended to capture the high ground before negotiations begin.

Other strange and exciting things are happening. Little more than a week ago I sat in a hall in Lenasia listening to the most extraordinary speech by Fatima Meer, in which she warned a predominantly left-wing audience that the "liberatory struggle" had drifted from its democratic roots.

She accused it of a "vulgar Trotskyism" which preached irreconcilable conflict, branding some people as collaborators. I took this to be a reference to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha, and indeed, within moments she was warning of the deeply felt resentment of both Buthelezi and his followers at being defined out of the freedom struggle.

She spoke of the secrecy of the liberation movements, the manipulation spawned by that secrecy, the pernicious effect of foreign funding, and the deep divisions between generations. Pointing to Mozambique and Angola, she warned of the danger of similar warfare between rival black groups after liberation.

Her speech, interestingly, followed publication of an article in the intellectual socialist magazine, Work in Progress, in which socialist Daryl Glaser indulged in a similar *mea culpa*. He confessed that the left had long perceived South African liberalism as its enemy, "to be fought at all costs".

He observed that the "revisionist history" which had emerged in such a flood from the English universities from the early Seventies onward was aimed at debunking liberal historiography. Now (perhaps the new "line" has come from Gorbachev?) he calls for partial conciliation with liberals.

I shall take a bow, thank you very much, for spotting early in the Seventies what was happening in the history departments, and setting up a howl of protest which lasted until about a fortnight ago. It will take honest graduate students a decade of hard work to go through all the work of the revisionists to separate the history from the propaganda; but at least they know now that any "history" book of the past two decades may well be adulterated by rubbish. They have been warned.

However, to return to the point, the release of political prisoners is a preliminary move in a process which has a long way to go, and which will throw up surprises — sometimes very nasty surprises — for everybody who has given his life, in one way or another, to the fight against apartheid.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example, calls himself and his clerical side-kicks, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Allan Boesak, "facilitators", not negotiators (and if a sustained display of sibilant menace can be called facilitative, he is right). Their role ends when the negotiations begin.

The Rev Boesak has ample precedent in the Dutch Reformed Church for a switch to a political career, but for an archbishop to descend from the opulent heights of Bishopscourt to the back benches of the commons would be most unusual. If negotiations occur, Archbishop Tutu may well find himself exiled to spiritual fields.

The same dilemma (if indeed it is a dilemma) confronts Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa, the protesting mums of the Black Sash, Wynand Malan, and perhaps most of the Democratic Party. Some of South Africa's finest, and most-repeated, speeches about freedom, and some of the best posters, are dating very quickly as the government tries to meet the legitimate preconditions for talks.

Harry Schwarz, displaying as usual the quickest analytical mind in South African politics, has already observed, in effect, that it would be wicked to put obstacles in President de Klerk's way if, indeed, he is trying to get negotiations started. But the prospect is threatening.

The first precondition for sensible negotiations, surely, is permit-free political activity in order to identify the legitimate representatives of the various factions of a divided society. A negotiated settlement reached without the participation of the Conservative Party would plainly sow the seeds of an Ulster-type civil war; a settlement that excluded Inkatha, or Chief Sebe, or Bantu Holomisa, or the communists, would hardly be better.

In fact, behind Mrs Meer's plea for a new conciliation with blacks, I detect the evil smell of the necklace. As the political system is freed up, so the pressures for conformity from status-threatened leaders will rise. The ANC wants to be the sole negotiator for liberation and it is ready — as it has often said — to kill people in order to achieve its ends.

Anyway, as Mrs Meer says, the democratic traditions of "liberatory" politics have been undermined by the years of banishment and conspiracy. In the place of openness, there is secrecy, manipulation and hidden foreign money; in the place of debate, there is a dreadful Trotskyite demand for conformity (best seen on the campuses); and in the place of a healthy diversity, there is a witch-hunting search for "collaborators" and "sell-outs".

The real spirit of liberation politics, briefly displayed when government control of the townships broke down in 1985-86, is a ferocious uniformity, enforced by terror. Mrs Meer, living in Natal where a pitiless war rages between Inkatha and the UDF, understands the danger.

The white opponents of apartheid, a drowsy bunch in the main, show little awareness of the important — and very courageous — endeavour on which Mrs Meer has now embarked to prepare the wider community for a new society. Unless they wake up, and soon, they will find themselves left behind; the new South Africa will be formed without them.

As matters stand, the Democratic Party is still mouthing platitudes about freedom, but half its members don't believe that liberal stuff anyway, and half its leaders want to be virtuous facilitators like Archbishop Tutu.

This is a pity, because the only useful role open to the DP in the next (critical) five years is intellectual: to offer liberal solutions to the many dilemmas that will arise as the representatives of two failed ideologies, apartheid and socialism, grope their way towards each other.

Only liberalism can secure both liberty and progress, while accommodating the diversity of South Africa. But the liberals have had the stuffing knocked out of them by the bully-boys, Nationalists on one side and socialists on the other, for 40 years. They don't have much courage or conviction left.

Mother in court over demo at 'Wit Wolf' trial

ARGUS 17/10/89 3044

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A mother who demonstrated outside the Supreme Court to show the far right that Barend Strydom was a "murderer" and not a "hero" has had sentencing postponed in a Pretoria Regional Court.

Magistrate Mr M de Kock yesterday found Sandra Lucia Ewer, 29, of Roodepoort, guilty of demonstrating within a 500-metre radius of a court building on May 25.

Mr De Kock said he would postpone sentencing for 12 months but if Ewer appeared on a similar charge within that period she could be sentenced.

In her evidence Ewer, a mother of two young children, told Mr De Kock she was no radical. During the week of May 22 she was continuously exposed to far-right support for mass murderer Barend Strydom and their use of the trial as a political platform.

The actions of the far right were totally against her moral convictions and Christian beliefs.

She said these organisations made their support and political views publicly known by their dress during the proceedings.

Ewer said that by May 25 (the day Strydom was sentenced) she was very unhappy as it appeared that authorities were doing nothing.

She said the bad publicity created the impression in the overseas Press that all South Africans, especially Afrikaners, supported these racial actions.

For a mother whose children had to have a future in the country and a person who wanted to promote racial harmony, it was all too much.

On May 25 she stood outside the Pretoria Supreme Court with a poster which she lifted up for the crowd to see. She said her protest was not aimed at the State.

She wanted to bring it home to the far right that Strydom was a "mass murderer" and not a "hero" and she blamed them for the racial hatred they sowed in the country — not only between black and white but also between English and Afrikaners.

Ewer said she thought this was also a way to show the world that not all Afrikaners supported murderers.

She admitted that she should have done research to see if her actions were against the law.

State prosecutor Mrs L Meyer said the strong words that Ewer used on the poster ("Wipe out the Kappie Komando, AWB and Wit Wolwe and Murderer, do it on the gallows") could have instigated an uproar.

The young mother denied this was her intention. She said she did not mean people should be wiped out — she meant the organisations.

tricity and water accounts with average electricity account in region of R100, she said.

belonging to a so-call hauled away by police a dor's residence in Seo

Harry's digs at fellow DPs raise tensions

CAT Thurs 17/10/89 30kA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SIMMERING tensions have emerged in the Democratic Party after its outspoken MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, lashed out at people who wanted ex-PFP members to keep a low profile and publicly warned that the DP could lose the support in its traditional strongholds.

Yesterday Mr Schwarz said "a struggle for the soul of the DP" would take place over its values and its policies.

He dismissed people who believed the DP had only a facilitating role and said the party had to have a mission, particularly when it came to negotiations, about the policies it wanted in South Africa.

"You need a political party in negotiations that is absolutely firm on fundamentals.

"It is not sufficient merely to be in favour of negotiations. What is needed is a party that knows what end result it wants and knows what needs to be done," Mr Schwarz said.

He believed the DP's mission should be based on a firm commitment to human rights, as well as to Western democratic political and economic systems.

The DP should do everything possible to get people together, across racial and political lines, who believed in these values.

There had to be a non-racial democratic value system which people wanted to follow, and he wanted to get the debate going, both within the DP and publicly, on these issues.

Mr Schwarz raised tensions in the DP in two hard-hitting articles in Sunday papers at the weekend in which he made pointed digs at people in the party who had criticised former members of the PFP.

Give SA a chance — Nigeria

LONDON — President F W de Klerk's prisoner release won dramatic support from independent Africa's most powerful country on Wednesday when Nigeria's High Commissioner in London, George Dove-Edwin, said SA deserved a breathing space before sanctions were intensified.

In a statement that could swing next week's Commonwealth leaders summit in Malaysia away from imposing new financial sanctions, Dove-Edwin said his government might suggest putting the new SA government on probation for up to six months. (3049) (

His statement, made on BBC TV's Newsnight programme, appeared to reject the Canadian demands to intensify pressure on SA's ability to reschedule its massive foreign debt burden. B/Day 17/10/84

It seems certain to relieve the hostility and sanctions pressure on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — as long as

IAN HOBBS

De Klerk lives up to his reform promises.

Welcoming the releases and De Klerk's talks with church leaders, Dove-Edwin said: "A period of probation which we (Nigeria) might be willing to go along with would be maybe four to six months in which we would say, all right, we accept the administration is only one month in place.

"They have made some fine statements. They have taken one or two small gestures — which are important in the SA situation.

"If they then perform as their promises appear to indicate, then, as the small gesture that they have taken now seems to foretell, of course they are welcome to four or six months to do more."

Nigeria, by far the most influential African country, could carry the votes of an overwhelming majority of Commonwealth states to support the view.

SA ready to talk to ANC

Sowetan 17/10/89

304A

LONDON - The South African Government is ready to negotiate with the ANC without preconditions, South Africa's Ambassador to London, Mr Rae Killen, said yesterday.

Asked on an early-morning BBC news programme whether Pretoria was prepared to meet the ANC, he said: "Not only with the ANC, but with leaders of all communities in South Africa."

Killen said that after the historic "tea party" with Mr P W Botha, Nelson Mandela had pronounced himself committed to peaceful change.

Would the proposed, wide-ranging talks with black leaders include the ANC?

"Yes, indeed," Killen replied.

"If they are able to come to the conference table, if they are prepared to negotiate with South Africa."

Pressed on whether there were any preconditions to the talks, Killen said: "Not at the moment, no."

Asked whether the release of the eight political dissidents on Sunday was not "rather carefully and cynically timed" to disarm the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting this week, Killen replied: "I think it's part of the process (of change), another step. De Klerk had to move quickly after his inauguration."

"He's met with three churchmen, he's announced a different treatment of peaceful protest marchers. This is a continuation of what he said he would do to make it possible for the leaders to get together to negotiate."

There was, he said, "a wish to get away from the confrontations of the past".

FW could win over DP backers — Nic Olivier

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — About one-third of the registered white voters in SA cast their ballots in favour of the ruling NP, DP research chief Nic Olivier has said.

He also estimated in a paper released yesterday that although the NP won 47,74% of the votes cast on September 6, it lost the support of about 100 000 voters.

But, he admitted that President F W de Klerk could get the enthusiastic support of many of the voters who stayed away from the polls, "and even of the people at present supporting the DP".

This could take place if government's actions were in line with De Klerk's "reformist" statements; if it could succeed in breaking SA out of international isolation; if it could improve the economic situation, especially in regard to inflation; and if it could succeed in getting a process of real constitutional negotiations going.

Olivier, a former MP and former Stellenbosch University academic, said in a 27-page assessment of the election results that one of the fundamental questions occupying the minds of political analysts and pundits was whether the NP could stop the erosion of its support, and much would depend on the policies, actio. . and achievements of government

NP lost 100 000 voters — survey

Cape Times 18/10/89 304A

By BARRY STREEK

THOUGH the National Party won 47,74% of the votes cast in September's election, it lost the support of about 100 000 voters, mainly to the Conservative Party and Democratic Party, DP research chief Mr Nic Olivier has concluded.

But he admitted that President F W de Klerk could get the enthusiastic support of many of the voters who stayed away from the polls — "even of the people at present supporting the DP".

This could take place if the government's actions were in line with Mr De Klerk's "reformist" statements, if it could succeed in breaking South Africa out of international isolation, if it could improve the economic situation — specially in regard to inflation — and if it could succeed in getting a process of real constitutional negotiations going.

Mr Olivier, an ex-MP and former Stellenbosch University academic, said in a 27-page assessment of the election results that one of the fundamental questions occupying the minds of political analysts and pundits was whether the NP could stop the erosion of its support.

In the election, the NP won the support of 47,74% of those who voted, the CP 31,09%, the DP 20,43% and the HNP 0,25%.

Mr Olivier said this meant the opposition parties represented a majority of voters.

There were now no fewer than 42 marginal seats with majorities of 1 000 or less, including 10 with majorities of less than 250, seven of which were held by the CP and three by the NP.

Mr Olivier said it was evident from the statistics and other details that the right-wing opposition was no longer confined to the rural areas.

"It has become a major political force in non-rural, particularly blue-collar urban/-industrial areas, and to a quite a considerable extent has succeeded in wooing Afrikaner support away from the NP."

His tentative assessment was that 22,5% to 27,5% of English-speaking voters supported the NP, 5% to 7% the CP and 65% to 72,5% the DP, while 52% to 57,5% of Afrikaans-speakers supported the NP, 38% to 42% the CP and 4,5% to 6% the DP.

"The expectations that a relatively substantial percentage of Afrikaans-speakers would vote for the DP did not in fact take place."

FW warns about rural migration

B Day 18/10/89

GERALD REILLY

304A

MIGRATION of the rural population to the urban areas was one of the major problems for South Africa , President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town last night. His speech was released in Pretoria.

Opening the annual conference of the South African Cultural Union, he stressed demand for housing in the metropoles alone, caused by the migration, was a most pressing part of the problem. It had to be tackled.

If living conditions in the rural areas could be made more attractive, migration to cities could be partly curbed.

On market-orientated production, De Klerk said nowhere in the world did agriculture operate in a totally free market situation.

There would always be circumstances compelling the State to protect the industry.

Economically active

Stressing the socio-economic contribution of agriculture, De Klerk said it provided jobs, contributing to economic and social infrastructure in rural areas and helped protect South Africa's borders.

After mining, agriculture was the second biggest net earner of foreign exchange and the biggest job provider in the platteland.

De Klerk said about 17% of the economically active population worked in agriculture, the industry providing a livelihood for about 23% of the total population and contributing between 5% and 7% of the GNP.

However, only about 12% of the agricultural surface area of 86-million hectares was workable. Of this only 3% was high potential land.

Referring to the droughts of the 80s, he said because of the resultant decrease in farm exports, the country's balance of payments had been harmed.

Farmers' debts had risen to around R14bn which had made great demands on the local capital market as well as on the Agricultural Credit Board.

was not sufficient to withstand Tuesday's quake.

Mr Bruce Cannon, administrator land Bay Bridge and two bridges in the Santa Cruz area 120 km to the south.

The quake hit at 5:04 pm (about 5 am SA time) along a segment of the San Andreas Fault 13 km north-

FW may spell out attitude to ANC

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

State President Mr F W de Klerk and other Cabinet Ministers are expected to spell out the Government's position in regard to talks with the ANC at the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria on Saturday and at the Free State congress next Tuesday.

Since the release of former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and other security prisoners, comment and speculation on the Government's attitude to the ANC has been rife.

Some National Party leaders have made statements which suggest that the ANC has been given de facto recognition by the Government.

Mr de Klerk is keeping even his own party guessing about whether he intends to give up the Transvaal leadership of the National Party.

Party insiders said they had not been informed of his plans.

They added that the general feeling in the Transvaal party was that Mr de Klerk should hold on to the Transvaal leadership a while longer.

The reason may be that the party wishes to avoid a leadership contest which could ensue as there is no obvious successor.

Several powerful Cabinet figures are standing in the wings. These include the three Transvaal deputy leaders — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Dr Viljoen's chances must have been boosted enormously since he took over the vital constitutional development portfolio in Mr de Klerk's post-election Cabinet shuffle.

However, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis could well leapfrog all three in much the same way as he leap-frogged several senior colleagues to come a close second to Mr de Klerk in the election of a chief leader of the NP on February 2 this year.

JWA Star 18/10/89

Relly says: Let ANC participate

PORT ELIZABETH. — "At the end of the day, the sooner the exiled movements are given the opportunity to participate in a normalising political process in South Africa, the better for all South Africans," Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the 87th annual congress of Assocom, Mr Relly said the ANC was unlikely to be willing to surrender what it saw as its major leverage — the armed struggle — unless it had some idea of the process which would be involved in returning it to a "legitimate" status in South Africa.

Considerable progress had been made on the release of political prisoners, Mr Relly said. When Mr Nelson Mandela was released, this would leave the related question of the unbanning of exiled movements.

Mr Relly said that for South Africa to move forward, the "ritual mantra" of releasing political prisoners, unbanning exiled movements and abolishing the state of emergency should not be taken as a one-off package of immediate change, but should rather be seen as part of a purposeful process of change not amenable to simple timetabling.

Mr Relly said the primary role of business would be to continue to produce wealth and to continue to engage in all activities.

"However, business will not be able to continue to produce wealth if it does not demonstrate that it is committed to a new South Africa," he said

Getting its own house in order meant business meeting enormous challenges in the industrial relations and human resources areas. — Sapa

Viljoen invitation

Ready for the hot weather



THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has stressed the urgency of getting negotiations going.

He confirmed he was prepared to discuss, among other things, preconditions for such negotiations with ANC leaders.

Viljoen said yesterday the Government wanted people around a negotiating table as soon as possible and would prefer preconditions to be ironed out there.

"If we want to get going, the fewer preconditions the better," he said.

Ismail Lagardien and Sapa

Although, as President F W de Klerk had made clear, the ANC was "only one of a number of possible and would prefer preners," some ANC leaders had made tentative "sounds" indicating the organisation might be prepared to move to a negotiation stance.

Viljoen, who is De Klerk's key negotiation man, said there would obviously be a variety of opinion at the negotiation table. Whether the ANC was a party to negotiation depended on its preparedness to commit itself to a process of peaceful change.

Viljoen said he was encouraged by the attitude taken so far by Walter Sisulu and the others released from prison on Sunday.

He was willing to discuss with Sisulu and other ANC leaders preconditions for negotiation.

Viljoen indicated that he was encouraged by the initial remarks made by Sisulu and said that the government had released the eight "to test the waters before considering other steps to normalise the security and political situation."

He said that while Sisulu had reaffirmed his commitment to the armed struggle he had also stated that he wanted to promote an orderly re-integration into society.

"And while he committed himself to protest politics he made the point that he wanted to do this in an orderly and disciplined way," Viljoen said.

Napo

MR Joey Napo (48) of 1277 Molapo, Soweto, will be buried on Saturday at Avalon cemetery.

A funeral service will be held at Molapo Catholic Church at noon. He died on Sunday at home after a short illness and is survived by three brothers, two sisters and a child.



Joey is the brother to popular Naledi high school teacher Barry Napo of Mapetla.

SA's adversaries inching nearer negotiating table

30HA Star 19/10/89

War, remarked the Prussian general and military theorist Karl von Clausewitz, is the continuation of politics by alternative means.

With one qualification, his dictum is pertinent to South Africa today. The direction is being reversed. Politics is emerging as a substitute for war.

The warring adversaries are moving, inch by inch, from the battlefield to the negotiating table. The conflict which is being slowly demilitarised is the long simmering struggle between South Africa's white rulers and their black nationalist foes.

The release last weekend of eight long-term political prisoners — seven of whom are leaders of the African National Congress and one a leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress — marks a first but important stage in the process of re-setting the scene for political bargaining.



The point dramatically illustrated at the historic meeting at Soweto's Holy Cross Church on Sunday when seven ANC men spoke under an ANC banner, in the name of the ANC, was that banned organisations have been given an undeclared but real opportunity to function openly as political organisations.

"It is becoming increasingly apparent that negotiations with credible black leaders cannot take place until at least some of the following have been achieved: release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, elimination of remaining segregation laws, lifting the state of emergency and recognition by the Government that organisations such as the ANC have a role in the country's politics." — from an advertisement placed in the International Herald Tribune by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

Real opportunity

For the first time since the ANC and the PAC were outlawed in April 1960 — and the subsequent formation of their underground military wings, the ANC's Umkhonto we Size and the PAC's Poqo and APLA — these organistions have been given an undeclared but real opportunity to function openly as political organisations rather than covertly as guerilla forces.

The point was dramatically illustrated at the historic meeting at Soweto's Holy Cross Church on Sunday when the seven ANC men spoke under a huge ANC banner, and in the name of the ANC.

President de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, whom he has entrusted with the delicate task of negotiating a settlement, have understandably played their cards close to their chests.

But an advertisement, placed in the *International Herald Tribune* by the Department of Foreign Affairs, spells out their game plan in a little more detail. Significantly, it was inserted before President de Klerk's announcement on October 10 that the rlease of the eight political prisoners was imminent.

The advertisement described Mr de Klerk's earlier decision to allow peaceful protest marches as an essential first step. But, it said, far more was required.

"It is becoming increasingly apparent that negotiations with credible black leaders cannot take place until at least some of the following have been achieved: release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, elimination of remaining segregation laws, lifting the state of emergency and recognition by the Government that organisations such as the ANC have a role in the country's politics."

The freeing of the eight black nationalists must be seen in this context; the Department of Foreign Affairs was acting — it can be safely assumed — with the knowledge and approval of Mr de Klerk.

The President and his advisers must have anticipated the resumption by the eight men of their roles as leaders. It was, indeed, integral to their plan to move "step by step" — to use a phrase which both Mr de Klerk and Dr Viljoen are wont to quote — towards a negotiated settlement.

It seems, too, that Mr de Klerk has been prudent enough to enlist the help of the jailed Mr Mandela in the process. The ANC leader was seen by Dr Viljoen and the Minister of Justice and Prisons, Mr Kobie Coetsee, only days before the release was announced.

Different interpretations can be offered. But, overall, the one which seems most cogent is that they wanted Mr Mandela to use his immense authority to persuade his co-prisoners to help keep popular emotions under control when they were released.

Working together

Another development supports the scenario of Mr Mandela and the authorities working together to set the stage for negotiations: the meeting on October 10, only a few hours before Mr de Klerk announced the release of the eight, between Mr Mandela and a delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement. It gave Mr Mandela a chance to brief the delegates on the pending releases and the need for discipline.

It is against that background that the generally low key statements by the seven ANC men at Sunday's meeting in Soweto should be appraised.

The response of former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu to a question about whether the freed ANC leaders would hold mass rallies reflected their judicious approach.

He said: "It is the duty of the leadership to continue the pressure for freedom, to pressurise the Government in every possible manner, in an orderly and disciplined manner."

Armed struggle by Umkhonto we Sizwe was endorsed, not as a preferred course of action but as one which was forced on the ANC when it was outlawed and driven underground. As Mr Andrew Mlangeni said: "The ball is in the Government's court."

The release of the eight is part of the process of recognising that the ANC has a legitimate political role to play.

It is, however, a prelude to two vital corollaries: the release of Mr Mandela into a calmer situation where he will be welcomed joyously but not violently, and the start of, at the least, talks about talks.

The Government has made it clear that it does not see the pending talks as a one-on-one situation between itself and the ANC; in Dr Viljoen's phrase, the ANC is envisaged as "only one of a possible number of negotiating partners".

But, if the Government still cherishes hopes of deploying a divide-and-rule strategy at the negotiating table, Mr Mandela has placed black unity at the top of his agenda.

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group reported after several long discussions with Mr Mandela: "He repeatedly stressed the importance of the unity of the whole nationalist movement."

That was three years ago. Nothing has happened since to challenge the validity of that statement.

Won't help reforms – DP

Open areas Act 'near irrelevance'

Star 19/10/89 (3044A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Free Settlement Areas Act as an instrument of Government reform was ineffective to the point of near-irrelevance, the Democratic Party's MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, said last night.

Speaking to the Mountainview Residents' Association at the Linksfield Primary School, Mr Leon said free settlement areas were perceived as being a discriminatory exercise designed to establish a few token integrated areas.

Right of approach

They would be surrounded by a wall of segregated suburbs where the Group Areas Act was rigidly enforced.

One obvious reason for the failure of free settlement areas was the restricted right of approach to the Free Settlement Board. No suburb, residents' association or interested group or individual could approach the Board to investigate the desegregation of an existing suburb.

Requests for investigations had to originate from the Ministers' Council, the Administrator or an entire local authority.

While the DP called for the total abolition of group areas, existing laws should be amended, pending the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, to:

- Widen the right of access to the Board to include the ward councillor, residents' association or any group or persons.
- Provide for a city-wide free settlement area which would provide for realistic space in which open areas could flourish.

However, the DP supported all 65 Indian families in Pageview to have the suburb declared open since residents had no other option to remain in occupation of their homes.

the value of quoted shares. But ... and employee buy-
when Wall Street failed to go whose collapse trigg
lower, British shares rallied day's plunge on Wall

Viljoen willing to talk to Sisulu

Cape Times 17/10/89

From MICHAEL ACOT

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior government minister yesterday said he was willing to discuss with Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders their preconditions for negotiation.

In a telephone interview, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen also said he was encouraged by the attitude taken so far by Mr Sisulu and the others released from prison on Sunday.

While not reiterating government's previous demand that the ANC should renounce violence, Dr Viljoen said they should not back up negotiating positions with threats of violence.

Dr Viljoen said government wanted people to gather around a negotiating table as soon as possi-

To page 2

From page 1

ble and would prefer preconditions to be ironed out there.

"If we want to get going, the fewer preconditions the better."

But government was willing to have "talks about talks" with those who wanted to discuss factors which would influence their participation and to clarify preconditions which may have been set.

Asked specifically if he would meet Mr Sisulu and the other ANC leaders, he said: "We are prepared to include in discussions all people working towards a peaceful solution and who want to take part in discussions.

"We are not exclusive. We are trying to include as many people as possible, provided there is no threat of violence to back up positions at the negotiating table."

Dr Viljoen said the reaction so far by Mr Sisulu and the others had been "very reasonable and balanced".

Two stalwarts quit as DP tensions ignite

Argus 19/10/89 (3061)

From ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Smouldering tensions in the Democratic Party have ignited with two top members, including its Northern Transvaal regional chairman, resigning.

Mr Tertius Spies, chairman of the party for more than a year and a "Prog" since 1959, relinquished the job at an executive meeting of his region on Tuesday night.

Another of the DP's 11 regional chairmen, Dr Rhett Kahn of the Free State, has also left his post.

A third regional executive member, Mr Paul Osborne of the Northern Transvaal, has resigned for personal reasons, but retains his chairmanship of the DP's Sunnyside branch.

More resignations may follow.

Mr Spies and Dr Khan seem to have resigned for similar reasons, chief among them the anti-Progressive Federal Party sentiment in the fledgling DP which surfaced loudly at the party's congress in Durban 12 days ago.

The MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, also incensed at developments in the DP, wrote in a Sunday newspaper:

"Surely if we are all in one party we should all be regarded on merit in an equal fashion. Is it a badge of honour to have been a Nat but to have been PFP something not to be mentioned?

"If the former PFP members are wanted in the Democratic Party then they cannot be hidden under a blanket," he said. The party's 33 parliamentary seats had without exception been won by the English/Jewish vote.

'Anti-English feeling'

Mr Schwarz was alluding also to what is perceived among the discontents as an anti-English feeling.

Mr Spies said anti-PFP sentiment had definitely been evident: "I was virtually informed by the candidate commitee to stand down as a candidate for election (in Waterkloof) because my PFP image was too high," said the former parliamentary candidate.

He said he felt DP policies had, in spite of vehement party denials, been watered down to tempt Nationalists into the party.

Mr Spies said he had received numerous telephone calls from DP members recently complaining about his statement on racially open facilities in Pretoria.

"When I told them it was DP policy, they said: 'Yes, but you don't have to highlight it because that is the sort of statement that chases prospective Nationalists away'.

"I am just not prepared to fudge the issue because it might be sensitive with regard to prospective Afrikaans members," he said. "It is policy and we stand by it. I have never fudged the issue."

Mr Spies said the final straw was the anti-PFP emotion at the Durban congress.

B/Day 20/10/89

Merged Assocom-FCI seen as lobbying force

ZILLA EFRAT

PORT ELIZABETH — The narrowing majority seen in the recent elections meant government and the public sector would have to pay closer attention to lobby groups, especially large business organisations, said Assocom's new president Brian Kurz yesterday.

Kurz was inducted as president at the close of the Assocom conference yesterday.

Should the FCI approve the merger with Assocom at its annual meeting on November 1, the new organisation would become a major lobbying force in SA, said Kurz in an interview.

The business community would have to contribute to improving past performances and to political restructuring in which it had a vital interest.

Kurz, an attorney from Maritzburg, said he would like to see the installation of a number of key values in the political restructuring, including the right to own property, a bill of rights, Reserve Bank independence and decentralisation of decision-making.

He would continue to promote the abolition of sanctions as they were counter-productive and could be largely circumvented. In this regard he congratulated the Rev Allan Boesak who called for a moratorium on sanctions in Kuala Lumpur on Tuesday.

Kurz said the carrot would work better than the stick, and encouragement was what SA needed at this time.

Productivity

The Assocom congress yesterday urged government to promote political changes essential to SA's economic performance and stability.

Other motions called for the structured implementation of the President's Council's report on productivity and an Assocom investigation on business representation on the Regional Services Councils and local authorities.

The congress, endorsing the recommendations of the President's Council's report on productivity, called for the immediate setting up of a national strategy involving all sectors of the economy to ensure the structured implementation of its recommendations.

In calling for constitutional reform, it called on government to implement its commitment to reconciliation and negotiation among all races to prepare the way for a new constitution.

It said government should accept in principle that a bill of rights ensured individual, as opposed to group, rights as part of the new constitution, and commit itself to the repeal or ammendment of all legislation that conflicted with the bill of rights ultimately agreed on.

The congress suppported the planned rationalisation and modernisation of the police force as proposed by the De Witt Committee. It urged government to revise budgetary allocations to substantially increase the strength of the SAP, thus ensuring crime was prevented and detected, and to improve the SAP's pay and working conditions.

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20/10/89

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PIK ON THE MOVE

Foreign Minister Pik Botha this week embarked on various shuttle diplomacy missions. In Paris, he met Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko to lend his support to Mobutu's mediating role in the Angolan conflict.

On Wednesday — barely 12 hours after he met the heads of the Joint Commission on Namibian independence to iron out a few problems which cropped up during their Johannesburg talks — Botha was off again to Maputo for talks with his Angolan counterpart, Loy van Dunem. On Thursday, Botha was due to meet representatives of all the Namibian political parties.

He also addressed the question of sanctions, to be raised at the Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth talks. A proposal by the UDF's Allan Boesak that only existing sanctions be intensified was still not acceptable, said Botha. "The time has come for Boesak to realise that it is also his economy that would suffer and the members of his church who would pay the price in the end."

Matters that were raised with the delegates of Cuba, Angola and the Soviet and American observers were the future of the San (Bushmen) in Namibia and concern about the partial integration of some members of Koevoet into SWA police, said Botha.

On the SA side, the issue of the number of persons still being detained by Swapo was also raised.

"But on the basis of the discussions, I believe there is a readiness among the parties to resolve the issues," he added.

The same, Botha said, goes for the Angolan conflict. SA supports Mobutu's role and feels that a ceasefire should be implemented as soon as possible. Prickly issues, such as the proposal that Unita's Jonas Savimbi, whom Botha also met in France, go into voluntary exile, should be attended to after such a ceasefire, he said.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

The temper of the time

De Klerk and Stals are setting the pace — and there is substance, too



Since F W de Klerk became president, changes — many of them breathtakingly dramatic — have been clustering into the forefront of public consciousness. Out of a genuine determination to reform, the new administration is laying out its bona fides. Thus, we have seen the release of major ANC and PAC prisoners, mass marches under flags including the hammer and sickle, and a deep questioning of the role of the police.

We have also seen a steely upward ratcheting of interest rates. This has more in common with the above-mentioned events than may be immediately apparent.

For to link monetary policy to political reform is vital — reform without a sound economic base, or movement towards it, is doomed to failure. This was argued in the past, not least by the late governor of the Reserve Bank, Gerhard de Kock. But, whereas in the P W-De Kock era, sensible economic policies were pushed aside for political expediency, the F W-Stals team has quickly shown itself to be made of sterner stuff.

Clearly, De Klerk's style is most evident in politics. Commentators expected him to adopt a more civilian mode of government — but the events around the release of political prisoners, amounting to the provisional unbanning of the ANC, illustrate the surprisingly rapid waning influence of Botha's securocrats who dominated the political scene for more than a decade.

Nor is it surprising that De Klerk should move first on the political front. Protest marches and the well-heralded release of political prisoners make far bigger headlines abroad (and have far greater impact on Margaret Thatcher and George Bush) than fiddling about with fiscal policy; and De Klerk, presumably advised by Pik Botha and Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden, has quickly shown an appreciation of the need to capitalise on a (perhaps temporary) more conciliatory international climate.

At the weekend, De Klerk met Magnus Malan and high-ranking SADF generals — the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The likelihood is that he briefed them on why he is making his latest decisions and choices. In small ways as well as in big, militarism is being rejected — though no reformer can survive without the support of the armed forces.

De Klerk can be expected to spread his wings further as he gains confidence. Insiders believe, for example, that Van Heerden may assume duties as De Klerk's chief adviser in Tuynhuys. If so, he will replace the former high-ranking prisons official, Jannie Roux. Symbolism again? Yes, but not only that.

As even his enemies and sceptics now seem willing to concede, De Klerk seems intent on getting the negotiation process off the ground. Negotiations about what? Black representation in central government and democratic institutions, including an effective bill of rights, in one form or another.

Here, most are familiar with a reciprocal problem of "non-negotiables" (though the point of negotiation is not to preclude anything). These are, on government's side, the insistence on group rights; on the ANC's, an unwillingness to forswear the armed struggle as a precondition to talks.

And yet, one by one, preconditions are being waived — or met. This week, Pretoria's head negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, said he was prepared to talk to Walter Sisulu and the other ex-prisoners, whose banning restrictions have been lifted. He adopted no significant pre-emptive negotiating stance. And the armed struggle has waned — perhaps as a result of a policy decision by the ANC (see ***Current Affairs***).

Nonetheless, a senior Cabinet minister admits to the *FM* that the gap of mistrust between government and black leaders remains virtually unbridgeable — though just a little further down the line events could change that.

In recent discussions with the respected black US Republican diplomat, Allan Keys, SA diplomats were told that Pretoria should pressure other negotiating parties by removing all restrictions on political association. The timing and manner of the release of the Rivonia trialists and a leading Pan Africanist — with Nelson Mandela almost certain to follow, most likely in the new year — suggests a trial run for precisely that.

But with the Right fuming — consider what the white miner in Witbank must think when he sees the Rivonia men on TV — can De Klerk deliver?

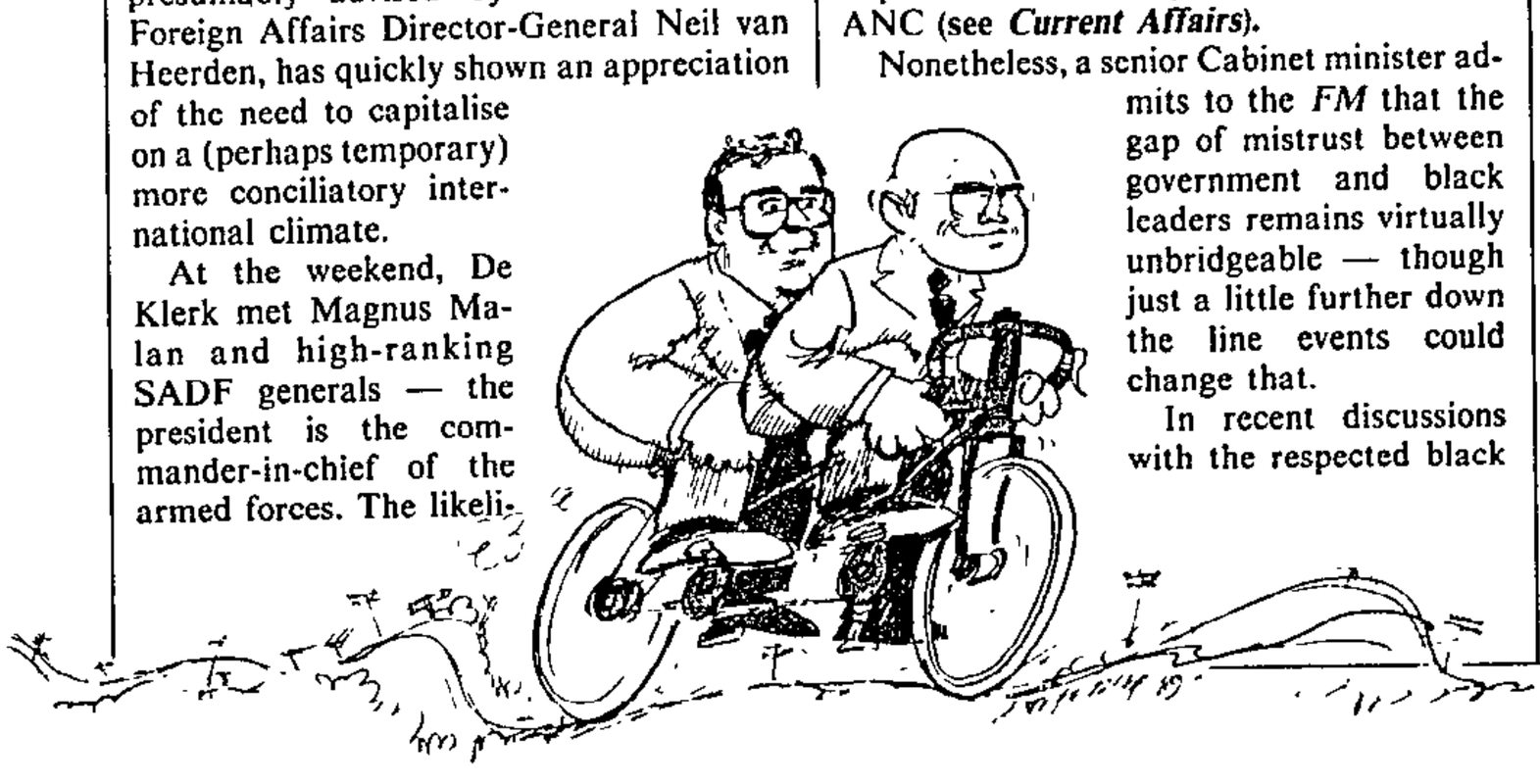


Stals ... tough stand enhances credibility

For the Left, that to some extent depends on a willingness to compromise, to abandon the fiercer manifestations of anti-apartheid shibboleths. Japhta Masemola, the only PAC figure released this week, said De Klerk had so far backed up his position with action. But, looking at the Right, he added that reform could succeed only "if he does not make P W Botha's mistake of looking over his shoulder at conservative whites all the time."

Fortunately, right now, the Conservatives (and, it has to be noted, the Democrats) hardly figure on the political agenda. It is still early in the day — but there appears to be a willingness to ignore the antiquated arguments coming from the CP's Andries Treurnicht, who has become a whinger. De Klerk has made the crucial choice which hampered his predecessor for too long.

In De Klerk's redefinition of the political centre, he is being spurred on by looming security problems. As the latest Idasa newsletter, *Democracy in Action*, warns, this urgency is highlighted by growing realisation on the Right that it cannot win electorally; and that "as this sinks in, it is more than likely that elements on the Right will resort to increased hostility and violence."



304A B/Paul 20/10/87

No US deadline on reform in SA — Cohen

ZILLA EFRAT

PORT ELIZABETH — There would be no specific timetable for changes in SA, said US State department Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen in a satellite interview yesterday.

Cohen said he would not lay down a deadline for the resolution of complex issues, and changes in US sanctions policies would be viewed according to signs of changes in SA.

He said the US was looking for benchmarks to measure the progress towards the dismantling of apartheid and whether President F W de Klerk achieved what he set out to achieve.

He believed De Klerk wanted to make progress quickly and Cohen was delighted with the recent release of political prisoners, which he hoped was the first step in a regular process.

Cohen's personal feeling was sanctions did nothing but harm.

Disinvestment resulted in US companies selling out at low prices, taking their social responsibility programmes with them. Sanctions caused unemployment, especially among blacks.

New thinking

However, sanctions had helped leaders in SA conclude the future for whites was not bright without a settlement with the black majority.

Lack of future cashflow and investment made the SA economy look bleak and led to new thinking which would bring economic and political changes.

Cohen believed the White House would be able to control its policy on SA and said Congress now agreed with the administration there should be a moratorium on pressures on SA.

The administration believed progress was being made.

The US was not going to judge a new SA constitution.

If it was freely negotiated, the US should fully accept it, said Cohen.

The high road or the low road?

(304 A) City Press 28/10/89

Options facing South Africa in the next century

BY ZB MOLEFE

THE picture is frightening: as civil war intensifies in South Africa, thousands of refugees move from affected areas to the cities to establish temporary settlements along main roads.

That is the bleak scenario three authors paint of South Africa in the 21st Century. This is the "Low Road" Brian Huntley, Roy Siegfried and Clem Sunter map out in their recently-published book *South African Environments into the 21st Century.*

The authors continue: "The 'Low Road' implies the continuation of grand apartheid white rule over the bulk of South Africa with no major change to the present homeland boundaries. The country will become increasingly isolated and, as unrest intensifies, it will take on the appearance of a fortress under siege."

This uncontrolled infiltration of squatters into commercial and affluent residential areas leads to a rapid rise in the crime rate and vandalisation of public and private property. Nothing and no-one will be safe.

Marine resources, especially on the west coast, will become even more vulnerable to foreign marauders. Dumping of toxic waste at sea may occur, either with the blessing of corrupt officials or because of the absence of law enforcement.

The First and Third World economies of South Africa will be kept segregated. The bulk of the black community's income will be devoted to basic needs such as grain foods, fuel, transport and rented accommodation.

PERSONAL SECURITY

On the other hand, the whites will increase spending on personal security, insurance and pension funds. A plunging rand will cause a major downturn.

For instance, new cars will be several times as expensive as houses.

The political arena will worsen. The partitioning of South Africa into black and white states will be maintained. KwaNdebele, Lebowa and KwaZulu will be forced into "independence".

"Partition will require the return of influx control, and the complete restoration and rigorous enforcement of the Group Areas Act."

Ultimately, the "Low Road" will reduce South Africa to a state segregated into relatively affluent, but insecure, ageing, intellectually improverished and isolated whites, and a large, youthful, aggressive and economically deprived black majority.

South Africa's isolation will also mean the end to any foreign aid. The demands of keeping a minority regime in power, together with maintaining a tightly controlled economy, will displace all other considerations. An equitable quality of life and environmental health of all South Africans will be given short shrift.

"Meanwhile, the sun will slowly but surely set on the Verwoerdian ideal, as the dream of apartheid turns into a nightmare of missed opportunities," Huntley, Siegfied and Sunter say.

The authors complete this frightening scenario: "The 'Low Road' will perpetuate the South African partitionists' dream of separate, but equal states for each ethnic group. But instead of sharing in the country's wealth, the only commodity to be shared will be impoverishment – equally and separately."

But there is another side of the coin, another scenario: the dream that black South Africa knows as "ubuntu", and what former South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts called "holism".

"This dream," say the authors, "will not become a reality through sanctions or through the barrel of a gun. It will only be attained through high economic growth which over a period of ten to 20 years leads to a transformation of society."

South Africa's present system of land tenure and allocation will be replaced by one more orientated to free enterprise "in accordance with the philosophy of the 'High Road'."

The "High Road" will set new horizons for all South Africans. It means political reform, economic growth, education for all and a slower population growth. "All these suggest an imminent Utopia."

"The environmental consequences and sustainability of this Utopia will differ greatly, depending on how the nation approaches the management of its natural resources – air, water, soil, minerals, plants and animals.

"We can either go for maximum wealth in the short-term, or sustained wealth which can be handed on to future generations."

POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

The authors also say: "An internationally accepted political settlement in South Africa will precipitate a huge economic upswing.

"The removal of sanctions, foreign investment, the opening of trade with African states, improved socio-economic standards, education and a new, positive work ethic are sure to contribute to South Africa achieving the status of a newly-industrialised country early in the 21st Century.

"We can follow in the footsteps of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and Thailand."

The five to ten percent growth rate which a "High Road" scenario envisages, cannot be achieved without drawing heavily on South Africa's natural resources.

In trying to meet aspirations and expectations, political leaders and the captains of industry will be tempted to forego the constraints "that long-term environmental health demands".

Legislation to protect the veld and soil resources has failed over the past 40 years to reduce overgrazing and soil erosion in all but restricted areas.

"The expected demand for red meat in a 'High Road' economy will place greatly increased pressure on the land. The popular slogan that 'it pays to overgraze' makes economic sense in the short-term.

"But this philosophy will devastate the Karoo, the grasslands and Bushveld as we move from a moist 1990s to the arid early years of the 21st century."

FUTURE GENERATIONS

The authors keep on hammering at the need for an improved economy. They argue that a rapidly expanding economy is a great healer. This reduces friction among the races. "The European Common Market has all but ensured that war will never break out again in Western Europe. There is now too much to lose. Likewise, the chances of conflict will diminish to virtually zero with the growth of a non-racial business community." They end the book with a plea: "People must also be educated about the importance of safeguarding the interests of future generations by protecting the environment today.

"Wiping the slate clean of apartheid is one thing: we are fairly confident that this will happen. But what replaces it is even more important."

■ Brian Huntley is ecosystem programmes manager of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research Foundation; Roy Siegfried is a professor in the Faculty of Science, University of Cape Town, and Clem Sunter reports to the chairman of Anglo American Corporation on scenario planning and corporate administration.

■ SOUTH AFRICAN ENVIRONMENTS INTO THE 21st CENTURY by BRIAN HUNTLEY, ROY SIEGFRIED and CLEM SUNTER (HUMAN AND ROUSSEAU) – R19,95c exclusive.

In their recently-published book *South African Environments into the 21st Century* Brian Huntley, Roy Siegfried and Clem Sunter paint a bleak scenario facing South Africa in the 21st Century. But there is also another side to the coin: 'An internationally accepted political settlement in South Africa will precipitate a huge economic upswing.

'The removal of sanctions, foreign investment, the opening of trade with African states, improved socio-economic standards, education and a new, positive work ethic are sure to contribute to South Africa achieving the status of a newly-industrialised country in the 21st Century.

The authors conclude: 'Wiping the slate clean of apartheid is one thing; we are fairly confident that this will happen. But what replaces it is even more important.



OCTOBER • 20 • 1989

Financial Mail

NEGOTIATIONS

304A

FMail 20/10/89

No flying solo

The release from prison of eight septuagenarians with kindly faces and twinkling eyes is an odd indication of how broad a Rubicon F W de Klerk has already crossed. They seem harmless enough — and yet they have paid years of their lives, for a new SA, to use FW's phrase.

The point is that it's only a beginning. It *might* serve to ease the pressure from the pro-sanctioneers at this week's Commonwealth Heads of State meeting in Kuala Lumpur, but hardly begins to deliver that new SA. Still — De Klerk's promise is that better things lie ahead.

What steps need still to be taken? The release of Nelson Mandela is one — but more important is the unbanning of political organisations and the right to free political assembly.

In this process, government's opponents need to show their good faith, too. So far the freed detainees have contributed enormously by virtually dropping the word "violence" from their lexicon. We now have the prospect of negotiations — or, at the very least, negotiations about negotiations. But then — who will be at the negotiating table? And what constituencies will they represent?

Government has said it is ready to talk to all parties but, through recent pronouncements, the ANC seems to be claiming the right to act as the sole, authentic representative of the people. That would be a mistake. There are other interested parties who are owed consideration. The ANC risks sowing further division within the already fractured black nationalist ranks.

Where would that "sole, authentic" status leave the PAC — already predisposed towards violence? Or Inkatha?

In her call for black nationalists to put an end to name-calling and to bury their deep divisions in a new spirit of reconciliation, sociologist Fatima Meer has pointed to the dangers inherent in having the major players squabble for a seat at the head of the negotiating table.

Her appeal for black solidarity makes eminent sense — not least to whites. Whether it can be translated into positive action, given the parties' differing historical perspectives on their role in the liberation struggle, is another question. It would be a tragedy not to try. ■

'Purge' row rocks the DP

Cape Times 20/10/89 3004

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has been rocked by a row over the leadership role of former PFP members in conservative, largely Afrikaans-speaking, platteland areas.

Three senior office-bearers in the party — including two of the party's 11 regional chairmen — have already resigned from their positions, but not from the party.

They are Northern Transvaal regional chairman Mr Tertius Spies, Northern Free State regional chairman Dr Rhett Khan and Northern Transvaal regional executive member Mr Paul Osborne.

Mr Spies said he had received calls from DP supporters who asked him to tone down statements — reflecting official DP policy — on such issues as open amenities because they would "chase away" prospective Nationalist supporters.

However, he was not prepared to "fudge issues" and would rather resign than be "out of step" with party members in the region.

'Probably largely imagined'

Dr Kahn said there was a strong anti-PFP element in certain platteland constituencies, partly because of the belief that "old Progs" would not be able to attract Afrikaners from the NP into the new party.

"I am not prepared to become involved in personal in-fighting and would rather devote my time to township and community politics in future."

Mr Osborne could not be reached for comment.

The DP's national chairman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said last night that he regretted the loss of the office-bearers.

He said the fact that three former PFP members had been elected to their positions by DP formations "a mere few months ago" indicated that a perceived anti-PFP sentiment was "probably largely imagined".

Mr Van der Merwe added: "I am not aware of any watering down of principles in the DP and am surprised at allegations that DP members are attempting to do so."

De Klerk spells out steps to reform

Cipher 22/10/89

BOTHA

IT WAS government's goal to lift the state of emergency as soon as possible, but only if circumstances allowed, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Opening the National Party's Transvaal congress, De Klerk – who is also national and Transvaal NP leader – said the emergency could only be lifted if government could be reasonably sure it would not result in a return to lawlessness, violence, arson, boycotts and murder.

For restrictions on organisations to be lifted, there would have to be positive indicators to support peaceful and democratic processes.

Government would like to see leaders of all political groupings placing their views and plans on the table and becoming involved in dialogue and negotiation.

If government found it impossible to lift the state of emergency, it would aim to move away from it gradually.

If organisations which practised political violence and acts of terror were to indicate that those events would not recur, it would add greatly to an atmosphere in which the state of emergency could be lifted.

All that such bodies needed to participate freely in the political process was a commitment to peaceful solutions.

De Klerk said there could be no question of an internationally sponsored transfer to other governmental forms in SA.

There could also be no question of an internationally sponsored interim government.

A new SA would be thought out within SA by its own people. It would be born through a constitutional path and from the present constitutional organs.

■ Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was yesterday elected Transvaal leader of the NP. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who was nominated, said he would not be able to take on the extra work. – Sapa.

De Klerk's handover of Transvaal post to Du Plessis 'obvious move of secure leader'

Confident congress endorses reform initiative

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

3044

Except for a few leaders informed the day before, the National Party did not expect President de Klerk to resign as Transvaal leader at the NP's provincial congress on Saturday, yet everyone agreed afterwards it was the obvious thing to have done.

The reason no one expected it was that it was not the traditional NP way. Most often NP national leaders have clung to their provincial power bases for years.

But what the NP forgot, of course, is that Mr de Klerk is not a tradionalist.

POMP AND CEREMONY

He has already shown this by waiving much of the pomp and ceremony of the presidency and also by taking a bold new approach to getting negotiations going.

Mr de Klerk told the congress he had decided to hand on the Transvaal leadership because his other jobs were so demanding.

It was an indication of how rapidly he had consolidated his power in the party since being elected national leader just eight months ago.

Mr du Plessis's unopposed election as Transvaal leader confirmed his rapid rise in the party.

The two main contenders for the position, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen pulled out of the race and backed Mr du Plessis.

The congress generally went well. It suggested that the NP is in fair shape despite its election setbacks. There was little of a post-mortem examination.

Mr de Klerk urged the party to identify the flaws in organisation and repair them, and new leader Mr du Plessis vowed to go all out to recapture votes lost to the Democratic Party.

But it was clear that Mr de Klerk's bold moves since the election had injected new confidence and the party was looking forward. September 6, in fact, seemed a long time ago.

The congress was telescoped to one day and structured so that ordinary members had little chance to give their views.

But judging from their response to speeches from the podium, they were seeking reassurances from the leadership after the rather breathtaking developments of the last few weeks.

Their loudest applause came when they were told that moderate leaders like Chief Buthelezi would be at the negotiating table and not only the ANC, when Mr de Klerk warned in classic NP style that he would brook no foreign interference and when he warned that the state of emergency would not be lifted if this meant a return to the 1984/85 level of violence.

23/10/89 Star

PACE ACCEPTABLE

There was no indication, though, that they were dismayed by the pace of events.

Without a doubt the key speeches were those by Mr de Klerk in which he put the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and other leaders "in perspective", and by Dr Viljoen, who spelt out the Government's approach to negotiations with the ANC and other organisations.

The other speeches were minor. Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe spoke on a new dispensation but confined himself to generalities, possibly because Mr de Klerk will be talking more on this subject when he opens the NP Free State congress tonight.



New leader . . . Mr Barend du Plessis was elected the National Party's Transvaal leader at the party's congress at the weekend after the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, relinquished his provincial leadership. Mrs Marike de Klerk congratulates him.

ANC need not reject violence

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is dropping its insistence that the African National Congress should renounce violence formally in order to be unbanned and to participate in negotiations.

At the Transvaal congress of the National Party in Pretoria at the weekend it became clear the new approach was that the ANC and others should commit themselves to peaceful solutions.

The new approach was hinted at by President de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

President de Klerk said he would be prepared to lift the state of emergency if he received assurances this would not lead to renewed violence.

Dr Viljoen said:

- Negotiations would have two phases: In the first, differences of opinion about the negotiation process itself would be discussed; in the second the new dispensation would be decided.
- Participants would be identifed by special elections, which could themselves be negotiated.
- Obstacles to negotiation should be placed on the negotiation agenda.

Negotiating team not restricted to ANC

Govt considering election for blacks

(304A) Star 23/10/89

Political Staff

A general election for black people is in the offing to choose their team to sit at the negotiating table with Government.

This idea is circulating in the National Party in the belief that it should be made clear to the African National Congress that "they are not the only pebbles on the beach".

The Government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said at the National Party's Transvaal congress at the weekend that negotiations would be multipartite:

"It is a fundamental misunderstanding that there are only two real opposing parties, namely the Government and the most extreme of the militant radical organisations," he said.

The Government had in principle accepted that black people should be entitled to appoint their representatives to the negotiating table by way of a special election.

"The nature and details of such an election must also, through negotiations beforehand, be found to be generally acceptable. Only in this way can it be determined with certainty which alleged leaders actually represent their communities."

Courage

Dr Viljoen said there were several important black parties and groups who had had the courage to submit themselves to democratic elections in the past in self-governing states and local councils.

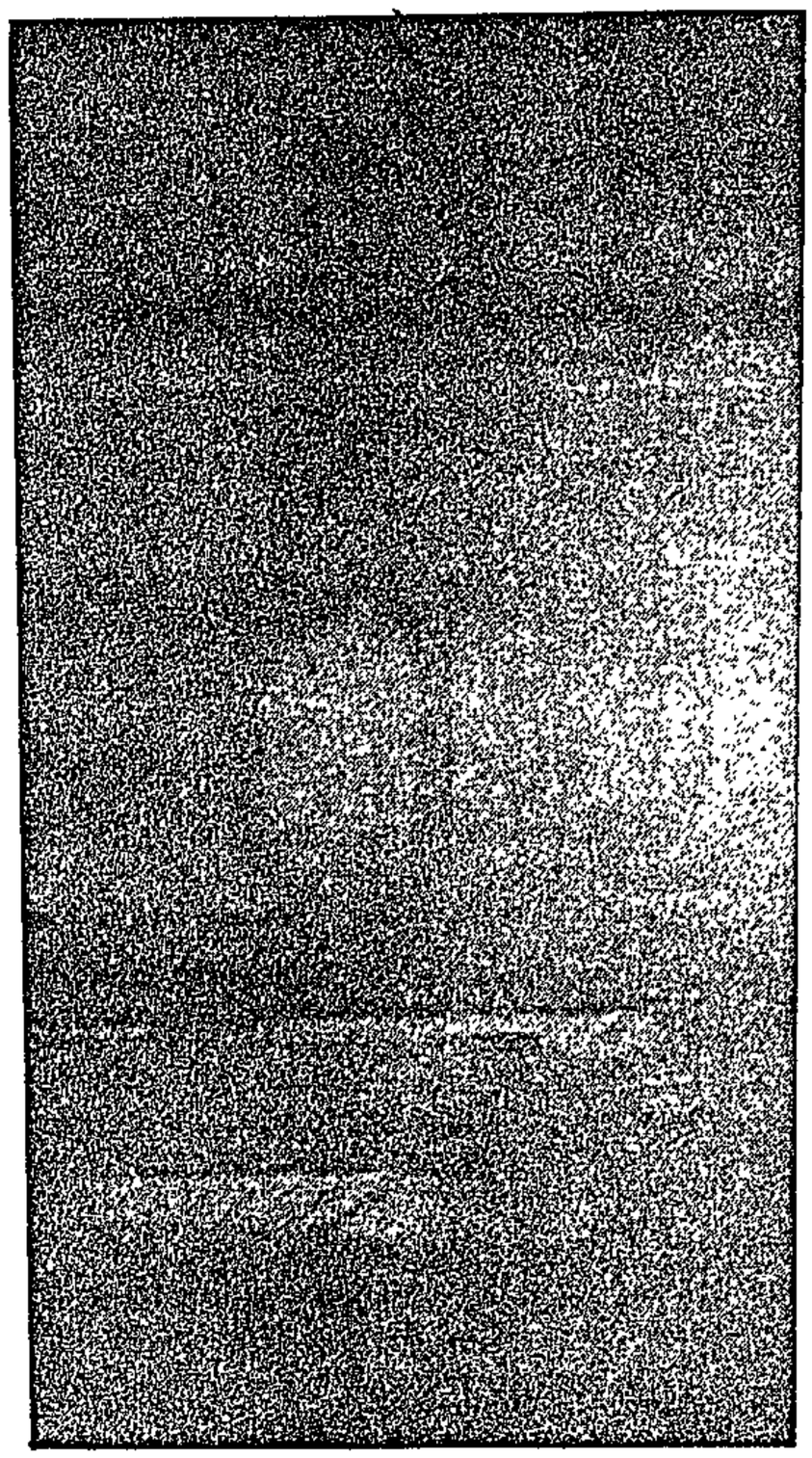
They had negotiated vigorously for years for reforms, and had produced results.

"These groups and leaders have established themselves as experienced authorities who obviously have a large and important role to play as influential participants in the negotiating process," he said.

They had long ago enunciated preconditions for negotiation which, nowadays, were the monopoly of extreme left radical groupings. They had produced results without becoming "passive puppets" as they were unfairly branded, Dr Viljoen said.

President de Klerk said his Government would not allow them to be elbowed out of the negotiating process: "There is no single party or grouping that can lay claim that it alone speaks on behalf of black South Africans."

All who strove for peace should have the chance to participate or, if negotiations brought South Africa to that point, to prove themselves at the ballot box.



Dense mist still clouded the Reef this morning. Transvaal today is cloudy and cool with rain a

Fire at Krugersdorp school

Report on zoo b

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The administration of the Johannesburg Zoo should be removed from the Johannesburg City Council and handed over to a high-powered zoological so-

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Barend is new Tvl leader

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was elected as the NP's new Transvaal leader at the party's Transvaal congress on Saturday.

This came after the State President and national leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, relinquished his provincial leadership.

Announcing the step after his opening address to the congress, President de Klerk said he had two main reasons.

He said he did not think he could give the necessary attention to the Transvaal leadership now that he was chief leader and State President, and his feeling was that he did not want to be leader of the party in its entirety, as well as of one of its sub-sections.

As chief leader he had to take the interests of all South Africans into account.

He urged delegates to give his successor the same loyalty that he had enjoyed.

LEADER'S WIFE

President de Klerk's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, told the congress that she would also have to step down from the leadership of the Transvaal party's women's section, as she held this post ex-officio as the provincial leader's wife.

She said she was "not a little proud" of what the women's action had achieved.

"We even have a woman in the Cabinet (Dr Rina Venter, Minister of National Health and Population Development)," she said.

President and Mrs de Klerk were given a standing ovation, as was Mr du Plessis.

Mr du Plessis was nominated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and seconded by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education.

Mr du Plessis said in his acceptance speech that Mr de Klerk had passed on the relay stick while he was ahead in the race, and it would be the task of the NP's Transvaal structure to stay ahead.

Mr du Plessis said the NP in the Transvaal was going to give the CP and DP in the province a hiding. It was also getting the youth on its side.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was nominated from the floor, but said he would not be able to take on the additional workload. — Sapa.

Politics: Naas favours Left foot

Star 23/9/89 304A

MICHAEL SHAFTO

WHERE does controversial Springbok Naas Botha stand in the political spectrum? Certainly not on the far right.

In the biography, "Naas", written by Edward Griffiths, Botha reveals he is a traditional National Party-committed-to-reform supporter, though some believed before the September 6 general election that his sympathies might lie with the Democratic Party.

Disaster

This came as a result of a comment he made in 1987.

Said Botha: "When I was younger I accepted a series of laws almost without question because they were there, but they were completely unnecessary. There is no need for separate schools or separate living areas. If someone wants to live next door I don't mind what colour they are. It's still going to be my decision whether I invite him to my house."

He told Griffiths that South Africans needed to stop being afraid of one another.

"I have always been a Nationalist," he says. "The most effective way forward is with a reform-minded National Party Government ...

"What we do not need is the Conservative Party. That would be a disaster. I honestly can't understand how people can even consider voting CP."

● **For a review of "Naas" see SPORT.**

'Orderly but dramatic change'

De Klerk outlines his plans for years ahead

Star 24/10/89 (3044)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — President de Klerk has given some idea of the way the Government sees the pace of change over the next five years.

Amid growing international demands for a six-month deadline for drastic changes, Mr de Klerk said in his opening address at the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein last night that the Government hoped to achieve the following goals over the next five years:

- To get negotiations "off the ground".
- To make progress with the scrapping of discrimination.
- "At least to lay firm foundations for a new constitutional dispensation" which protected group and individual rights without domination.
- To "open the door" to economic restoration and progress.
- To place the country firmly on the road back to international involvement.

The President forecast that the next five years would be a period of "orderly but still rather dramatic change".

But he added he could not promise a "tranquil term of calm consolidation".

Dynamic

Mr de Klerk said the NP's election mandate presented it with tremendous challenges.

He urged the NP to prepare itself for the challenge of implementing its mandate.

Mr de Klerk shrugged off the NP's election losses, including six seats in the Free State, and said the next five years would be determined not by analyses of the election, but by NP thoughts and deeds.

AWB support on the wane

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The fall of Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche has seemingly reduced the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) from a once-powerful vehicle for right-wing political sentiments to a fringe organisation with dwindling support.

Adverse publicity about Mr TerreBlanche's private life, most noticeably his relationship with newspaper columnist Jani Allan, has brought about the fall of Mr TerreBlanche and the AWB.

Observers say the AWB's recent move from its office in the Willie Marais Building in Pretoria to Ventersdorp, where Mr TerreBlanche farms, indicates that its support is on the wane.

A recent AWB rally in Pretoria reportedly attracted only 200 people.

Mr Andre Schoeman, a former AWB secretary who was fired by Mr TerreBlanche, said the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB), formed by former AWB seniors who were fired from the AWB or resigned after the Jani Allan affair, had effectively replaced the AWB.

Those who had defected from the AWB included Mr Jan Groenewald, the former deputy leader of the AWB and now the secretary of the BVB, Mr Manie Maritz, Mr Chris Beyers, Mr Willie Olivier, publicity chief Mr Dries Alberts and *Sweepslag* editor Mr Chris Beetge.

Mr Groenewald said yesterday the BVB had grown considerably since its formation in January.

24/10/89

3064

★ Cape Times, Tuesday, Oc

Reform ad 'does not speak for govt'

By MARIUS BOSCH

THE government has distanced itself from a R250 000 advertising supplement on reform moves placed in an international newspaper by the Department of Foreign Affairs, saying the views expressed do not reflect government policy.

Foreign Affairs officials said last week that the article in the four-page supplement — which appeared in the September 29 issue of the International Herald Tribune — had not been checked before it was submitted for publication.

And last week, another advertisement was placed at a cost of almost R64 000 in one of the biggest-circulation West German Sunday newspapers, Welt am Sontag.

The advertisement — also paid for by Foreign Affairs — features a photograph of a white US policeman holding a gun to the head of a black drug-dealer in Miami.

"Preconceptions against South Africa made the world blind. What is your view?" the headline of the advertisement reads. The advertisement states further that apartheid still exists "here and there" but "it is disappearing before our eyes".

The Conservative Party has demanded that the Department of Foreign Affairs apologise for the use of taxpayers' money to fund a government propaganda project in which the CP is strongly criticised.

In a letter to the Burger, foreign affairs director-general Mr Niel van Heerden said that "the full content of the (International Herald Tribune) article did not carry the approval of the department".

Dr Gerrit Olivier, the chief director, communications, said the error was "very unfortunate". He added that some of the views expressed in the supplement did not reflect current government policy.

The government had no choice but to accept responsibility for the printed advertisement, he said.

Some of the views expressed by Mr Kurt von Keyserlingk — the deputy-editor of Afrikaans finance weekly Finasies en Tegniek, who wrote the articles in the advertisement — could not be accepted by his department, Dr Olivier said.

Mr Von Keyserlingk's views included a reference to the fact that President F W de Klerk should do more than allow peaceful protest marches in order to succeed with a new constitution.

Yesterday Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Ms Alayne Reesberg said it was a difficult task to promote SA abroad.

"The correct idiom and style has to be used in order to succeed. There are always risks involved — nothing ventured, nothing gained."

● In the 1987/1988 bookyear the Department of Foreign Affars spent R61,7 million on "promoting SA's image abroad". "Professional services", including advertisements, accounted for R6,7m.

● The SA embassy in Washington paid lobbyists, public-relations consultants and lawyers R4,2m to monitor sanctions legislation and to attempt to influence public opinion in the US, according to records kept at the US Justice Department.

It is estimated that the government has spent more than R20m on anti-sanctions public relations in the US in the past five years.

AWB man's position to be raised in council

3044

Municipal Reporter

The arrest of Johannesburg municipal swimming pool supervisor Mr Leonard Veenendal (23) in connection with an armed attack on a regional United Nations headquarters in Namibia in September will have a sequel at next week's city council meeting.

RATEPAYERS

Democratic Party councillor Mr Les Dishy has tabled questions to determine Mr Veenendal's present status as a municipal employee whose salary is paid by city ratepayers.

In June Mr Veenendal, who is claimed to be the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in the city, took part in a protest against black swimmers in the Hillbrow pool.

Despite Democratic Party demands for his sacking, the management committee transferred him to Rhodes Park after an investigation and while employed in Kensington he was allegedly involved in the Untag attack.

In view of the latest events Mr Dishy has asked whether and where Mr Veenendal is working at present, what his reasons were for being absent from work, whether he had council permission and if he was paid.

If he was involved in the Untag attack the management committee has been asked what action it plans to take against him.

"Council employees may hold whatever political views they choose but when they take part in demonstrations or their names are linked with incidents such as that in Namibia, we do not need them as they are a severe embarrassment to the city," said Mr Dishy.

Star 24/11/89

Namibian issues still to be settled — FW

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — President de Klerk said last night that certain outstanding matters on Namibia still had to be dealt with before the independence elections, and that the Government was giving them attention.

He said South Africa was still responsible for maintaining law and order during and immediately after the elections.

The Administrator-General would have the "necessary manpower and means to maintain stability and order" if unforeseen circumstances arose.

SA would accept the outcome of free and fair elections, and appealed to other parties to do the same.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, coupled to the independence plan, was going according to plan.

This increased the chances of peace in Angola. If this could be achieved with a stable, independent Namibia, a new era of co-operation and development could ensue, Mr de Klerk said.

Poll for blacks likely

A GENERAL election for black people to choose their own team to sit at the negotiating table with Government is in the offing.

This idea is circulating in the National Party in the belief that it should be made clear to the African National Congress that they "are not the only pebbles on the beach".

The Government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said at the National Party's Transvaal congress at the weekend that negotiations would be multipartite:

"It is a fundamental misunderstanding that there are only two real opposing parties, namely the Government and the most extreme of the militant radical organisations," he said.

Sowetan political staff

Leaders

Dr Viljoen said Government had in principle accepted that black people should be entitled to appoint their representatives to the negotiating table by way of a special election. "The nature and details of such an election must also, through negotiations beforehand, be found to be generally acceptable. Only in this way can it be determined with certainty which alleged leaders actually represent their communities."

Dr Viljoen said there were several important black parties and groups which had had the courage to submit themselves to democratic elections in the past in self-governing states and local councils. They had negotiated vigorously for years for reforms, and had produced results.

They had long ago enunciated preconditions for negotiation which, nowadays, were the monopoly of extreme left radical groupings. They had produced results without becoming "passive puppets" as they were unfairly branded, Dr Viljoen said.

President de Klerk said his Government would not allow them to be elbowed out of the negotiating process:

"There is no single party or grouping that can lay claim to speak alone on behalf of black South Africans."

All striving for peace should be given the chance to participate or, if negotiations brought South Africa to that point, to prove themselves democratically at the ballot box.

The Star

Groping towards the round table

THE MESSAGES are in code. The key lies in understanding that the Government and the ANC have recognised that they will have to talk to each other sooner or later. Outside pressure and internal reality will make it happen. They will also have to talk to many others.

The imperative for each now is to ensure a position of strength when the day comes. Jockeying comes even before talks-about-talks on the mined road to reconciliation.

President de Klerk presented a subtle but significant adaptation to the official stance on negotiation at the weekend. The ANC seemed to respond dismissively with a restatement of its own known terms. Both sides claimed the ball was in the other's court. Is anyone getting closer?

We are a thousand miles from a mating dance, but the answer is probably yes. Decoded, and in context, the messages imply movement. The almost-unbanning of the ANC has already created a climate in which debate is thinkable. It is to be expected that this debate will start by emphasising standpoints; it is much too soon to look for concessions. But the important thing is that the Government and the ANC are responding to each other rather than shouting into the darkness. It is a small straw.

President de Klerk's weekend statement offered a softer option to the ANC. Instead of having to renounce violence, the organisation need only commit itself to peaceful solutions. The problem is that the ANC sees violence as its bargaining counter. To abandon it now would be to weaken its position at the eventual round table. Thus it insists Pretoria must first comply with published ANC conditions.

The demand is not as onerous as it may seem. By releasing prisoners, acknowledging the ANC, allowing protest and lifting some bans, President de Klerk has taken considerable steps along this route.

So the parties grope towards the time when they can begin more substantive bargaining. It is a painful, risky process which can easily be interrupted. But because it is inevitable — and the only unknown is the degree of violence and penury along the way — ordinary South Africans are entitled to demand that both sides move faster, not slower. They will not lightly forgive foot-dragging for selfish interest.

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Top SA public servant hits at 'own affairs' duplication

ARGUS 25/1/89

By VALERIE BOJE, The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria

DR Colin Cameron, president of the Public Servants' Association, has made a startling break with tradition by speaking out against the duplication inherent in "own affairs" departments.

It is not normally association practice to criticise government policy or the structures set up by government.

PROFILE

However, Dr Cameron said in an interview that "own affairs" departments were "a problem" to him.

In his 11 years at the helm of the association, Dr Cameron says, he has seen many changes "for the better" in the public service — but he feels strongly that there is now a need for consolidation and rationalisation of government departments.

He highlighted this by pointing to the fact that there was already "integrated government" at provincial level.

He said he "would like to see the things that belong together, go together".

And he added that, with consolidation, the service provided could be cheaper and better.

But, discussing the public service in general, he said the public had "a misguided view" if it believed every government activity could be cut back.

Dr Cameron said he supported privatisation where it would mean a cheaper, more efficient service, but only "going concerns" and not every government department which could be privatised.

"How can you privatise Foreign Affairs?" he asked.

Cameron has been closely involved in the fight for salary differentiation as a way to attract and keep key personnel.

He says it is a feather in the association's cap to have got the public and the government to acknowledge the need for competent people.

"In the past the attitude was 'shrug your shoulders', because the public service could not possibly compete with the private sector.

"Today, not only is the relationship between private and public sectors better, but the need for good calibre people in both is realised," he says.

Dr Cameron was working as a veterinarian at Onderstepoort when one of his colleagues asked him to take his place at association meetings — "just an hour once a month", which now occupies most of his free time (he is head of the Department of Health's division for forensic and research services).

His interest at that early stage of involvement was in the scientist's place in the public service ("a predominantly administrative machinery designed to regulate and control") as compared to the scientist's place in a scientific body such as the CSIR.

Scientists — like doctors, lawyers, economists, teachers — are as vital to the public service as good administrators are. And to improve their lot, he says, it was necessary not just to petition for a better pay deal but also to try to change the philosophy behind that pay deal

His campaigning has undoubtedly contributed to the policy of occupation-specific pay, but Dr Cameron believes this policy needs to be implemented more effectively if the science and technology drain from the public service is to be checked.

Although he doesn't put the vacancy rate as high as the 100 000 reported by Central Statistical Services — explained by the fact that many of these posts are "frozen" — he says the public service has, in relation to population size, shrunk in the past decade.

There has been growth in protection services and black education, but in other areas there is an embargo on the creation of new posts and many of those which fall vacant are frozen.

What the statistics fail to indicate is just how many experienced people are being lost to the public service.

Dr Cameron says a comment one often hears from the people who have moved from the public to the private sectors is: "I was in the public service and it was very worthwhile."

To him this is a tragedy, because it represents a draining-away of people who have had basic on-the-job training in the public service.

He says: "We are losing people, most with three to eight years' experience, and often with the initiative and enthusiasm which the public service can't afford to lose."

The only way many of these young people can get promotion within the structural rigidity of the public service is to wait for it — and he says that with a bond and a car to pay off, or a young family to support, he can understand why they are not prepared to do so.

For Dr Cameron the biggest challenge in the year ahead — a year he has already said will be his last as associatioon president — will be to achieve a re-think on the internal structuring of the public service.

"We need to take the funds available and use them with more insight, but we also need to look at ways of giving recognition above the merit system for individual achievements," he says.

And when the year is up, Dr Cameron says, he will retire in the knowledge that he has done the best he could for his fellow public servants — and that his successor will bring new insights and renewed enthusiasm.



Dr Cameron ... government already "integrated" at provincial level

Dr Cameron was recently re-elected president of the 60 000-strong association. It will be his last year at the helm.

He thinks the association can claim, as its biggest achievement during his term of office, a greater awareness of how important the public service is — and a realisation of the need for quality rather than quantity in personnel.

Dr Cameron says that in spite of a generally poor public image, more notice is being taken of the public service now than ever before.

He recalls his first association congress in Port Elizabeth, when a small announcement in a local newspaper had delegates very excited.

But today, he says, the association often makes front-page headlines and features prominently in radio and TV bulletins.

To him it is particularly important that the government "is now sitting up and taking notice" of what the association says and does on behalf of public servants.

One of the reasons for the change in media treatment has been the higher profile he and the association have deliberately sought.

Another, he believes, is the fact that he has been prepared to take a firm stand on behalf of public servants.

"Yes, probably I have provoked a bit, but my aim in this capacity — as also in my job as a public servant — has been to give the best service I can.

"My aim is certainly not to undermine the public service. I've played clean and kept within limits," he says.

During his time with the association, Dr

'SA needs new legal system'

Pretoria Correspondent

Change was inevitable and a new South Africa would require a new legal system, delegates at a conference on jurisprudence for a future South Africa were told yesterday.

Opening the three-day proceedings organised by the Centre for Human Rights Studies at the University of Pretoria, director Professor Johann van der Westhuizen, said: "What we lawyers don't always seem to realise is that a new South Africa also necessarily implies a new legal system and a new approach, philosophy or jurisprudence."

He also pointed out legal systems did not change overnight.

Stressing the role of lawyers in a future South Africa, he said: "In the first days of the birth of post-apartheid South Africa, as well as thereafter, people will still fall in and out of love, marry and divorce, have street accidents, exceed the speed limit, quarrel about prices and the quality of work done, act in self-defence and try to do business with each other."

DISCUSS

The conference organisers believed it was essential to discuss the post-apartheid South Africa "because in doing so we may contribute to the building and shaping of our future society, which is already taking place".

Professor van der Westhuizen said the legal system was experiencing a legitimacy crisis.

"Many South Africans do not accept and trust and feel comfortable with our legal system, including the 'good' and uncontroversial parts of it, because they view it as, amongst other things, foreign, 'white man's law' and an instrument of oppression in the hands of the rulers of the apartheid state," he added.

Party concerned at loss of support

No great revelations at Nats' OFS congress

Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The National Party's Free State congress, which ended here yesterday, was largely a post-mortem examination into the province's dismal performance in the September 6 election when it lost six seats to the Conservatives.

Most of the soul-searching took place in closed session, a sign of how serious the problem was.

Introspective

There were no debates on general policy and so, apart from the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, who opened the congress, and Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw, who talked about election procedures, no Cabinet Ministers attended.

Because it was so introspective, the congress produced no great revelations.

But re-elected Free State leader and Justice Minister, Mr Kobie Coetsee, provided some interesting insights into the Government's thinking on the release of political prisoners and permitting protest marches.



Minister Coetsee . . . "Govt is observing the rule of law."

He has been closely involved in the new initiatives,

He said that by recognising the rights of protest, the Government was observing the rule of law.

And by applying for permission to march the protesters were also observing the rule of law by agreeing to respect the rights of others, by not disrupting trade and traffic.

Mr Coetsee's remarks seemed to presage further moves by the Government towards a bill of human and group rights.

Mr Coetsee made it clear the release of prisoners was aimed at drawing the ANC and other radical organisations into the peaceful negotiation process by a new style of diplomacy.

The new style was not to set inflexible pre-conditions for negotiations but to use persuasion and example.

He said he was encouraged by the statement by released ANC leader Mr Oscar Mpetha who had said he wished to "preach peace".

This statement and remarks by other released prisoners represented progress and achievement in Mr de Klerk's initiatives.

Strong measures

Home Affairs Minister Mr Louw gave notice of strong measures coming to update the voters' roll and electoral procedures.

These included the implementation of a new law allowing municipalities to cut off services from voters who did not notify authorities of changes of address.

Leaders want to talk with FW

Star 25/10/89

Two right-wing political organisations, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Boerestaat Party, have requested a meeting with the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

The leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, said his party and the AWB had requested the meeting after Mr de Klerk invited all interested parties to discuss a new constitutional dispensation for the country.

Mr van Tonder said he and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche would talk about the "rightful" demands of the "Boere volk". They would ask Mr de Klerk to disband the Republic of South Africa and institute "volk" states. — Pretoria Correspondent.

'Wit Wolf' threat of bloodshed if march goes ahead

Star 25/10/89

An anonymous caller claiming to be a member of the Wit Wolwe has warned there will be "a lot of bloodshed" in Vereeniging if the proposed Cosatu march goes ahead in the town on Saturday.

About 10 000 people are expected to take part in the peaceful march against the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA) and detentions of leaders in the Vaal Triangle.

A man, who would not disclose his identity, called The Star's Vereeniging office early yesterday.

He warned that there would be bloodshed in Vereeniging on Saturday if the police "did not stop the kaffirs from marching through the town". — Vereeniging Bureau.

NP policy of own affairs 'needs better marketing'

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government would have to be careful to apply its own affairs policy without discrimination, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

He was responding to appeals from delegates at the National Party's Free State congress for a stronger application of own affairs policy.

Several delegates complained that the Conservative Party had won six seats in the province because it was seen as "the saviour of the whites". They felt the NP had stressed general affairs at the expense of own affairs.

Deputy Minister of Defence Mr Wynand Breytenbach, who is also deputy Free State leader, appealed to Mr Coetsee as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly to strengthen own affairs.

Mr Coetsee agreed that own affairs could be marketed better, but said it was important to do so without introducing new discrimination.

It would have to be done in a language which other groups and the world could understand so it did not hinder South Africa's return to the world community, he said.

Accusations as parties fight Berea by-election

304A 25/10/89 S0

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

A war of words has erupted in Berea, where the National Party is fighting to wrest Ward 27 from the Democratic Party in the November 8 municipal by-election.

First off the mark was DP council leader Mr Ian Davidson, who claimed that NP candidate Mr Melvyn Whyte was an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) sympathiser who was allegedly involved in the recent protest against mixed swimming in the Hillbrow pool.

Mr Whyte replied: "If I was a member of the AWB, why did I help release Jews from the death camps during the last war?"

His assistant, Mr Gideon Pitout, said: "I went there (to the pool protest) as a voter as I did not want the Houghton clique dictating what Hillbrow should do."

Mr Pitout has now claimed that DP candidate Mr Sias Reyneke was deputy leader of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in the 1970s and that one of its aims was a separate homeland for coloureds.

Mr Reyneke said it was absurd for the NP to try to rake up something which was not only public knowledge, but occurred 20 years ago.

"There are no secrets about my past but is is also clear the entire face of politics in South Africa has changed since 1971," he said.

Prepared for the big day . . . Lynn Tyack with her team of assistants expected last-minute rush of applications for

Cautious welcome for economic plan

(304A) Star 25/10/89

The Democratic Party has welcomed State President Mr F W de Klerk's move to investigate urgently the effective co-ordination of South African economic policy, but warned that the Government would have to be strong to implement it.

Opening the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in Cape Town yesterday, Mr de Klerk said co-ordination was of the greatest importance in a time of dynamic change.

Mr Harry Schwarz, the DP's finance spokesman, warned today that the proof of the plan would be if the Government was strong enough to implement it.

He said that Mr de Klerk's predecessor had also devised good plans but had never put them into practice.

"Whatever plan they come up with is going to have to be tough and there are going to be powerful interest groups who will lobby against it."

Mr de Klerk called on SA's business community to join the Government, as partners in a spirit of realism and hope, in building a prosperous and stable country.

The last decade of the century provided an opportunity for SA's public and private sectors to work together to "lay a new foundation for a country that will be stable, where there will be room enough for everybody and which will provide hope.

He said he was aware there were doubts in the private sector about the efficiency of co-ordination of economic policy.

He and his Government would make it their task to remove all shortcomings in structures for implementing economic policy.

"A document is being prepared which will critically review the present status of our various programmes in the economic field.

REVISION

"Furthermore, this document will also make recommendations with a view to revision, adjustment and proper co-ordination of the execution of programmes."

Mr Schwarz said he could not pass final comment, but had no doubt that it would entail some form of internal industrialisation, a policy of stimulating industries, such as black housing, that do not rely heavily on foreign exchange.

At present, the economy could not grow because of the need to cut down on imports to maintain a positive balance of payments to repay the country's foreign debt.

— Political Correspondent-Sapa.

Still offence to further aims of ANC — Vlok

By Craig Kotze

The ANC was still banned and would stay banned for as long as it failed to commit itself to peaceful development in South Africa, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said in Bloemfontein last night.

The organisation was still a threat to the security of the country and Mr Vlok warned it was still an offence to promote the objects of the ANC.

The Government was in control of the situation in SA, he said, and the police would continue to combat the ANC.

"For this task we will not make excuses or hesitate. I want to say it clearly: the ANC is still a banned organisation in South Africa.

DESPERATE CAMPAIGN

"The ANC will stay banned as long as it refuses to be bound to peaceful development. If they do not do this, then there can be no place in the new South Africa for the ANC," Mr Vlok said.

He said the ANC was still committed to violence and that the world, including the Soviet Union, was turning its back on it because of this.

"The organisation is busy at the moment with an almost desperate propaganda campaign in an attempt to gain prestige. In this campaign it tries to claim for itself the Government's present initiatives to bring all the population groups to the negotiating table," he told the committee of the Bloemfontein Neighbourhood Watch.



Mr Vlok ... even Soviets are turning backs on the ANC.

"In May this year the organisation admitted it was too weak to sit at the negotiating table. The ANC knows its participation in negotiations will lead only to a defeat for them."

The Government could introduce new initiatives because it was in control and these included permission for marches, freeing of people and "talks with leaders over a wide spectrum" and much more.

"This creates immeasurable problems for the ANC and while it stumbles forward confusedly, we are systematically carving out a bright future for our country," Mr Vlok said.

Treurnicht lashes FW's 'unbanning'

Star 25/10/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

South Africa was facing severe problems because of the Government's "de facto" unbanning of the ANC and PAC through the recent release of eight political prisoners, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Speaking to a packed Pretoria City Hall at the opening of the party's seventh Transvaal congress, Dr Treurnicht said powersharing was the "biggest lie in South Africa's reform politics".

The CP would never accept universal suffrage in a nonracial democratic country. It would, however, be prepared to go to the negotiating table on condition that the white man's right of self-determination in his own territory be accepted.

"We reject the concept of powersharing as irreconcilable with the right of self-determination. The CP says there is no way in which you can escape the might of numbers in a democratic dispensation while upholding a nation's right of self-determination. We say to the NP: 'Don't try to fool our people'," Dr Treurnicht said to loud applause.

If the ANC and PAC were allowed to participate in South African elections, or if United Nations-monitored elections were to take place similar to those in Namibia, "we will be standing at the political funeral of the white man".

PROTEST MARCH FLAGS

The CP leader slammed the F W de Klerk administration for the unconditional release of seven ANC leaders and one PAC leader, as well as for allowing the public display of ANC and Communist Party flags at protest marches.

"This creates the impression that banned organisations may advertise themselves and that the Government is nurturing a laissez-faire attitude in order to prevent conflict."

Afrikaners and their symbols had been humiliated by the recent "peace protests in the heart of Pretoria".

The Government had given in to international pressure and the demands of the ANC "because it has an apparent obsession with negotiations".

It was senseless to talk about conciliation while the released ANC leaders were demonstrating the organisation's unconciliatory attitude by their refusal to renounce violence.

During the afternoon session of the CP congress, Dr Treurnicht said the CP had fared worse at the September polls than expected.

"We did not succeed in taking over the Government, but the road now is just a little longer," he added to applause.

CP raps De Klerk

Sowetan 26/10/89 (304A)

Boycott call under attack

THE Duduza Residents Committee has condemned as divisive pamphlets which were distributed in the township this week calling for a boycott of shops belonging to councillors.

A spokesman for the committee, Mr Mthetheleni Mini, said the pamphlets, whose authors are anonymous, called upon residents to boycott three shops in the township - two of which belong to the mayor, Mr Kebane Moloi, and a councillor, Mr Johnny Mkoto.

"We think the author is somebody within our ranks who is trying to feather his nest at the expense of our people. The boycott of councillors' shops was made in conjunction with the national consumer boycott which began on October 6 - 13.

"And now that that boycott is over, there is no mandate from anybody to continue it," said Mini.

He urged the author to show his face and stop operating as a faceless coward.

Sowetan 26/10/89

"The people should be wary of such pamphlets and dismiss them with the contempt they deserve. We condemn whoever is behind the distribution of these pamphlets as they will only serve to further divide the masses in our township," he said.

Sher visit

THE South African Institute for Medical Research has announced that Aids expert Professor Ruben Sher will visit the Vatican City next month as a guest of Pope John Paul II.



Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht

'Lawlessness is let loose'

The Conservative Party's Transvaal congress yesterday unanimously accepted a motion condemning the Government for fanning an atmosphere of lawlessness in South Africa.

Proposed by Mr Fanie Jacobs, MP for Losberg, it said the CP condemned the Government and President F W de Klerk for letting loose "revolutionary forces" in South Africa by:

*Freeing the ANC prisoners recently without them having forsworn violence or a commitment to the Communist Party.,

*Allowing street marches which were allowing revolutionary fervour to reach "breaking point."

*Allowing ANC and Communist Party banners to be displayed while this was illegal.,

*Adding to lawlessness by its non-action on these matters., and

*Making the task of the police force impossible.

In another motion adopted unanimously yesterday, the CP's Transvaal congress resolved that a committee of experts in the party should evaluate the congress discussion on nation and human rights and make further recommendations.

Superloo

LONDON. - Having a medical check-up will soon be a simple matter

The legal order in South Africa — in a post-apartheid society

Argus 26/11/87

Law Commission chairman's view of the future

The Argus Correspondent reports from Pretoria

304/A

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

THE chairman of the Law Commission, Mr Justice P J J Olivier, has outlined his expectations of a legal order for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Although it was easy to say how law or the legal order ought to be, Mr Justice Olivier said it was more difficult to predict what the legal order would be in a future South Africa

Speaking at a conference on a new jurisprudence for a future South Africa at the University of Pretoria, Mr Justice Olivier said that not all South Africans wanted a post-apartheid society, they differed in their definitions of apartheid and did not share the same perceptions of how a future South Africa was to be achieved

He said the way in which the post-apartheid society was achieved would profoundly influence the legal order.

According to Mr Justice Olivier, a post-apartheid South Africa would be achieved either by a revolution or by evolution in which negotiations, compromises and pragmatism would play a role.

In his view, Mr Justice Olivier said it was highly unlikely a new South Africa would be achieved by a revolution.

"I say that because it is patently clear that the majority of South Africans of all population groups do not subscribe to a revolutionary solution.

"Secondly, because a revolution would not succeed as a result of the power realities

"There is a third fact, the realisation of many citizens that revolutions do not succeed in achieving a better order than the ones they replace," he said

Mr Justice Olivier told delegates revolutions always destroyed themselves.

According to Mr Justice Olivier, a new South Africa would be achieved through an evolutionary process "within the present order which will change and be moulded until we one day reach a point when we can say: Now we have a post-apartheid South Africa, in other words where race or ethnicity as a discriminatory factor are not allowed by law"

In his view the run-up to a new South Africa would not be easy, smooth or accomplished soon

He said there would probably be many setbacks, crises and disappointments.

This process would also not be logical or preplanned.

Listing statutes which would have to be repealed or drastically amended to abolish apartheid, Mr Justice Olivier included the following:

- The Group Areas Act;
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act;
- Eight statutes which authorised racially segregated schools;
- Four statutes which authorised racially segregated technikons;
- All reference to race or ethnicity in four statutes dealing with university education;
- The Population Registration Act and consequential proclamations;
- Section five of the Identification Act which authorises a reference to a person's race in the Population Register;
- The Registrations, Exchequer and Audit Act which authorises separate administration of income among racial groups;
- The Black Administration Act,
- The Black Authorities Act,
- The Black Affairs Act,
- 'Statutes dealing with the establishment of national states and citizenship of such states;
- 'Statutes dealing with black local authorities,
- Section three of the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act which excludes black people from membership,
- Section four of the State President's Committee on National Priorities Act which excludes black people from membership,
- Statutes dealing with housing for coloured, blacks and Indians;
- Fifteen statutes dealing with limitations on blacks aquiring ownership of land;
- Eleven statutes dealing with social security legislation which differentiates between racial groups;
- Four statutes dealing with mines and mineral rights which restrict the right of blacks;
- Racial separation in prisons under section 23 of Act 8 of 1959,
- The reference to restrictions on sale of liquor to blacks in the Aviation Act.

Mr Justice Olivier further suggested that the "whole plethora" of security legislation would have to be reviewed and "in the main be altered drastically"



Mr Justice Olivier . . . South Africans differ in their definitions of apartheid

This legislation includes the Internal Security Act as well as the Public Safety Act and the proclamations and regulations in terms of the act dealing with the emergency situation

Mr Justice Olivier stressed that the above-mentioned legislation was consequential of nature and not fundamental to the apartheid system

"The heart of apartheid is enshrined in legislation disenfranchising blacks, Chinese and some Asiatics and excluding them from participating on an equal and equivalent basis in the decisions of the legislature and compelling coloured and Asians to vote on separate voters' rolls," he said

Turning to a future legal order, Mr Justice Olivier said it would probably be based on South African law — the amalgamation of Roman-Dutch and English law.

In his view, the South African legal system was one of the best in the world

He did not think the court system would change materially, adding that the accesibility would probably be addressed by simplifying the civil and criminal procedure rules

Referring to the bench, Mr Justice Olivier said it would have to be more representative and more coloured, black and Indian officials would have to be appointed

Mr Justice Olivier believed that the criminal procedure law would change drastically

"As the statute book is cleaned of apartheid legislation, several crimes (for example under the Group Areas Act) would fall away

"I also believe that a lesson should be learnt from the past to enforce political ideology and social manipulation through crime creation just leads to a criminalisation and humiliation of society," he said.

He said several existing descriptions of existing crimes, such as sabotage and high treason, would have to be "fundamentally reviewed"

Mr Justice Olivier postulated that the constitution would probably contain a human rights clause which the courts would enforce and which would be difficult to amend.

He also suggested that the constitution would make provision for the control and authority of the defence force, the police and the civil service

Mr Justice Olivier said a future legal order would probably include an ombudsman institution which would play a role regarding corruption, bribery and violations of human rights.

Finally, Mr Justice Olivier said a future legal order would be "more fair and just" as a result of the abolition of discriminatory legislation.

"The respect which other countries had in the past for our legal system and its applications before our legislation was contaminated by apartheid would probably be revived and the South African jurist would again be able to hold his head high with pride," he said.

Criminal justice system 'in need of reform'

The Argus Correspondent reports from Pretoria

THE director of the Legal Resource Centre, Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, in an address to a legal conference on his expectations of a future legal order in a post-apartheid South Africa, outlined several aspects of the present legal order which needed urgent attention

He said the most important aspects in desperate need of reform were the criminal justice system, the system of administrative law and the lack of access to the legal profession by the majority of the population

Discussing the way in which the criminal justice system functioned in practice, Mr Chaskalson said the overwhelming majority of people passing through criminal courts were blacks and were invariably tried and prosecuted by whites.

He said the proceedings were conducted in a language which blacks either did not understand or understood imperfectly.

"No matter how fair and careful the prosecutors and judicial officers are, nor how good the interpreters, the proceedings cannot really be seen by such persons as fair, nor objectively speaking can they be considered to be fair," Mr Chaskalson told the delegates at the conference on a new jurisprudence for a future South Africa in Pretoria.

He said practical problems existed in addressing these issues — the legal profession, the Supreme Court bench and magistracy were susbstantially white and few could communicate in an African language.

Suggesting a possible solution to alleviate the sense of alienation that black accused must experience in criminal courts, Mr Chaskalson said a jury system, if it was to function on a non-racial basis, could be returned to the Supreme Court.

The Star

30/A Star 26/10/89

An incendiary bomb from the Minister

THE MINISTER of Law and Order is quite right — but he is appallingly wrong too. The combination spells trouble.

Mr Adriaan Vlok declared this week that the African National Congress was still banned and it remained an offence to promote its objectives. A simple glance at the statute books will confirm the accuracy of his assertion. In law. But *de facto* reality is another matter entirely. As Canute so aptly demonstrated many centuries ago, it is one thing to order the tide to turn back; it is quite another to make it happen.

We don't often agree with Dr Andries Treurnicht, but he is correct when he says the Government has effectively unbanned the ANC and PAC. (He makes it an accusation, we think it constructive.) Consider the facts:

When the State released eight leading security prisoners, they were hailed as returning heroes of the banned organisations by people who believed themselves free to do so. All the released men declared, publicly, their unchanged allegiances. Seven of them addressed a press conference under the banner and flag of the ANC. Everyone present believed they were witnessing the first authorised gathering of the ANC since its original banning. The tenor of the statements was strongly pro-ANC. Watching policemen were clearly instructed to take no action. Newspapers have been permitted (expected?) to report on these events as if the law and the bannings did not exist.

Then along comes Mr Vlok ... It is possible that he was merely trying to blur these facts to bamboozle right-wing objectors. But his pronouncement was unequivocal: "I want to state it very clearly and definitely: the SAP will continue to stop the organisation in its tracks." It sounds as though he means it.

If so, the police have been placed in an impossible situation. They must interpret ministerial whims. They are being required to ignore the law one day, enforce it the next, ignore it again the day after. And they are expected to do this in a volatile climate where pent-up feelings have been released and the belief is firmly entrenched in the black community that its members are, at last, to be allowed political expression through organisations of their own choice.

With a mass "welcome home" meeting looming on Sunday, nothing could be more inflammatory than the incendiary bomb that Mr Vlok has lobbed. The State President will have to act quickly to defuse it.

Berea battle will be short and bruising for DP, NP

(3044) Star 26/10/89

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

All indications are that the municipal fight for Johannesburg's Ward 27 (Berea) will be a short but bruising clash between the Democratic and National parties on November 8.

Unlike Linden, the testing ground for the DP, which fought and won its first test at the polls in a Nat safe seat, it is now the Nats who are on the line in Berea in a DP safe seat.

This is where State President Mr F W de Klerk's *perestroika* will be tested, while for Mr Ian Davidson it can also be seen as his first test at the polls since being elected DP leader on the city council.

The battle of Berea follows the election of sitting DP councillor Mr Lester Fuchs to Parliament on September 6, having been elected to the council less than a year before with a majority of 327. He won 1 175 votes to the NP's Miss Christine Burgess's 848 in a 35,72 percent poll.

Previously, this was a safe Progressive Federal Party seat held by Mr Max Neppe with a 1 014 majority, one of the most decisive in 1982, against Mr B Parsons of the now defunct New Republic Party.

Now the candidates are an advocate, Mr Sias Reyneke (39), for the DP and hotelier Mr Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte (65) for the NP.

Mr Reyneke epitomises the new breed of South African attracted to the DP: a young professional Afrikaner, tough and articulate and previously involved in politics.

Mr Whyte is a newcomer to politics, a World War 2 veteran and a political protegee of Joubert Park NP city councillor Mrs Desiree Simpson.

The NP, wearing its reform mantle, has thrown everything into the fight to turn the tables on the DP. More than two weeks before nomination on October 20, Mr Whyte personally had canvassed about 50 buildings and the Nats had already put more than 50 workers daily in the field.

Mr Whyte said he was "a worker, not a talker" and was concentrating on bread and butter issues.

Mr Reyneke said there was no doubt there were two main issues: Mr Whyte himself who had been involved in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging-protest against mixed swimming at the Hillbrow pool, and the NP's efforts to have Berea declared a free settlement area.

More than half of about 5 000 registered voters living mainly in flats in the ward bounded by Louis Botha, Banket, Olivia and Abel and Harrow Road have moved out.

The language mix is roughly 60 percent English and 40 percent Afrikaans, mainly working couples and pensioners, many Jewish.

The outcome of the election will not affect control of the Johannesburg City Council where the state of the parties is 24 NP councillors, 19 DP, four Conservative Party and three Independents.



Mr Sias Reyneke (DP) ... two main issues have to be addressed.



Mr Melvyn Whyte (NP) ... has no less than 50 workers in the field.

...daughter's killer was over.

F W promises cuts in Govt posts, spending

Political Correspondent

State President Mr F W de Klerk today promised that the Government would rationalise functions and cut posts and expenditure in the public service.

Addressing the *Financial Mail* conference in Johannesburg, he said the Government would have to economise on labour, especially highly skilled labour, to achieve its overall economic strategy of cutting expenditure.

The rationalisation of public service posts did not mean "that we will blindly apply across-the-board cuts in expenditure" he said.

Nor did it mean that public servants would be ill-paid, as the tasks ahead required top-quality people paid according to their responsibilities.

Mr de Klerk also confirmed that the Government would only use the proceeds of privatisation to repay public debt and to finance capital and development spending of a non-recurring nature.

He said the Government's goal was to eliminate the financing of current expenditure through loans — by ensuring that the Government was "not dis-saving".

Harsh plan to update inaccurate rolls

'Missing' voters face service cuts

Star 26/10/89

304A

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government has come under fierce attack for its plan to cut off the municipal services of people who fail to notify the authorities of changes of address.

The Home Affairs Minister, Mr Gene Louw, told the National Party Free State congress on Tuesday that the Government would soon be putting the plan into action.

This would be a "powerful weapon" in updating the voters' rolls, which were now often "grievously inaccurate", he said.

Mr Con Botha, the NP's Umlazi MP and chairman of Parliament's standing committee on home affairs, said the measure was not draconian compared to those in other Western countries.

The Government felt that municipalities should be used to gather information for voters' rolls because they were in 'closest contact with voters when sending them accounts for services.

Mr Louw said the new powers had been given to local authorities under section 117 of the Elections and Identification Amendment Act which became law in June this year.

Ridiculous step'

It provides for a local authority to withhold services until the applicant for the services provides the ID numbers and residential and postal address of all potential voters on the premises.

Existing services can be cut off within a certain time if this information is not supplied.

Mr Louw said that because his department had not yet had time to consult local authorities, Section 117 had not yet been applied.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, the Democratic Party's home affairs spokesman, said the measure was ridiculous and smacked of authoritarianism.

"The Government knows very well what to do to get the voters' rolls updated. We told them they need a general door-to-door registration campaign but they ignored it."

This meant the Government had resorted to heavy-handed measures in the new Act to update the rolls.

Another of these measures was that those people who did not hold the most recent identity documents — the so-called Book of Life — had been removed from voters' rolls.

New ID books

The Department of Home Affairs announced this week that more than 1 000 voters had been removed from the rolls in this way. Their names would be returned to the rolls after they had applied for new ID books.

Mr van der Merwe said it was wrong that people had to apply for the Book of Life to be allowed to vote.

Mr Piet Lombard, the Chief Director of Home Affairs, said yesterday that the new measures to cut off municipal services were at an early stage.

Asked why such strong measures were to be used, he said election candidates had complained this year that between 20 and 40 percent of voters in their constituencies were no longer at their given addresses.

"When the Delimitation Commission starts its work, it would have to base its findings on the voters' rolls.

"If the present rolls were sent to them, they would be working with false information in drawing up the boundaries of new constituencies.



Signs of strain . . . Mr Carel Kleynhans, with his second wife, Mrs Alie Kleynhans, he was relieved the trial of his daughter's killer was over. © Picture

F W promises cuts in Govt posts, spending

Star 26/10/89

Political Correspondent

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Jailed uranium man ill

Star 26/10/89

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Leeds-born Mr Derek Smith, the businessman arrested in Greece while carrying radioactive material allegedly from South Africa, is said to be seriously ill.

Mr Smith has reportedly lost more than 20 kg since being detained two weeks ago.

Now his son and daughter, who fear he may have radiation poisoning, are flying out to see him.

Foreign Office officials who last visited the 41-year-old textile

than 56 kg. When arrested he was carrying enough uranium to make a small nuclear bomb.

The alarm was raised after his British girlfriend visited him in prison at Ioanina, 320 km north of Athens, and contacted his daughter, Angela.

"I am extremely worried. He seems to be getting worse by the day," the 21-year-old hairdresser said this week from her home in Leeds. "He has been in contact with radioactive material and we

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Govt policy is 'no longer feasible'

THE official policy of the South African regime remains a racial federation which is morally indefensible and results in uncontrollable government spending, Professor Willem de Klerk of the Rand Afrikaans University said in Pretoria yesterday.

By MONK NKOMO

Delivering an address at the two-day conference on communal reconciliation organised by the Human Sciences Research Council, De Klerk urged the government to take serious leaps away from political racial classification "in order to lead us out of the cul de sac".

De Klerk said the government's policy of a racial federation was a large obstacle in the way of inter communal reconciliation. "It is not feasible, except in a white dictatorship, and it will make the country even more defenseless. It is unaffordable because it essentially leads to duplication, entanglement and conflict of functions. It also paralyses government administration and results in uncontrollable government spending," said De Klerk.

He added that the government's new plan of action announced in June this year was too vague and not enough to describe it as a leap towards reform.

De Klerk challenged the government to spell out more clearly its policy of non-racial classification as an alternative.

"The entire concept of political parties formed by free association as a substitute for the race group is far too vague to many Afrikaners. Protection of group rights in a non-racial dispensation also appears to be much too fuzzy and uncertain. The same applies to the transitional phase from racial politics to non-racial politics."

Several speakers will also deliver papers at the conference which ends today. They include *Sowetan*'s assistant editor, Mr Sam Mabe, Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Cooperation, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Stanley Mogoba, president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid.

CP will defend itself

THE Conservative Party was not a racist party and he was "sick and tired" of such accusations being hurled at it, the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said on Wednesday.

Commenting during debate at the Transvaal congress of the CP in Pretoria, he added: "but if you ignore the differences between race and nation, you are totally outside reality".

Mr Fanie Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg, said a nation had the right to self-defence and if the Government were to release the "forces of revolution", the Afrikaner nation would apply this right for itself.

An example of releasing revolutionary forces could be the welcoming rally being arranged for the recently-released eight political prisoners in Johannesburg on Sunday. - Sapa.

Media curbs ease

Result of approach to De Klerk

THE Government is expected to unveil a markedly toned down set of state of emergency media regulations within the next few weeks.

The revision of the media regulations follows a direct approach to President F W de Klerk by chairman of the Media Council, Judge Jan Steyn.

It is not clear what will happen to a spate of alleged contraventions of the regulations under investigation at present.

SOWETAN Correspondents

According to senior government sources no firm decisions have been made yet on what form or how strict any remaining regulations will be.

The main concern of the Government is understood to be the position of foreign television crews.

Chief director of Home Affairs in charge of the regulations, Mr A J Engelbrecht, confirmed yesterday that "representations are being considered."

He declined to comment on what changes were to be made saying the situation was "fluid."

Mr Justice Marius Diemont, former Appeal Court judge who is alternate chairman of the Media Council, said it had consistently made representation for the repeal or amelioration of the emergency regulations.

The council would welcome any step in this direction.

Judge Steyn, who is in West Germany, declined to comment at this stage when contacted by telephone ytesterday.

However, he is expected to spell out the position of the Media Council on the media regulations and the council's commitment to a free flow of information at a meeting of the council on November 21.

Suggestions that a deal was being arranged between the media and the Government were rejected today by Media Council sources.

Past attempts by the Government to pressure the Newspaper Press Union into reaching a "deal" were rejected by the NPU as well as the Conference of Editors of all of South Africa's major newspapers.

It is understood the Press Council approach to the Government has been that a lifting of the emergency regulations would assist in further indicating to the international community the Government's intention to get achieve free political expression and get negotiations underway.

Sowetan 27/10/89

POLITICS

W. Mail 27/10-2/11/89

304

State revives an old election plan

THE government is considering using a new and untried weapon against the African National Congress and its allies: democracy.

But, as any gun nut knows, a good weapon is useless in the hands of someone who has never learned to use it — in inexperienced hands, it may damage the user more than the intended victim.

So, if the government goes ahead with the plan, it could create as many problems for itself as for its adversaries.

In recent statements, Constitutional Development minister Gerrit Viljoen suggested that black people who negotiate a new constitution should be elected.



Worm's Eye

Steven Friedman

This is not a new idea. When the government launched its National Council, which was supposed to negotiate a new constitution, it provided for direct elections for non-homeland African members.

The idea was dropped, probably because the government feared a disruptive boycott campaign. Now it may be revived.

According to reports, the government now sees an election as a way of defusing pressure to negotiate with the ANC alone.

It argues that the banned movement is not the only representative of African opinion and that other parties must have a place at the negotiation table — an election would show who is entitled to represent the voteless in negotiations.

In principle, the idea makes sense. Negotiations only work if the parties are representative — the Nats have shown that they represent whites, but, until blacks can vote, there is no way of knowing who represents them.

The ANC itself accepts that parties to negotiations will have to be elected — it wants a constituent assembly, elected by all adults, to draw up a new constitution.

The proposal might, therefore, help the government win the moral "high ground" by showing that it is willing to negotiate with leaders who black people, rather than it, choose.

But it probably sees a poll, not as a way of starting negotiation with representative black leaders, but of preventing them.

It may hope that, if "moderates" are at the bargaining table as well as "militants" it can strike a bargain with them and implement it even if their rivals object.

The government wants to negotiate a new constitution, but not one which provides for majority rule. It needs black negotiation partners, but would prefer to exclude those who insist on majority rule. But it cannot afford to simply refuse to negotiate with those groups.

If it negotiated with everyone, but reached agreement with only some groups, it would look far better than if it only negotiated with those it prefers. But the result would be the same.

Indeed, it might hope that the ANC and its allies boycott the election. It would then not have to negotiate with them — but because they had excluded themselves.

The government's problem is that it will win no credibility at all, even among sympathetic foreign governments, if it tries to hold an election under present conditions.

Banned organisations can't take part in elections. Nor is a poll a test of support if parties or their leaders are restricted.

If a poll is to be credible, it would have to be held after all restrictions on political activity were lifted and exile movements were included in the political process.

If the government's adversaries boycotted the poll, it would also lack credibility if it acted against them. Groups who urge people not to vote are as entitled to free activity as those who canvass support. If the boycotters used open and legal methods, it could not claim to be testing black opinion if it restricted them.

If an election is to meet the government's objectives, therefore, it would have to open up unprecedented opportunities to banned and exiled movements to mobilise support.

The result could be an irreversible freeing of the political process which the government could not be sure of managing indefinitely.

Because an election would hold great risks, the government is unlikely to rush into one — Nat spokesmen say the nature of the poll will have to negotiated; this will take time.

The election proposal may well be designed to buy time. It might ensure a long period in which the government was seen to be arranging negotiations but was not actually negotiating.

In the longer term, this strategy will probably fail. But the government might well defuse pressure for some years by striking deals with "moderates" similar to the Namibian Turnhalle.

A poll could also defuse foreign pressure. If, as is likely, exiled movements reject it because it is racially based, they cannot assume the support of Western governments who might argue that a test of black opinion is essential before talks begin.

The government's proposal, therefore, holds risks for its adversaries as well as for it.

If they simply dismiss it, they might well lose the moral "high ground" — as well as a chance to press for greater freedom.

They may gain more ground by insisting that the government allow the free activity which is needed for a credible election.

If an election is held, a simple boycott might also place them on the defensive. Whatever the government's motives for seeking a poll, the banned movements' support is untested and they will run the risk of being accused of being unwilling to test it.

A low poll would not necessarily show support: people who don't vote don't necessarily support those who urge a boycott.

While the racial basis of the poll may force them to stay out, they might then have to find ways of using the freedom which the election campaign opened up to show real support.

If they did, a blacks-only election could propel us further towards the negotiations they may be designed to delay.

304A W. Mail 27/10 - 2/11/89

Is FW's high wire act mere illusion?

We're still unsure whether the government and ANC are indeed edging nearer ... or whether we're just watching mirages

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports



FW De Klerk

LIKE two tightrope walkers coming from opposite sides of a high-wire, the South African government and the African National Congress appear to be edging precariously towards one another across the political divide

In this time of flux and illusion, are we seeing the real thing or a circus act? After all, it is still unclear after thousands of high-minded words what exactly President FW de Klerk had in mind when he said last month's general was the last one to exclude blacks. One still has not heard the magic phrase "one person, one vote".

The silver haired and silver tongued Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, speaks in codewords that hint of open-ended negotiations with real leaders, but could also be read as a defence of neo-apartheid under the guise of group rights.

Is De Klerk a shrewd operator playing for time and evading the pack of hostile forces at his heels by throwing them one bone at a time?

Or has he made the giant leap in his mind, under the influence of his kitchen cabinet and the Broederbond's demographic surveys that show the white man in South Africa declining into an ever smaller minority in the 1990s and the new century?

Even if De Klerk is not for real, the decoys are raising huge expectations among powerful international forces who will not like to be disappointed and opening up internal spaces that are rejuvenating the Mass Democratic Movement.

One thing is certain. The central force in South African politics is somewhere in the middle ground.

A Savage War of Peace, Alistair Horne's classic record of the Algerian war, sets out how the Front de Liberation National (FLN) eradicated the "soft centre" through acts of blind terrorism which provoked the security forces into an equally blind repression. This mobilised the previously uncommitted masses and polarised the country, leading to the eventual victory of the revolution.



Gerrit Viljoen

During the 1984 to 1986 uprising, when there was serious talk of a full-scale armed insurrection, it was conceivable that South Africa was headed in the same direction.

A Savage War of Peace started appearing on bookshelves as people honed up their knowledge to participate in a debate that was then thought to have a bearing on South Africa.

The opposite is true today. The soft, political centre has hardened, bolstered by the international community, especially the United States and the Soviet Union. It includes Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and the African National Congress' sophisticated politico-diplomatic team, and the elements of white society that have made their pilgrimage to the ANC, one by one opening up a path to the heart of white rule.

The London meeting with the Broederbond brought the ANC to the gates of Rome. De Klerk says there is no need to batter those gates down. They are open, but neither angels nor barbarians are rushing in just yet.

The events of the past few months — including the marches and releases — have confirmed that, however much the government might seek to broaden the guiding principles, a resolution of the country's civil conflict depends on Pretoria and the ANC finding a way to meet and negotiate an end to white minority rule.

The euphoric release of Walter Sisulu and company took that process a small but crucial step further.

It furthered the gradual legalisation of the ANC. Sisulu said the seven men did not want to set up an internal wing of the ANC, as this would be splitting the organisation in two.

But the existence of seven ANC leaders inside the country speaking as representatives of the ANC, holding meetings under the green, black and gold banners of the organisation and openly declaring their support for the armed struggle amounts to a *de facto* above board ANC presence in the country for the first time since 1960.

De Klerk has moved boldly to start meeting the preconditions for negotiations. Though they are not only the ANC's, but those of other political groups including Inkatha, it is from the ANC that they are demanding a *quid pro quo*.

Thus, the government is engaged willy nilly in a dialogue with the organisation, in which the jailed Mandela is, one suspects, pivotal.

De Klerk and Viljoen have made clear the *quid pro quo* is that the releases and the easing of controls should not lead to chaos and violence.

The consistent message of the seven ANC men, who consulted Mandela before they got out, has been to call upon their supporters to exercise discipline This has prompted Viljoen to describe the process of the releases as "proceeding in an orderly way" that could "improve the climate for further normalisation".

Everybody knows this is codeword for lifting the Emergency, or parts of it, and for the release of Mandela himself. It is now generally recognised that his release is the key to the whole negotiation process, but it depends on the country remaining peaceful in the next few months.

While the released men all endorsed the armed struggle, there has been a reduction in armed attacks in the past few weeks, which the ANC attributes to "logistical causes", but is at the very least a happy coincidence.

The gradual unwinding of the preconditions is also part of the process of breaking down the mistrust which has been built up over years of demonising the ANC as communist terrorists and using severe repression to crush political activity and jail political leaders.

A relationship, now still shadowy, its only direct point of contact being Mandela, is starting to emerge. That, perhaps more than anything, could cement De Klerk into real negotiations.

Furthermore, the notion that the ANC is debating something less than a unitary state — perhaps a federal system — provides the carrot of potential compromise that might lead De Klerk and company over the edge.

Like the ANC, De Klerk has to tell the people at some stage what he's up to. He only has to face the white electorate again five years from now, but he remains constantly accountable to a sceptical, Conservative Party oriented police force whose loyalty he must secure.

Pretoria appears to be dealing with that at the moment with bushveld *indabas* with the generals and the brigadiers and the odd tough statement by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok. But if things fall apart on the ground, or change becomes too dramatic, they could take things in their hand and revert to the more familiar South African pastimes of repression and polarisation.

In which case we'll all have to dust off our copies of *A Savage War of Peace*.

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Apartheid tears us apart, Sowetan says Mabe

By MONK NKOMO

SOUTH Africa is probably the only country in the world whose inhabitants have difficulty in defining themselves as a nation because of apartheid structures created by the Government, according to Sam Mabe, assistant editor of *Sowetan*.

Addressing a conference on communal reconciliation organised by the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria yesterday, Mabe said legislation and at times even violence have been used by the Government to uphold real, perceived and artificial differences among us.

Referring to the concept of Nation Building, adopted by *Sowetan* last year, Mabe said this was a vision of a future South Africa in which all inhabitants will be members of one human race.

"Apartheid has failed to take away our will to be free and to share our freedom with our former oppressors," Mabe said.

"Inspite of the break up of our family structures; the theft of our land and denial of access to the country's economic resources; the forced removals that deprived us of the rights of citizenship in the land of our forefathers; inspite of the incarceration of our leaders on Robben Island and the commission of many other crimes that have sought to dehumanise us, there is still a lot of preparedness among us to forgive our oppressors and to start a new life with them. "That is why we adopted the concept of Nation Building which is our only hope for the future."

Dialects

Mabe said differences of pigmentation between blacks and whites and of tribal affiliation among blacks are used to justify the argument that we are a country of many nations. Even people who speak the same language but in different dialects such as Sotho, Tswana and Pedi are said by the Government to be speaking three different languages three different languages and therefore belong to three different national groups.

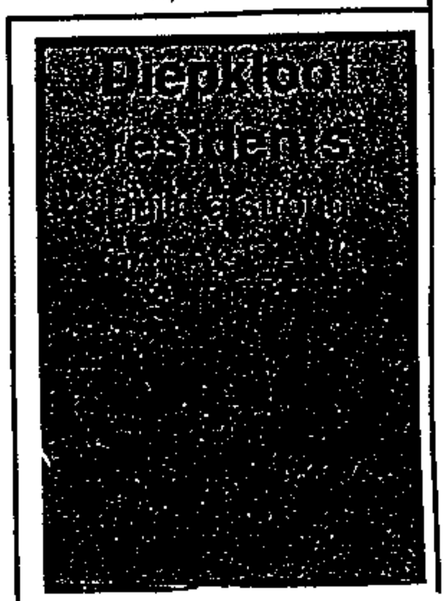
"Bantustans separate blacks from fellow blacks. The tricameral parliament tells the so-called coloured and Indians that they are not black enough to be blacks, neither are they white enough to be whites. Some white children are taught at veld schools and at their homes that blacks do not deserve equal treatment because they are less human than whites," Mabe said.

He added that through these structures, blacks were deprived of their land, of opportunities and rights that are taken for granted by their white counterparts.

Mabe said blacks in this country have been fighting for liberation in which they want to create a non-racial democratic society. But through the methods they apply they seem to be more concerned with marketing their organisational positions than with advancing the struggle.

Mabe said while it was true that there was a great deal of racial bitterness among black people who had had to smile when they wanted to cry and to sometimes say YES when they meant NO, the role of whites in a new society was guaranteed.

"The nation we want to build is definitely not a black nation. It is a nation of all South Africans irrespective of the colour of their skin," Mabe said.



Only one place to be, says Motlana

"There is only one place to be on Sunday," said veteran Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana. "We've got to be there listening to them."

He was, of course, referring to the mass rally at Soccer City stadium between Johannesburg and Soweto to introduce — or reintroduce — the newly-freed political prisoners "to the people."

There is some debate about whether or not the rally will be a formal African National Congress event. A warning by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that the ANC is still outlawed, with the implied threat of police action if ANC aims are furthered, gives the discussion a sharp edge.

But whatever the official description of the rally it will see the largest concentration of senior ANC leaders in decades.

Seven of the eight men released on October 15 are ANC men. The seven ANC patriarchs will be joined by an eighth: Mr Govan Mbeki, who was freed two years ago and whose legal fetters have been relaxed to enable him to address the crowd. As Mr Murphy Morobe, of the National Reception Committee, observes: "The rally will be addressed by ANC leaders."

Celebrating

The people will be celebrating the return of ANC leaders after 25 years. Their joy will undoubtedly be expressed in a regalia of banners and flags, and through songs and dances, steeped in the tradition of the Freedom Charter, of which the ANC is an inseparable component.

Whether that makes it an ANC rally is largely a matter of semantics. What is relevant is that magisterial permission to hold the meeting has been granted.

The rally takes place in the shadow of the Transvaal congress of the National Party last weekend, at which high-ranking party men spoke of the need to show the ANC that it was "not the only pebble on the beach".

Their view is summed up by President de Klerk: "There is no single party or grouping that can lay claim that it alone speaks on behalf of black South Africans."

Against that, however, the Charterists will be anxious to demonstrate the extent and depth of their support, to show to the world that they are by far the biggest pebble on the beach.

Inevitably comparisons will be made, leading to deductions about the strength of the rival movements.

The pro-Freedom Charter United Democratic Front and its trade union ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, have held big rallies in the past, notably the May Day rally in Soweto in 1986. On that occasion, perhaps as many as 25 000 people squeezed into Orlando Stadium.

An immediate target to supercede will be the 60 000-strong crowd which crammed into King's Park Stadium in Durban in 1986 to mark the establishment by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, of the United Workers Union of South Africa.

Inkatha used to hold major rallies in Soweto at Jabulani Amphitheatre. It has not held a rally there since June 1986. The stadium holds between 12 000 and 15 000 people. It was usually filled for Inkatha's rallies or, as they were officially billed, prayer meetings.

The Africanists, whose tradition dates back to the Youth League in the ANC, embrace the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the newly-established Pan-Africanist Federation. They have not held a major rally in recent years.

But there is no doubt that they will monitor Sunday's rally closely, if only to guage the popularity and organising ability of the ANC-UDF-Cosatu axis.

Their attitude towards public demonstrations of support, as expressed by the PAC president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, is contemptuous. They contend that the protest marches — and, by extension, rallies — in the present climate help President de Klerk by giving him the appearance of a democrat who allows his foes freedom of expression and association.

Another political camp which will watch events closely is the Black Consciousness Movement. The hope of its founding father, Steve Biko, was that it would emerge as a Third Force occupying a bridging position between the ANC and the PAC. That alone gives it a vital interest in the rally.

Leaving organisations aside, two powerful men will keep the rally under the closest scrutiny: Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

Open force

Mr Mandela has devoted his life to the ANC and, it is speculated, is masterminding the de facto emergence of the ANC as an open political force in South Africa as distinct from a clandestine organisation functioning under an exiled leadership.

More than that, however, Mr Mandela is understood to be in favour of channelling as many "pebbles" as possible along a single track, so that — if need be — they can move forward inexorably against whatever obstacles may lie ahead.

A bit of history is pertinent: one of Mr Mandela's last public actions before going underground to help found Umkhonto we Sizwe was to organise an "All-in-Convention" in March 1961 in a bid to unite black people of all ideological persuasions.

Mr de Klerk, having — to continue the metaphor — loosened the pebbles which can become an unstoppable and uncontrollable avalanche, will clearly have a direct interest in the progress of the rally.

If it proceeds smoothly and peacefully, his hand will be strengthened against his foes on the far right; if not, he will be vulnerable to their charges that he has been reckless with the country's security.



Dr Motlana ... "We must listen to them."



Mr Vlok ... veiled threat.

Thousands are poised to greet the ANC eight

Sunday Star 27/10/89

Sunday's rally at the Soccer City stadium between Johannesburg and Soweto, for which magisterial permission has been granted, will see the largest concentration of African National Congress leaders in decades. There is debate about whether the rally, which is expected to attract thousands of people, will be a formal ANC event. But whatever its official description, it will be closely watched by leaders on all sides of the political spectrum, writes **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

'Wrong road to democracy'

By MONK NKOMO

A SYSTEM of one-man, one-vote will not necessarily bring about democracy in South Africa, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid said yesterday.

Speaking at a conference on community reconciliation in Pretoria, Van der Merwe said the system of one-man,one-vote, which had been proposed by major black political organisations in this country degenerated into one-party states and dictatorship in certain countries in Africa.

"It also produced leaders like Idi Amin."

Van der Merwe said that very few countries in the world had a pure one-man one-vote system.

The Government, Van der Merwe said, intended to create a new South Africa in which all its peoples could participate in decision making processes of the country.

He reiterated the Nationalist Party's stance that no group should dominate another because "the minority might find themselves powerless and in no position to influence decision-making of the majority."

Referring to the banned African National



Minister Stoffel van der Merwe

Congress, Van der Merwe said while it was true that the organisation resorted to violence because of being barred by the Government from being involved in decision making processes, that reason was not valid today because the present government had declared its intention of creating a democratic political system for all.

"There is no need to continue with violence anymore," the Minister said.

Van der Merwe said the Government was prepared to negotiate with all people who wanted a peaceful solution.

FW's glasnost wins some foreign hearts



The old: PW.



The new: FW.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THERE was a time when the beast - under pressure - would rear its ugly tail and swipe with security legislation at everything extra-parliamentary, everything extra-ordinary.

But there's a new, almost tangible (for its superficiality) air of openness in the land. People's lives haven't changed dramatically and chances are that deep into the foreseeable future it will remain unchanged.

During PW Botha's reign pressure from within and abroad was met with sweeping statements like "do your damndest", with finger wagging, mass detentions and treason or sedition trials. South African prisons were packed and the world went berserk.

When South Africa was under Botha the international community was as unhappy as the South Africans. The economy was bad, money was leaving the country at an alarming rate and South Africans of all races were restless.

But some said no one was going to tell them how to solve their problems.

Then came FW de Klerk and soon afterwards last week's Commonwealth meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. De Klerk's style caught the countries of the Commonwealth at silly mid-on.

Problems

The old saying that only South Africans can solve South African problems still held albeit only for cosmetic purposes for now he dealt British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher a strong hand so she could fight the government's cause at the summit.

This week Thatcher refused to back a call by the rest of the Commonwealth to seek tougher sanctions against Pretoria, including curbing trade credits by banks to 90 days and ending government guarantees for financing and insurance.

Thatcher also refused to endorse a paragraph that acknowledges that sanctions had begun to influence South Africa's policies.

Thatcher, opposing consensus over South Africa for the second summit in a row, also refused to approve an Australian proposal to set up an independent agency to monitor South Africa's international financial links.

When De Klerk visited Thatcher earlier this year, he presented his Marshall Plan, a type of "do for us and we'll do for you" effort. It was then that the political commentators hailed De Klerk as man of the epoch.

Meanwhile the sanctions lobby gained momentum. From the United States to Kuala Lumpur there were cries for sanctions and refusal to reschedule South Africa's foreign debt.

American House representative Senator Joseph Kennedy told the US Government on August 1: "South Africa's economic troubles cannot end until there is progress in dismantling the system of apartheid."

While the best and brightest young leaders of South Africa were imprisoned, while young children were denied the kind of education that will let them live up to their potential, while the majority of the people continue to live in squalor and isolation, the South African economy will continue to be hobbled by the shackles of racism and tyranny, Kennedy told the House subcommittee on International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy's hearing on rescheduling South Africa's debt.

Last week in Malaysia delegates at the 49-nation Commonwealth argued in similar vein.

Thatcher accused the rest of the Commonwealth of being "stuck in a time warp" for seeking to step up pressure on SA at a time when changes were taking place here.

No apartheid laws have been repealed since the De Klerk regime, so apparently what Thatcher was referring to was the release of eight political prisoners.

Release

The release of the eight last week was seen by many as the Government playing to the international gallery.

The release was De Klerk's contribution in the barter deal where Thatcher would ward of the sanctions storm and the pressure that banks were to add through tough rescheduling conditions dependent on continuing reform.

De Klerk's regime has succeeded in warding off international financial pressure. There was no ugly rear of the bestial tail. This time it was pleasing international capital, which fell head over heels for the release of the eight prisoners as meaningful progress.

In the meantime the army is still in the townships, the six South African Defence Force troops accused of murder in Windhoek have still not been brought to trial, the PAC and ANC are still banned, Azapo, the UDF and other extra-parliamentary forces are

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West. Johannesburg.

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304A W.Mail 27/10 - 2/11/89

First Afrikaans anti-apartheid group begins

By GAVIN EVANS

THE first-ever anti-apartheid organisation aimed specifically at Afrikaans-speakers is being launched.

The policy document of the *Afrikaanse Demokrate* was completed last night, and the new organisation's 50 active members are expected to turn out in force under an AD banner at Sunday's welcome home rally for the eight released political leaders.

"We've found that a lot of Afrikaans-speaking people are hesitant to join other organisations because they don't feel uncomfortable with the language or style," AD representative Linda Dietrich said this week.

"What we're trying to do is create a bridge facility for people who want to feel part of the broad movement in our society."

She said the new group would not be ethnically based and would be open to anyone. Most current members are white and "coloured" people whose first language is Afrikaans.

No decision has been taken on the question of affiliation to the United Democratic Front, but Dietrich said the thrust of the organisation was in line with that of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

The AD's policy document supports the call for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, backs the MDM's negotiation pre-conditions, and takes a strong stand in favour of a non-sexist and ecology-conscious society.

Dietrich said the AD was not fighting for Afrikaner rights. "Rather we're trying to create an organisational base for Afrikaans-speakers and to show that its not only Nats and AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) people who speak Afrikaans."

The organisation has not yet embarked on a membership drive but has attracted the interest of hundreds of Afrikaans-speakers from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Pretoria, according to Dietrich.

"Eventually we'd like to go national, but at the moment we're still preparing for a Johannesburg launch."

NP's reforms create a dilemma

DP must be sure of a seat at the table

304A
Star 28/10/89

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party admits that Mr F W de Klerk's moves to "a new South Africa", such as permitting protest marches and releasing political prisoners, were creating a "temporary" dilemma for the party.

But it absolutely rejects suggestions that the moves were making the DP superfluous.

According to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall the party had, in the long run, an essential place in the political arena in order to keep alive liberal values at the negotiation table.

Veteran Yeoville DP MP Mr Harry Schwarz said the DP would have to examine Mr De Klerk's moves closely.

"If the Government is doing the right thing we must support it. What is most important is what is done — not who does it.

"This is an idea that has to get a grip in the party."

But in any case, he said, it was essential for the DP to get itself a place at the negotiation table.

It could only do this if it had a meaningful support base and a definite plan to put on the table.

This plan would have to reflect the human rights values the DP and the old Progressive Federal Party stood for, and the free enterprise economic system.

"Many people are arguing that the only partners at the negotiation table will be the NP and the ANC. That will be disaster. It should be a representative body in which broader opinion is represented.

"And in the same way that the ANC doesn't represent all of black SA — and groups like Inkatha must all be represented — so the NP does not represent all of white SA — and the DP supporters should be represented.

"We represent a meaningful body of opinion. Our role would not only be to advocate our own distinct policy, but to act as a catalyst and to bring people together."

DP national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe said the Government had conceded the importance of the DP. In advertisements placed in the *International Herald Tribune* it had said the DP would be "a crucial partner for the NP in the reform process".

The more the NP moved in the DP policy direction, the greater became the DP's bargaining position because this actually increased its support.

"We saw this in the last election. The NP's reform rhetoric made our policy seem more respectable. And people said if those are the values which even the Government is now endorsing, let us back the DP because they have stood for them for years."

He said that if the NP did continue to move into genuine reform it would be "crazy for us not to join them".

But he forecast a merger between the NP and the DP in those circumstances — not an erosion and ultimate disappearance of the DP.

Dr Worrall said the DP would remain relevant for five reasons:

- It was the DP's good performance in the election which had allowed Mr de Klerk to claim he had a mandate of 75 percent of the electorate or reform.
- The 27 percent of the electorate which he calculated that the DP represented had a critical role to play as a bridge in values between the ANC and the Government.
- Mr de Klerk was likely to run into difficulties with his reform moves as his concept of negotiations was not generally acceptable to blacks.

Mr De Klerk would insist on negotiating with black groups as a representative of the Government — something blacks would find unacceptable as they would insist that all negotating partners be equals.

He would also run into dificulties because his negotiating "bottom-lines" were way above what blacks expected.

- The DP was also important in steering a significant number of whites towards a constitutional solution based on common interests and values, not on race or on numbers.

He said the Government was still talking of protecting white interests in a new constitution.

"This will condemn whites to the status of a permanent minority. We say don't look at the colour of a man's skin. Look at common values. Then whites can be part of a majority."

- The DP was also important in guarding the liberal values in any negotiation process against possible inroads from both the NP and the ANC.



HARRY SCHWARZ: Our role is to act as a catalyst to bring the people together.

No easy walk to tolerant society

304A

John Dugard S/Times 29/10/89

Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand

AT LAST there is serious talk about the need for a Bill of Rights in South Africa.

This has, to a large extent, been inspired by the Law Commission's Draft Bill of Rights.

Cynics may regard it as Afrikanerdom's attempt to protect itself as it sees itself becoming an endangered species, but it is not only white South Africa that now takes a Bill of Rights seriously.

The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa also envisage a Bill of Rights for a post-apartheid society.

Does this mean we are on the road to a rights culture?

I fear not. A precondition for a rights culture is tolerance — tolerance of dissent. And I must confess I see little evidence of tolerance on the right or left.

Intolerance from the right is to be expected. Nationalism is not a tolerant ideology and the National Party remains a party committed to the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism.

Much the same can be said of the intolerance of Zulu nationalism — reflected in the violence of the Maritzburg area.

But intolerance is not confined to the right or nationalist groupings. The "left", represented by mass democratic movements, seems to have elevated unity or solidarity to a leading issue.

I am saddened by the growing intolerance of the left.

I may have misread the signals, but to me the failure of the MDM to condemn the suppression of rights by its affiliates and its failure to indicate the role that rights will play in a future South Africa suggests that the struggle for the advancement of liberal values will continue after the new dawn breaks.

In short, I do not see Utopia around the corner.

There is no easy path to a post-apartheid society.

I suggest a four-point plan for this task:

● Every effort should be made to tolerate free debate of ideas on the nature of a post-apartheid society and how we are to get there. Such ideas must be aired and tested in the open market;

● A rights culture should be created by debate and discussion of the importance of respect for rights in a democratic society;

● Constitutional models that will protect rights in time of peace and national emergency must be examined and debated. "One person, one vote in a unitary state" is not a constitutional programme but a political slogan.

It is incumbent on both those who favour a unitary state and those who favour federation to spell out their ideas in detail. The ANC has already taken the initiative by publishing its constitutional guidelines.

The Democratic Party, I believe, is also working on constitutional models. Soon the Government will come forward with its own ideas — free, I hope, from the doubletalk of "Heunisism". And, in due course, the MDM may itself make proposals;

● Different security law models should be studied and discussed. A post-apartheid society will not be Utopia. There will be opposition and dissent.

A security law system must be devised that permits the Government to suppress violent opposition, but which does not allow it to suppress peaceful dissent and political opposition.

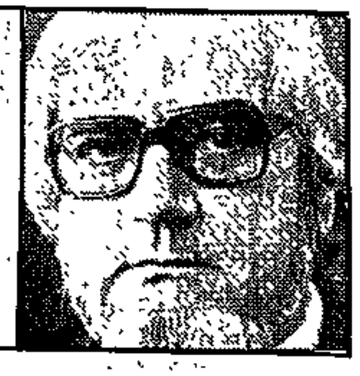
There is much work to be done by lawyers in the years that lie ahead. We must not shirk our responsibilities by rejecting any idea that emanates from the establishment as "illegimate" and therefore unworthy of consideration.

● *Extract from a paper presented at the conference, "A New Jurisprudence for a Future South Africa", at Pretoria University.*

Secretive Broeders: A menace to the future

Hans Strydom

co-author of The Super-Afrikaners, warns that changes in the Broederbond are merely cosmetic



BEFORE one gets too out of breath with excitement over the alleged new face of the Broederbond, a calm and collected view of the situation is required.

Dries van Heerden's article in last week's Sunday Times was an important contribution and shows that the Broederbond hierarchy has indeed changed its views.

The reasons why — and if — the soul of the organisation has changed are another matter.

The lack of hard, first-hand evidence, or documentary proof, confirms that the Broederbond is still a highly secret organisation. Unfortunately this leaves the writer with deductions and assumptions. (It is only human to make errors in such a situation: John Vorster never served on the Broederbond executive, and how sure is Van Heerden that Dr Pieter de Lange is still the chairman and Dr Wimpie de Klerk an executive member?)

The article confirms that the Broederbond has regained its position of power, and that it is a political organisation, not a cultural one. It is also clear that the Government is the Broederbond and the Broederbond is the Government.

Its members occupy an overwhelming number of elected and appointed posts in the Nationalist Government. Its influence is totally out of proportion to its small membership of about 16 000 out of a population of over 30-million.

The Broederbond's political *tiekiedraai* act to improve its image, showing a bit of ankle here and there, cannot succeed in the long run. Its body and soul is bedded in secrecy and exclusivety, and therefore discrimination against others.

In fact, while the Government is tortuously trying to move away from discrimination publicly, the Broederbond, secretly, still clings to discrimination based on colour, religion, language and sex.

COLOUR: Only white Afrikaners are invited to join (nobody can apply to join). Therefore, no people of colour are members.

Excluded

It even excludes Afrikaans-speaking 'coloureds' — thousands of educationists, teachers and ministers of religion who in their daily lives and occupations further the interests of the Afrikaans language.

"Coloured" authors and poets, like Adam Small and others who have made such a significant contribution to Afrikaans literature, may not belong.

This is simply discrimination based on skin colour. It also proves that the Broederbond is not a cultural organisation.

RELIGION: Only members of the Dutch Reformed Churches may belong to the organisation. This excludes Jewish people, Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, etc. In anybody's language this is discrimination based on religion.

LANGUAGE: Only Afrikaans-speakers may belong. This excludes all other language groups. Not even Afrikaners married to English-speaking wives are allowed membership unless she has been 'Afrikanerised'.

SEX: Only males can belong to the organisation. (An attempt to form a Susterbond was rejected because, they argued, women could never keep secrets — they gossip too much!)

The Broederbond constitution will clash head-on on these points with the new constitution to be drafted for South Africa.

Clearly, the new constitution will have anti-discriminatory clauses to make it acceptable. The Broederbond cannot comply with such a constitution — and will not even try.

The claim (believe it or not) is made that the Broederbond is purely a cultural organisation. Studying 18 years of Broederbond documents, I was surprised to see how little time is devoted to cultural matters.

The truth is, of course, that the Broederbond is a political organisation. There is nothing wrong with Afrikaans cultural organisations — and there are several of them. But a secret cultural organisation? Why? Why do they want to hide our culture under a blanket?

We have documentary evidence that only recently the organisation drafted the National Party's Five-Year Plan in the general election.

The list of its political involvement over the years is endless.

Much is made of the Broederbond "think-tank" role to get us out of the mess it got us into in the first place!

Let us not forget that it was a Broederbond "think-tank" which gave birth to the policy of apartheid: Colour discrimination, millions of people moved, the Immorality Act, Group Areas, Population Registration and Separate Amenities Acts, Pass Laws and Influx Control.

Another Broederbond "think-tank" enforced Afrikaans in Soweto schools. The 1976 riots spread nationwide and brought international rejection, sanctions, disinvestment, a dramatic drop in foreign investment and sporting isolation.

Certainly we must encourage change, but why should a family thank a hit-and-run driver for offering to pay his victim's funeral costs?

Since the 1979 Sunday Times exposures on the Broederbond, the organisation has gone even deeper underground.

The steps were outlined in subsequent documents. To mention only one: Certain highly-secret documents must now be burned immediately after being read, and this must be done in the presence of the cell members.

The Broederbond move to allow certain Democratic Party members to retain their membership was one of its shrewdest ever. It thereby tied the DP's hands behind its back — how can the DP now effectively fight Broederbond policies?

It also made those DP members part of its own hidden agenda.

Incompatible

All the arguments mentioned above illustrate why membership of the Broederbond and the Democratic Party at the same time is completely incompatible.

Membership of the organisation means, for instance, co-responsibility for the NP's Five-Year-Plan while at the same time fighting under the DP banner. How can two masters be served — the paramount one always being the Broederbond because of the oath of allegiance?

The Democratic Party can only be hurt — badly hurt — under these circumstances. There can be no divided loyalties.

Freedom! It can prove a headache

S/Times 29/10/89 (304A)

by Lester Venter
Political Correspondent

AFTER years of storming the barricades, protesters in South Africa are having difficulty in coming to terms with their new-found freedom to march and demonstrate without harassment.

Others before them have had to make similar difficult adjustments. A moving illustration of this was given to me by a sergeant in the West German Border Guard.

The Border Guard is a paramilitary group because Bonn refuses to pay the despised border between the West and the East the compliment of even associating its army or police with it.

The Border Guard monitors the border more than guarding it — because no one is trying to get through from the West to the East, and no one from the East is refused.

In the course of this, the Border Guard gets to know their East German compatriots engaged in the same work, albeit with far more seriousness, on the other side.

Some years ago, an East German officer got word through that he wanted to defect. It was arranged for late one Friday evening — and was brought off successfully.

Because Bonn does not officially recognise the division of Germany, West German citizenship rights are automatic and immediate for any German escaping from the East to the West.

The escapee was accordingly given his papers and asked if, as he had been a military officer, he would agree to a debriefing. No special arrangements would be made over the weekend and the debriefing would take place on the Monday.

In the meantime the escaper was provided with clothes, money, accommodation ... and a telephone number he could call if he needed to. On the Saturday evening he used the number. "OK," he said, "what's going on?"

"What do you mean," he was asked.

As far as he could tell, the escaper said, he was not being followed. Furthermore he had enough money and there was little to stop him boarding a train for France, or elsewhere, if he wanted to.

"That's right," he was told. "While we would like to debrief you, you can't be forced to participate — the decision to do so is yours.

"And as for your freedom of movement, it is a democratic right to which you are now, as a citizen of the West, entitled."

The officer obviously was having difficulty in making the journey that separates the two great symbolic poles — one, the systems of the East where it is accepted that the State is in charge of the lives of the people; and the other, the political ways of the West where it is accepted that people themselves are in charge of their lives.

The experience of the East German officer made it clearer to me than do any of the weighty text books on the subject the difference between the two great political models we have devised for ourselves — State control and liberal democracy.

These thoughts returned to me last Saturday after I bumped into a Cape Town friend who has long and acutely felt the absence of democratic rights in our country.

He had just been to one of the marches of the thousands that, within a month, have become a brand new feature of political life in SA.

"Ag," he said with mock despondency and in the lilting accent of the Cape, "the marching is not fun any more.

"Our people are used to the police chasing them with whips and running and jumping over cars and fences to get away. Now the police are there protecting our right to protest.

"Yinne, man, this sudden switch to democracy is too fast for me.

"The next thing you know they're going to tell me I can vote for my own candidate!"

There is an inescapable similarity in the reactions of the East German officer and my friend in Cape Town.

The rarity of these events underlines just how far we have strayed from having the true spirit of democracy in our hearts.

It is clear, too, that what we are living through in this remarkable period is a process whereby President F W de Klerk is handing the responsibilities of citizenship back to South Africans.

The operative word here though is "responsibility" — and its application is mutual.

Until now an admirable perception of this responsibility has been shown — by Dr Allan Boesak in calling in Malaysia for a six-month moratorium on new sanctions, by Mr Walter Sisulu in his measured response to provocative interviewing by local and foreign journalists, by the tens of thousands who have protested peacefully.

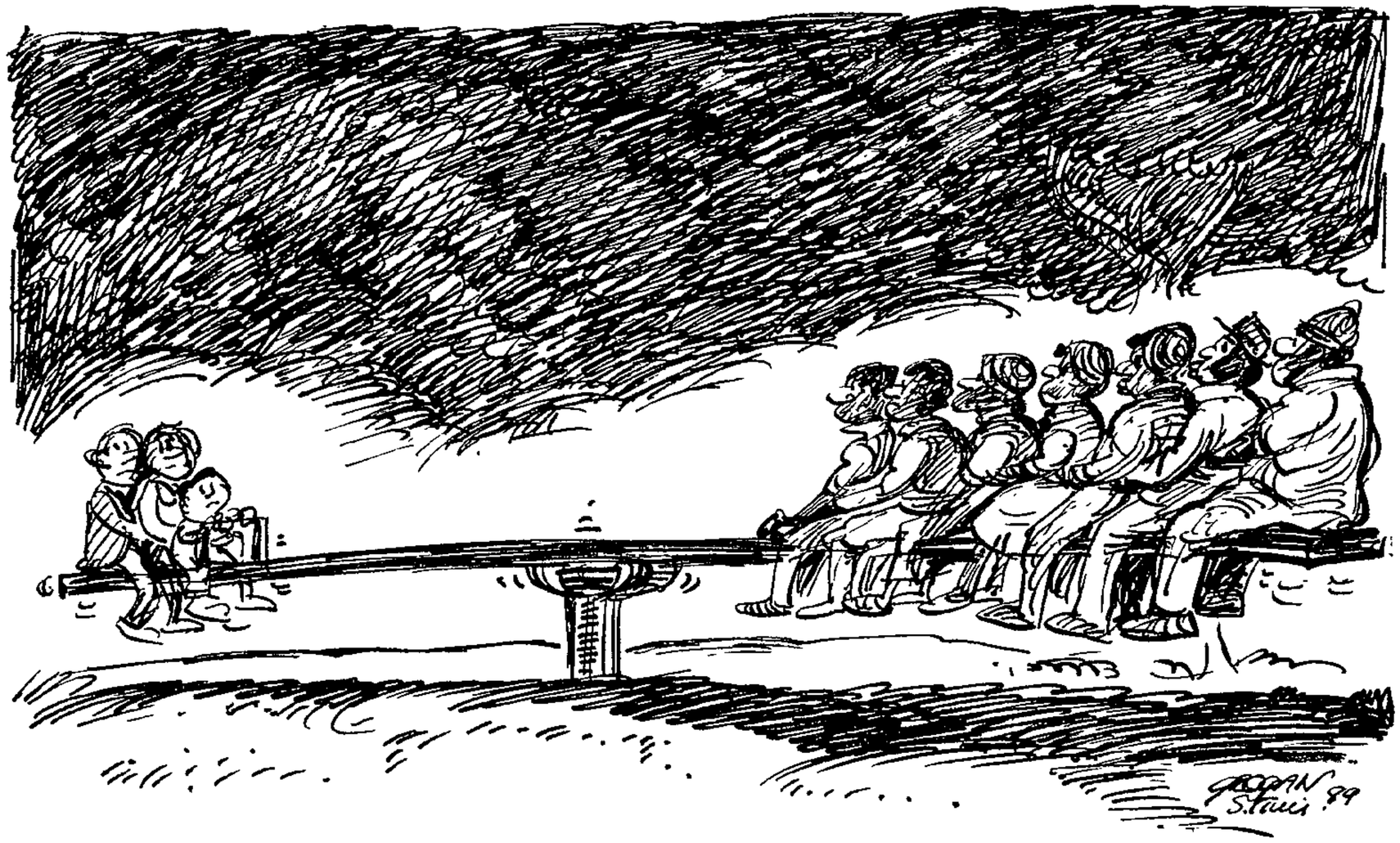
Mr De Klerk has shown commensurate responsibility — and courage — in handing back to South Africans the freedoms and responsibilities that democracy grants to them, and demands from them.

So far, so good.

BALANCING ACT

ST Times 29/10/89. (304A)

How can our opposing nationalisms reach a historic compromise?



THE two main forces in our politics — African and Afrikaner nationalism — are beginning to wonder whether they should consider a historic compromise.

Two recent developments set the stage. One was the National Party's acceptance that there was only one South African nation in which both whites and blacks could claim the same membership. This is the most momentous ideological change in white politics since apartheid appeared on the scene in the '40s.

The other was the ANC's unspoken admission that the transfer of power was not now on the agenda. Rather its task was, as Mr Walter Sisulu put it, "to persuade whites that the ANC does not want to drive them into the sea, but only wishes to negotiate for blacks the same political rights as whites enjoy."

We are, of course, only in the very first stage of a negotiating process, namely the freeing of political activity and the creation of political space. But recent events make little sense if the main actors do not at least believe in the possibility of historic compromise.



by Hermann Giliomee

Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town

One form of compromise would be dualism and power parity.

Recently, Lawrence Schlemmer and I published a book called *From Apartheid to Nation-Building* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press 1989) in which we propose the idea of dualism. We believe there are essentially two forces:

● The current NP Government and its allies in the white community (most prominently, medium and big business) combined with parties representing minorities in the black communities.

● The new alliance could be headed by the African people.

One could call this the nation of the liberationists.

● There are also smaller movements, such as organised business, Inkatha, Black Consciousness, the Pan African Congress and the Democratic Party.

While there is every reason to encourage them to retain their relative independence, there is, nevertheless, a tendency for ethnic conflicts to crystallise.

Is is possible to bring the large formations — let us assume one being led by the NP, the other by the ANC or MDM — into a common system of government based on power-parity?

In our book, we suggest ways in which the main opposing forces could choose their own representatives, who would then be brought into the legislature and executive in a 50-50 power-parity agreement.

In advance, both the alliance and the movement would have to agree to a buffer period of say 7-10 years, in which apartheid would be phased out without convulsions. During this time, the initial, historic compromise would be progressively translated into a stable system of government.

Both whites and blacks would have to recognise they must give up dreams of total victory and accept the limits of their power.

There would also have to be agreement on the rules.

● A common commitment to allow political movements to elect their own representatives accountable to their respective constituencies. Above all, there must be agreement that majority rule is not synonymous with democracy: majority rule can, in effect, be very undemocratic. The government of such a diverse society as SA will have to be a coalition representing all significant groups.

In SA, there are two legitimate political traditions. One is non-racialism and individual participation; the other is political expression via the communal group. Apartheid has distorted to be a fail-safe mechanism that automatically returns the structure to a safe condition in the event of breakdown.

Over the longer run, a power-parity constitution can work only if whites and blacks succeed in jointly formulating a new concept of an inclusive South African nation based on shared rights and obligations, on cultures which are complementary rather than mutually exclusive, and on a broad political consensus to isolate extremists at both ends.

But nation-building will make little headway so long as there is a yawning gap between white wealth and black poverty.

Criticism

My boldest suggestion is a dramatic act of economic reconciliation by both the Government and the private sector. They could take their cue from the economic reconstruction of Germany after World War 2. The principle was that those who lost nothing in the war had to pay compensation for those who did and compensation majoritarians. They say it will institutionalise the current divisions.

However, I fear that, uncritically applied, non-racialism could become as Utopian, as intolerant and ultimately as repressive as its antithesis — apartheid.

South Africa's still-acute divisions along racial lines simply cannot be ignored in any future constitution, and certainly not during the buffer period.

Above all, there are fundamental differences between whites and blacks over what kind of democracy is suitable. Most black movements demand a single, mixed Parliament with the majority in control. But, according to a recent survey, only 11 percent of English-speaking whites and three percent of Afrikaners support this.

Then there is the fallacious belief that whites would sacrifice status and identity for assurances that they would continue to enjoy material prosperity. Forget it.

Whether they are in South Africa, Malaysia or Northern Ireland — people think in terms of the ethnic segment or the conflict group and not in terms of equal and interchangeable individuals as the foundation stone of democratic decision-making.

Nevertheless, the assumption remains that an expertly designed democratic system, and in particular one with a strong Bill of Rights, could make a liberal democracy work.

Survive

I see no reason why one should, on face value, reject — or believe — the ANC's policy statements. The only test is whether liberties enshrined in a constitution can survive in a society like South Africa, where there is such a concentration of wealth, such widespread illiteracy and such unrealistic expectations about the welfare services the State can provide.

From this perspective, the chances of liberties surviving the post-apartheid era are exceedingly slim.

If we conclude that South Africa is not a common society and is unlikely to become one soon, we should also change our constitutional thinking. What South Africa needs is a system that is coalescent, which would demand co-operation across racial lines.

The other need is to think soberly about the future role of political groups which are based on race or ethnicity; for instance, the white group. There can obviously be no justification for the current system in which whites pre-determine the groups and their method of political representation.

Nevertheless, extra-parliamentary circles still reject the idea of whites acting as a political group, now or in the future. To examine this issue, it may be instructive to look beyond Zimbabwe or Namibia, where the tide of decolonisation swept aside political minorities, to societies in the East, where minorities have stayed intact and are managing to live harmoniously with each other. In the East, the most successful heterogeneous societies are undoubtedly Indonesia and Malaysia.

At the root of our conflict lies the genuine confusion which exists in the Western world over the concept of self-determination.

The notion which the Afrikaners, and a large number of English-speaking whites, have of self-determination is rooted in nationalism, ie the idea that the group/community/nation is the basic unit of self-determination. It will remain so for the foreseeable future.

Africans have a different concept of self-representation, rooted in liberal democracy and a territorial sense of nationalism.

Compromise

Democratic because they believe the majority in a particular territory should rule: Nationalist in the sense that they want access to economic resources and power for blacks and want to be governed by their "kith and kin".

Is it possible to affect a compromise between such divergent interpretations?

We have heard suggestions that whites should adopt strategies that would make them part of the majority or that they should exchange minority rule for minority rights.

But only crafty politicians or ivory tower academics can believe that a group forming 15 percent of the population — but owning more than 90 percent of the wealth — could be persuaded to put its trust in minority rights.

South Africa will have to develop a constitution whose overall structure provides sufficient encouragement for both whites and blacks to want to make it work.

But a compromise will not be easy. Afrikaners, in particular, should know better. After the South African War, Lord Milner remarked that only a small group of irreconcilable Afrikaner nationalists prevented the defeated Boer people from accepting all the benefits of British rule. It was that small core which led the Afrikaner quest for liberation.

For the same reason, the task of reaching a historic compromise rests in the end on the shoulders of the MDM and the NP, or credible successor parties. Somehow, they will have to find a compromise between the two traditions of self-representation and steer South Africa towards the great prize: A government of national unity.

● *Extracted from a lecture at Rand Afrikaans University.*

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coalesce around shared beliefs in private property, material security, public standards and economic efficiency.

Retain

One could call members of this nation **pragmatic survivalists.** They are united by a common resolve to prevent a descent into ungovernability and chaos and a willingness to pursue incrementalism rather than liberation. They believe a steady blackening of government and the private sector will occur, but not the transfer of power to blacks.

● Second, we have the extra-parliamentary movement, both here and abroad, which is led by the ANC and MDM. Despite the strong growth in this movement of the ideology of non-racialism, its driving force is still African nationalism. It is imbued with the sense that South Africa belongs to the subordinate majority spear-

compulsory, but there can be no objection in principle to communal self-expression if it is based on voluntary association, as the Cypriots, Belgians and Sri Lankans do.

Constitutional change is dangerous in any delicately poised society. In South Africa it is doubly so because MDM and ANC spokesmen have expressed opposition to power parity.

Even if a radical opposition does accept power parity in a *pro forma* fashion, it may still use its position to immobilise government. In that event, only full-scale military repression will restore stability, and then only short-term.

Conversely, a white government might be tempted to use power parity as a sophisticated variation for co-opting elements of its radical opposition with a view to fatally splitting it.

To avoid this, there would have

was to be paid progressively in favour of the poorest.

Something similar could be applied to South Africa through a massive extension of share option schemes. The ideal would be for the State and the private sector to come to a common decision to enable workers to acquire up to 33 percent of listed company shares by the year 2000.

There will be all kinds of objections, but those who think we will get stability and growth without tangible redistribution and affirmative action must think again.

The choice may well be between willingly ceding 25 or 33 percent of the share-holding to the workers in the '90s — or having 51 percent confiscated by a radical government early in the next century.

Power parity between the majority and an alliance of minorities is, of course, also strongly rejected by non-racial

In search of a new broom for Mr Clean

S/Times 29/10/89. 304A

THE F W De Klerk Government finds itself in uncharted waters as it steers the ship of state between the Scylla of white intransigence and the Charybdis of black expectations.

At no time in South Africa's history has the prospect of genuine reconciliation between the races been better. But, also, never before has the cost of failure been as high.

It almost resembles a high-stakes poker game with both the Government and the ANC — as the often mythical representative of black aspirations — holding powerful cards.

"I'll see your eight Sisulus and raise you three marches."

"I'll see your marches and raise you three peaceful mass meetings . . ."

And each side instinctively knows which aces the other holds — a Nelson Mandela, still not wholly free, and a moratorium on the use of violence.

Dries van Heerden

looks at the challenges facing the new-think Afrikaners



But what is the game plan of the Government and where is it going to lead South Africa in the last decade of the 20th century? And what role is the new Afrikaner power elite going to play in forging future solutions?

Give Mr De Klerk and the National Party the credit it deserves: Never before has any government suffered such a humiliating setback at the polls and still managed to portray itself as the overwhelming victor, as it has in the last two months.

No doubt it was helped by a shell-shocked Conservative Party, which started stoking the victory fires much too early and is now suffering from post-election depression.

And by a Democratic Party which prefers to continue inspecting its navel — hell-bent on self-destruction unless the leadership puts an end to fratricidal squabbles.

Out of this Mr De Klerk emerges as Mr Clean — the smiling, golf-playing leader who is earnest in his attempts to break the impasse.

Yes, you can buy a used policy from this man.

However, a closer inspection of what he has said and what has been done so far reveals little new, and scant hope that fundamental changes are in the offing.

The challenge awaiting political observers here and abroad in the coming months will be to separate style from substance.

It should be remembered that the Government has embarked on two separate agendas which can often be confused — the Apartheid Agenda and the Power Agenda.

The former seems relatively easy to tackle. The buzzword of the '90s will be "benign neglect". The last years of the Botha era have already shown that the Government is prepared to alter the face of South Africa by letting social, political and economic developments run their course.

And when it did come up with major reforms, it was all *ex post facto* — announcing and taking credit for what had, in fact, already been happening for years.

The Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act were scrapped because they were dead anyway. Influx control was scrapped because millions simply did not bother to obey it.

Society led and the Government followed.

This pattern is expected to continue. The Separate Amenities Act will disappear within 12 months, and very few people will notice it because it is already largely ignored in 90 percent of the country.

The Group Areas Act may be with us a little longer, but it will simply not be enforced any more. Blacks will move in ever-increasing numbers into white suburbs and the Government will not lift a finger to prevent it.

Heir

In fact, there is a growing awareness in Government circles that the worst possible plan of action would be to try to meddle in normal market forces by formally introducing demarcated grey areas.

On apartheid, Mr De Klerk seems to be the natural heir to the Jan Smuts tradition in South African policies . . . "let things develop".

However, the Power Agenda is much more vexing.

Extensive talks with people in, and close to, the Government reveal that there is no government plan — either overt or hidden — on the drawing-board.

Strong emphasis is being placed on the newness of the Government — new leader, new chief negotiator, new style of listening rather than dictating, a new openness to advice from academics and pressure groups.

And at this stage it probably deserves the benefit of the doubt. Its inclination is reformist, its rejection of old-think and past policy failures is complete.

But clarity on which direction not to travel does not necessarily translate into a vision of where to go.

Thus far, the signals coming from government remain decidedly mixed. It instinctively knows that the ANC has to be engaged in negotiations about the future, but it baulks at doing so openly. So it engages in talks by proxy.

Secretive

It professes to have an open mind on future constitutional models, but continues to float trial balloons on regional councils for so-called urban blacks and internal elections to determine the leadership core.

It is into this intellectual vacuum that the new Afrikaner power establishment — most notably a resurgent Broederbond — is stepping.

Yes, it is still an exclusive, secretive body — too male and too pale, wielding power and influence beyond all reasonable proportions — the classic *"gogga maak vir baba bang"* bugaboo that has scared the wits out of English-speaking South Africans for almost seven decades.

But, at the same time, it cannot be denied that it is here, in the depths of latter-day Afrikaner thinking, that the rudiments of the new-think will take shape.

Riddle of the porno doctor: Pervert or scientist?

ST Times 29/10/89

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LAW enforcement authorities are still trying to decide if Dr Rodney Wood and his wife Nancy were real researchers, pornographers or if they just liked kinky sex.

In an Oregan, US, court this week, the pair pleaded guilty to prostitution for paying college students to have sex with Mrs Wood while her husband took photos and made sound recordings.

They agreed to pay the R7 000 fine rather than plead not guilty because, according to their lawyer, they wanted to put the episode behind them and get on with their lives.

The strange case began at the beginning of the college year in September when the Woods began peddling flyers on the campus of the University of Oregon asking for young male volunteers for their sex study.

The research was allegedly into "the sexual potential of the mature female" with 44-year-old Mrs Woods as the sole mature female.

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

Suspicious

Several students took the couple up on their offer and turned up at a local motel where they made love to Mrs Woods and received a R28 fee for their trouble.

The scheme quickly came unstuck, however, when several students smelt a rat and notified the campus police.

"What worried the students," said assistant district attorney Sean Hoar, "was that the Woods promised every comer an on-the-spot 10-minute physical examination by a doctor from Cambridge University to check for AIDS and venereal diseases.

"The students were sophisticated enough to know that it takes longer than that to detect these diseases," he added.

The police were notified and a young plain-clothes policeman was dispatched to the motel.

"When he entered the Woods' room, he found Mrs Woods waiting for him in a waist-length night shirt and Dr Woods ready with the photographic equipment. They were immediately arrested and their 'research' material seized," said Mr Hoar.

Unsure

"We still don't know quite what to make of it," the prosecutor added. "I've seen the pictures and they were certainly pornographic. But maybe Dr Woods just liked to photograph his wife having sex with young men."

African Socialism: Coming out from under the Red bed

S/Times 29/10/89 304A

SOVIET-INSPIRED socialism in Africa hasn't worked, isn't working — and won't work for a long, long time. That was the message from a strong Russian delegation at an academic conference with South Africans and others in West Germany last weekend.

The admission was, of course, more subtly conveyed and clouded in the mandatory mists of theory. (Since Soviets pretend their socialism is "scientific", they tend to theorise with little reference to uncomfortable reality.)

But it wasn't difficult to take the hint or to read between the Russian lines. The smoke signals from the Soviets were clear enough: They were simply distancing themselves from African socialism and its manifestly dismal failure.

"This ugly baby really isn't ours any more," was what they said in essence.



Otto Krause

reports from Munich on a remarkable meeting between South Africans and Russians

Destructive

After all the years of supporting socialism (or outright communism) in Africa — stirring up trouble on its behalf, supplying it with arms, backing it internationally and warping minds with an unreal doctrine — this was indeed a turnaround.

And coming on the eve of the elections in Namibia, one wonders whether a majority in that country will give its support to Swapo, a Soviet-backed party with self-destroying socialism as its policy.

One suspects that the Soviets would be hugely discomfited if Namibia were to become yet another Moscow-sponsored socialist disaster. And Moscow no longer needs such unwanted burdens in distant lands — even though it will, of course, continue to support Swapo with words.

Namibia's voters would also be wise to realise that the Soviet Union can no longer suppport such regimes economically or in other material ways.

At the conference there were many jokes about the Soviets not being able to supply even themselves with commodities as basic as soap — so how could they help Africa? The Russians seemed to take such ribbing in good spirit.

So, as a result of its own self-destructive and non-performing socialism, the Soviet Union is simply no longer able to sustain its former expansionist thrust into the world, least of all in Africa, where their prospects have proved so unpromising. Quite simply, perestroika at home means cutting down on adventurism abroad.

Nevertheless, conferences, like semaphore signals, have their purposes. And this one with the Russians did have historic qualities.

It was the first time a group of Soviet Africa experts had come together with private citizens from South Africa on academic grounds — and without the ANC.

The three-day talks were organised by the Munich-based Institute for African and International Studies. Its theme was "Problems of Socialist Orientation and Democracy in Africa", and the approach was essentially academic.

Not much was said about democracy. The 10 Russians, mainly from the Institute for African Studies in Moscow and led by its well-known Professor Gleb Starushenko, preferred to have a field day theorising about African countries of "socialist orientation".

The latter is the code-phrase they had insisted should be used in the title of the conference. The clear purpose was to differentiate between "socialist-oriented" countries in Africa and "really socialist" countries elsewhere.

In other words, they could express grave doubts about such countries' highly unsatisfactory socialism without questioning socialism per se.

Out of the mists of theory emerged the endless "problems" of these "socialist oriented" countries, which in effect added up to a questioning of whether the time, the circumstances and other factors in African countries were at all suitable for the establishment of "proper" socialism.

For such arcane, academic tut-tutting about "problems", one in turn had to read plain Russian disillusionment with the performance of their client states in Africa.

Put in this way, the message was inescapable: They wanted to distance themselves from such "socialist-oriented" states without ever uttering a word of disloyalty towards socialism. A delicately handled operation in every respect.

Moreover, they still propounded much socialist idealism (however disastrous in practice), and would even come out with such preposterous statements as the one that the people of Angola "selected their socialist-oriented government" — when everyone knows that no such election was ever held in that country and that it was nothing but an armed takeover by Soviet-backed Cubans with some Angolan allies in tow.

Such inordinate loyalty to the Soviets' pristine position without due cognisance of fact may puzzle some, but is quite understandable. For behind socialism there still stands the cause of the Soviet Union to which a Russian is naturally loyal.

After all, in the dying days of Verwoerdian apartheid its remaining true believers also indulged themselves in such theoretical exercises.

But why would the Soviets pursue such exercises with a group of South Africans?

While bidding farewell to African socialism in general, one asks whether it was not also an attempt to signal dissatisfaction with the socialist ANC, thereby making the ANC more acceptable to moderate South Africans.

Curious

And was this merely a ploy, or was it for real?

Then, too, do the Russians eventually want to come round to doing more sensible business with South Africa?

(One must add here that the Russian delegates were always exceedingly understanding of other views, however critical, as well as being polite and friendly — nice guys all round.)

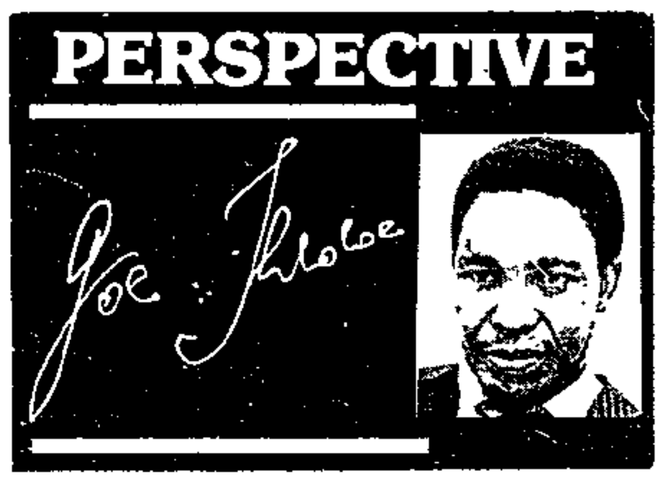
Or, perhaps, the Russians were just curious.

Nonetheless, a new process in Soviet-South African relations is gradually unfolding to which we should attend with care and seriousness — and keep our powder dry.

By now, all those gullible people who believed the Soviet Union put socialist idealism above Soviet self-interest should know better. It's no different from other nations.

Give us solutions

PERSPECTIVE



THE "the eight" were released this week and thus added fuel to the debate on negotiations.

The country's business leaders, like Gavin Relly of the Anglo American Corporation, have jumped into the arena and called on the Government to negotiate with the ANC.

After a recent meeting with the new State President, Mr FW de Klerk, Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, is now telling the Commonwealth heads of State in Kuala Lumpur to give the Government six months' grace.

This is a roller-coaster ride, but we need to keep our heads clear.

As we ponder the question of negotiations we should take several things into account: What is at stake in the negotiations? What do we hope to achieve? What happened when we sat down to negotiate before?

Unless these questions are answered clearly false hopes will be raised and we might come crashing to earth.

What is at stake in the negotiations?

. Political and economic power has been exclusively in the hands of white South Africans for centuries now. The indigenous Africans and others have been excluded. This exclusion was finally codified in the policies of apartheid.

In yesterday's *Sowetan*. Thami Mazwai quoted figures that illustrate the injustice graphically:

In 1987 the Government spent R476 on the education of a black child, and R2503 on that of a white child.

In that year the white university student population was almost three times the black one.

In 1986 there were 666 indigenous African apprentices against 9248 white apprentices.

Mazwai was just scraping the surface of this infuriating subject - any set of figures that measures political and economic power shows the same differences between the minority that is in power and the deprived majority.

And it all starts with political power.

What De Klerk has promised is to share political power, hence the euphoria about negotiations.

But De Klerk and the National Party are not offering to share power in the way it is done in other democratic countries: They believe that power must be shared between "groups", with the implications that there will be a white veto.

They have put it much more subtly, calling for a "democracy" where there is no domination of one group by another.

They still refuse to see South Africans as one, with each South African enjoying the same powers as the next in a truly non-racial democracy. Their eyes deliberately blur when this prospect is put before them.

And this is obviously because they do not want white privilege taken away. They are hoping that in the end they will continue to wield and enjoy the economic power they do now.

Unless De Klerk commits himself to the principle of a non-racial democratic South Africa, talks with him will not lead to a "solution". A few more blacks might be co-opted into the system, but the conflict will continue.

Unless the National Party also looks seriously at the question of the redistribution of the resources of this country, there will be no solution.

We saw it happen after the Wiehahn Commission opened the way to a non-racial labour "dispensation" in 1979. Black trade unions were recognised by the law, the statutes were changed to allow for desegregated shop floors, and labour and management were freed to enter a new era.

Everybody knows that it has been an era of increased conflict. Black trade unionists know that the conflict has just begun, with whites retaining their privileged positions in the economy.

No, sir. We need real solutions, not phantoms.

1 ★

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Bruised and bloodied, a humiliated rightwing retreats to plot anew

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE political right is on the retreat for the first time since that day in 1983 when Mr Koos van der Merwe stormed out of the National Party's parliamentary caucus shouting: "I am finished with that Prog, P W Botha."

This week, in the Pretoria City Hall, the Conservative Party held its first Transvaal provincial congress since the September election. And the "bruisende geesdrif" (roaring enthusiasm) which has been so characteristic of previous gatherings was notably absent.

There were the usual "never surrender" speeches by delegates and the customary warnings by the leadership that any movements towards reform will be resisted — by force if need be.

But the feistiness seems to have left the party. The applause was more muted and the "hear-hears" just that decibel softer.

There are three obvious reasons for the new, chastened spirit in the party's inner circles:

● The election results came as a shock. All the pre-election boasting of at least 60 to 65 seats — with 20 others a strong possibility — was not merely whistling near the cemetery to bolster the hopes of the party faithful.

They really believed it. And the let-down on September 7 was devastating.

A number of party insiders actually believed the first congress after the election would welcome *President* Andries Treurnicht and his CP cabinet on stage. He did arrive eventually — but still only as Leader of the Opposition.

● Since becoming State President, Mr De Klerk has skilfully managed to dominate the headlines, relegating all other white political figures to supporting roles.

The National Party has regained the political initiative and the Opposition's role has been diminished to reacting to government action.

● Among thinking Conservatives there is a growing realisation that time has caught up with them. Political developments are unfolding at such a pace that even if they do come to power in the future they will not be able to undo what is already firmly in place.

Most other political groupings already regard the CP as Yesterday's Men and this hitherto unthinkable notion is also now taking root within the party.

The first signs of this came at the Cape CP congress earlier this month where delegates seriously questioned the wisdom of the coloured homeland policy.

Professor Gert Duvenhage, the losing CP candidate in Swellendam, openly labelled this approach "unworkable" and blamed it for the party's bad showing in the Western Cape.

An increasing number of CP-controlled town councils are now baulking at the introduction of hardline petty apartheid measures in the wake of the Boksburg and Carletonville fiascos.

In Middelburg, the council didn't proceed with plans to erect "whites only" signs at the town's parks. In Pietersburg, multi-racial sports meetings are continuing unhindered. In Phalaborwa, the CP council maintains cordial relations with local black leaders. And despite threats to disrupt Regional Services' Councils countrywide, very little has come of it.

Where everything was so clear-cut a mere two months ago, suddenly the CP finds itself ankle-deep in an identity crisis.

Should it remain faithful to the dogma and run the risk of alienating itself further from the broad thrust of South African politics or should it also, perish the thought, adapt its policies to changing circumstances?

This week's Transvaal congress was an object lesson in the dilemma of a party caught at the crossroads.

The instinctive reaction to fall back on rhetoric and fiery language when all else fails was still very much alive... Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg warning Mr De Klerk: "Don't drive the Afrikaner too far"; the Rev Mossie van der Berg stating the NP has "betrayed" the voters; Dr Treurnicht himself accusing the Government of "letting loose revolutionary forces" on the country.

But there is an important rethink on policy taking place within the party.

The outlines of this are still vague, but it does seem as if a strong lobby wants the party to abandon the unworkable notion that a white government can continue to govern the whole of South Africa indefinitely.

A stronger emphasis on the development of the white homeland idea and the radical partition of the country into exclusive white and black areas with clearly defined borders may be the result of the policy review currently taking place.

DP denial of PFP very disheartening

May I comment on the recent Democratic Party congress. I think the delegates to the congress have made some very serious misjudgments which, unless they can be corrected soon, will be very unfortunate for South Africa.

There was an attempt at the congress to deny the PFP contribution to South Africa and by implication deny the DP's liberal roots in order to win (Afrikaner?) votes. Now it seems to me that this strategy only makes sense in the current political situation.

Come the next election and the Government has lifted the state of emergency, freed political prisoners, started negotiations with black representatives, brought down inflation etc, what is the DP going to offer these potential voters that the NP can't give them? The policy of going for NP voters only makes sense if one assumes the "gatvol" factor will continue and get worse.

If one looks further ahead to the first truly democratic election in South Africa, where all people have the vote, it is likely that there will be two major groupings: An African nationalist party with a socialist/communist bias based on (parts of) the ANC, MDM, UDF, etc, and an opposing coalition of groups which stand for free enterprise and individual freedom. Now in this scenario the DP has a major role to play because of the PFP's steadfast adherence to liberal values.

The role that has been played by the major forerunner of the DP (that is, the PFP), has been to state the liberal viewpoint clearly and unequivocally; to proudly stand for liberal values.

It is this which is the major value of the DP.

Surely this is the role that the DP should continue playing. It should, when negotiations occur, make sure that liberal values are heard at the negotiating table; it should become a rallying point in the future, when all South Africans have the vote, for all people who support liberal values; it should ensure that the future majority government is a liberal government or that it is influenced by liberal values.

There is actually no alternative role for the DP to play. It would indeed be disastrous for South Africa if it becomes a paler version of the NP, for this would leave all liberals without a political home and would not contribute anything constructive to the society.

This is why the recent DP congress was terribly disheartening. Rather than insulting its liberal support base in order to gain a few more (non-liberal) votes, the DP should be proclaiming as loudly and proudly as possible its liberal heritage.

Kevin Joubert
Parktown North

FW to visit Ivory Coast in December

YAMOUSSOUKRO (Ivory Coast) — South Africa's importance in regional conflicts was underscored yesterday at a meeting of four African leaders seeking to resolve the Angolan civil war.

Ivory Coast's President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, in a surprise announcement at the end of the meeting, said South African State President, Mr F W de Klerk, would visit Ivory Coast in December. Ivory Coast has long had friendly, unofficial ties with South Africa.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said the Frontline states were watching the Namibian independence process to gauge South Africa's future role in the region. He said South Africa was "very much on trial so far as Namibia is concerned". — Reuter.

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS — 1989

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FW sounds a warning on SA's dependence on gold

DEPENDENCE on the gold industry was cause for concern because of the volatility of international prices, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Opening the Rand Refinery in Germiston, he said this was why so much insistence was being placed on inward industrialisation and broadening exports in content and diversification.

Until 1985 SA was the lowest-cost gold producer of five major producers. In 1987 it became the highest cost producer of the five.

"The industry will be hard put to contain further increases as long as inflationary trends continue, which hopefully will not be long if government and the private sector put their heads together," he said.

The refinery was a step towards keeping mining industry costs down.

He stressed again the utmost importance of proper co-ordination and implementation of a cohesive economic policy in a period of dynamic change.

GERALD REILLY

The highest degree of co-ordination of government actions in the economic sphere would be incomplete if the best possible co-operation between government and the private sector was lacking. Economic measures and long term strategies would have to be executed in harmony.

Reform

"We will have to see to it that fiscal, monetary and all other economic policy measures do not only not clash, but complement each other."

Also social constitutional and economic reform processes would have to integrate with each other, he said.

Referring to SA's efficient mining industry co-ordinated by the Chamber of Mines, De Klerk said the value of the chamber had been proven again in the draft Mineral Bill negotiations, involving government and many groups in the private sector.

The Bill would soon be thrashed out in parliament. Hopefully, it would ensure continued stability and prosperity for the mining industry well into the future.

"Although a capital outlay of R78m was needed this will undoubtedly bear fruit through saving in labour, higher productivity, greater all round efficiency and a streamlining of the refining process."

De Klerk said the R32,5bn annually which came from the refinery was of critical importance to the national economy and would maintain and strengthen the base of the international monetary system.

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HARRY SCHWARZ, MP, outlines his vision of the Democratic Party's mission.



HARRY SCHWARZ . . . Things must be better after apartheid has gone.

Equality for all the only system after apartheid

Cape Times 1/11/89

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SOCIETY after apartheid must be better than apartheid The issue is not the transfer of power, rather the creation of a society in which there is no discrimination and no domination, in which human rights are respected, equitable economic opportunity exists and all people feel and are safe

This is what the Democratic Party's mission should be, it is what I work for in politics. If this is not achieved, then not only I but many others who have walked the stony road of opposition for years will have failed The issue in politics is who exercises power The philosophies and policies of those who have the power are crucial as are the actions to implement the same.

Defined plans

A political party cannot be merely a facilitator. While one favours talks and negotiations, it must be obvious that these are not an end in themselves. That objective is the creation and maintenance of acceptable of government and economic systems

If the Democratic Party is to have a seat at any future negotiating table in South Africa, it needs not only a power base — that is, it must represent a meaningful percentage of the population — it must also have defined plans and policies to present during the negotiations

There is, however, an even more important task. This is to convince the people of South Africa of the validity of causes we espouse.

If the people of South Africa as a whole can be convinced of the merits of human rights principles, of the concepts of free enterprise, of the right to worship in accordance with one's own faith, and of the many other fundamentals which go to make up a democratic society in the true sense of the word, then the task at the conference table will be so much easier.

What one should seek to achieve is a degree of common cause of what are fundamental human rights, principles of government and economics. We should seek to avoid having a debate at the negotiating table on the demerits and merits of authoritarianism and democracy or even on a one party as against a multi-party system, or on the authority of the State as against the rights of the individual or on the nature of the economic system which can create the wealth which South Africa requires

If there is consensus on those issues in the community as a whole before negotiations the task of the negotiators will be so much easier

In Rhodesia there were laws authorising imprisonment without trial. After the transfer of power in today's Zimbabwe the same laws remain and are applied

Same standards

All that is different is that the previous victims are now the implementors of those laws This is but one example of why democratic values need to be marketed and become accepted not merely by lip service but in reality before negotiations on the future get under way

The nature of the economic system after apartheid will be vital in determining whether we become another poor Third World country or whether we will be able to extend the standards some enjoy to the whole population South Africa needs to be convinced of the validity of an economic system which encourages growth and from which all benefit

There is a self-induced fallacy in the white community that there is no longer any endeavour from any major section of the black community to challege free enterprise Failure to deal with this may have serious consequences

If we believe in the concept of free enterprise and of social market economy, then we have to market it and to convince the "have nots" that they are more likely to become "haves" under this system than under socialism.

Benefit to all

I do not believe a political party can be merely an umbrella body for people of conflicting political and economic ideologies whose only real common purpose is their opposition to apartheid Some people believe the whole existing system must be destroyed and the country must be built up again from the beginning I do not share this view.

On the contrary, I believe that what has been built in our economy needs to be preserved and that to do so will be for everyone's benefit.

Opponents of apartheid have different agendas, many the very antithesis of the society which I for one seek and which I believe most South Africans would also like to have established

Politicians need to be careful not to be overtaken by events The negotiation phase is not yet on us but we are very close to talks on talks.

Talks and eventually negotiations will come about. There is a role for the facilitator or the marriage broker, depending on the objective to be reached, but a political party worthy of the name must be something more

Mistakes

It must be a participant in events and must itself have an objective to shape what comes out of negotiations and must have as a major task the marketing of the concepts which it believes will safeguard everyone.

It should be remembered that in Africa one cannot afford mistakes as almost every step taken becomes irreversible.

So I seek no motley collection of individuals with conflicting philosophies united only by a common dislike or sometimes unfortunately by hatred I look on the contrary for a party seeking to convince the people of South Africa of values important for freedom, security and prosperity.

What a political party needs is an image that it can be trusted, that it has the plans and the expertise to implement such plans.

So the mission must be adherence to and the advancement of the concept of a truly democratic political and economic system which gives not only rights and opportunity but also security.



...worn violence."

CP lays charges against Soweto rally speakers

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party has laid criminal charges against the organisers and speakers at the "Welcome Home" rally held for the seven released African National Congress leaders at the weekend.

The move comes amid growing dissatisfaction with the government's handling of the rally and rumours of police dissent about the government's blind eye approach to anti-apartheid acitivities.

Conservative Party deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting on behalf of the CP, yesterday laid formal criminal charges at the Pretoria Central branch against the National Reception Committee (NRC), the organisers of Sunday's rally, Soccer City and the speakers, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Andres Mlangeni for allegedly contravening the Internal Security Act.

FLAGS DISPLAYED

The ANC and the South African Communist Party, whose flags were openly displayed at the meeting, are banned, while some of the organisations' leaders who were quoted at the meeting are listed in terms of present legislation.

And in another development, the Commissioner of the SA Police, General Hennie de Witt, emphatically denied rumours of widespread dissent in police ranks.

In a statement General de Witt said rumours that members of the SAP were threatening to resign because of the way in which anti-apartheid gatherings were being permitted had not come to his notice or the notice of head office.

He dismissed such rumours as maliciious efforts to place the police in a bad light.

In his statement, Dr Hartzenberg alleged that the organisers and speakers at Sunday's rally, for which government permission had been obtained, had contravened the Internal Security Act.

Dr Hartzenberg said there was no doubt that the police would have been thoroughly informed about the rally and that they would have given the government a detailed account before the rally.

"I therefore have to accept that the Minister of Justice (Mr Kobie Coetsee) knew beforehand that it would be an ANC gathering and that he tacitly allowed it to take place."

34 Num members sue CP town

LAWYERS acting for 34 members of the National Union of Mineworkers, some of whom were allegedly assaulted by whites while playing soccer inside a stadium in the CP-controlled town of Rustenburg on election day, are preparing a civil action against the authorities.

By MONK NKOMO

Mr Sakkie Maboa, an attorney, yesterday confirmed that a letter of demand would soon be served on those allegedly responsible for the assault on the NUM workers. Nine of the NUM members who were allegedly assaulted have since been charged with tresspassing, their lawyers said yesterday. The accused are all out on R50 bail each.

Twenty five of their colleagues who were initially accused of loitering, had charges against them withdrawn by the State on October 10, according to a union spokesman.

The 9 accused, some of whom had their injuries noted by a magistrate during their formal appearance in Rustenburg on September 7, are due to appear again on December 7.

The accused are Mr Osborne Ratladi, Mr Jacob Khunong, Mr White Tabane, Mr Bridgeman Sobbdula, Mr Lucas Mathe, MR Tyalweni Fasengi, Mr Elvis Tause, Miss Nancy Radiokana and Miss Lettie Semelane. They are represented by advocate Bennie Ngoepe and Maboa.

One of the accused, Ratladi, alleges in a sworn affidavit that he was blindfolded and assaulted with sjamboks during his detention on September 6. He also alleges that when he was released on bail on September 7, his eyes were swollen and he could not walk.

Major Gerhardus Maritz, station commander of the Rustenburg police station, yesterday said he knew nothing about the assault on NUM members. "No reports have been made to the police about the alleged assault. But we will investigate should the charges be laid." Maritz said.

Maritz leads bid to reunite rightwing groups

By DE WET POTGIETER

RIGHTWING splinter groups are engaged in intensive negotiations to form a united front in an effort to regain prestige lost by the revelations about AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche's private life.

Mr Terre Blanche's former right-hand man, Mr Manie Maritz, is said to be the force behind the efforts to bury rightwing hatchets.

When the AWB leader fell from grace earlier this year, Mr Maritz turned his back on his former leader yet never officially joined any of the other radical rightwing groups formed since.

The crumbling of the AWB's empire resulted in the formation of various splinter groups. According to informed sources, Mr Maritz has assumed the mantle of an independent negotiator to unite the groups.

The revelations of secret peace talks come on the eve of the first anniversary of Barend Strydom's massacre on November 15 last year on Strijdom Square in Pretoria.

On the surface the splinter groups — like the Blanke Vryheidsdsbeweging of former AWB deputy leader Mr Jan Groenewald, the Boerestaat Party of Mr Robert van Tonder, the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging of Professor Johan Schabort, the AWB and a recently formed, virtually unknown group, Mannekrag Aksie Nasionaal — have no love lost between them.

However, declining fortunes in recent months are forcing them into some kind of united front.

MAN is a front organisation of Mr Jaap Marais' dwindling Herstigte Nasionale Party under the leadership of Mr Oscar Hartung.

"There are a lot of highly sensitive egos among those leaders," the Sunday Times was told. "It will be no easy task for Oom Manie (Maritz) to get negotiations on track."

The main fear is that Mr Terre Blanche, in spite of his controversial past, will hijack the negotiations to his own advantage.

Conservative academics — including two dissident AWB members who broke with the movement over Mr Terre Blanche's indiscretions, Professor Alkmaar Swart and Dr Chris Jooste — will form a group of "wise men" to act in an advisory capacity for the united front.

Get-together depends on elections

Frontline states may meet De Klerk

30 PA Star 2/11/89

The Star's Foreign News Service

YAMOUSSOUKRO (Ivory Coast) — A meeting between African frontline states and South Africa could take place if next week's elections in Namibia go smoothly, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said.

Mr Kaunda was speaking after talks held in Ivory Coast with three African heads of state seeking to revive the Angolan peace process.

The offer came shortly before an announcement that President de Klerk is to visit the Ivory Coast in December for discussions with Mr Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the country's president.

It will be Mr de Klerk's first trip to another African country since his election victory on September 20. He will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Kaunda, chairman of the Frontline states, told journalists: "If South Africa should do well over the issue of Namibia getting independence, come November 6, and things go smoothly, we are prepared to organise a get-together of all those involved within South Africa and without, so that we can help end apartheid and bring genuine peace not only to South Africa itself but also to the region as a whole."

Mr Kaunda, who met Mr de Klerk in Zambia in September, acknowledged that Pretoria's decision to permit peaceful opposition rallies, including the ANC rally in Soweto, had influenced his government's view of the South African Government.

But he said: "One political swallow does not make a political summer. So we are waiting for more political swallows to make the necessary political summer, which means the end of apartheid."

President de Klerk's visit to the Ivory Coast is expected to take place at the beginning of December, although no firm date has yet been set.

The two countries do not have full diplomatic relations. However, President Houphouet-Boigny has argued in favour of constructive relations with South Africa and recently granted landing rights for South African Airways to stop over in Abidjan.

Rally - CP man lays a charge

Sowetan 2/11/89

CONSERVATIVE Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday laid formal charges at the Pretoria central police station against the speakers and organisers of the mass "ANC rally" held in Soweto on Sunday.

He said in a statement to Sapa afterwards the following document signed by him had been handed in with the charges:

"The Minister of Justice made it known in a statement that the ANC gathering on October 29 had taken place within the framework of the country's laws and with the necessary permission of the authorities.

"The facts are that on Friday, October 27 the organisers of the rally - the National Reception Committee - announced at a Press conference it would be an ANC rally.

"Placards advertising the rally and which were also exhibited during the conference, proclaimed that it would be an ANC meeting, while a similar full-page advertisement appeared in *New Nation* of October 27."

Was Pik duped by securocrats?

●From PAGE 1

formation. However, it lacks key procedural codes, and the format is incorrect. Untag keeps records of all communicatios of the sort Botha was claiming to have intercepted.

The evidence points to a militarily sophisticated, experienced and well-equipped source based close to the Angolan border.

Diplomatic sources are speculating that Botha could have been attempting to pre-empt a repeat of the April 1 incursions by Swapo by putting the Untag forces on their guard.

At the same time, it renders much more difficult any potential military action by Swapo after the election, as this would vindicate Pretoria's claims.

In a statement which seemed to allow for the possibility that the documents were forgeries, Botha said yesterday: "If the publicity leads to no further activities (by Swapo) it would have served its purpose."

However, the outburst on the eve of the election has aroused the suspicions of African states who have never been fully convinced that South Africa is genuine about allowing free and fair elections in Namibia.

It has also raised fears that the "securocrats" in the government — those *verkramptes* who oppose the *glasnost* of President FW de Klerk, but who have been sidelined since the retirement of PW Botha — are fighting back.

Although sources close to De Klerk are confident that the securocrats cannot threaten him, the most likely source for Botha's allegations must be military intelligence or the National Intelligence Service.

The fears that these people are trying to stage a comeback to power were fuelled by two other unexpected developments this week that seem to go against the current *glasnost*: the warning of a pending suspension of the *New Nation* newspaper, and the apparent clampdown on rebel policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

Botha's move has increased tensions in an election which, coming after a lengthy guerilla war, has faced a number of bedevilling factors including the April 1 incursions by Swapo, clashes between Swapo and DTA supporters, the long-running Koevoet issue, the assasination of Anton Lubowski and the question of the murder and disappearance of Swapo detainees.

Botha's claims are also likely to have damaged the pro-South African Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. Dirk Mudge of the DTA said yesterday that the announcement was "more or less equal to intimidation" because the impression had been created that Swapo had a strong military presence on the border.

Botha said yesterday, however, that the South African government was prepared to accept the outcome of the election, and in this spirit he had recently met Swapo leader Sam Nujoma. He said close co-operation with the government of Namibia was essential.



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PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH

Looking beyond 1990

There are signs that the tough economic lessons of the decade have sunk home



Watching the implementation of economic policy in this country has for some time been rather like being a spectator at a game of snakes and ladders, where the players never had a chance of getting home. Those in the Treasury and in Church Square knew which way to go. But the politicians up at the Union Buildings were sure as hell not going to let them arrive.

All that could be on the point of change. New State President F W de Klerk has constantly returned in recent speeches to the need for economic prosperity to underpin political change. He did so again last week at the *FM*'s annual investment conference, after having raised the question at two important regional NP congresses

Early in the week the Cabinet met — on what reports described as a "retreat" — specifically to discuss economic matters

Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals has reinforced his earlier tough statements on curbing inflation and signs in the money markets are that interest rates are being allowed to rise.

The need to curb inflation was a recurring theme at the *FM*'s conference It was first raised by the State President himself and by the governor. The debilitating impact on investment of a constantly rising general price level was candidly explained by stockbroker Ivor Jones and condemned for the social distress it causes by Chief Rabbi Harris

Clearly, there is in the De Klerk Cabinet a sharper appreciation of the grave consequences of allowing double digit inflation to persist for close to 20 years now. Moreover, the speed with which De Klerk has acted diplomatically, by freeing top security prisoners and by drawing the sting from black public protests, gives him heightened credibility among businessmen. That, with his persuasive personality, was the reason for the standing ovation given to him by the 400 delegates at this year's *FM* Investment Conference

To a lesser degree, the same applies to the monetary attitude taken by the governor. He has spoken firmly, acted decisively, and has the advantage of support from a Cabinet that has a better understanding of economic imperatives.

Essentially, De Klerk promised to stabilise prices, reduce government spending and the public sector and continue to privatise and deregulate. It is not that the promises are new. It is the president's willingness to face the political consequences of tackling these difficult tasks — and to persuade his political constituencies of the need for the hardship that is inevitable — that accounts for his high credibility.

The first and most urgent step to reduce inflation and restore prosperity is for government to curb its own spending and reduce the size of the civil service. Until that happens, the only constraint on excess aggregate demand is high real interest rates. Inflation is caused substantially by the economy's inability to meet that demand, resulting in prices rising for what is available

The longer it takes government to curb its fiscal profligacy, the longer high real interest rates will hurt businessmen and the homeowner. They deserve every bit of sympathy Home loan instalments have risen by 50% over about four years and they are likely to go higher still. Some small businesses will not survive.

If government is to be successful in disciplining itself, it will have to face some economic perceptions which have clear political consequences.

The first is that, if inflation is brought under control by reducing aggregate domestic demand, so many blacks will be out of work that violence is the likely outcome — especially in view of the absence of a safety net of social security.

That is a widely held view, prevalent in the Economic Advisory Council, which has been, in its reconstruction, denuded of professional economists. There is nothing amiss with the logic. But what must be kept in mind is that, allowed to perpetuate, the consequences will not disappear; they will just get worse

By avoiding its own fiscal discipline and countenancing inflation, government is pushing the cost of keeping unrest down on to the shoulders of that section of the community that can least afford it or protect itself from it — the elderly of all races who try to live on savings, fixed incomes and pensions The cost of creating jobs for young blacks to avoid unrest is being borne by pensioners, widows and orphans. They are paying the price of apartheid. That is morally reprehensible.

If the price of government's social policies is inevitable, then justice demands it be spread equally on all taxpayers and the only way that can be ensured is by eliminating inflation.

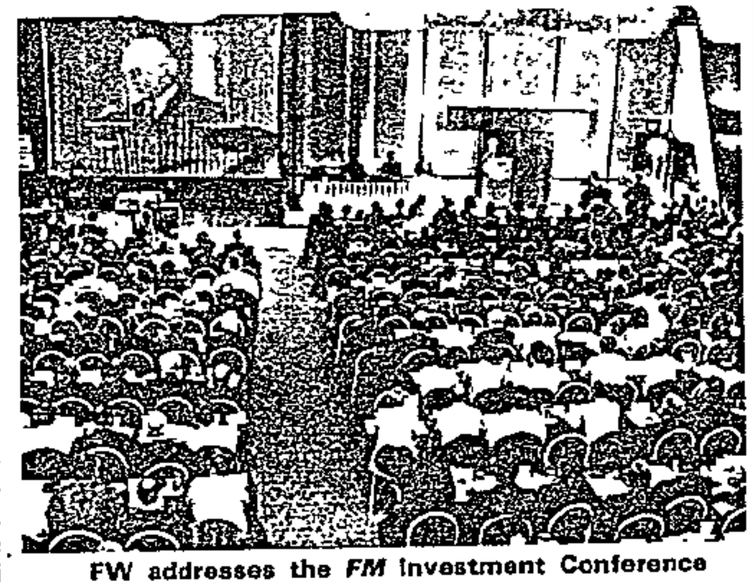
Of course, cutting government spending and the public service is no simple task — unless government uses to a much greater extent the privatisation option and changes its attitude to group rights. They are the key to fiscal discipline and their importance economically is not easily underestimated. They will require, however, as much courage and boldness

Government's dilemma is that the majority of public servants today are teachers. Reducing their number when black demands for quality education are increasing would be folly Nor would reduced education facilities be in the longer-term growth interests of the country

The answer, therefore, is first to unify education under one government department instead of 14 — 10 education departments for each of the homelands, as well as those of whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians Not only would this be economical, it would go a long way to removing black perceptions that their education is inferior to that of whites

Secondly, schemes should be devised to enable communities or churches to acquire government schools and run them as private or semi-private institutions. This could be done on a leasehold basis or some other method which would allow ownership of property and valuable fixed assets to pass into community hands.

But it is not education alone that has been distorted by the effects of apartheid: in an inaugural lecture in 1987, UCT sociologist Michael Savage estimated that expenditure from the State Revenue Account of 1985/1986 "on items in the implementation of apartheid" amounted to somewhere between R2,9bn and R5,7bn



FW addresses the *FM* Investment Conference

3044 3/11/89.

Says Savage: "At a conservative estimate (somewhere between these two amounts), some 12c out of every R1 spent by the State that year was directed towards maintaining and enforcing segregation, in imposing apartheid programmes and on policing and guarding the system."

Wastage, he says, "is most apparent at the apex of the apartheid state where a complex and intricate network of legislative machinery has given birth to 13 houses of parliament or legislative assemblies, as well as a President's Council, together with 151 government departments and 121 ministers of government"

Indirect costs, of course, are unquantifiable But the US$11bn net capital loss to the country in 1985-1988 is something to start with.

In terms of opportunities forgone, Savage says these in any given year amount to about 1,5% of growth in GDP. "During the period 1980-1985, instead of GDP increasing by 1,1% a year it would have increased by 3,6% a year."

No one expects government to throw thousands of public servants on to the labour market to achieve its privatisation purpose. So the process of deregulation needs to be accelerated, especially so far as provincial and municipal regulation is concerned

Experience in Britain has shown that not only does this promote economic activity, it also recreates opportunities which collectivist regulation had destroyed. For instance, new forms of sophisticated domestic services have grown up in recent years that are attracting educated and ambitious young people.

Some superfluous public servants may have to be paid to go and a logical argument could also be made for the provision of subsidies directly to the very poor, indigent and unemployed to cushion them from the harshness of a difficult — but not infinite — economic adjustment.

There is nothing wrong in that, provided the amounts are identifiable and subject to annual parliamentary approval. It is the hidden subsidy that tends to become pernicious and militates against the optimum allocation of resources.

Simply put, if government is going to cut its spending, limit its role and reduce the public service, it is also going to have to come to terms with its group rights philosophy. The early abolition of Group Areas legislation would reinforce perceptions that government is tackling fundamental economic problems with vigour and boldness.

These measures would lead to a more efficient economy and a better allocation of resources, making it easier for Pretoria to tackle inflation They would not themselves be a substitute for the monetary discipline necessary to create stable prices.

The Reserve Bank has now to demonstrate that it can get the growth in the money supply down to at least the level of its revised targets There is no technical problem about that Its main difficulty is how it finances the losses arising from the provision of forward cover.

The proceeds of privatisation — especially if they are used to redeem official debt — will also have to be handled in such a way that the creation of additional credit is avoided So the role of the Central Bank and its early response to changing fiscal and monetary circumstances is another key point in the implementation of sound economic policy.

The proactive strategy of Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals is in itself encouraging the markets to act with care. They are anticipating that further interest rate increases are probably necessary.

In his latest *Economic Perspective*, UBS economist Hans Falkena points out: "Rough calculations show that if an average inflation rate of 16% is assumed for the next 12 months, while the real BA rate in the US remains at 4% . . . the domestic BA rate will have to be about 21% a year, implying a prime rate of some 24%. For every single percentage point below this level, approximately R400m a year will be lost on import cover alone" *(see Economy)*.

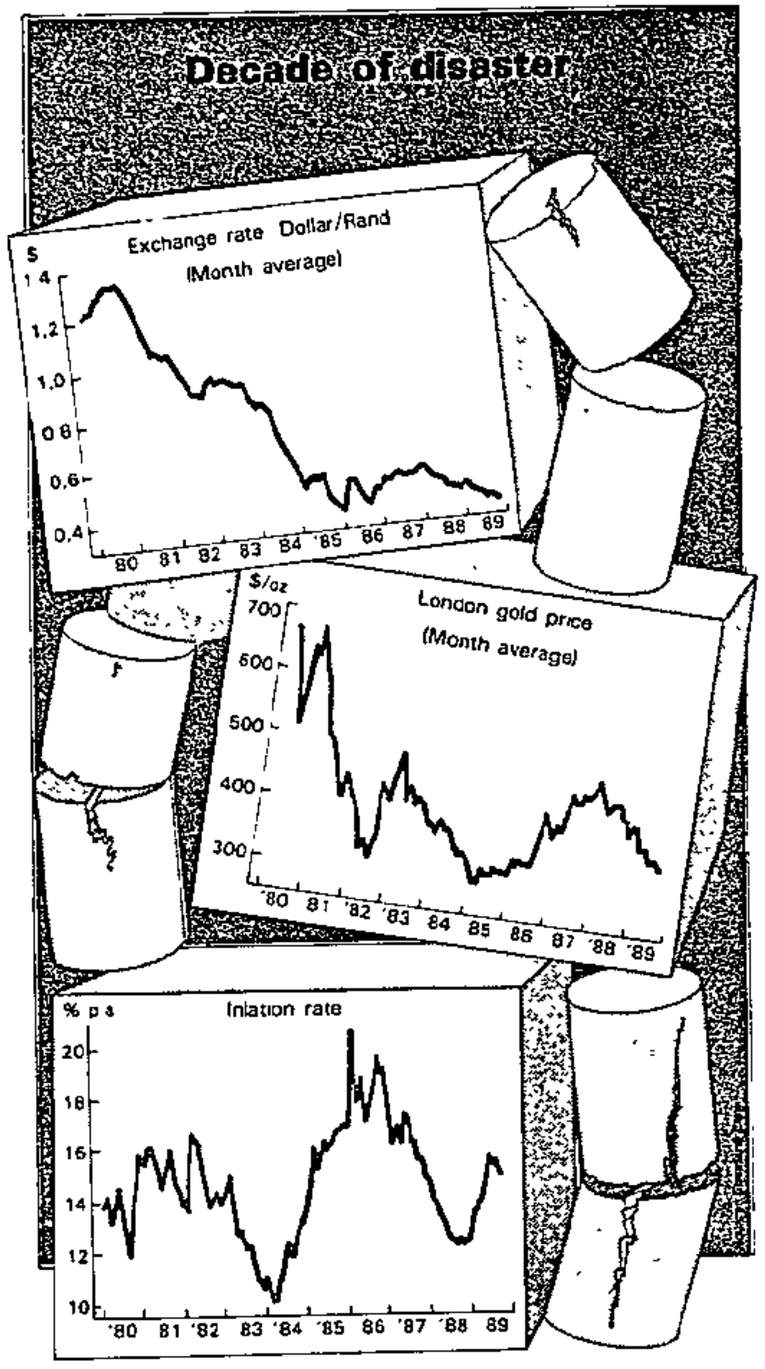
He goes on: "The benefits provided by lower inflation and a more stable currency resulting from sustained positive real interest rate levels far outweigh the possible negative influences on specific groups." He advocates instead direct and selective subsidies which would be "less costly to the Treasury than forward cover losses which effectively subsidise all imports."

There is no better example of how misguided policies can backfire than the damage caused when low or negative real interest rates are used to stimulate growth, so as to provide employment, protect the agricultural sector and generally promote social stability

By underpricing capital, they have actually destroyed jobs — a point deputy Reserve Bank Governor Jan Lombard has made many times.

As a method of subsidising farmers they have misallocated resources and encouraged unsustainable ratios of debt which in hard times turns bad. And the uncertainty and insecurity they have engendered have been politically and economically destabilising

Of course, we still face rampant inflation, credit sanctions and substantial huge debt repayments. But as we near the end of the decade, there is growing understanding among politicians of the dangers inherent in continued international hostility — in an economy still shackled with pointless and counterproductive laws, by-laws and regulations. If the State President is as bold in economic matters has he has been over the release of political prisoners, the prospects of a reasonably fast return to prosperity in the Nineties must be good. ■



Tackle immorality of apartheid, urges Worrall

Star 3/11/89

Political Reporter

The world's condemnation of South Africa did not centre on apartheid, but on the immorality of apartheid, Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday at a Vaal Triangle Technikon seminar on South Africa's international relations held in Vanderbijlpark.

It was, therefore, useless pointing out that black South Africans were better off than in the rest of Africa or that certain discriminatory laws had been scrapped.

"All our attempts to address international perceptions have failed, and will continue to fail, unless we address the moral issue," Dr Worrall said.

Enormous expectations had been created by recent developments in SA. But the gap between the Government and the people who had to be involved in the process was enormous.

"If we overcome that (gap) and effectively meet that moral objection, we have prospects of living in what will be an extraordinarily exciting country."

Speaking on the contribution of black leaders to improving South Africa's image abroad, Professor Charles Dlamini of the University of Zululand said black leaders faced the dilemma of being seen as defending apartheid when trying to improve South Africa's image.

"Whatever contribution black leaders have made is hesitant, unsystematic and haphazard."

Bankorp chief executive Dr Chris van Wyk said the 1990s could be a decade of growth and rising prosperity such as SA had never witnessed before, provided that sanctions and disinvestment were terminated within the next two years and that sensible economic and political policies were pursued.

CSIR president Dr C F Garbers said South Africa's way back into the international community ran through "our black suburbs and through Africa".

Professor W L Nkuhlu of the University of Transkei said it was in the interest of SA and the rest of Africa that apartheid should be abolished to enable all countries in the region to jointly plan and tackle the socio-economic-development challenge.

Apartheid is no longer an issue — Pik

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Too much time was spent debating the issue of apartheid in South Africa, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Vanderbijlpark yesterday.

Delivering the opening address at a conference on the country's foreign relations at the Vaal Triangle Technikon, Mr Botha said: "It is no longer an issue of abolishing apartheid. The last election showed that only 30 percent of whites want to go back.

"The issue is the economic stability of South Africa. How is the Government of South Africa going to govern the country?"

Mr Botha said the season of violence in southern Africa was over. However, the 10 southern African states had to adopt a plan for economic development and reconstruction. Unless such a plan, which would cost between $50 billion (R140 billion) and $80 billion (R220 billion) was adopted, the countries would not economically survive as individual countries.

"Africa does not attract investment. Africa is dying economically. Unless all in southern Africa forget about ideologies, there will be no peace and no development."

World opinion changing, conference told

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

International perceptions of South Africa had changed noticeably during the last year, partly because of the dramatic impact of the Gorbachev/Bush era on the world, and partly because of President de Klerk's impact at home.

This was said yesterday by Mr Kurt von Schirnding, director-general of the South Africa Foundation, at an all-day conference on South Africa's foreign relations at the Vaal Triangle Technikon.

Mr von Schirnding said the scene had changed fundamentally from the doomsday perceptions of a year ago to a widely-held belief that the resolution of South Africa's problems by means of negotiations was possible.

But many radicals on the left and right "whose agendas are not served by peaceful solutions" would increase their efforts to isolate the country".

"There is now a growing realisation that South Africa cannot be bludgeoned into reform and that prescriptive policies which aim to dictate the pace of change in South Africa from abroad, without of course accepting accountability for the consequences, are playing with fire."

Mr de Klerk's commitment to a new South Arica and the Government's recognition that the status quo could not be maintained had led to positive reactions abroad. The "give F W a chance" call was widely echoed throughout the world.

"We, therefore, have an opportunity, if we ride the crest of this wave with commitment and determination, to turn the tables on those who continue to believe that our basic aim is to retain white supremacy."

He warned that the world could not expect the Government to abolish apartheid with a stroke of the pen.

Z04A B-Day 3/11/89

Pik: season of violence is over

MICHAEL ACOTT

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday urged the countries of southern Africa to resolve internal political differences and concentrate on the region's economic problems.

He said there would be no peace, and therefore no economic development, unless all countries in the region adopted the principle of power sharing, including with their political opponents.

"I say this as an appeal: the season of violence is over for all of us, just as the season of apartheid is over."

Botha told a Vaal Triangle Technikon seminar, in Vanderbijlpark, on SA and the International Community, that outsiders, including the UN, could not help until the states themselves accepted that they could not win internal conflicts.

"It must be those directly involved, those who are shooting at each other, who decide to go to the negotiating table."

He urged Angola and Mozambique to follow SA's example and be willing to talk to all opponents committed to resolving problems peacefully. Botha said the issue in SA was not whether racial discrimination would be abolished, but economic stability and whether a future government would attract investment.

The EC was prepared to put up money for a southern African "Marshall plan" for development, in which SA would supply the expertise if the 10 countries in the region requested it.

"Unless we in southern Africa get down to this important plan, I see no hope for us to survive economically. SA yes, but not the others," Botha said.

Police chief suddenly retires

IN the midst of allegations of security police assassination squads, Brigadier Willem Schoon, the officer alleged to have headed the secret hit squads, has suddenly retired from the police force.

Notices for Schoon's retirement party were being posted at police headquarters on the same day that former security policeman Butana Almond Nofomela alleged in an affidavit taken on death row that he had been a member of a security police death squad responsible for at least nine murders on ANC-linked individuals.

The previous day, Lawyers for Human Rights had informed Schoon of the intention to take the affidavit.

The retirement became effective at the end of October.

This week South African Police Public relations sources confirmed that the 58-year-old brigadier had indeed retired "as he had reached the age of retirement.

"He could in fact have retired a number of years ago but chose to stay on in the SA Police," the communique continued.

According to police sources, when Schoon first announced his intention to retire about two years ago, he was urged at cabinet level to remain in the force.

Questions remain regarding the suddenness of last month's retirement in the wake of Nofomela's allegations.

Meanwhile, Schoon was this week linked to the current inquest into the killing of four youths and the wounding of two others in Chesterville, near Durban.

An authorisation document signed by Schoon, as head of "C Section" at Pretoria security headquarters, permits a special police unit "Section C1" to take an AK47 with them to Durban.

The document was handed to the inquest by Guido Penzhorn, counsel for the families of the four dead youths.

It noted the weapon would be used to establish the credibility of the unit involved in infiltrating "a group of African National Congress terrorists" in the Port Natal area.

Schoon authorised the use of the weapon for this purpose on June 3 1986.

About a fortnight later seven members of the unit killed the four youths and wounded the two others in Chesterville using a variety of weapons including the AK47 authorised by Schoon.

Yesterday Penzhorn put it to Andries Seleka, one of the members of "Section C1" who was involved in the killings, that their orders had not been to infiltrate and arrest, but to kill.

He said this would make sense of many puzzling elements in the incident.

Seleka denied they intended to kill the youths. He said they were ordered to arrest them but the plan went wrong when they were allegedly fired on. Thinking they were under attack, they returned the fire.

Two other officers named by Nofomela as part of the alleged hit squad have also emerged during the Ches-

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EXPULSION League committee rules against h

Brigadier's surprise resignation

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terville inquest: Major Eugene Alexander de Kock, in Pretoria at the time of the incident, was in charge of the unit that went to Chesterville, while Lieutenant Paul van Dyk, also from Pretoria, headed the under-cover unit during their stay in Durban.

In Nofomela's first description of operations in the alleged assassination squad he said he and his three colleagues each received R1 000 after murdering Durban civil rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge. They were told the money was from Schoon in payment for "successfully eliminating Mxenge".

Nofomela claims he was appointed a member of this assassination squad in 1981 and that Schoon was his commander.

He also claimed that after Mxenge's murder, his car was driven to the border where it was stripped before being set alight. He said Mxenge's radio/tape was installed into Schoon's service vehicle.

According to Nofomela he was visited on death row by several officers who told him Schoon wanted Nofomela "not to reveal anything about (his) activities as a member of the assassination squad" and promised to help him (get out of death row).

As his execution date drew near, however, Nofomela claims he was

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visited by a security police colleague, a Captain Khosa, bearing a message from De Kock to the effect that the branch would not assist him and that he should "take the pain". This was only hours after Lawyers for Human Rights contacted Schoon asking him to intervene in Nofomela's impending execution.

● Captain Johannes Dirk Coetzee, named as Nofomela's field commander in the Mxenge killing, left the police force in 1986, reportedly suffering from diabetes.

● Though it has been widely reported that Lawyers for Human Rights are in possession of information vital to their investigations, the investigative team appointed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had not contacted the organisation by Wednesday afternoon.

● A senior police source who wished to remain anonymous said that only one of the three photographs published in last week's *Weekly Mail* was not of an assassination target, but of an alleged ANC operative who blew himself up in an abortive limpet mine attack on Kine Centre last year. This is the only identification the *Weekly Mail* has been able to make to date.

3-9/11/89.

Weekly

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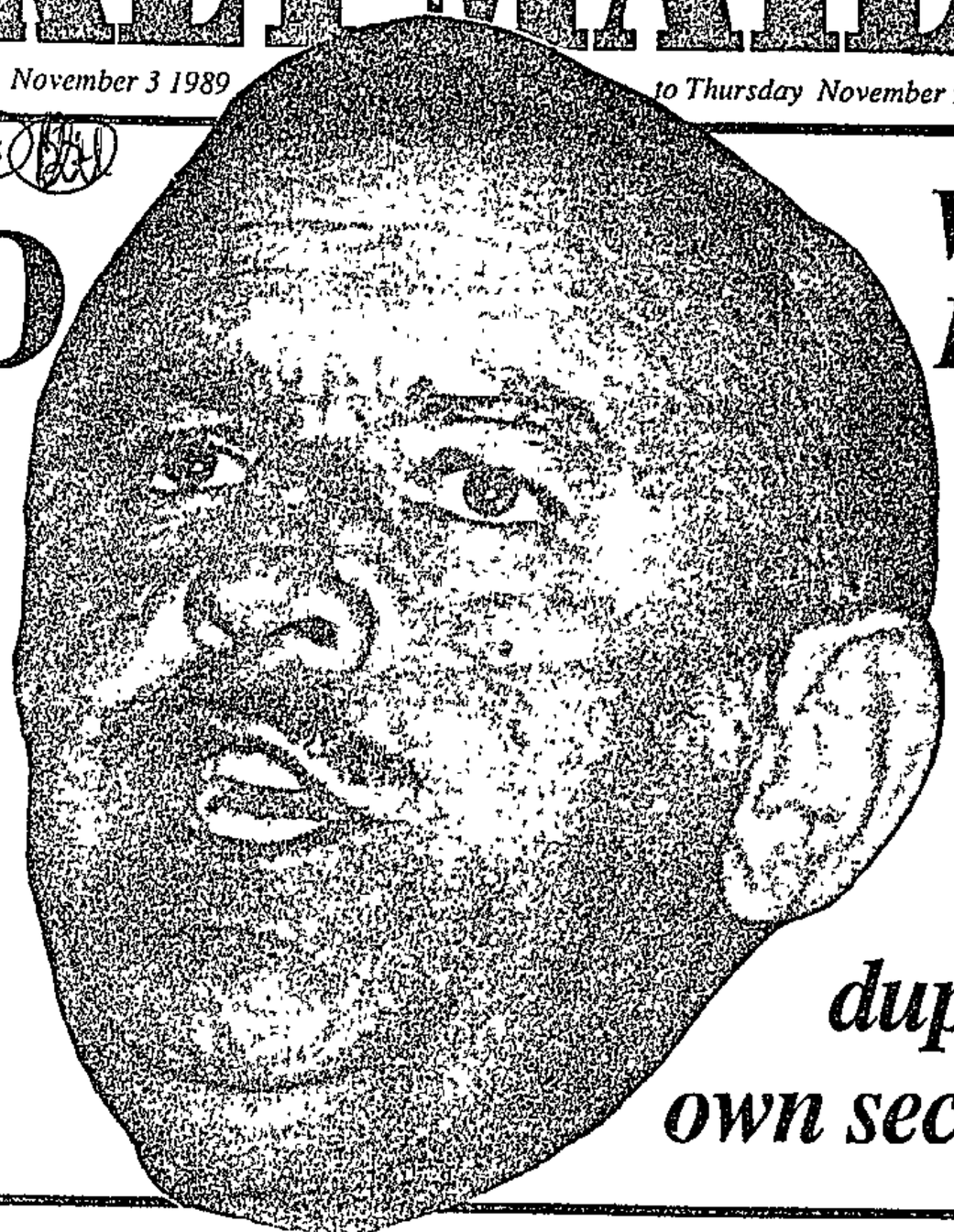
THE WEEKLY MAIL

The paper for a changing South Africa

Volume 5, Number 43. Friday November 3 1989 to Thursday November 9 1989

INSIDE TODAY: TWENTY PAGES OF THE BEST IN SUMMER READING

Who set up Pik?



Who gave Botha the phoney 'Swapo attack' message? Was he duped by his own securocrats?

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK in Johannesburg and SUE BROWN in Windhoek

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has run headlong into an embarrassing fiasco over the use of intercepted radio messages described by Untag as "crude forgeries".

United Nations secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar said last night that the cables — used by Botha to claim that Swapo guerrillas were invading northern Namibia — were forgeries and South Africa was aware of this.

Untag representatives described the situation in northern Namibia as "exceptionally calm".

Western diplomatic sources have rejected the claims that Swapo guerillas had crossed the border, while confirming that there are a number of Swapo guerillas south of the 16th parallel in southern Angola.

General Jannie Geldenhuys, the chief of the South African Defence Force, yesterday morning concentrated on the claims that Swapo were massed on the border and made no mention of crossing the border.

Botha said on Wednesday night that Swapo military activities included incursions across the border.

However, Botha said yesterday that he hoped he was "wrong and the information is not correct " Speaking at a seminar on South Africa and the International Community, he said it would "be better if they were not true "

Perez de Cuellar said, however, that "our experts saw them (the messages) in the presence of the South Africans and they both agreed they were forgeries."

Untag, it is believed, will be pushing for a full retraction from the South Africans.

The cables were said to have been intercepted between October 23 and October 31 from United Nations forces monitoring the election. Botha said it was Untag's job to prevent Swapo incursions, but that they were not doing their job.

Untag spokesman Fred Eckhart pointed out that the UN did not use internal communications for the transmission of supersensitive material such as that contained in Botha's allegations.

It emerged yesterday that Botha had not checked the information before his Wednesday press conference with Untag or even his own administrator-general in Windhoek, Louis Pienaar.

At a press conference yesterday, Pienaar said he had no prior knowledge of the documents or what Botha was going to say

The "intelligence gathering operation" that produced the documents had not taken place under his authority. Asked if this meant that the South Africans had been conducting intelligence operations illegally, Pienaar said this question should be put to Botha.

If the documents which Botha waved around so forcefully were forgeries, who made them and passed them on to him? If there are elements within the government who would give tampered information to their own Foreign Minister, what was their motive?

If Botha has been duped by forgeries compiled by members of his own government, his position is untenable.

The evidence Botha produced is an interesting mix of content which was intercepted and blended with disin-

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Surprise 'warning' for New Nation

By PHILIPPA GARSON

NEW NATION newspaper was yesterday warned that it faces a suspension order for the second time.

Despite recent speculation that the government was considering lifting the Emergency media regulations, the Catholic church-owned newspaper received a letter of warning from the new Minister of Home Affairs, Eugene Louw, accusing it of publishing "subversive propaganda". The letter sites 11 editions from August to October this year, in alleged contravention of the regulations.

New Nation has two weeks to make a representation to the minister, who may reject it and issue another warning. If a second representation in the following two weeks is also rejected *New Nation* could be suspended.

Because the publication has been suspended once before — for two months in mid-1988 — it has less time to argue its case.

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●To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

JOMO FACES EXPULSION: League committee rules against him BACK PAGE

SACP drafts workers' charter

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The exiled SA Communist Party (SACP) and SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) have each drafted a proposed workers' charter to be incorporated in a post-apartheid constitution.

The documents, published in Work in Progress, appear to arise from calls by the ANC in its constitutional guidelines and by Cosatu at its national congress last July for such a charter to form part of a new constitution.

The preamble to the SACP document says its purpose is to ensure that "victory in the national liberation movement is not hijacked by a new exploiting class of whatever colour" and to facilitate the building of a socialist society.

The SACP charter proposes that the "commanding heights" of the economy be placed under the ownership and control of the state.

However, such control should not be exercised "in an over-centralised or commandist way" and must ensure active participation in the planning and running of the enterprises by workers and their trade unions.

The SACP seeks an economic policy aimed at generating the resources needed "to correct the racial imbalances imposed by race domination and bring about wealth distribution for the benefit of the people as a whole. Steps shall be taken to do away with white monopoly of ownership and managerial control."

The charter creates a "right and duty to work" and receive remuneration according to contribution, with social support for the unemployed. A national minimum wage would be enforced, as well as the right of workers to organise and strike.

The charter would outlaw race, sex and religious discrimination, and confer upon workers various social, pension and health and safety rights.

The Sactu charter also encompasses a minimum wage, anti-discrimination and these rights to social welfare systems. It further provides for a maximum eight-hour working day, maternity leave and a minimum three and four weeks sick and annual leave.

Fake signals fiasco leaves SA red-faced

MD and gunman di in faled robery

SFF REPORTERS

A OTOUT in a Roodert engineering firm yeday left two men deand a third injured inalled robbery.

managing director of entific Engineering, Meorge Parchel (58), wallegedly murdered bbbers who stormed inhis Richard Street, Intria North, office at 10m, a West Rand polipokesman said.

messenger off-loadgoods outside the offlooked through the ow to see Mr Parg being stabbed. He n and summoned Mr his Fabry (36), also of Sntific Engineering, help.

Two shot

n entering the office, Fabry found the furre overturned and n bending over his d colleague. He shot the man, wounding in in the shoulder

A split second later a cond man arose from a ouched position behind desk and pointed a mm parabellum at Mr abry. Mr Fabry shot m dead

Mr Fabry chased the ounded man out of the ilding to a waiting car here he detained both the wounded man and the driver until passing poice, who heard the shots, ame to his assistance.

The car, a red Ford Meteor, had allegedly been stolen in Hillbrow

The two were taken into custody. One is under police guard in hospital



DESECRATED: A guard at murdered Swapo leader Anton Lubowski's grave in Windhoek, which was desecrated on Thursday, apparently by a white woman who poured petrol over it and set it alight.

CP demands Pik's resignation

PETER FABRICIUS and BRENDAN SEERY

THE South African Government, squirming in the wake of the fiasco involving hoax Untag radio transmissions, which plunged the Namibian peace process into crisis, was still trying to find the source of the dud signals today.

And Conservative Party foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thomas Langley last night called for the immediate resignation of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha for failing to verify the signals before going public with them — "in his usual dramatic and exhibitionist way"

A UN spokesman in Windhoek, Mr Fred Eckhard, said that it was the wish of the UN to put the whole incident behind it.

He added that Untag thought that any explanations of the episode should come from the South Africans, but that the UN was not intending to make political capital out of the experience.

Mr Eckhard poured scorn on the suggestion that the transmissions emanated from anywhere within the Untag operation.

More stories on PAGE 6.

Transcriptions of the alleged intercepted broadcasts appeared to the Untag experts to have been a "very amateurish fraud", and that the feeling was that the South Africans had "made a dumb mistake" in revealing the messages to the world without first checking with the UN mission in Windhoek

Mr Eckhard described the contents and form of some of the message as "implausible" and remarked that they sometimes bordered on the absurd He quoted the case of an alleged Untag report which quoted insignificant events in Keetmanshoop and another remote area as paragraphs one and two, but reported the "Swapo invasions" as only paragraph three

He also noted that the UN radio networks did not cover the whole country individually, but afforded blanket coverage when used in conjunction with each other. Therefore it would be impossible for messages to include reference to happenings in both the south and north of the country. Such messages were among those provided by the South Africans.

Also, in one such intercept, there was an alleged message from UN Force Commander General Dewan Prem Chand to "all stations", whereas in reality the net the General would use linked only the infantry battalions

Mr Botha said he had gone public with the signals only after being assured by military experts that they were not disinformation

This was after he and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan had been called out of a meeting on Wednesday — clearly a Cabinet meeting — to be

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

Fiasco

● FROM PAGE 1.

shown the cables.

"As matters stand now there is no evidence as far as I am concerned that Untag was responsible for the transmissions," Mr Botha said last night in a retraction of what he had said 48 hours before.

"Who did it remains unclear," he added.

One well-placed source described the source of the transmissions as a "crackpot".

The episode has plainly embarrassed the Government. "We wish this would all go away," said one official close to the probe.

A former top diplomat, now co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said Mr Botha was guilty of a "very serious error of judgment".

"What is inexcusable is that he failed to check out the facts with Louis Pienaar beforehand," he said.

"It was unfortunate misjudgment from his point of view given the fact that he has handled the Namibian issue extremely well to date."

But Dr Worrall said he did not believe Mr Botha would have acted the way he did without General Malan's advice.

"If anyone owes the country a full explanation it is Magnus Malan," he said.

Mr Botha said in a detailed statement he and General Malan had been called urgently from a meeting on Wednesday to be told of the transmissions disclosing an imminent Swapo incursion from Angola. Briefing them were the Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden.

After consultations with the Cabinet, Mr Botha moved fast to see Western diplomats in Pretoria and alert them to the alleged crisis.

What witnesses described as an angry telephone call took place between Mr Botha and Mr Ahtisaari, who was incredulous at the South Africa claims. Mr Botha went public shortly afterwards, urging the international community for assurances that Swapo would not penetrate Namibia in violation of the peace accord.

Red-faced officials yesterday insisted that the messages had been intercepted. Mr Botha noted that a technical team established "beyond doubt" the transmissions had taken place.

The Foreign Minister disclosed that Angola had agreed to joint helicopter-borne reconnaissance teams involving South Africa, Angola and Untag operating up to 52 km into Angola.

General Malan said: "Untag is now expected to show, above all doubt, that it will do its task of monitoring properly, as it has not done up to now.

"Untag is expected to monitor Swapo properly — also north of the SWA/Nambian border, as it was expected to do."

Blacks believe F W can save SA, says HSRC report

Cape Times 4/11/89

PRETORIA. — A survey undertaken in the first week of October in the PWV area shows that a significant number of blacks believe that South Africa's State President, Mr F W de Klerk, will be able to save SA from conflict and isolation.

The survey is published in a new communications news sheet, Barometer on Negotiation, produced by the Regional Research and Reporting Corporation headed by former Unisa academic Dr Hanneke du Preez.

It was compiled by the Institute for Communication Research of the HSRC.

According to the findings, the majority of those questioned said they were willing to accept Mr De Klerk's call to work together for a better society and believed the present government would be able to create a political settlement that would satisfy most of the people in SA — and the world.

The report says: "These findings could be significant as the survey was undertaken weeks before the release of the eight political prisoners."

In answer to a question: "Can Mr De Klerk save SA?", 58% said yes, 19% said no, 21% were undecided, and there was no answer from 2%.

When asked: "Did Mr De Klerk's proposed political reform change your mind?" 86% said yes, 6% no, and 8% were undecided.

The report said that when comparing the "negative" and "undecided" responses, it was "interesting to note that the latter are in the majority. It indicates some government success in modifying existing hardened attitutes, and indicates that government action, like the recent release of political prisoners, may have a further positive effect."

It concludes: "When this survey is taken as a barometer of the aspirations of blacks, five very clear messages to President F W de Klerk and his new cabinet emerge:

- "Listen and talks to us".
- "Abolish apartheid".
- "Negotiate".
- "Unite the nation".
- "We are prepared to help".

In a section on the survey's methodology, the researchers state that "an interesting finding was that socio-demographic variables, age and educational qualifications never correlated with any of the relevant issues". — Sapa

AWB seen at march venue

By DAN DHLAMINI

AWB leader Eugene Terblanche was spotted with a group of khaki-clad whites near NUM offices in Klerksdorp where a defiance march was to be held yesterday.

However, the march was aborted as police sealed off roads from surrounding black townships.

Earlier, a letter to Klerksdorp attorneys Fatish Rooper and Iqbal Motala, purportedly from an AWB member, threatened marchers with violence.

Three churchmen held up at roadblocks held impromptu prayer meetings.

NUM shaft steward Howard Yawa was detained and some alleged AWB members driving in a bakkie with false registration numbers were also arrested.

Northern Cape and Western Transvaal Council of Churches organising secretary Rev Harold Brooks, who was at the NUM offices, said a delegation would meet President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to discuss the matter as soon as possible.

The march, to demand that police produce Nicholas Boiko Tlhapi, who went missing after being detained in 1986, was to have been peaceful, Brooks said.

He called the AWB presence near the march venue "provocative".

F W's legal dilemma

3044

THE welcome-home rally last weekend, at which Mr Walter Sisulu and other released prisoners stood under the banned ANC and Communist Party flags, has brought into sharper focus the growing debate on our law.

Quite simply, the State finds itself on the horns of its own dilemma. It wants to foster a climate of reconciliation, but it does not want, or is unable at this stage, to repeal restrictive laws which, if enforced, would stifle rather than stimulate communication of ideas.

In these sensitive days of transition politics, effectively relaxing restrictions by refusing to apply the letter of the law is not in itself a bad thing. Look at the events of the last month.

It is a ploy that also works for the ANC which, for political reasons of its own, is unable to renounce violence, but has in effect stopped practising it.

While it is true that daily contraventions tend to make a mockery of the law, the Government should not be unduly pressured to deviate from its present policy of letting things happen.

But President De Klerk must also realise that it will eventually become impossible to evade the inevitable — and scrap or amend whatever laws impede political progress.

5/11/89 Sunday

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Dispute over Nat's war record goes to court

Sunday Times 5/11/89 304A

By IVOR CREWS

A NATIONAL PARTY candidate's war record was the subject of an action in the Johannesburg Supreme Court this week.

The controversial candidate in Johannesburg's Berea ward, Mr Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte, 65, insists that he became an infantryman at the age of 14.

On Friday he brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court to stop the Sunday Times and the Democratic Party's chairman of organisation, Mr Clifford Garrun, from publishing allegations that his war record was doubtful.

Mr Whyte said in papers that his campaign manager had received inquiries from the Sunday Times about allegations levelled by Mr Garrun.



TAFFY WHYTE, NP candidate for Berea, confronts a policeman during an AWB demo earlier this year

Marine

These allegations were that Mr Whyte could not have been involved in the outbreak of the Second World War because he was born on February 24, 1924, and was barely more than 15 years old when war was declared.

Mr Whyte said Mr Garrun also alleged that he had made inquiries at the Chancery of the Order of Knighthood records at St James Palace in London and had been informed there was no record of Mr Whyte receiving the Victorian Order.

Mr Whyte denied these allegations.

In a supporting affidavit he stated that he was born on February 28, 1924, and joined the 131st Infantry Brigade in 1938, at the age of 14.

At 15, he had qualified as a member of the Royal Marines, and at 16 had been awarded the Victorian Order for his part in the rescue of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands when Hitler invaded that country in 1940.

Mr Whyte also stated he had been involved in various operations with the Marine corps, including a raid on Boulogne in France, a raid on a town on the French coast, and operations in Egypt, North Africa and the Pacific.

He was awarded 10 medals including the Distinguished Service Medal and the Victorian Order, he said.

The court rejected argument by the Sunday Times that the allegations by Mr Garrun were the "stuff of electioneering" and for that reason alone could be published.

It held that the newspaper could do so only if it could be established the allegations were true.

The evidence tendered by the Sunday Times was hearsay allegations by Mr Garrun, who was in Swaziland and could not be reached for an affidavit.

The court said it would have to be satisfied that sources consulted by the city councillor were authoritive.

Mr Justice J C Kriegler issued an interim order against the Sunday Times publishing the proposed article, and gave it leave to file further affidavits before November 21 to show cause why the interim order should not be made final.

Costs were reserved.

The interdict follows recent revelations that Mr Whyte had been involved in:

● An AWB protest against mixed swimming at the Hillbrow pool earlier this year;

● The NP's efforts to have Berea declared a Free Settlement Area.

Mr Ian Davidson, DP leader in the council, has called on the NP to "distance" itself from Mr Whyte because of his rightwing links.

And the DP candidate for Berea, Mr Sias Reyneke, who is confident of winning the Berea council seat with "an even greater majority", said the Nats had made it clear that they intended to declare Berea a Free Settlement Area even though Mr Whyte now denied it.

"When Mr Piet Clase, the Minister for Education, was discussing the future of the Johannesburg High School for Girls he said one of the options was for Berea to apply to become a free settlement area and become multiracial.

"Mr Clase never withdrew that option, and now Mr Whyte is repudiating the offer made by the Minister because the majority of voters in Berea don't want Berea declared a Free Settlement Area," Mr Reyneke said.

Curious

Mr Reyneke, 39, an advocate, says he will oppose any Nat "experiment" with Berea.

By turning the ward into a Free Settlement Area it would result in overcrowding and a decline of living standards, he pointed out.

Mr Whyte, 65, who claimed he was a "curious passer-by" at the Hillbrow AWB protest, dismissed the rightwing row as an opposition election ploy.

Welsh-born Mr Whyte, a newcomer to politics, co-owns downmarket hotels in Hillbrow and Joubert Park with Mrs Desiree Simpson, NP councillor for Joubert Park, who is assisting him in his campaign.

The battle for Berea follows the election of sitting DP councillor Mr Lester Fuchs to Parliament.

Tutu willing to act as 'facilitator' in talks

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has said he is willing to meet President de Klerk and be a "facilitator" towards negotiations — as a churchman, not a politician.

He has indicated that it would be easier for him to urge people to be "slightly more patient" if Mr de Klerk took a step to clearly demonstrate his commitment to end apartheid.

The archbishop said he would prefer to meet the President as one of a delegation of church leaders including Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Archbishop Tutu said he was not a leader of the Mass Democratic Movement. He wished to see the church retain its autonomy and act as the conscience of society.

He said: "I would have hoped that by now, as a man who has taken the trouble to go to Mozambique and Zambia, he would decide it was time he spoke to leaders within the country.

"I would prefer that I did not go alone ... but rather that it was an ecumenical approach, and would be understood that we were not claiming to be negotiators, but people seeking to be facilitators in negotiations."

Archbishop Tutu said President de Klerk could dramatically alter the climate in South Africa — "almost by the stroke of a pen" — by lifting the state of emergency, releasing detainees, unbanning organisations and scrapping other laws.

"If he did that, how could anyone stand up in the international community and say 'We want more sanctions'?

"And I think those engaged in the armed struggle would find it very difficult to continue to persuade people, even in the black community, that there was justification."

Mr de Klerk took a limited step, "that could buy him time by impressing people that he is serious". But if he "does nothing, or something that is almost inconsequential, it will be difficult to persuade — especially the more radical — that there was merit in giving him a chance".

DP using 'mud-slinging' taetics in Berea, says NP

EDYTH BULBRING

ALLEGATIONS of right-wing sympathies and a dubious war record directed against NP candidate Taffy Whyte in the Berea by-election, reflected divisions in the DP and a fear that it was losing the seat, Whyte's campaign assistant said yesterday.

Alwyn Marx said yesterday the DP's "mud- slinging tactics" had tarnished what he had hoped would be a clean and fair election.

He said the DP had engaged in these tactics, rather than promote its own policy, because there were divisions on policy within the DP and it was not prepared to face the consequences of its policy.

The President's reform initiatives were supported by many English-speaking voters in Berea and there was a swing back to the NP there, Marx said.

The by-election takes place on Wednesday between Whyte, 65, and DP candidate, attorney Sias Reyneke, 39. The seat was left vacant when former councillor Lester Fuchs, who won the seat by 314 votes, was elected Hillbrow MP in September.

The NP was confident of winning the election although Marx conceded it would be a close fight.

DP council leader Ian Davidson said Reyneke would double Fuchs's majority.

He said the election had not been "clean" but the DP had exposed Whyte's right-wing sympathies because it was in the interests of the voters.

Whyte's war record became the subject of a court application on Friday when Whyte brought an urgent interdict against the Sunday Times and the DP from publishing allegations that his war record was doubtful.

Mr Justice Kriegler issued an interim order against the Sunday Times and gave it leave to file further affadavits before November 21 to show cause why the interim order should not be made final.

Govt asked to review plight of those forced out of Peelton

Political Staff

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has asked the Government to review the plight of South African citizens forced out of the East Peelton area by the Ciskeian authorities, and to demand that they release community leaders detained in Ciskei.

Dr Worrall made representations yesterday to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen following a weekend visit to the Eastern Cape.

He alleged that "by its effective non-response, the South African Government makes itself guilty of complicity in Ciskei's jack-booted treatment of South African citizens".

Dr Worrall said in a statement that he had called on the two Ministers to take immediate action.

THREE STEPS

"I have stressed the importance of three steps: that there is a need for a high-level and categorical statement on South Africa's obligations to South African citizens in the Peelton area; that Mr Botha and Mr Viljoen demand that President Sebe immediately releases the 80 community leaders he has detained; and that the two Ministers visit the area and discuss the issues with the people concerned."

Dr Worrall, who was refused permission to visit the Ciskei village of Nkqonkqweni by President Sebe "because it was inconvenient (to make the visit) over the weekend", travelled to King William's Town to meet the interim committee representative of the more than 800 SA citizens who have been forced out of the East Peelton area. These people have been given refuge by various churches in King William's Town.

DP expects to boost majority in Berea poll

7/11/89

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

30H

The Democratic Party in Johannesburg is confident of retaining Ward 27 (Berea) with an increased majority in tomorrow's municipal by-election, proving that the Linden by-election win for Mr Braam Spies was no flash in the pan.

But whereas in Linden it was the DP testing the waters in a National Party stronghold for the first time since its formation, the tables are now turned as it is the first test in a DP stronghold of the reform moves of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

DP gains could reflect on the judgment of Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha who headed the regional NP committee which selected the candidate.

The result will not affect the Nats' slender 24/19 control of the Johannesburg City Council.

The contest is between Mr Sias Reyneke (39) for the DP and hotelier Mr Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte (65) for the NP.

Reform plans to be discused

Assocom to press FW for bill of rights

By Michael Chester

Business leaders intend to ask the Government to agree to pledge a radical new bill of rights as a cornerstone to constitutional reform when they hold talks tomorrow with the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

The issue will be high on the agenda when a top-level delegation from the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry meets the President at the Union Buildings to discuss new reform strategies.

The business team will be led by Assocom president Mr Brian Kurz. He will be accompanied by Mr Peter Hugo, deputy president, and Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive.

Mr de Klerk has agreed to discuss in particular two special motions approved at Assocom's annual congress last month.

The first underlined the vital importance of constitutional reform to ease pressures which constrain economic growth and urged the Government to:

- Implement its commitment to reconciliation and negotiation among all races to prepare the way for a new constitution.
- Accept in principle that a bill of rights ensuring individual, as opposed to group rights was a necessary part of a new constitution.
- Commit itself to the repeal or amendment of all legislation which conflicted with any new bill of rights.
- Involve all representative leaders in a "great indaba" to negotiate the shape of a new constitution.

Assocom criticism of the alleged failure of the Economic Advisory Council to promote effective co-ordination of economic policy is also on the agenda.

Star 9/11/89

Peace still under threat, says Malan

Pretoria Bureau

The threat to peace and stability in South Africa and southern Africa had not vanished, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in Pretoria last night.

He told the 21st anniversary dinner of the Barcom Electronics company that the security situation therefore meant that the country had to be in a state of "preparedness, readiness and motivation".

General Malan added: "Stability, security and peace are conditions that have to be preserved, protected and nourished."

RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE

He went on to say that economic growth and political progress could only blossom in conditions of security, stability and a peaceful environment.

"We must always be alert to combat the threat of terrorism. South Africa's message about terrorism is clear, namely terrorism of any kind is against all the values civilised and responsible people hold in common.

"Terrorism and violence are means that no end can justify. In our case this is true of the ANC, which remains uncommitted to a peaceful process, which excludes violence."

DP clinches Berea by-election

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Municipal by-elections in three Transvaal towns yesterday saw the Democratic Party double its majority in Johannesburg, the National Party throw out the Conservative Party in Pietersburg and regain control of the council, and the CP retain its ward in Germiston.

In an unprecedented outburst in Johannesburg's Ward 27 (Berea), the defeated NP candidate Mr Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte blamed not only DP "slander tactics" but Mr Pik Botha's day-of-the-election announcement that Hillbrow was to become an open area.

Mr Whyte had pledged during his campaign that Berea would not become a free settlement area and said he had been taken by surprise by Mr Botha's move which followed top level meetings with NP council caucus members.

Mr Sias Reyneke (DP) romped in with a 651 majority, winning 1 114 votes to Mr Whyte's 463 with five spoilt papers in a 28,8 percent poll.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan saw the party's second municipal win since the Linden upset as a positive vote of confidence in his party.

DP council leader Mr Ian Davidson warned that the democrats had proved they were willing and able to take over control of the Johannesburg City Council from the "struggling Nats".

There were wild scenes of joy in Pietersburg where the NP snatched back control of the town council from the Conservative Party with a narrow 79 vote majority for Mr Thomas Pretorius over the CP's Mr Jan Kampherbeeck in a 65,4 percent poll in Ward 4.

The CP's 5-4 majority in the town council was reversed and Pietersburg now joins Messina and Tzaneen in becoming the third NP-controlled council in the northern Transvaal, with the Nats now in a position to control the Northern Transvaal Regional Services Council.

TIDE TURNING

National Party information officer Mr Piet Coetzer MP said today that regaining control in the Pietersburg Town Council was a sign that the tide was turning against the CP in the northern Transvaal.

But CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux dismissed this interpretation and said the result showed only that the "country's honeymoon with President de Klerk was not yet over. They still find him rather fascinating".

There were no surprises in Germiston where the CP retained Ward 10, Mr Conray Labuschagne winning 358 votes to defeat his NP opponent Mr Harold du Plooy (313 votes) and Independent Mr Pierre Louw (277) in a 38 percent poll.

Big DP majority, CP upset in Pietersburg

Cape Times 10/11/89 (3064)

JOHANNESBURG. — Municipal by-elections in three Transvaal towns on Wednesday saw the Democratic Party doubling its majority in a Johannesburg ward and an upset in Pietersburg where the National Party ousted the Conservative Party.

In an unprecedented outburst in Johannesburg's Ward 27 (Berea), the defeated NP candidate Mr Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte blamed not only DP "slander tactics" but Mr Pik Botha's day-of-the-election announcement that Hillbrow was to become an open area.

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Right-wing lea
ask for Boere

JOHANNESBURG. — Right-wing leaders Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Mr Robert van Tonder yesterday pressed the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, to restore the Boer republics as they existed before 1902 to "boere".

The two leaders met Mr De Klerk at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, after he acceded to a request from them for a meeting.

The area covered for the envisaged "Boere Volkstaat" encompasses the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal. The State President said in a later press conference that he had emphasised the government view of the "unworkability of that policy" to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader and the head of the Boerestaat party.

Addressing the press after the meeting, Mr De Klerk said: "South Africa is one country wherein all inhabitants, irrespective of colour, are first-class citizens." He said he had also expressed his concern during the 90-minute meeting at the "undertone of threats of violence in the press and in speeches made by the AWB".

The State President invited the leaders of the two organisations to participate in the constitutional electoral process to show what support they had, and said he believed the government was succeeding in creating a climate "which will be really conducive to meaningful dialogue", from which could flow "real negotiations".

Mr De Klerk said: "I sincerely believe they do not represent a substantial number of people in South Africa."

The AWB leader declined to comment at length after the meeting. He said only: "We put our case clearly", and added that he would elaborate on the talks at a public meeting in Boksburg last night.

He was hustled off to a waiting car by khaki-clad members of Aquila, the security wing of the AWB.

However, Mr Van Tonder said the meeting had been friendly, and although he did not envisage a second meeting with the State President, he anticipated a second meeting with Constitutional Affairs Minis-

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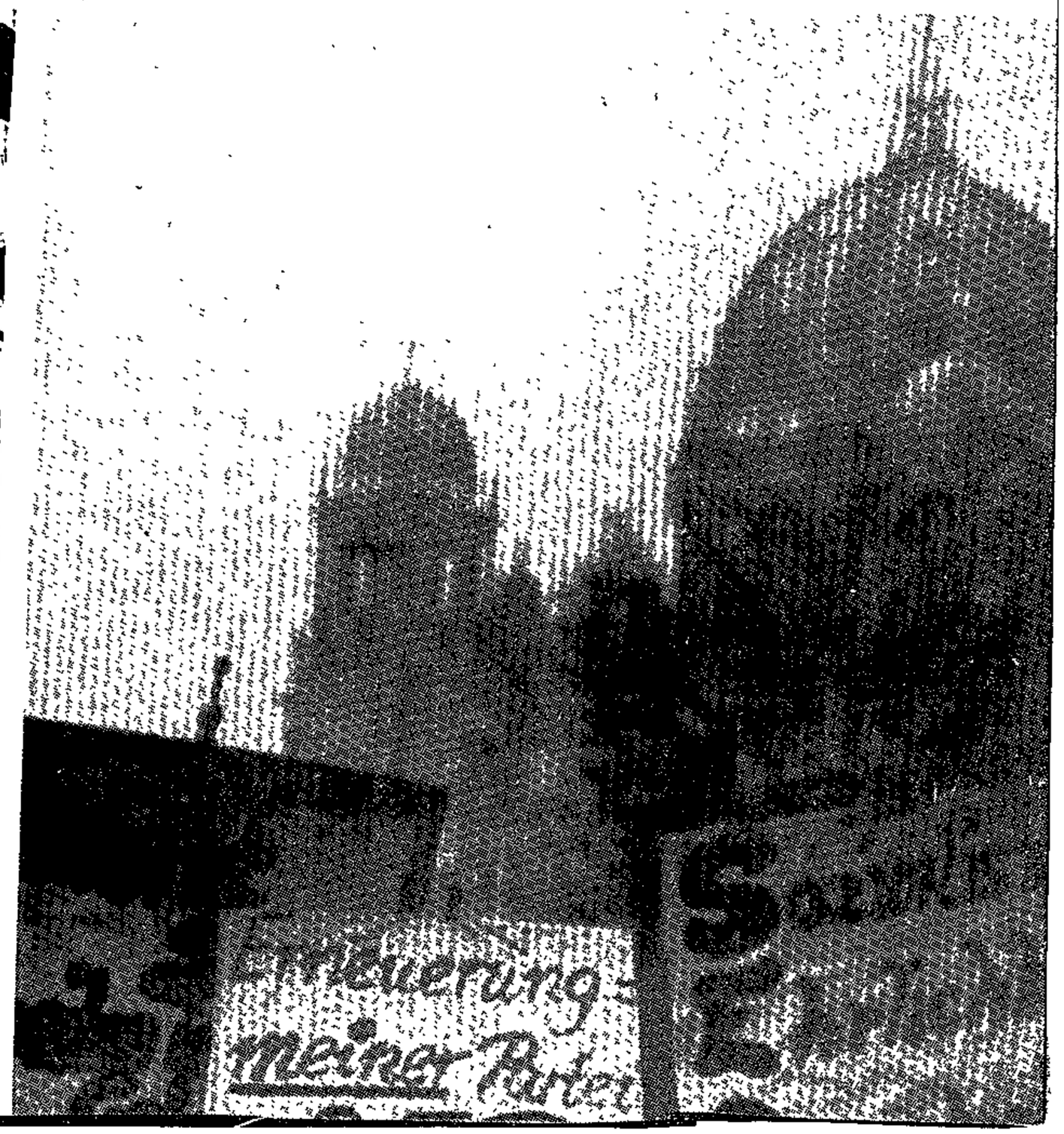


Negotiations will flow - FW

Sowetan 10/11/89

PRESIDENT FW De Klerk says he is satisfied that the Government's policy of releasing political prisoners and allowing political rallies and marches is leading towards real negotiations.

"I am satisfied with the way things are going," he said yesterday at the Union Buildings when asked about developments since Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC stalwarts were released and marches and rallies were allowed.

He was speaking at a press conference after a 75 minute meeting with AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre 'Blanche and Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder who had expressed concern about the Government's new policy.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen took part in the discussions.

"I think we are succeeding in creating a climate which will really be conducive to meaningful dialogue," De Klerk said.

"And from that I am convinced real negotiations will flow."

He said the discussion had gone "calmly" and had been "fairly theoretical."

When Terre'Blanche and Van Tonder had expressed concern about developments since the release of Sisulu and others he had assured them the Government would maintain law and order at all costs.

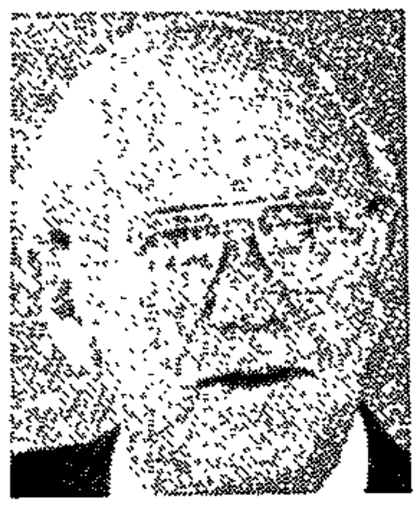
De Klerk said that he expressed his concern at the "undertone of threats of violence" in the reported speeches of the AWB leader.

He had stressed that the Government was opposed to violence from whateve rquarter.

He also stressed that the two organisations were free to advance their views and canvass support through the electoral process and suggested they did so.

De Klerk said Terre'Blanche's reaction was that he was not a violent man and that he would like to see the new South Africa born out of negotiations and not violence.

He said Terre'Blanche had not suggested that he would take up arms as a result of a process of orderly reform.



F W de Klerk

"But there was a suggestion that if revolutionary forces were allowed to take over the government he and his people would take up arms.

"I put his mind at rest that as long as this Government was in power revolutionary forces would not be allowed to take over."

De Klerk said Terre'Blanche and Van Tonder had presented their idea of a "boerestaat" excised from South Africa, following the boundaries of the old Transvaal and Free State republics and Northern Natal.

He told them he thought the idea was unworkable. Asked if the Government would allow a Boerestaat he said the government's view was that South Africa was one country where all citizens were entitled to first-class citizenship.

All should be involved in government at all levels in such a way that no group was dominated and minorities were protected.

This was opposed to the view of the AWB and Boerestaat Party. But all points of view could be accommodated in negotiations.

De Klerk said he had agreed to meet the group because of his public statement that he was available for duscussion and because this group did not have the opportunity to put its view in Parliament.

He did not believe they represented a substantial number of people.

"I told them it would be wise for them if they claim to speak on behalf of a substantial percentage of Afrikaners, to prove it.

"I pointed out to them the recent election results clearly constituted a strong rejection of their point of view."

Terre'Blanche, dressed in his familiar khaki emerged from the meeting and announced he would give his reaction at a political meeting in Boksburg last night.

Cape Times 10/11/89 (306A)

Ex-mayor tells of 'humiliation'

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The former mayor of Welkom, Mr Gus Gouws, testified in Welkom Magistrate's Court that he twice heard the word "traitor" when he was tarred and feathered earlier this year.

Mr Gouws was giving evidence in the trial of seven members of the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, who have pleaded not guilty to charges of criminal injuria and intentional damage to property.

They are Mr Stephen Terblanche of Theunissen, Mr Daniel Ackerman of Senekal, Mr Dirk Ackerman of Brandfort, Mr Andries Kriel of Bloemspruit, Mr Jacques Botha, Mr Hermanus Crause and Mr Petrus Nel, all of Welkom.

Mr Gouws said that, in his capacity as mayor, he had started a multiracial marathon for the handicapped in Welkom on May 13, 1989.

Just after the marathon started he was attacked from behind. He was shocked and tried to get away.

Liquid ran into his eyes and he felt humiliated. He still felt humiliated

Mr Gouws told the court he was not injured in the incident but his eyes became swollen and his mohair suit was "destroyed".

He said he attached a political connotation to the attack because he had exercised a casting vote in the city council, which resulted in the failure of a Conservative Party proposal that a black taxi rank should be moved.

He had met the leader of the CP caucus and said he could not support the proposal. "I had the city's interests at heart. The rank is in an area with large black buying power."

Defence counsel put it to Mr Gouws that he had promised to move the rank and had not done so. "You had the deciding vote. You are a great promiser, but you collapsed and therefore you are a traitor," he said.

A traitor was a person who betrayed his own blood, who acted dismally, played into the hands of the enemy and betrayed his friend and country. "Traitors" were shot in the Free State in earlier times, he said.

Security officer Mr Armand van Heerden testified that he grabbed Mr Terblanche from behind when Mr Gouws was squirted with tar. Mr Botha, Mr Crause and Mr Nel were standing round Mr Gouws at the time.

The trial was adjourned to December 7. — Sapa

NOVEMBER • 10 • 1989

Financial Mail

304A

Fmail 10/11/89.

NAMIBIA AND DISINFORMATION

When Pik saw red again

How high does the conspiracy reach that led to the Untag tape fraud? Given the technical requirements of the operation — knowing the Kenyan contingent's allocated radio frequency, possessing the equipment and ability to feed disinformation into the SA intelligence network — it clearly involved more than a joker sitting in the veld, playing with a crystal set.

It fooled the Cabinet — and there is a collective humiliation there, though, of course, the hairy-chested Pik Botha has had to take the immediate rap. Did these people stop for one moment to wonder why Swapo would bother to present its soldiers to be shot again when it can probably have almost everything it wants once the election is over?

For a few hours the Cabinet was prepared to conduct foreign policy — in all its spheres — on the basis of false information. In this case there were enough objective observers around to persuade it otherwise in time; was this always so in the past?

Doubtless the culprits will be found. Meanwhile, the point is that there are elements in Namibia — and, certainly, SA — who do not wish independence to proceed and who would be happy to provoke a war to arrest the process. Indeed, all the warfare in that country and to the north was precisely designed to forestall independence. The politicians have apparently bowed to the inevitable — others have not, it seems.

This means, unfortunately, that they are almost certain to try again. There is unlikely to be full-scale civil war but there will be violence and rebellion — possibly for years, as there was in Zimbabwe.

Pretoria needs to consider its options carefully. Re-involvement in an unwinnable war will be financially and politically disastrous. Far better to hope fervently that Swapo indeed wins an overwhelming electoral majority, since this would help it to move effectively against the ethnic fission Pretoria has fostered for years. The world must be the monitor of Swapo's forthcoming human rights policies, and judge accordingly.

Namibia really has to sink or swim by itself.

Of course, having lied about the situation in Namibia for decades, sinking one peace initiative after another until those lies became a wearisome farce, government would be incredibly remiss to disown responsibility for what occurs. It started the disinformation. One wonders how it will respond if a refugee problem arises, as it has in the eastern Transvaal with those who have clawed their way over the landscape — even climbing electric fences — in flight from Frelimo and Renamo.

It would also be naive to believe that Swapo has no armed cadres wandering around in the north — but finding and tagging them is not Pretoria's responsibility. Once the fragrant Untags have packed up and gone home — leaving their ladies — the security situation will be solely the responsibility of the new State.

But any malevolent attrition of Namibia directed from within our borders must never be countenanced — and swiftly finding those who perpetrated the dangerous hoax will be a profound act of good-neighbourliness. ■

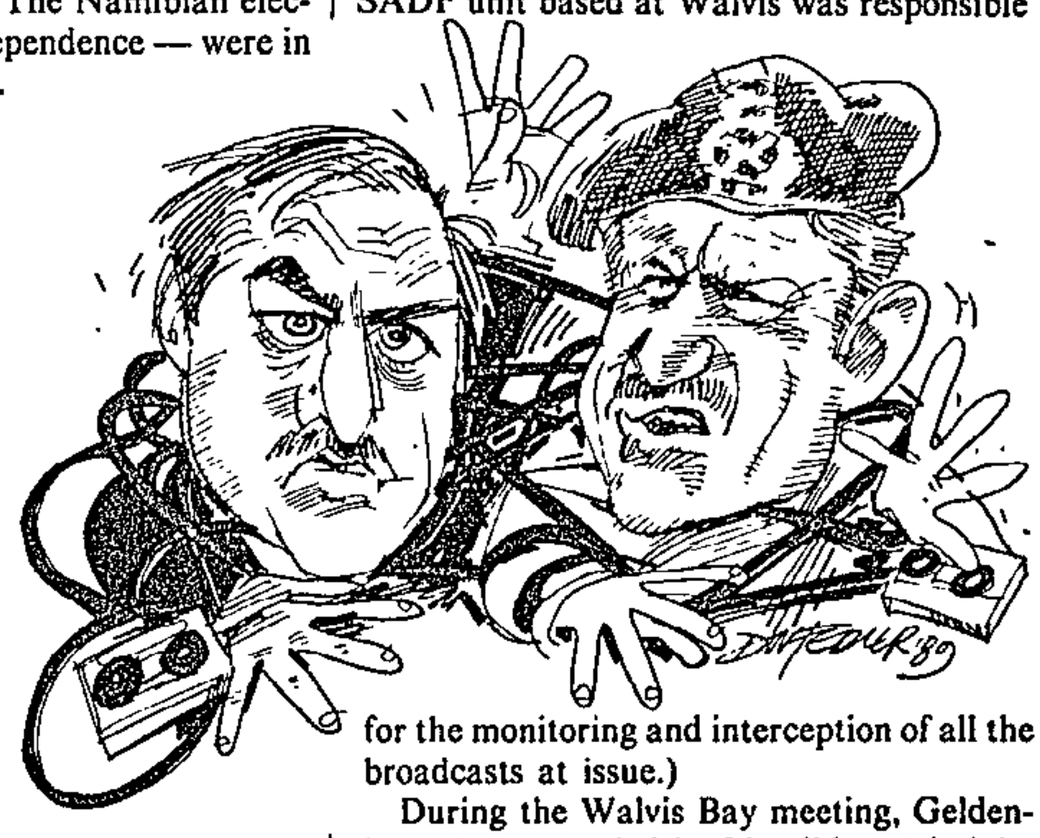
THE UNTAG TAPES

Mysteries and enigmas

Before Pik Botha was called from Cabinet last week to be told of "intercepted Untag messages" about a Swapo troop buildup, top Foreign Affairs man Herbert Beukes queried SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys about the authenticity of the messages. General Geldenhuys was visibly annoyed at the scepticism of Beukes, who stressed how serious the consequences might be if the messages were proven false.

Beukes was right, but his minister has had to carry most of the blame for the haphazard way in which government's intelligence arm has handled the fiasco. The Namibian election process — and independence — were in the balance as a result.

However, as an upset Pik Botha asked the *FM* late on Monday night: "Should I, when the head of the Defence Force tells a minister that we have irrefutable evidence, go to the American intelligence service and ask them to check it ... should I tell them that I don't believe my head of the Defence Force?"



Botha says the evidence was presented to him as fact. "I asked whether we are not dealing with disinformation and that was denied. The situation was also described to me as imminent ... (I was told that) convoys were moving towards the border, that some 600 Swapo troops had already crossed the border and that the situation was becoming critical and could explode at any time."

Botha admits that he was tempted not to disclose the information. "But can you imagine if the situation had exploded that night, and troops had to be flown in? Can you imagine if soldiers had been killed? How could I have explained to the parents that I had known about the situation but kept quiet?"

As Foreign Minister, Botha is ultimately responsible for the diplomatic credibility of government. In the same way, General Geldenhuys's position makes him accountable for intelligence provided by SADF units. There comes a point when ministers and generals simply have to trust the judgment and expertise of their subordinates. It seems certain that, somewhere down the line, someone screwed up badly — and someone else very nearly got away with the hoax.

As the *FM* went to press, investigators were puzzled about the source of the messages. The SADF was still insisting they were genuine transcriptions of signals sent (and intercepted) on the frequency allocated to Untag's Kenyan contingent.

Why has Untag not been able to shed light on the possible source of these false messages? Another question: for how long did the SADF know about the supposed Swapo build-up?

Last week (Tuesday October 31) Geldenhuys briefed a number of military correspondents at Walvis Bay. (As it happens, an SADF unit based at Walvis was responsible for the monitoring and interception of all the broadcasts at issue.)

During the Walvis Bay meeting, Geldenhuys (accompanied by Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar) fully briefed correspondents about an alleged troop buildup by Swapo in southern Angola. He then requested the correspondents not to write about it, as any such reports before the elections would place the SADF in the middle of the political arena.

There can be no doubt that Botha acted on evidence which he was led to believe was true. The evidence was provided personally by Geldenhuys to Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. Geldenhuys was accompanied by his Chief of Staff (Intelligence), Lieutenant General Witkop Badenhorst, and National Intelligence Service boss Niel Barnard. Foreign Affairs D G Neil van Heerden and his deputy Beukes were also present. Discussions lasted 40 minutes.

The Cabinet decided unanimously that Botha should disclose the information. This he did, after summoning ambassadors from some Western countries for briefing, and phoning UN representative Martti Ahtisaari in their presence. Botha said to the *FM*: "Condemn me about the political decision I had taken (to disclose), but do not condemn me for the facts at my disposal."

Fortunately, Botha was quick to travel to Windhoek to pick up the pieces. He was well received by Swapo's Sam Nujoma. "I explained to him and he thanked me for that. He gave me the assurance that no Swapo elements were making their way across the border. It was a friendly discussion. His reaction was more positive than what I can say about some others in SA."

Botha's role as negotiator during the Namibian peace talks is well known. He is committed to peace in the region, and so is his department. The attitudes of some members of the SADF, however, must be placed under scrutiny. In his initial reaction, the defence ministry's communications chief, Das Herbst, complained about references to certain members of the SADF as "mavericks and Rambos." These sorts of action — as now alleged by certain newspapers — do not represent the style of the SADF as he has come to know it, said Herbst.

His memory is short. The Renamo diaries, for instance, revealed an aggressive role by the SADF in Mozambique after the signing of the Nkomati Accord. And in the early Eighties, evidence was led in the Maritzburg hijack trial of certain SADF members' involvement in the aborted Seychelles coup; even the weapons were provided by someone in the force.

One thing's for sure: certain members of the security establishment are feeling very isolated. The acute embarrassment suffered by Pik Botha and government, at a vital stage of the Namibian peace process, should ensure that the culprits will be hunted assiduously.

Says government-supporting *Beeld*: "Whoever is responsible must be found and punished." The newspaper says it is chiefly the intelligence community which should examine itself. Has there been sufficient contact between these various authorities to verify the facts? asks *Beeld*. "We hope answers to these questions are found. It is not only in the interest of the country but also in the interests of the 'securocrats' whose esteem has undeniably received a setback."

Usually more conservative than its sister newspaper, the Cape-based *Die Burger* says only an investigation — proving beyond any doubt who was responsible, from whatever source — can heal the damage caused by this dangerous piece of disinformation.

We trust that government needs no such urging. Assuming that the SADF made transcriptions of messages in good faith, the mystery has two main components.

Who sent them? And why was their fraudulence not detected before they got to Pik Botha? ■

Rightwingers told to prove support at polls

From ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk has told two rightwing leaders their political policies are unworkable and that they should take part in elections to prove their validity.

After 75 minutes with Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and the Boerestaat Party's Mr Robert van Tonder at the Union Buildings yesterday, Mr De Klerk said he believed they did not represent a substantial number of people.

In what he described as "calm talks" which took place at their request, Mr De Klerk said he raised concern at reported undertones of threats of violence, particularly from the AWB.

"I used the opportunity to strongly emphasise the rejection of violence from whatever quarter, right or left," he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche had indicated that he was not for violence and that he wanted to see a new South Africa born out of negotiation, he noted.

There was no suggestion from the men that they would resort to arms because of reform.

Revolution

But they had said their people would take up arms if revolutionary forces took over.

Mr De Klerk said he stressed that they were free to advance their views and take part in the electoral process.

"I believe it would be wise for them to prove at the polls their claim that they speak on behalf of a substantial percentage of Afrikaners."

Mr De Klerk pointed out that the recent election result was a strong rejection of their views.

He said he was satisfied so far with the government's reforms in generating an atmosphere for negotiations.

"I think we are succeeding in creating a climate which will really be conducive to meaningful dialogue, and from that I'm convinced there will flow real negotiation."

It had been a mainly theoretical discussion, he said, focusing largely on their concept of a boerestaat (white homeland) comprising the old Transvaal republic, Free State and northern Natal.

Government policy was very much opposed to the views of Mr Terre'Blanche and Mr Van Tonder, said Mr De Klerk. "I don't think their proposals are very realistic."

FW 'trying to wish away AWB claim'

BOKSBURG. — President De Klerk wanted to wish away the Afrikanerweerstandbeweeging's realistic claim for its own fatherland but at the same time was willing to hand South Africa over to the communists, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said.

Reacting last night to Mr de Klerk's comments that extreme rightwing Afrikaner policies were not realistic, Mr Terre'Blanche told about 1 000 supporters at Boksburg Town Hall that a nation wanting its own land was a Christian norm.

Mr Terre'Blanche and Boerestaatparty leader Mr Robert van Tonder met President De Klerk in Pretoria yesterday

Mr De Klerk had opened Hell's gate to let the Devil, Mr Walter Sisulu, in, he said. The ANC's Soweto rally had been a blatant propaganda exercise to promote international communism.

The AWB did not want violence but if the Boere (Afrikaners) were forced into a violent situation "then we will make them level with the gravel."

A former security police chief, Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, said: "We refuse to share the country with the Buthelezis and the Sisulus."

De Klerk reassures Right on security

My policy will lead to talks, says FW

Star 10/11/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

President de Klerk says he is satisfied that the Government's policy of releasing political prisoners and allowing political rallies and marches is leading towards real negotiations.

"I am satisfied with the way things are going," he said yesterday at the Union Buildings when asked about developments since Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC stalwarts were released.

He was speaking at a press conference after a 75-minute meeting with AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder, who had expressed concern about the Government's new policy.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen took part in the discussions.

"I think we are succeeding in creating a climate which will really be conducive to meaningful dialogue and from that I am convinced real negotiations will flow," Mr de Klerk said.

When Mr TerreBlanche and Mr van Tonder had expressed concern about developments since the release of Mr Sisulu and others, he had assured them the Government would maintain law and order at all costs.

Mr de Klerk said that he expressed his concern at the "undertone of threats of violence" in the reported speeches of the AWB leader.

Mr de Klerk said Mr TerreBlanche replied he was not a violent man and would like to see the new South Africa born out of negotiations and not violence.

Revolutionary

He said Mr TerreBlanche had not suggested that he would take up arms as a result of a process of orderly reform.

"But there was a suggestion that if revolutionary forces were allowed to take over the Government he and his people would take up arms.

Mr de Klerk said Mr TerreBlanche and Mr van Tonder had presented their idea of a Boerestaat excised from South Africa following the boundaries of the old Transvaal and Free State Republics and northern Natal.

He told them he thought the idea was unworkable.

Mr de Klerk said he had agreed to meet the group because of his public statement that he was available for discussion and because this group did not have the opportunity to put its view in Parliament.

He did not believe they represented a substantial number of people.

"I told them it would be wise for them, if they claim to speak on behalf of a large percentage of Afrikaners, to prove it.

"I pointed out the recent election results constituted a strong rejection of their point of view."

After the talks, Mr TerreBlanche said he would give his reaction at a political meeting in Boksburg later last night.



AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche speaking in Boksburg last night.

AWB demands homeland for 'Boere people'

By Carina le Grange

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) had demanded from the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, a homeland for the "Boere people", the organisation's leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, said in Boksburg last night.

He told an audience of about 500 in the town hall that the demand (made when he met the President in Pretoria yesterday) was reasonable and he rejected Mr de Klerk's statement that it was impracticable.

Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, Tswanas and others had been given their own land where they were ruled by their own leaders, Mr TerreBlanche said.

"There is only one reality — the right of peoples to govern themselves. How on earth can this not be attained — this is how Christ, how God, created the Earth.".

The AWB leader said Mr de Klerk had questioned him about violence.

"Of course we don't want violence. But if violence is forced upon us, then we make them level with the grevel."

(304A) (redacted) wmail

The last stand of the securocrats

10-16/11/89.

LAST week's "botched messages" debacle in Namibia may help hasten the fall from grace of South Africa's securocrats, according to leading military watchers.

After more than a decade of virtually unchallenged power South Africa's security strategists find themselves in the uncomfortable position of having to take orders from the politicians.

Now, having soiled the government's international image through what looked like an attempt at initiating another Swapo duck shoot, military tails are tucked tightly between military legs.

Last week's Namibian blunder is being interpreted in government circles as a "clear reflection of bad judgement in terms of military intelligence", according to security systems consultant Dr Jacques Cillliers.

"The incident severely embarrassed Foreign Affairs and will certainly sour relations with the military."

Cillliers, a former SADF officer and advisor to the State Security Council, said that since South Africa's withdrawal from Angola "the whole ball game has changed for the military. They've lost support and influence and their role is going to decline".

In future military intelligence will be reduced in significance relative to the National Intelligence Service externally and the security police internally — a tendency likely to be hastened by the messages scandal, he said.

"Military intelligence became accustomed to having their fingers in the Renamo and Unita pies. With their theories of master puppeteers they have a much more rigid black and white view of the world than NIS.

"The rationalisation of intelligence structures could certainly lead to a lot of frustration within the military."

Cilliers said the National Management System would continue to function but with reduced importance.

"It will not disappear but will go back to its pre-1984 stages."

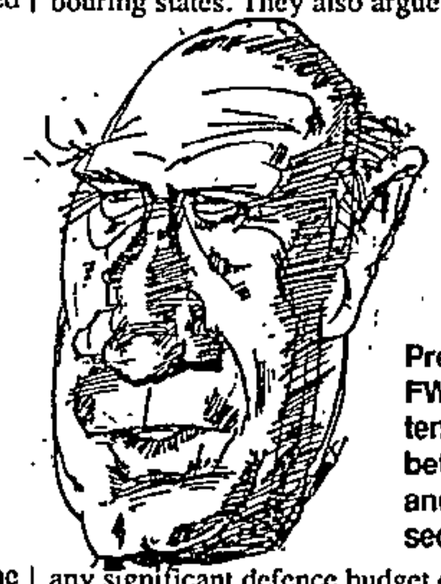
The country's military planners are showing considerable apprehension about Namibia's independence process, and about the government's stated commitment to end support for Unita, according to former CIA analyst Robert Jaster.

Writing in the latest issue of the Washington-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies *Africa Notes*, Jaster says South Africa's military leadership "would prefer the defence line along the Cunene River to one along the Orange River".

The generals have lost their political clout since the withdrawal from Angola, and right-wing elements in the military are trying to win back their influence in other ways ... such as last week's fake signals debacle
By GAVIN EVANS

They also fear the loss of Namibia will be interpreted as a sign of military weakness by foreigners and "dissidents", and that whites will view the departure of the Cubans as the end to any real security threat.

Some South African Defence Force planners see new thinking in the Soviet Union as a "giant hoax perpetrated on the West" and continue to be wary of the military capabilities of the neighbouring states. They also argue against any significant defence budget cuts but "will be content if future defence spending keeps pace with inflation", said Jaster.



President FW de Klerk ... tensions exist between him and the securocrats

The Democratic Party's James Selfe, who recently completed a masters degree on the National Management System, said he had discerned a "definite shift away from the security establishment to more traditional political decision making structures.

"I understand that Vlok was extremely disturbed at allowing the marches to take place but was directly overruled by FW".

Selfe said that prior to the outsting of PW Botha the "securocrats" assumed it would be business as usual under De Klerk.

"The ham-handed way the Namibian tapes business was handled gives the impression that people within the military were trying to reassert themselves or reverse the current trend."

He said FW was "testing the political waters" but seemed uncertain how to deal with a "dynamic which is developing a momentum of its own".

Over the past fortnight the signs put out by De Klerk have been ambiguous. On one hand he has released seven African National Congress leaders and permitted the country's biggest-ever ANC rally.

But last week he said the rally was being investigated for infringements of the law, and has overseen a renewed crackdown on the press.

Ten days ago he told the National Party the ANC would have to show a commitment to peace to be unbanned but this week returned to the "renounce violence" pre-condition.

Part of De Klerk's difficulty seems to be the rumblings of unease within the police force over his approach, although he has denied tensions exist between him and the securocrats.

Mark Phillips, of the Wits Business School's Centre for Policy Studies, said a major dilemma facing the security establishment was that some found it difficult to accept the reimposition of political control over their previous decision-making powers.

"For the first time in years they are taking orders from politicians — order which are pushing them into the great unknown of having to seek to accommodate black opposition politically rather than crush it with force".

He said the SAP would be growing in importance relative to the SADF, but that the police culture was not one oriented towards dialogue and negotiation.

"Particularly at the lower levels of the police there is growing disquiet about the constraints they find themselves under.

"A few weeks ago they were expected to put a violent stop to any sort of demonstration, but now they're required to stand back and watch blatant transgressions of security laws, and do nothing about it."

Phillips said a security police officer told him that an internal SAP survey showed an "alarming level of support for political parties and organisations from the right.

"He admitted to me that particularly in the Transvaal this situation was extremely serious."

Human Rights Commission representative Dr Max Coleman said he expected the frustration within the security forces "to find increasing expression in unauthorised activities.

"This is in addition to authorised but illegal security force actions which have become more and more prevalent over the past few years".

time, he said. Durban, for example, was now one of the fastest growing cities in the world, increasing by about 8% a year (see "City of the future"). At this rate, by the year 2000, the city will have as many people as London has today. While the current ratio of urban blacks to whites is roughly balanced; by 2000 blacks will outnumber whites in cities by three to one.

Secondly, a silent revolution is taking place in education. "Between 1955 and the year 2000 the increase in the number of Africans taking matric will have been, on present trends, no less than 40 000%." Blacks currently account for about half the number of matric candidates; within a decade, 70% will be black.



Kane-Berman

This is changing the racial composition in higher education, Kane-Berman adds. In 1966, 11% of university students were black; in 1986 the figure was 40%. This is already having important consequences for the country's manpower profile. Middle-level manpower, for instance, was 20% black in 1965; in 1985 it was 40% black.

Following from this, "the changing composition of our intellectual capital is the third component of the silent revolution."

The fourth is the change in patterns of consumer spending. For example, blacks are responsible for 80% of all liquor consumption. In downtown Johannesburg, R7 out of every R10 is today spent by blacks (compared to R5 in 1979). In 1974, whites accounted for 75% of all vehicle registrations; by 1994 that proportion will have dropped to about half. The car hire company Avis recently opened its 101st depot in SA and its first in a black area, Soweto.

Related to consumer spending is the pattern of income distribution — Kane-Berman's fifth component of the silent revolution. In 1960, whites accounted for 63% of all disposable income but by the year 2000 the white share will be down to 43%. Blacks' 32% share of disposable income in 1970 is expected to rise to 57% at the turn of the century.

Housing is the sixth component. In 1982, 13% of building plans passed by local authorities were for black housing; last year the figure was 57%. One building society recently said that a quarter of all its home lending was now to blacks, Kane-Berman notes. Growth of the building industry now depends largely on home building for blacks.

Then there are the black taxis. Kane-Berman quotes Clem Sunter's calculation that the investment in this sector is equivalent to that of two major gold mines — and employment generated by minibus taxis is as much as is provided by 10 gold mines. It is

Continued on page 65

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also said that their daily petrol consumption is second only to that of government vehicles.

An aspect of the power of black taxis, says Kane-Berman, is the "grocery circuits" — they can influence which shopping centres are patronised. Most interestingly, this is also seen in areas like Pietersburg. The town council there recently refused to establish a taxi rank in the town. However, three major supermarkets are now competing to provide ranks next to their stores, because they want the business taxis will bring from black townships in Lebowa.

"The supermarkets know something that the town council does not know, which is that their future depends on attracting black custom."

Among the characteristics of this process, says Kane-Berman, is that changes taking place are, as with the rise of the black trade union movement, profound and not cosmetic.

Secondly, most of the changes have been accompanied by the steady erosion of apartheid — for example, in educational institutions. He thinks it reasonable to predict that in the next few years white teacher-training colleges will be allowed more leeway in admitting people of other races, as technikons were at the beginning of this year. Universities and private schools already determine their own admissions policy.

The Group Areas Act (GAA) is another illustration of eroding apartheid. Estimates of the number of black people unlawfully resident in white areas vary between 100 000 and 250 000.

According to Kane-Berman, an important feature of the silent revolution is that "it is not something brought about by political elites" but by ordinary men and women. The best example is the way people simply and powerfully rendered the pass laws (repealed in 1986) unworkable by voting with their feet and forcing government to change the law to cater for the new reality. In the same way government has been forced to consider amending the GAA to cater for certain areas which have, in fact, already become mixed. ■

CHANGE

Shedding the past

Beyond the centre stage of political talks-about-talks, society is undergoing change so profound that the future will be multiracial whichever government comes to power. Indeed, preparing for "the new SA" seemed to be the central message at the annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management, attended by more than 1 000 delegates at Sun City.

The clearest illustration of this silent revolution, being forged on the ground by millions of ordinary people, was set out by John Kane-Berman, director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Firstly, urbanisation. SA is reaching the stage where the urban population is overtaking the rural population in size for the first

Sampie resigns from Broeders

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY executive member and Stellenbosch economist Professor Sampie Terreblanche has resigned "with immediate effect" from the controversial Afrikaner Broederbond.

But DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday that he had "no intention whatsoever" of severing his long-standing links with the secret organisation.

The latest developments could become a political hot potato for the DP, although both men said yesterday that they had not come under pressure from within the DP to leave the Broederbond.

Professor Terreblanche said that his continued membershiphad "become an embarrassment at Stellenbosch" where the perception persisted among many students and academics that the Broederbond was a political think-tank favouring "group-based" thinking.



Sampie Terreblanche

"I did it for my own credibility as an academic," he said.

Mr Malan yesterday dismissed reports that the Broederbond operated as a think-tank for the NP as "utter nonsense", saying that there were members of all parties in the House of Assembly in the Broederbond, as well as members who were not part of any political organisation.

OPINION

Too much hope, too little reality

3044A
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12-13 1/11/89

The optimism about negotiations is premature, unfounded, and remarkably similar to the inflated hopes of late 1985, when peace seemed round the corner.

By DIRK KOTZE
of the University of South Africa

"NEGOTIATIONS" is *the* buzz-word in town. But the hard question is: What is the National Party up to? Why allow the releases of political prisoners and the Soccer City rally in their support?

My opinion is that the optimism about negotiations is dangerous, premature, and unfounded. Indeed, it is remarkably similar to the belief in late 1985 that Pretoria would crumble in six months. Those inflated ecstasies were painfully pricked by the State of Emergency, and a more sober evaluation of the situation gradually descended on the democratic movement. This unfounded over-optimism cannot be afforded again.

Soccer City does not mean the effective unbanning of the African National Congress and other restricted organisations. The Broederstroom and Delmas trials and the arrests of people wearing T-shirts and stickers with the ANC logo are too much of a reminder of the old style to believe it. Nor does it indicate the beginning of negotiations or the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Why, then, are seven members of the first National High Command of Umkhonto weSizwe, responsible for the decision in 1961 to start the armed struggle, today free to address mass meetings and walk in the streets of Soweto?

One of the obvious reasons is the government had to play an important card to ward off stiff Commonwealth action as well as to secure the rescheduling of the foreign debt. But a second, and maybe more important explanation, has to do with a change in the State Security Council thinking revealed by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok in a TV interview recently.

His explanation was that the permission given for the protest marches as part of the defiance campaign and also the Soccer City rally was based on the belief that it "will allow the masses to become discharged *(ontlaai)* of political tensions and emotions".

This is reminiscent of the era of counter-insurgency (COIN) strategy under ex-security police chief Johann Coetzee in which the key elements were avoiding conflict and defusing "explosive situations".

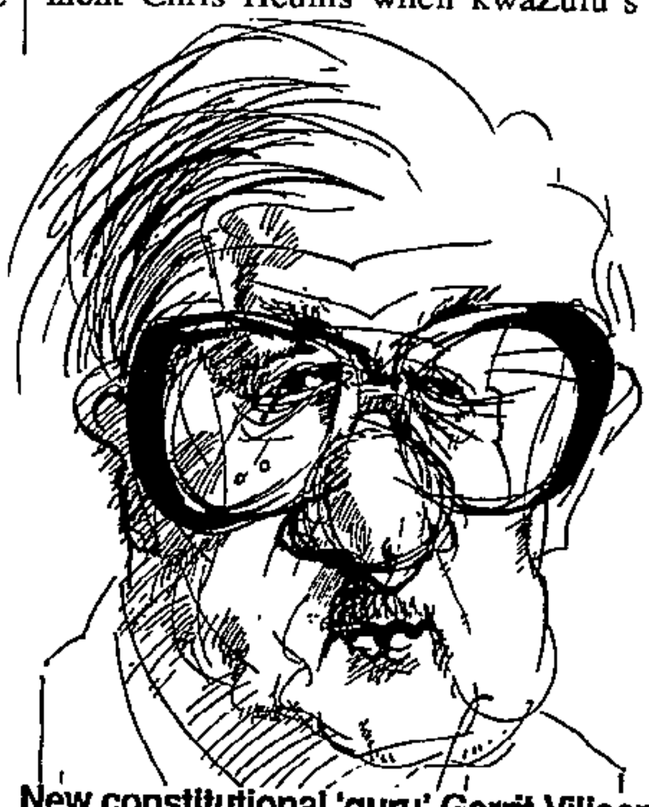
What this means is that the apparent easing of the Emergency is not an indication of the demise of the securocrats but a reformulation of their role in step with the dictum of counter-insurgency — that the solution to the problem is 80 percent political and 20 military.

The new thinking may be characterised as containment; isolating "revolutionaries" to a controlled and confined space and allowing them to spend all their overheated energies.

An alternative to the previous, unsuccessful WHAM (winning hearts and minds) strategy of socio-economic upliftment is being put to the test right now. And this wolf in disguise is so far very effective — so much so that it even reached the corridors of the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur.

The third possible explanation for the releases is probably the most relevant one for the negotiations issue.

Remember the disillusionment of former Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis when kwaZulu's



New constitutional 'guru' Gerrit Viljoen

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to join him on the National Council if the imprisoned leaders were not released. Well, now they are released, except for the obvious one. Buthelezis and Mboyas are being polished up again and portrayed as the true fighters for the cause of the Africans in the country who deserve to be the bright stars of the future.

A telling illustration of this point is the special credit which State President FW de Klerk has given to the "important contributions" made by certain bantustan leaders in securing the release of the seven ANC leaders. Another is the way new constitutional *guru* Gerrit Viljoen has been praising the relentless efforts by bantustan leaders and "councillors as tested representatives" of their communities.

His suggestion of a "black election" as a precursor of "talks about talks" points clearly to a Muzorewa option.

Where does the ANC fit in this process? The PW-Mandela party in Tuynhuis signalled the end of the divide-and-rule option of trying to create a "legalised" internal wing of the ANC. This was confirmed in the speeches at the Soccer City rally.

The issue which is now at the centre of delaying manoeuvres is the armed struggle. PW demanded the renunciation of violence. FW asks for a peaceful settlement.

And Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and of Development Aid, has added the qualification that the government will talk to anyone who will refrain from using violence because "you cannot talk to som one who has the option of using violence when the negotiation process is not going its way". What is the difference between this position and the old renunciation of violence?

Only one conclusion is possible: the government is reluctant to become involved in any negotiations for transformation and is only willing to become part of the window-dressing negotiations for reform. To achieve this it wants to isolate or side-track the ANC into irrelevance by staging a political or constitutional coup with a revamped National Council.

An almost unanimous assumption in the debate in South African politics about negotiations is that it will take the form of an internal settlement initiated and conducted mainly by the ANC and the NP without any external mediation or facilitation.

However, the ANC is beginning to assume a different starting point which, explained in its Harare declaration of August, can be interpreted as the preference for an external settlement in South Africa.

One of the guidelines included in this statement is that the "parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order".

It is clear that the Namibian Resolution 435 played an immense role in the minds of the ANC and the Organisation of African Unity committees when these guidelines were drafted.

The climate for these ideas was already created in the ANC's discussion paper on negotiations and in the working paper drafted by itself, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions in July.

The experiences of southern Africa have taught us that another sort of Cuito Cuanavale for South Africa is the only viable option. Pressure is the only force that will move Pretoria — not a self-induced change of heart. This will be a long, slow process. Negotiations are therefore not around the corner.

●**Dirk Kotze is a lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at the University of South Africa**

3041

DP goes for green vote

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party last night unveiled plans to form an Environmental Action Forum to monitor and promote environmental causes in the Western Cape.

Announcing the move, the DP's spokesman for environmental affairs in the Western Cape, Mr Roger Hulley, said: "The DP is signalling its deep and sincere concern for sensitive environmentalism.

"We are determined to be known as a party with a well-developed 'Green' consciousness."

The strong new emphasis on environmental causes will see the formation of a number of formal local structures under Mr Hulley's chairmanship:

● An action committee of senior party members, supported by sub-groups of the party, that will specialise in specific environmental topics on an ongoing basis.

The specialist sub-groups will focus on subjects like coastal pollution; fynbos, flora and wilderness preservation; fauna and wildlife conservation; waste and litter; clean air; the built environment; fisheries and planning and development.

The MPs serving on the action committee are Mr Hulley (Constantia), Mr Ken Andrew (Gardens), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Ms Dene Smuts (Groote Schuur) and Mr Robin Carlisle (Wynberg).

● An environmental forum comprising rank-and-file members who will support the action committee on an ongoing basis through membership of the specialised sub-groups.

The members' forum, which will be launched on Saturday, will meet in plenary session to help formmulate DP attitudes on environmental issues as they arise.

● An advisory council of experts from various fields to lend their expertise to the DP on environmental issues.

Mr Hulley said last night: "We are also dedicated to interacting in a responsible way with the many concerned and responsible persons and institutions in the field with a view to serving their interests in Parliament.

"As a party which takes a long view of South Africa's future, we realise that when the race issue of the present time has been resolved, this country and Southern Africa as a whole will still need to deal with the full range of environmental issues which threaten the sub-continent.

"Timeous concern for the environment today is a vital investment in the collective future of all South Africans," Mr Hulley said.

Nats creating slums, DP claims

Municipal Reporter

Moves to make Hillbrow and its environs in Johannesburg a free settlement area have been condemned by the Democratic Party which has accused the National Party of "legally creating devastating slum conditions which can never be reversed".

DP vice-chairman in Hillbrow Mr Simon Chilchik said at the weekend: "What Mr Pik Botha (Minister of Foreign Affairs) has done is to take an ulcer and turn it into a festering sore.

"Thousands of people are already pouring into the area and this move will open the floodgates into a tiny area lacking the necessary infrastructure. From a socio-economic point of view it is plain suicide."

The leader of the Democratic Party in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Ian Davidson, said only the repeal of the Group Areas Act would satisfy the needs of the people.

He urged the chairman of the council's management committee not to take any decisions on open areas until the removal of the Act had been democratically discussed in council.

"What we have here is ad hoc planning and an ad hoc decision by NP regional chairman Mr Pik Botha. Even his own Nat caucus has not been fully informed as a meeting is only due today.

"Neither has he consulted the MP for Hillbrow nor the DP councillors who represent the area.

"It also places a giant question mark over NP credibility. In their election campaign they claimed Berea would not be an open area, but hardly had the ink dried on the ballot papers when Mr Botha contradicted his own party's stance.

"He is also guilty of selective morality when he suggests free settlement status will restore human dignity to the blacks living there.

"What about blacks who are being exploited throughout South Africa? Where is their human dignity living under the Group Areas Act?" Mr Davidson asked.

Conservatives plan to negotiate anti-ANC strategies

CP arranges right-wing summit

3044A Star 13/11/89

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Right-wing groups are to call a summit early next year to formulate new strategies to deal with what they see as the Government's moves to form a transitional government with the ANC.

The summit, which is being organised by the Conservative Party, will be preceded by a "mini-summit" of right-wing leaders in December to arrange the later meeting, CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers said yesterday.

"If the Government intends to form a transitional government with the ANC we will be compelled to use other strategies to save ourselves.

"That's what we want to negotiate with our people," he said.

Mr Beyers would not elaborate on what the other strategies might be. But at the CP's recent Transvaal congress there were suggestions that the right would resort to force to prevent what they see as an imminent hand-over to the ANC.

Mr Beyers said he expected the broad summit would strengthen the cause of the right for its own government in its own fatherland.

It was unlikely that a new formal right-wing organisation would emerge, although a broader right-wing movement might be one of the results.

He would not say who would participate in the meetings. They would be a broad cross-section of political parties and cultural organisations.

FW told business can help create negotiation climate

3044A

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S. Day

SUSAN RUSSELL

A SEVEN-MAN Assocom delegation led by its president Brian Kurz met President F W de Klerk in Pretoria on Friday.

Assocom CE Raymond Parsons described the one-hour meeting as as "useful" and "cordial".

Parsons said discussions mainly revolved around motions on constitutional reform discussed at Assocom's recent national congress and the President's economic advisory council.

The inter-dependence of economic performance and political progress was highlighted in the discussion.

"A constructive exchange of views took place on the role which business can play in helping to create a favourable climate for reconciliation and negotiation in SA in the period ahead," said Parsons.

Assocom, which represented 25 000 companies in commerce, industry and finance, was broadly supportive of steps De Klerk had taken to create a new political climate in SA.

It was important that political change in SA should be handled in such a way as to maintain business confidence.

Assocom had emphasised the business community's important stake in a new constitutional dispensation to ensure a stable economy, and the need to incorporate a bill of rights, said Parsons.

Both Assocom and De Klerk agreed that reform had to be underpinned by a strong economy, he said.

"From the discussion it was clear that to successfully address the economic and political challenges facing SA in the next decade would require the maximum degree of co-operation between the public and private sectors."

He said De Klerk wished to meet the office bearers of the new organisation to be created through the merger of the Federated Chamber of Industries and Assocom.

FW can open schools – MP

By Sue Valentine,
Education Reporter

White schools could be opened to pupils of other races by the mere stroke of the State President's pen, Democratic Party MP for Hillbrow, Mr Lester Fuchs, said at the weekend.

Referring to section 14 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Mr Fuchs said own affairs institutions could be put at the disposal of other groups either with the approval of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, or in terms of arrangments made between Ministers.

"In my opinion, the Government is missing the opportunity to open Johannesburg High School for Girls to all races."

Mr Fuchs said he had met the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, who said his hands were tied in terms of his Ministry's policy.

"The options Mr Clase has so far offered the school are non-options.

"It seems we will have to appeal to big business to assist in getting a non-racial school off the ground in time for the opening of term next year."

● The House of Delegates is to acquire John Ware Primary School, a former white school in Mayfair, currently being used by the Post Office.

Last week, the Minister of Education in the House of Delegates, Mr Kisten Rajoo, met concerned principals and teachers of Johannesburg/Lenasia schools under the control of the House of Delegates.

It was confirmed at the meeting that another under-used white primary school, Johan Rissik, would be transferred to the House of Delegates.

'Don't over-simplify country's problems'

De Klerk appeals to foreign press in SA

3044A

Star 16/11/89

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has appealed to the foreign media not to "sell their viewers and readers short" by presenting an over-simplified view of South Africa.

Addressing the annual dinner of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg last night, he told them they faced the temptation of presenting South Africa's problems "literally" in black and white terms.

"There is also the temptation to see South Africa in terms not really applicable to our society — for example as an extension of the civil rights experience," he said.

There were also temptations to sensationalise, to provoke moral indignation and to produce material to fit the prejudices of overseas editors and audiences.

"It often takes considerable courage and integrity to confront conventional wisdom," Mr de Klerk said.

The challenge was to delve beneath the stereotypes to inform readers of the "intriguing complexities of our society".

There was also a challenge to understand that South African society was in many ways not so abnormal, that many processes underway here now had taken place in Western societies not so long ago and were taking place in other developing countries now.

These included the processes of economic development, the migration from rural areas to the cities, the establishment of huge urban working class communities and the accompanying demands for trade union rights, political power and equality.

Liberalisation

The liberalisation which accompanied economic growth and which was breaking down barriers of class and race in South Africa had also taken place elsewhere.

The desire of people here to maintain their cultural heritage and autonomy was also evidenced by the Quebecois of Canada, the Flemish in Belgium, and the Catalonians, Armenians, Tamils and Maoris.

Mr de Klerk said foreign journalists in South Africa did not have an easy task.

It was unfair to expect them to understand situations which few South Africans understood and to expect them to communicate well when South Africans often communicated about themselves so badly.

"How can we blame the foreign press — or for that matter, the local press — for sometimes misinterpreting the Government's point of view when it can often find no one who is prepared to say what the Government's point of view is?"

Mr de Klerk said he and the Cabinet wanted to improve communication with the press and had made new arrangements to this end through the Bureau for Information.

Public must elect mayor, says DP man

Johannesburg's mayor should be above politics and elected directly on merit from outside the council by public referendum, Mr Dave Verster, Democratic Party city councillor urges.

Mr Clive Weil, Mrs Ina Perlman, Mr Tony Factor, Des and Dawn Lindberg or Mr Francois Oberholzer are among the people who would be in his line-up of potential mayors.

But their reaction to his plan was mixed.

What Mr Verster sees is a ceremonial head who is rewarded for his services as a philanthropist, businesman, artist or entertainer elected by annual referendum and paid the present retainer of R193 000.

"Why don't we drop the pretence of having so-called non-political mayors," he said.

"The reality is they are elected to council on a political platform and still exercise their vote in council meetings.

" The job should not be a reward for long service in the council. Let's remove all suspicion of politics by throwing the vote open to the public," he said.

"Wonderful, I would love to be mayor of Johannesburg one day," said entertainer Mrs Dawn Lindberg.

Mr Factor and Mrs Perlman fully supported the present system. Mr Weil said he could not go along with the idea. Mr Oberholzer simply declined to comment. —. Municipal Reporter.

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Boost interim aid to Namibia — DP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — SA should boost its budgetary assistance to Namibia until a new government could establish itself and conclude international agreements for assistance, the DP said yesterday.

The delegation of eight DP members, which returned yesterday after a 10-day trip to observe the Namibian election process, said political parties there had strongly voiced the view that SA assistance should continue at least until independence, expected some time next year.

Delegation members told a Press conference yesterday that senior Swapo members had indicated that an independent Namibia under Swapo control would not attempt to drastically scale down economic relationships with SA.

The delegation leader, DP national chairman Tian van der Merwe, noted that SA had "drastically cut" its budgetary support from R350m to R120m a year.

He said it would be difficult for Namibia to get international aid while SA remained the de facto governing authority.

DP spokesman on economic affairs and technology Roger Hulley said that to leave Namibia in the economic lurch during the interim phase before independence was "foolish".

Negotiation is still remote, warns Slabbert

CAPE TOWN — It would be stupid and foolish not to admit that President de Klerk had made a difference in South Africa since the election, but it would also be unrealistic to think negotiations were about to begin, says Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert, currently in Oxford, England, is a director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

Writing in the latest issue of Idasa's journal, *Democracy in Action*, he gives Mr de Klerk credit for the steps he has taken since the National Party returned to power in September, but he warns that events "can also be confusing and dangerously misleading".

He argues it would be wrong to view them as signs of a government "panicking, capitulating or collapsing".

"Regimes who are uncertain about their security simply do not act in this way. It would be a dangerous delusion to think that liberation, freedom or the transfer of power is but a heave and a shove away."

He cautions there is a "vast difference between relaxing control and negotiating a democracy".

"It would be unrealistic to think that negotiations are now possible or about to begin."

Liberalisation was a necessary but insufficient condition for democratisation, he said. — Sapa.

BOHA Star 15/11/89

Exiled ANC man asks to come home

3044

EXILED ANC Youth League founder Anton "AP" Mda has made an application to President F W de Klerk to return to the country for a week to address the launching of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in Soweto in early December.

Mda — who has been in self-imposed exile in Lesotho for more than 25 years — is asking De Klerk to guarantee his safe passage to Soweto and return to Lesotho.

Mda's application for a political visit to SA follows an invitation to him from the PAM leadership to address the movement's three-day inuagural congress on December 1, 2 and 3.

In a statement, PAM's interim committee publicity secretary Bennie Alexander said Mda — who is now a Lesotho citizen and who is practising as an attorney in that country — made the application to return to his country of birth through PAM lawyers yesterday.

However, Alexander made it clear that the application by Mda was still being processed by the

SIPHO NGCOBO

movement's lawyers and would be submitted to De Klerk today.

"The Pan Africanist Movement interim committee has instructed lawyers to handle Comrade Mda's case. And we will be asking De Klerk to clear the way for Mda to return for a week to address the masses as he used to do in the 1940s and 1950s," Alexander said.

B/Day 15/11/39

Change

Alexander said that a refusal by De Klerk to grant Mda permission to come to SA would be a clear curtailment of his statements on policy change.

"The ball is now in his court. He must prove that he is genuine in his professions to change," said Alexander.

Mda — with the late Anton Mzwakhe Lembede, the force behind the formation of the league and who became its first president — was instrumental in orchestrating the 1943 formation of the league, which was formally launched a year later in Bloemfontein.

Mda was the league's first general and helped in the drafting of the ANC's Programme of Action later in the decade. It was later dropped by the national organisation and overtaken by the controversial Freedom Charter.

Mda, however, broke away with the Africanists in November 1958 to organise the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which was officially launched in April 6 1959.

□ CHARLENE SMITH reports that recently released PAC founder member Jafta Masemola is hotly tipped to be elected leader of the newly formed PAM at its December 1 launching congress in Soweto.

Alexander took issue with the rumours, however, saying that the PAM was a democratic movement and it could neither judge nor attempt to influence elections.

"We don't even know if Masemola will attend the congress," he said.

Call backed by Mandela quote

EXTRACTS from Nelson Mandela's speech from the dock and from the Freedom Charter were read out yesterday in the President's Council (PC) debate on a new SA.

The motion under discussion, proposed by PC deputy chairman Klepies Heyns (NP), calls for the establishment of a democracy with participation by all, no domination, and in which individuals and groups would be protected.

Labour Party nominee C M Collis said SA belonged to all its people, but this idea was not a new one.

It appeared in the LP's constitution, he said, and he also quoted Mandela telling the judge who sentenced him to life imprisonment the enfranchisement of all would not result in racial domination.

Collis quoted Mandela as saying: "Political division based on colour is entirely artifical, and when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another."

Solidarity nominee Ismail Omar said there was a striking similarity between the motion under discussion and the Charter. — Sapa.

Emergency: ministers seek lifting

15/11/89

6/Dam (304A)

MIKE ROBERTSON

SENIOR government ministers have accepted the state of emergency is an obstacle to getting negotiations started and are pressing for it to be lifted.

While they are reluctant to say so in public, ministers are prepared to concede in private that the ending of the emergency and the release of remaining long-term political prisoners — in particular Nelson Mandela — are essential if government's negotiation effort is to have any chance of success.

Mandela's release is expected either at the end of January or on February 2 when President F W de Klerk opens Parliament.

The lifting of the emergency could come at the same time.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday continued his tour of self-governing territories to gauge opinion on government's plans to hold elections aimed at identifying blacks to serve on its proposed negotiating statutory body for a new constitution.

Viljoen has been suggesting that an election be held to identify leaders of urban blacks while the chief ministers of the six self-governing territories represent people living there.

The proposal ran into trouble on Friday when QwaQwa Chief Minister T K Mopeli called for a single, nationwide election to choose representatives.

Yesterday, however, the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele M J Mabena and his Cabinet accepted that they represent the people of the territory on the negotiating body.

Viljoen said at a Press conference after the meeting that the KwaNdebele Cabinet had chosen not to express an opinion as to how leaders of urban blacks should be identified.

Viljoen said that, given the opposition from some quarters, it might be necessary to include self-governing territories whose leaders favoured a nationwide elections, in any future poll to identify leaders.

He also said that he hoped to arrange talks "at the earliest opportunity" with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This follows an Inkatha central committee decision stating that the time for negotiating a new constitution had arrived.

SA's English: a racist history

B/Day 15/11/89 (304A) 15/11/89

ABOUT 40 years ago I asked an Irish priest in Dublin to explain Ireland's problems.

"Problems? What problems? We haven't any problems in Ireland. It's just those damned Protestants up north."

This anecdote has a certain relevance in SA.

For the international community the white Pretoria government is a euphemism for the cruel racialists who practise something called "appetite", as I once heard it called at the UN.

There is a popular misconception that were the Pretoria establishment to be replaced, were the SA version of "those damned Protestants up north" to be spirited away, the country's problems would be over.

Meanwhile, the SA English-speaker continues to mutter away about human dignity. But long before Die Burger was even a gleam in the eyes of the Afrikaner, the English Press was portraying the racialistic attitudes of the SA English-speaker.

It revealed almost 100 years ago that the Afrikaner had not always held the monopoly of racial bigotry here and, in those days, the HNP would have found congenial bedfellows in *die Engelse*.

In 1939 Prof R F Hoernlé, in the course of the Phelps-Stokes lectures, said that while the English had brought with them from England ideals of liberty which, under the influence of nineteenth century humanitarianism, spanned barriers of colour, race and creed, "they soon learned to temporise and draw back as the implications of admitting the non-European inhabitants of SA into partnership in liberty came generally to be realised".

Mutiny

Letters and Press reports in The Barberton Herald, Transvaal Mining Mail (1889-1890) and The Diamond Fields Advertiser (1888-1890) bore all this out. Besides local news, these papers published reports from Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban.

In 1888, at the DuToitspan mine in Kimberley, blacks had staged a mutiny that was quelled, by means unspecified, by a man named Rowe who was subsequently fined £5 or a short period of imprisonment with hard labour for his pains.

PATRICIA McMAGH

An irate correspondent sprang to his defence. Rowe's action, the letter said, had saved his own life as well as that of his fellow overseers from "black savages".

"Education (Christian or otherwise), over-remuneration, over-feeding and pampering are the weapons placed indirectly by the white man in the hands of the black man and are the means whereby this savage will be induced by enlightenment to become dissatisfied with his subservient position with respect to us, his conquerors and masters, at the same time creating in this savage a desire for mastery."

The murder of Samuel Cox, a white mine-engine driver from Langlaagte, was committed by seven "kafirs" who killed him apparently for *muti*.

They were duly apprehended and tried and the death penalty imposed on them elicited a petition to government: could they be publicly executed in Johannesburg? This would afford the managers of companies the opportunity to see that their "boys" were present so that the execution might serve as a warning to them.

The degree of illiteracy among the rank and file probably rendered the blacks immune to journalistic excesses at the time.

Calamity

They continued blithely on their way while the papers reported that the blacks in Pretoria were growing more insolent: they failed to move their ox wagons off the road at the approach of the white man in his spider, and the cheeky natives had nicknamed the field-cornet "Seven Pounds Ten" — the sum he had been fined for "boxing a coolie's ears".

It took a calamity of the magnitude of the fire at the De Beers mine in 1888 to purge the English Press, temporarily at least, of some of its rancour: about 400 black miners and 40 white men died.

The whites were usually transported underground in a skip: the blacks used a ladder-way.

After the disaster the borehole was choked with the dead and dying black miners who had been asphixiated by the fumes.

"Great sympathy is felt for the natives who met so fearful a death. It is usually believed that the native is impervious to the emotions which death brings into activity in the case of the white man, but the theory has not held good on this mournful occasion... Tribal differences are, for the time being, forgotten, and many stalwart kafirs have been seen sobbing bitterly at the thought of the fate that has overcome their brothers."

In 1939 Hoernlé said: "The difference between the government party and the Nationalist opposition is merely one of degree: when the latter beats the racial drum the legs of most of the government supporters twitch in sympathy with the tune."

We have, perhaps, come a long way since then. We are less strident, perhaps more understanding and, if God be willing, our social engineers will increase their proficiency in building cross-cultural bridges.

LETTERS

expected more

SA responds to re-integration

(304A)

PRETORIA — The question of the reincorporation of areas from self-governing and independent states into SA would have to be resolved on the basis of consensus around a constitutional conference table, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leon Wessels said in Pretoria yesterday.

Reacting in a statement to allegations that the SA government was shirking its responsibility on the East Peelton problem in the Eastern Cape, he said the matter had to be resolved "in a peaceful and legal manner".

He said: "We are dealing with a judicial reality wherein President (Lennox) Sebe (of Ciskei) and his government are key players."

Wessels said he believed the deadlock on the issue had been broken, and he wanted to reiterate government's position as being committed to "real constitutional reform".

The people from East Peelton "clearly" could not stay in the Roman Catholic Church in King William's Town until the constitutional process had been concluded.

He was therefore once again prepared to seek an audience with Sebe on SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane's behalf and to visit the area with him and/or members of the current interim residents' committee "to demonstrate President Sebe's stated undertakings" — Sapa.

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15/11/89 B/DAY (100)

Swapo government

Reduce public sector DP

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA can ill afford the costs of duplicated bureaucratic administration, a DP finance spokesman, Brian Goodall, said yesterday.

He was reacting to Central Statistical Service figures concerning the number of civil service employees in the self-governing states in the year to end June.

In the quarter to end June they were paid nearly R600m — about R169m more than in the same three months last year.

If they get the 15% increase which sources here say will be given to all public servants from April, it will cost another R360m a year in wages for the self-governing territories' civil services.

This would bring the total to about R2,8bn annually.

Goodall said because of the high degree of financial dependence on SA much of the R2,8bn would come from the taxpayers.

Apartheid's geographic fragmentation had cost taxpayers dearly in the past three decades, he said.

He stressed that if the economy was ever again to aproach full potential it was vital that the taxation of companies and individuals be cut.

The only way of achieving this was for goverment to reduce spending.

The public sector had to be drastically reduced.

Meanwhile, the Public Servants Association had preliminary discussions with Administration Minister Wim de Villiers last Friday.

PSA president Colin Cameron said the meeting was part of ongoing negotiations on a number of issues, including pay and conditions in the service.

The 20% pay demand decided on at the PSA AGM last month remained on the cards, he said.

No further meeting with De Villiers had been arranged before the Budget.

Govt must talk today or rue someday, says Steyn

If effective political negotiations about a common future for all South Africans are to take off the ground, then the Government will have seriously to address "the demands of black leaders of significance", Urban Foundation chairman Mr Jan Steyn told the Foundation's annual general meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

If the Government really wanted negotiations about the future to start soon, then it would have to talk to credible black leaders and address their demands, said the Urban Foundation's Mr Jan Steyn.

In an address entitled "Political Progress and Socio-economic Development — two sides of the same coin", the former Supreme Court judge said: "At the very least, this entails urgent and visible attention (being given) to all racially discriminatory legislation, including the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act.

"It also means facilitation of a free, open and competitive political debate in which the principles of freedom of association, assembly and the press are respected."

Mr Steyn said leaders of all constituencies would have to rise above "their historic antagonisms".

They would have to become capable, above all, of understanding the demands and constraints under which all the different political programmes in South Africa had to operate and of identifying areas in which rapid progress was possible.

Also to be remembered was the fact that the pace of change could not be determined by one group's requirements alone.

"The expectations and fears of all groups must determine the process. In turbulent circumstances, optimal speed is of the essence. A prolonged period of uncertainty will serve only to heighten fears and allow expectations to spiral out of control," he said.

Mr Steyn stressed that socio-economic reform had to accompany political change "in such a way as to support it".

The Government had to implement policy changes by entering into "firm commitments" about legislative change, the re-allocation of resources and the development of effective delivery mechanisms.

In his appraisal of the UF's achievements in its 13-year history, Mr Steyn said the Foundation had learnt that the time was long past when programmes could be imposed on black communities without their involvement.

The Foundation had also learnt, he said, that there were widely differing perceptions of many aspects of South African life, and political parties would have to be sensitive to these perceptions.

He said a small but symbolically significant example of this sensitivity to others' feelings was the official declaration this year of May 1 as Workers' Day.

"Shouldn't we also acknowledge how black people feel about the sacrifices and the suffering of black communities in the struggle for better housing, education and urban conditions by declaring June 16 — already an unofficial holiday — as a day of nationwide dedication to building a new South Africa?"

Mr Steyn said it was not enough to express oneself in favour of "a new South Africa", but it was important actually to work towards realisation of this ideal.

"Having announced that we are a united nation, we must act to give content to that reality," he said.

● Urban Foundation communications executive Mr Stewart Carlyle said the housing scheme announced simultaneously in London and Johannesburg about a month ago would take effect in the first quarter of next year.

Mr Carlyle said people who wanted to build houses for less than R30 000 had to approach financial institutions directly.



Mr Jan Steyn ... leaders must rise above historic antagonisms.

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Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn, left, and CE Sam van Coller at the AGM in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

June 16 should be a holiday — Steyn

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

JUNE 16 should be made a public holiday to acknowledge the struggle of black communities for better housing, education and urban conditions, Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn said at the AGM in Johannesburg yesterday.

He urged white South Africans and the major institutions in the country to become aware of the justifiable expectations being raised among the black population by the current intentions of government, the private sector and others.

He said SA had been run as if it were a white society, with a black component.

"Our perceived subordinate component is and always has been a majority with a deep and pervasive sense of having been displaced and alienated in their own continent and society."

Steyn said it was imperative that government's words be followed by concrete actions.

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SINESS DAY, Thursday, November 16 1989

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FW HAS NOT YET GONE FAR ENOUGH — SISULU

SIPHO NGCOBO

ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday rejected government's mooted lifting of the state of emergency and the repealing of the Separate Amenities Act as not being enough to start the process of genuine negotiation. $10am 16/11/89

Speaking at his Soweto home, Sisulu said people's demands, which included the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations like the ANC, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the scrapping of all undemocratic laws would create a basis for discussions.

Sisulu also dismissed F W De Klerk's future constitutional dispensation based on group rights as a major stumbling block towards a democratic SA.

He described as ridiculous Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's plans to hold elections aimed at identifying black leaders to serve on government's proposed negotiating statutory body.

But he said he was confident about the future as he had never seen such determination in the people.

He described Swapo's victory as a great inspiration to all freedom-loving South Africans.

Show the poor the way ahead — Van Coller

(304A) Business Day 16/11/89

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

THE real development challenge for SA was to provide opportunity for those at the very bottom of the income spectrum, and this is where the Urban Foundation was increasingly focusing its attention, CE Sam van Coller said at the AGM in Johannesburg yesterday.

"It seems to me the role of the Urban Foundation in a new and non-racial SA will increasingly be to open and signpost the road out of poverty."

In the past year the organisation's housing utility companies around the country sold 5 877 houses and 5 575 serviced stands with a total value of R245m — a 60% increase over the previous year.

The organisation now faced the challenge of addressing the needs of those unable to finance the minimum loan available in the conventional market, Van Coller said.

To provide access to "end-user" finance in the lower end of the market, the Urban Foundation recently established a pilot project, the Group Credit Company, to develop a new loan mechanism linked to group savings clubs to provide loans below the R5 000 level.

The foundation was also involved in developing proposals for a new urbanisation strategy in SA.

"Our research suggests that, because of its skills and infrastructure, SA is better placed than many other developing countries to turn to advantage the increasing concentration of its citizens in metropolitan areas."

Another area of activity in the past year had been the consolidation of the foundation's education programme.

"It is to be regretted that the state is neither able to provide meaningful financial support to this key area nor does it, through tax incentives, encourage the private sector to give support to early childhood educare."

Right-wingers mark day of 'Wit Wolf' bloodbath

PRETORIA. — Police last night swooped on a service for convicted mass murderer Barend Hendrik Strydom held at the scene of last year's massacre, Strijdom Square.

It was exactly a year ago that the former policeman and "Wit Wolf" leader shot dead seven people at or near the square.

Supporters of the killer raised their right arms in nazi-style salutes, chanting "free Barend Strydom" on the spot where Strydom grinned as he gunned down passers-by with a pistol.

Police declared last night's service illegal, but refrained from acting when the 20-odd people at the gathering started singing "Prys die Heer".

Right-winger Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, a former Pretoria city councillor, told about 20 policemen: "This is a free country. The days of us being shunted around by the police are gone.

"They do not have enough people here to catch us."

Strydom's father, Mr Nic Strydom, then asked Mr Rudolph to pray quickly, before the police acted.

Mr Rudolph asked Jesus to accept Strydom as one of the heroes the Afrikaner nation wanted to dedicate to Him.

The group, vastly outnumbered by local and foreign media people, then sang "Prys die Heer" and "Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika".

Most of them dispersed when police moved in with two dogs, though a number refused to budge and remained on the square for some time, closely watched by police from Van der Walt Street.

Meanwhile, Strydom's fiancée, Ms Karin Rautenbach, 22, declined to discuss reports that she was to marry him soon.

Strydom has been denied leave to appeal after he was sentenced to death on eight counts of murder. All that can save him from the gallows is a presidential reprieve. — Sapa

Building the right structure to support political change

B/Dem 16/11/89

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JAN STEYN of the Urban Foundation

THE next two to five years could see the establishment of a negotiating forum, constituent assembly or other appropriate instrument, facilitative of producing a new constitutional dispensation.

A major question is whether or not SA will enter that phase within an ever-escalating spiral of socio-economic disaffection. Politics, after all, is about people and the condition of their lives.

We need to promote the economic and social adjustments that will support a political resolution of the right kind.

One can identify various socio-economic conditions supportive of democracy.

If economic inequality, and inequality in access to resources and opportunities continue to be patterned in terms of race, SA's hope of reducing the importance of race in political conflict is bound to fail. Racial identities will lurk behind every conflict of political interests.

Recent trends in patterns of employment and in the allocation of state development resources are softening the stark outlines of racial inequality. However, substantially better progress in dismantling racial zoning, in education, in training and in occupational development are urgently necessary.

A persistent racial structuring of our society will weaken democratic processes because it obscures people's real political interests. Interests can be addressed constructively — and shared interests unite people. Race can only divide.

If certain problems in development remain intractable, generating sharp mass-based grievances, it will tend to dominate the debate and will encourage the politics of irresponsible promises a millennial ideologies. Faced with a marketplace of fatuous rhetoric and improbable claims, military authorities are typically inclined to think in terms of coups to induce discipline.

If a society has a large and growing segment of its population unemployed and facing the prospect of being permanently excluded — or at best only marginally involved in the economic activity — authoritarian administration becomes almost inevitable.

If the concept takes hold (or persists) that individual endeavour is less effective than a paternal, all-protecting welfare state, the urge for one-party socialist solutions, already strong, will grow. For all the good intentions behind comprehensive welfare socialism, we know from a host of failed experiments that it leads to overextended state budgets, chronic inflation, lack of investment in production and, ultimately, shortages of foreign exchange, of the capital goods required for growth and a deterioration in the very circumstances the system was supposed to address.

Governments cannot allocate resources to redress social ills unless private business is allowed to create the wealth that is to be taxed.

These comments about socio-economic development and democracy seem logical to me, and are borne out by experience elsewhere in the world. The arguments, however, clearly do not "sell" themselves to black South Africans. None of the relevant actors on the scene will succeed unless there is effective political advancement.

Just as the international experience shows the hazards of reform which ignores the socio-economic dimension, so there are telling examples of socio-economic reform that ignores the political dimension.



☐ STEYN

I would suggest that some of the conditions for effective democracy are:

☐ Policies must be concrete. Policy must be spelt out in terms of specific intended effects that rank-and-file people can understand and relate to. Ideally, policies should also specify what they will cost and who will pay;

☐ A democracy must allow everyone the fullest access to debate and to criticise policies. Free competition in policy ideas is cardinal; and

☐ It follows, therefore, that there must be freedom to form political parties and to promote alternative policies. It should be unnecessary to add that there must be regular free elections under an impartial public administration.

The question then is: how to promote a political process that meets these requirements while avoiding the pitfalls involved in fundamental political change?

In the first place, the demands of black leaders of significance must be addressed seriously. At the very least, this entails urgent and visible attention to all racially discriminatorty legislation, including the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act.

It also means the facilitation of a free, open and competitive political debate in which the principles of freedom of asociation, assembly and the press are respected.

Secondly, leaders of all constituencies will need to rise above their historic antagonisms. They will have to become capable, above all, of understanding the demands and constraints under which all the different political programmes in SA have to operate and of identifying areas in which rapid progress is possible.

Thirdly, the pace of change cannot be determined by one group's requirements alone. The expectations and fears of all groups must determine the process. In turbulent circumstances, optimal speed is of the essence. A prolonged period of uncertainty will serve only to heighten fears and allow expectations to spiral out of control.

Fourthly, socio-economic reform must accompany political change in such a way as to support it.

The abolition of racial discrimination in the form of controls over movement of black people accompanied by the partial restoration of citizenship has made more urgent the search for solutions to the housing problem and the challenge of urban development. In turn, these socio-economic changes inevitably raise the issues of the racial zoning of land and the development of non-racial city-wide local government.

Finally, in the field of socio-economic reform, announcement of policy change is not sufficient. The government must implement policy change by entering into firm commitments about legislative change, the reallocation of resources and the development of effective delivery mechanisisms.

The Urban Foundation has no choice, but to press ahead and do what we can to address the relevant fundamentals — socio-economic development and the laws an regulations which inhibit it. High key political prospects are in the air and on everyone's lips, but we dare not neglect the sub-structures that could subvert all our hopes of political progress.

One cannot have good projects in a poor policy environment.

☐ Steyn is chairman of the Urban Foundation. This is an edited extract from his address to the foundations's AGM in Johannesburg yesterday.

B/Day 16/11/89

SA 'losing that economic war'

304A

IN SPITE of denials by government, SA is in the process of losing the economic war declared on the country by the international community.

Business Day Reporter

According to a report published by London-based Research Support and Marketing group, SA's weakened economy has become extremely sensitive to political decisions with no "fat" to act as a buffer against more international sanctions — particularly financial pressures.

The comprehensive 250-page report says a new political framework has become paramount in preventing a continued slide into Third World economic chaos.

"By the new year it is anticipated that the world will be complaining about the obduracy of F W de Klerk — whose likely delaying tactics will be designed not to prevent reform ocurring but to secure the best bargain he can for Afrikaners," the report says.

"Meanwhile, the external pressure on SA will be mounting, including pressure for increased sanctions, which De Klerk will try to avoid by making concessions."

Entitled Industry Under Siege, the report lists recent moves made by government to lift the "externals" of apartheid, including the release of Walter Sisulu and his fellow detainees, testing the water for the release of Nelson Mandela, negotiations for the enfranchisement of the non-electorate and the rescinding of laws guaranteeing white privilege, which have become too costly to maintain.

"The present level of sanctions is distorting the SA economy but is not as damaging, or as unwelcome to the SA authorities, as outsiders suppose.

"On the positive side it forces structural industrial changes which may be to the country's long-term benefit, causing industry to be rationalised into fewer, larger more competive production units," the report said.

This restructuring presents opportunities for foreign investors willing to take political risk on lucrative financial terms.

"Thus Taiwanese participation is under discussion for the new stainless steel project of Highveld and Samancor, in return for preferential customer treatment.

"Further foreign finance is needed for future public sector investment, and will certainly be sought for major mining investment in the nineties."

Invested

However, the report says, foreign monies will not be made available until SA has reformed sufficiently, while maintaining stability, to re-activate its economy.

The SA economy is now in a box — from which an increasing amount of "smart" money is somehow finding its way overseas. The rest is buying up foreign-owned assets in SA, or being invested in property and the JSE, the report says.

"There is insufficient industrial investment for the long-term good of the country, nor will there be sufficient until there is clear political direction which industry insists must be towards reform."

Revolution if whites cling to power — FW

Cape Times 17/4/89

30 KB

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA's white minority would face a revolution if it tried to cling to power, President F W de Klerk warned yesterday.

In an address to the President's Council, Mr De Klerk said his government was "deadly earnest" about creating a fair political system in SA and was "not interested in playing games".

Mr De Klerk said that in the two months since the inauguration of his new cabinet, "good progress" had been made in implementing a policy strategy.

"At the opening of Parliament early next year, we will be in a position to present a fairly detailed programme.

"Where possible, we will then give firm indications, over a broad spectrum, of specific steps which we envisage."

Mr De Klerk said the government's political opponents were making a mistake when they accused the government of playing "fine political games", playing for time and only attempting to change perceptions.

"We are not playing games and are not interested in playing games. We are in deadly earnest with regard to the road on which we have embarked.

"There is no alternative for SA but the road of reconciliation, of creating opportunities for all the people of this country in a way which is fair, just and equitable.

"For the white group, clinging to power means accepting the risk of — no, more than that, of facing — a revolution."

Nowhere else in the world had a minority clung to power without that result.

However, if there were forces who thought they could establish a situation in SA in which those who had already obtained freedom in a just manner would allow that freedom to be trampled and suppressed, they were making a serious mistake.

Mr De Klerk said the way of reconciliation was the road of give and take, of becoming involved in deep and intensive dialogue.

FW's move on petty apartheid welcomed

The State President's announcement on the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act has been widely welcomed — except by the Right wing — as a step towards restoring human rights, as recognition that apartheid is crumbling and as a victory for the MDM's defiance campaign.

The Democratic Party leaders yesterday declared their support for the State President and urged him to press forward with the repeal of all segregatory laws and the negotiation of a democratic constitution.

However, the Conservative Party said the anouncement destroyed guarantees which the Government had given whites.

"Mr de Klerk has now started to give effect to secret promises which he recently made overseas," its statement added.

Mass Democratic Movement leader Mr Murphy Morobe and Ms Gael Naeke of the Five Freedoms Forum said repeal of the Act would shift the focus of the defiance campaign to other areas affected by apartheid, such as health and education.

The national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, said his organisation was "delighted". It was the first initiative by Mr de Klerk which reinstated a human right which had been violated.

Transvaal Indian Congress president Mr Cassim Saloojee said every aspect of life in South Africa should be deracialised and conditions created within which all could participate in the political process.

Actstop spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia welcomed the proposed abolition of the Act, which was "an acknowledgement of a *de facto* situation created by mass struggle".

But the CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council has slated the pending scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act.

Management committee chairman Mr Gideon Fourie said: "This is nothing but an annihilation of human rights."

Many whites opposed integration and had to be provided with their own facilities, he said.

The mayors of the Strand and Gordon's Bay in the Cape, where beaches were for "whites only", welcomed the opening of all beaches. — Pretoria Correspondent-Political Reporter-Sapa.

What progress?

3044 Fmail 17/11/89

This will go down as the year of F W de Klerk. History will also record that a month after he became leader of the NP the Law Commission's seminal Working Paper on Group and Human Rights was published. De Klerk has been able to refer to the document as evidence of "the new SA" and the paper has flourished in the more hopeful atmosphere created by his coming to power.

Government reaction will be crucial. Only it has the power to implement a Bill of Rights. There will be no formal reaction, though, until government is presented with final recommendations — unlikely before the middle of 1990. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who instigated the report, gave an interview in July which hints, however, at how government sees the document.

He described it as magnificent and added that it provided the means for government to "trump" foreign critics who said it was incapable of delivering a more just society. He also noted that an entrenched Bill of Rights was an essential starting point for a system of non-dominance.

The official closing date for comment on the Working Paper was August 31 (but further comment is still welcome). Judge Pierre Olivier, project leader at the Law Commission, has been sifting through the many submissions. In a recent interview he highlighted those sections of the Draft Bill which attracted most comment.

Article 2 forbids discrimination on grounds of race, colour and other factors, but with a proviso allowing for affirmative action. Says Olivier: "It is said that it is not enough (in a country where certain communities are historically disadvantaged) to bring in a Bill of Rights with equality; you have to more or less give an advantage to the previously disadvantaged groups." People have criticised the proviso as reverse discrimination. Olivier replies: "I think the short answer to that could be that this is a form of benign discrimination and, if you want to redress inequalities, you have to have such a clause."

Article 15 — the right to private property. Here criticism has come mainly from the Left. It says this enshrines capitalism and stands in the way of redistribution of wealth. Olivier responds: "The point is this: whatever system you have, the right to private property is a basic, fundamental human aspiration. Even disadvantaged people, who may now wish to oppose the right to private property, once they have succeeded in obtaining the redistribution of wealth, the first thing that they would want is the right to private property. So it's not the principle that is wrong here, it is a question of tactics, of political footwork where this clause now stands in the way of a redistribution policy."

Article 20 — universal franchise. Olivier says nobody has attacked this clause outright but adds it is the "unspoken crux of the matter" for the Right. Writing in *Die Patriot* recently, CP leader Andries Treurnicht described the Draft Bill as a "reckless recipe for enslavement (*verslawing*). It is an evil denial (*miskenning*) of a people's right to self-determination."

Article 17 — the right to dissociate. This holds that if you want to discriminate privately on the grounds of race or colour, you are free to do so, but no State funds will be lent to you in order to practise discrimination. "The difference between differentiation and discrimination is a very fine one but, internationally, discrimination can be defined as a differentiation which results in unequal allocation or recognition of fundamental human rights," says Olivier. It was discriminatory, on this view, to have different schools for different racial groups, even if per capita funding was the same for all races. In this regard there is the famous American decision, *Brown v Board of Education,* which held that separate could never be equal.

An issue that emerges from the criticism of this Article is the importance of mother-tongue education. Olivier notes that "it is very clear that we should give further attention to the question of whether education in your mother tongue is not a fundamental human right and up to what standard; and if we shouldn't allow different schools for different languages on a voluntary basis." The current draft does not allow for this differentiation — an oversight, he says, due probably to the racial connotation which mother-tongue education has at present. "Take out the racial connotation and then it becomes legitimate."

Article 30 holds broadly that rights granted in the Bill may be limited if this is in the interests of the State security — but only in such measure and manner as would be acceptable in a democratic society. Many people approved of this Article, especially since Article 31 ensures that the Supreme Court should be arbiter in these matters. Others, however, considered it too vague and advised that specific guidelines should be laid down; for example, in what circumstances is detention without trial justifiable?

Another important idea being considered is the idea of a limited Bill of Rights. The Working Paper said the country must have a Bill of Rights as part of an eventual constitution that will come about as a result of negotiations. Some clauses, however, such as the right to privacy and physical integrity don't require negotiation — they are already part of common law — and hence could be implemented immediately. Others could be implemented in tandem with the abolition or amendment of legislation which violated that right.

Olivier says the commission has received submissions from all sectors of opinion. On the reaction of groups in exile, he says: "Up to this stage I have not been in contact with the banned ANC, but we know full well what the ANC's points of view are. I respect their views and will take note of them, certainly. Many people are going over to Lusaka, or Dakar or Harare and they tell us what the ANC says."

It is also likely Olivier received feedback from the recent conference in the UK on SA law. It was attended by the ANC, academics and certain Appellate Division judges. ■

Farmer's sentence shocks DP

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
and Staff Reporter

The Democratic Party has expressed shock at the eight-year sentence this week on a Naboomspruit farmer who beat a labourer to death and then buried him in a sack because he refused to run to fetch him beer and did not call him "baas".

DP justice spokesman Mr Dave Dalling said the sentence passed on Johannes Jacobus Leeb (27) for killing Mr Simon Snyders was a "glaring example of inappropriate sentencing" and he intended raising it in Parliament.

There were too many discrepancies in sentencing criminals for crimes, particularly when they related to crimes across the racial barrier, he said.

With time off for good behaviour, Leeb would be out of jail in 2½ years, he said.



Dr Andries Treurnicht



Professor Carel Boshoff



Mr Jaap Marais



Mr Jan Groenewald

Rightwing cauldron is a-boiling

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

IN a flurry of rightwing activity a new bid is being made for the most elusive prize in rightwing politics — the formation of a united front.

Activists in and around a variety of splinter groups have high hopes that the magic formula for rightwing unity has arrived — Swapo's election victory in Namibia, coupled with the release of prominent African National Congress prisoners in South Africa and President De Klerk's reform moves towards a "great indaba".

The combination of events is being seized as an opportunity to seek common ground by reviving the National Party-created *swart gevaar* bogeys from the "total onslaught" era.

Among the first to move is Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht who has been quick to recognise the ferment and bewilderment of the far right.

His party has announced a plan to call a national convention for early next year to bring together "all conservatives", particularly those outside party politics.

Meanwhile spokesmen for various splinter groups of the far right have welcomed the move. They told Weekend Argus they would like to participate, though some expressed misgivings about Dr Treurnicht's status and role in rightwing politics.

If the CP convention is to draw all rightist groups, the gathering will indeed include a weird political assortment, ranging from old-style apartheid fanatics to self-proclaimed fascists and neo-nazis.

FRINGE groups in white rightwing politics appear to have sprung up like mushrooms.

Only this week members of yet another new group calling itself the Afrikaner Fascist Coalition popped up at a "commemoration service" for mass murderer and self-proclaimed "Wit Wolf" Barend Hendrik Strydom at Pretoria's Strijdom Square. With them were members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Boerestaat Party.

Lesser-known groups also include the Wêreld Apartheidsbeweging and a neo-Nazi group called the Afrikaner Nasionale Sosialistebeweging. A Pretoria rightwinger, Mr Koos Vermeulen, is involved in both these groups.

Some of the more established groups — like the Boerevryheidsbeweging and the Boerestaat Party — are pushing the idea of a white homeland which, they claim, is gaining ground .

The Boerestaat idea is no joke, they say. Their Great White Hope lies in their vision of a state carved out of the present South Africa in the same way as independent black states had been carved out.

ADVOCATES of the idea claim the majority of rightwing movements want it and are fervently working to promote it. This is the common ground on which they hope to build rightwing unity.

Mr Jan Groenewald, chief secretary of the Boerevryheidsbeweging (BVB), put it like this: "We are going ahead to seek rightwing unity to secure our own territory for a national state."

The idea is to obtain a mandate from as many people as possible — perhaps by means of a petition — and to present this to the government.

Their claim is to be based on the preamble to the 1983 constitution "to respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples."

The whole plan has been set out in a document compiled by Dr Chris Jooste, vice-chairman of the BVB, and issued for general distribution by Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the rightwing Afrikaner-Volkswag (AVW).

Support for the white homeland idea has also come from within the Conservative Party.

At the CP's congress in Uvongo, Natal, this weekend a motion from South Coast calls on the party to reject government plans to extend power-sharing to black people and seeks acceptance of the white homeland principle.

A force behind moves to get rightwing splinter groups to bury their hatchets is Mr Manie Maritz, a former righthand man of the AWB's Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Mr Maritz, uncommitted to any political grouping, turned his back on Mr Terre'Blanche when the AWB leader fell from grace earlier this year.

Speaking from his farm near Brits in the Western Transvaal, Mr Maritz said he believed the time was now ripe for the formation of a rightwing front to pursue the Boerestaat ideal.

Events in Namibia were "cause for concern because we (South Africa) are going the same way."

AMONG those involved in the politics of the right are former high-ranking police officers, including a former security police chief, Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, and Colonel Servaas de Wet, a former district commandant in Cape Town and later divisional inspector in Krugersdorp.

Colonel De Wet, who retired from the SAP at the end of June this year, is now chairman of a relatively new rightwing movement, Magsaksie Afrikanernasionalisme (MAN), under the leadership of Mr Oscar Hartung of Pretoria.

Like many other rightwingers with roots in Nationalist politics of the "total onslaught" era, Colonel De Wet has visions of sinister forces closing in on South Africa.

After this week's Swapo election victory in Namibia, he told Weekend Argus: "The fires are burning closer to us. The Republic of South Africa is going to be next."

A veteran of rightwing politics, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, said the "sell-out" of whites in Namibia and the prospect of a similar development in South Africa through a "great indaba" involving the ANC could result in a new resurgence of rightwing political activity.

He said the last big opportunity for rightwing unity had been wasted by Dr Treurnicht when he refused to join forces with other rightwing groups before this year's general election.

> "We are going ahead to seek rightwing unity with a view to securing our own territory for a national state."

DP forms environment groups

THE Democratic Party has moved to form local environment groups. The first Democratic Environment Group (DEG) has been formed in the areas north of Johannesburg covering Sandton, Bryanston, North Rand and Randburg.

Its first public meeting takes place on Tuesday, 21st November at 8 pm at the Bryanston High School.

The meeting will be presided over by Mr Rupert Lorimer, MP for Bryanston and DP spokesman on the environment. A major topic on the agenda is noise pollution and the East-West concrete highway.

Provincial road engineers have been invited to attend.

Sub-committees will be formed to deal with different environmental topics. Members of the public will be invited to join the sub-committee of their choice.

An invitation has also been extended to any special interest group which can give specific input.

Glasnost is nice but perestroika is what counts

KEN OWEN B-day 20/11/89

UNLESS I am sadly mistaken, the blue-chip opponents of apartheid are about to be wrong-footed once again: President de Klerk has so dazzled us all with *glasnost* — the glad-handing stuff — that we have overlooked *perestroika*, which is the restructuring of the way the society functions.

Boere-*glasnost* gave us the smile, the reasonable manner, the Cape Town march, the release of Walter Sisulu and his companions, and the open beaches. In time, it will no doubt give us the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, perhaps the Land Acts, and (at least) a modification of the Group Areas Act.

Very nice, but it's money that buys the whisky, and the impact of Boere-*perestroika* is likely to be more profound. If I am reading the signs correctly, the National Party is embarking on the wholesale abandonment of the (national-) socialist policies that have made South Africa so similar in many respects to the Soviet Union.

We are about to get a refreshing dose of economic freedom, and many people will find it a cold shock.

The reasons for local *perestroika* are known, at least in outline, to most economically literate people: gold reserves have been run down in 20 years from 35-million ounces to less than 4-million ounces; social engineering, including well-meant schemes to industrialise the Bantustans, have allowed government to pre-empt two-thirds of the available capital in the country.

The economic return on opera houses and palatial municipal offices tends to be small, so the productivity of capital expenditures has been halved in a decade; the investment in sopranos, though nice for culture, did not produce the increase in national wealth that might have been expected if the same money had been invested in factories, so the tax base narrowed, and forced up our taxes at a time when our competitors were cutting theirs.

This, in turn, has made it impossible — in spite of the use of soldiers as tax-collectors — to gather enough revenue to cover current government expenditure, and government has borrowed to pay civil servants' salaries. Consequently, the state debt has in 15 years, doubled, and doubled again, and almost doubled a third time, soaring towards R70bn.

The interest on that debt, not surprisingly, now costs us nearly R10bn, which is more money than we could afford to give the SADF to fight a war, build a navy, design a fighter aircraft, make rockets, train an army, and do some random good works in Alexandra township.

Put differently, if ex-President Botha had been sufficiently well read to follow the advice of Mr Micawber (income 20 shillings; expenditure 19 shillings and sixpence; result happiness) we would have enough money to quintuple the size of the police force. As it is, crime overwhelms the police, the courts and the prisons.

The fact is that ex-President Botha's government behaved for a decade like drunken sailors, too stupid to know what they were doing, too idle to learn, and too reckless to give a damn. Economically, the country teeters on the edge of ruin, foreign investors flee, local money-making citizens emigrate, and the unemployed have become an army of potential recruits for any fool with a flag and a slogan.

As matters got worse, of course, the status of the "securocrats" — the word means "people who break things because they are not clever enough to think of other solutions" — has soared. So has the cost. The army has a budget of nearly R10bn, or R2 000 in taxes for every white man, woman and child in the country.

Does President de Klerk know what has happened? Does he understand how close we are to the condition that brought the mighty Soviet empire, the dread of the free world for half a century, to its knees? Does he know that *glasnost* is nice, but *pererstroika* is essential?

I suspect he does. Every government's economic planning is a tightly held secret but there have been some pretty firm indicators: firstly, Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals speaks for the major economic and financial portfolios in the Cabinet when he says that to fight inflation is a priority. He also speaks for them when he demands positive real interest rates.

Senior members of the Cabinet understand, too, that it is nonsense to talk of fighting inflation unless government expenditures are cut back. The army, having mislaid a war, is an obvious candidate for immediate budget cuts but I have heard senior Nationalists raise the question: who is now the enemy?

Our neighbours are likely to find, now that the Soviet Union and its satellites are abandoning Africa, that it is very difficult to find squadrons of MiG jets or T62 tanks, partly used and going cheap, even if they can come up with the cash. South Africa may not need that fancy new fighter aircraft after all. At least, that's what some people are saying in the Cabinet.

Then, too, the whole Bantustan idea is obsolete. There really isn't much need to refill the Department of Foreign Affairs' special little pork barrel (budget, R2,75bn) from which to feed the "independent" Bantustans. Still less is there any need for the expenditure of R5bn on development aid, which covers such wasteful nonsense as bringing black areas "towards self-determination".

Other clues to *perestroika* may be found from close observation of government. For example, the SA Transport Services are cutting back subsidies on some cargoes which compelled them to charge exorbitant tariffs on other cargoes. The result is to put some new competitive pressure on road hauliers, who don't like what is happening.

Businesses that depend on government subsidies (through tax write-offs) for such things as imported capital equipment had better take careful note of the way the wind is blowing. The alternative to central government intervention in the economy, whether socialist, or dirigiste, or simply paternalistic, is the free market.

We are plainly moving towards a market system, and many protected species of South Africans will find that the wind blows cold. Iscor's privatisation is part of it; so is the freeze on capital expenditures imposed on Eskom and the Post Office; so, more fundamentally, is the regime of positive real interest rates, and the tightening of credit.

When Kent Durr, Minister of Tourism, responded to a fuss over special air fares by abolishing the Travel Agents' Board, it was more than a bit of bureaucratic tidying. It was the new wind blowing.

There is no need, however, to get lost in the detail. The thrust of policy is to restore to the economy, to government and to the private sector the opportunities and disciplines of the free market. Many old-style opponents of apartheid will lament, and beat their breasts, and the welfare lobbies will wail as loudly as the protected industrialists, but for the country as a whole it is the dawn of hope.

This column will be suspended for the holiday season. It will resume in January.

Joyful end to Boksburg boycott

Cape Times 20/11/89

BOKSBURG. — A year-long boycott of white shops in Boksburg, conducted in protest at the reimposition of petty apartheid, ended in a joyful mood on Saturday when more than 800 coloured residents of Reiger Park mounted a car cavalcade into the city's commercial area.

Packed buses, cars and vans — many draped with colourful posters and banners — were led by members of the Save Boksburg Committee, the organisation that staged the protest, into the city centre, where they alighted, shook hands with managers of shops and browsed about.

"This is our victory day. We have shown that we cannot be taken for granted. We have been on this defiance campaign for little more than a year. And with the people fully behind us, we have shown that we will not bow down to the dictates of the Conservative Party-controlled town council," said a jubilant Mr Danny Cassel, a leading member of the Committee's executive.

Scores of shoppers, wearing a variety of political T-shirts, were greeted by smiling managers who earlier had placed signs in their windows welcoming back the Reiger Park residents.

Youths walked along the streets congratulating and smiling at scores of white shoppers, many of whom returned the joyful gestures.

Hundreds of other whites congregated outside office blocks and stared from windows as they watched the peaceful gathering move around the city centre.

No incidents were reported, despite the CP-council refusing to back down on the question of harsher apartheid in the city. However, it is virtually powerless in the face of the announcement by state president, Mr F W de Klerk, that the Separate Amenities Act would be repealed as soon as possible.

After about four hours, the residents gathered outside the city council building, boarded their vehicles and left for the township, where preparations were being made for a celebration.

"This day has shown the people of Boksburg that we can move forward together towards a non-racial South Africa where everyone will be judged on merit and not on the colour of their skin," said Mr Cassel.

The boycott of Boksburg's shops began in October 1988, when the council decided to ban residents from a local lake as well as to restrict the use of council facilities to whites only. — Sapa

Doubts over Act

QUESTION marks have been placed over President FW de Klerk's announcement this week that he intends scrapping the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act as soon as possible.

SOWETAN Reporter

The Government's determination to scrap beach apartheid immediately is not doubted and has been welcomed.

But the Democratic Party has expressed fears that the Government may be trying to bring apartheid in again through the back door in other areas which it describes as sensitive.

The National Party has countered by saying that it has embarked on a genuine new policy to open facilities - but there may be some exceptions. .

This emerged after statements by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel at a Press conference to clarify De Klerk's announcement.

He said that under its new amenities policy the Government could continue to reserve some facilities for members of certain communities.

Kriel said that the National Party's distinction between differentiation and discrimination still held good.

The vested rights of communities would still be protected under the new policy.

For instance the community of Elsies River had a vested right to the community swimming pool there and to protect this right, access to the pool could be restricted to members of the community.

Kriel said community pools were one of the sensitive areas which De Klerk had mentioned in his announcement of the scrapping of the Act.

Mr De Klerk said fitting measures to deal with these sensitive areas would have to be agreed to before the Act could be repealed.

FW in talks

SOWETAN Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk held "constructive" talks at the Union Buildings here yesterday with the head of the Zionist Church Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya and the head of the Reformed Independent Churches Association Mr Isaac Mokoena.

Mr de Klerk said afterwards that the two church leaders - representing several independent churches with a membership of several million people, had expressed appreciation for the Government's programme of reform and renewal and shared the Government's view that reform should be orderly.

They had also criticised the Government and expressed the need for the Government urgently to remove remaining discrimination.

Mr de Klerk said they had also strongly emphasised that the diversity of cultures in South Africa should be recognised in any constitutional dispensation and that they did not stand for any system in which minority rights - black or white - would be swamped.

They expressed appreciation too for the work done by the security forces to safeguard the interests of peace loving South Africans.

Top SA names on Paris indaba guest list

LONDON. — A powerful contingent of prominent South Africans, including Mr Chief Justice Corbett, the leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor Pieter de Lange, and Dr Wimpie de Klerk, brother of President F W de Klerk, are on a list to attend next week's Paris "Indaba" on South Africa.

An apparently authentic list of some 50 names, some of which were crossed out, was revealed to Sapa here yesterday, breaking days of close secrecy on the identity of more than 100 South Africans expected to attend and debate the political future of the country with the exiled African National Congress.

Top businessmen who have accepted the invitations include Johannesburg Consolidated Investments head, Dr Murray Joubert, Mr Christo Nel, of the Free Market Foundation, and Mr Neil Chapman, the executive director of Southern Life Assurance company. Dr Johan Rupert, son of Dr Anton Rupert of the Rembrandt group, was also listed.

One of the South African organisers of the Paris conference and Idasa executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, was not able to confirm the attendance of Anglo American head Mr Gavin Relly while Anglo spokesmen were not immediately available.

The guest list contained the names of many anti-apartheid activists, as expected, but included some of the prominent captains of the economic sector and leading academics.

Prof Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGK is on the list, but the name of KwaZulu's leader, Chief Magosuthu Buthelezi, has been crossed off.

Similarly crossed off are the names of Dr Chris Stals, governor of the Reserve Bank and Dr Conrad Strauss, head of the Standard Bank.

It is not clear from the undated list whether the scratchings indicate invitations turned down or a change of mind by organisers.

No comment could be immediately obtained

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from Frances-Liberte, the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, which is hosting the conference.

Although the South African government would not be directly represented, a number of prominent guests who would attend had easy access to the Union Buildings, it was indicated.

Church leader Dr Allan Boesak tops the list of prominent anti-apartheid campaigners arriving from South Africa.

Passport and other restrictions under the state of emergency were lifted yesterday for one of the delegates, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, of the UDF.

Under present restrictions he is not allowed to attend gatherings, leave his magisterial district — Johannesburg — or give interviews to journalists.

Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will not be attending, due to other engagements.

Neither ranking ANC and SACP member Mr Govan Mbeki nor the UWC's Professsor Jakes Gerwell would be available to attend.

Recently-released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, will likewise be unable to attend due to pressures of appearances in the Southern Africa region.

Part of the "large academic contingent" who have accepted include the vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor R Charlton, and the chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Professor Stuart Saunders.

Mr Wynand Malan, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, is also named.

Two of the South African delegates due to attend the talks, the UDF's Mr Mercy Ndo and the general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Rampaphosa, are currently in Lusaka for talks concerning the Paris meeting and are due to return to South Africa briefly before leaving for France.

The 26-strong MDM delegation also includes the general-secretaries of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Jay Naidoo, and the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe.

France-Libertes is keeping the list of 110 South African guests a close secret until the start of the November 27 to December 2 meeting.

Business Day editor Mr Ken Owen is to make a speech at the conference, while a number of representatives from South Africa's "alternative press", such as the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, have also been invited to attend. — Sapa

● 25 ANC officials to join talks on SA — Page 9

Raj meets President

THE State President Mr F W de Klerk had a meeting in his Union Building offices on Tuesday with the leader of the National Peoples' Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

A spokesman for De Klerk said it had been a private visit at Rajbansi's request.

No statements were forthcoming. - Sapa.

Threshold to negotiations

South 23-29/11/89 SOUTH



Cyril Ramaphosa with ANC leader Walter Sisulu

The release of the Rivonia trialists last month raised questions about the future of the ANC leadership and the negotiations process. In an interview with Leadership's Paul Bell, NUM's general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa outlines the "necessary political threshold" that government must cross before negotiations can begin, and explains the dynamics of the ANC-MDM relationship. Excerpts follow:

Q: What is your general view of President De Klerk and his initiatives so far?

CR: A new man, having come to power, is trying to show the people of South Africa and the world that he is a new broom, that he is committed to reforming South Africa. But he still has the legacy of the past. He is still part and parcel of the National Party machinery which is still committed to apartheid, although the rhetoric appears to be against apartheid and for its abolition.

So you're not taking their word for it at this stage?

No. They have not yet crossed the necessary political threshold.

How do you define that threshold?

That the defining of South Africans in terms of groups should be abandoned. We would like to create a South African nationhood. The diversity of our cultures should unite and enrich, rather than divide, our nation.

You emphasise the group factor rather than, as one might have expected, the matter of power. I take it you believe that it is within the group concept that power relationships are defined.

Indeed. If you go by De Klerk's formula, the white sector will remain intact as a group, whether it be Afrikaner, Jew or Portuguese. But black people will be subdivided into neat little ethnic compartments, so that ultimately the whites will retain power, irrespective of our wishes.

Even so, you have got De Klerk, who quite obviously represents a very different style. You'd accept that?

Very different, but only in style, not in content.

Nevertheless, does that not give you something to work with?

The face we see of De Klerk is very different from that of PW, the finger-wagging man. But we have not yet seen his political strategy for South Africa. If De Klerk is trying to deal with these problems, he is not doing so in a way that will evoke the type of response he wants from our people.

He says his door is wide open, but behind that door are Group Areas, Separate Amenities, detentions, restrictions, and a lot more besides. He is still essentially tied to the apartheid system. If we go through that door now, we fear we will be caught in a quagmire.

He has released political prisoners, he has allowed marches to go on, he has said he wants to lift the state of emergency, to unban organisations — which we take to include the ANC, or else it would be meaningless. He has said these organisations must give some form of commitment that there will be no return to the violence of 1984-85 and its attendant evils like necklacing, etc.

He is throwing the ball into our court. We say you can't do that; that is an apartheid way of operating.

We perceive some signs on government's part that it wants to move forward, but the problem is, they talk with forked tongues. They are not coming out clearly.

It could be argued, if he has not indicated a direction, that he either has not had much time or regards the enunciation of one as inimical to a negotiation process where everything should be on the table.

Government is already saying they will negotiate with whoever is in favour of a peaceful solution. The ANC and the MDM have always been in favour of that. That is on record. They are again throwing the ball in our court. We say no, there cannot be talks about talks until the climate for negotiation has been made conducive.

Creating that climate means they have to unban organisations. We cannot talk to De Klerk about unbanning the ANC until he does it. We cannot talk to him about releasing political prisoners until he does it. He has to fulfill certain conditions before there can be any negotiation.

If the ANC were to go to talks about talks, it would be doing so without a mandate from the people. The ANC has to obtain a very clear mandate from our people before it can enter into any form of talks.

Do you intend to begin gathering that mandate at your Conference for a Democratic Future planned for December?

No, it will not be a mandate gathering. It will be to explain the views of our people as a whole on the question of negotiation.

We have been developing a strategy on the question of negotiations and how the necessary climate should be created. We are all discussing the OAU document.

As far as the MDM is concerned, the approach is that negotiations should be seen by our people as another arena of struggle.

In proceeding to negotiations we have to take our people with us. We have to be accountable to all people, through various structures from grassroots level upwards.

We have to have representatives properly mandated to sit at the negotiating table. In other words, there must be mass approval, mass action, as we proceed to the negotiating table. Our people must understand fully what is being discussed.

At a mass level they must be able to approve or disapprove the various proposals that may emanate from the negotiators they will have elected. Nor should anyone expect this process to be over quickly: negotiations will be protracted.

Are people perhaps under a misapprehension that once talks begin, pressure will end?

To us negotiations is not an end in itself. It is a process which will lead to a strategic objective. So we do not see the massive upsurge of our people stopping when negotiations commence.

Gerrit Viljoen, government's negotiator-in-chief, indicated to Leadership Magazine last month that he foresaw, as a prelude to the negotiations, a process in which black people would elect leaders to represent them in negotiations. Under what conditions would the MDM and the ANC be prepared to contemplate participation in that?

I think the premise the government is working on is misguided. To prescribe that we elect black representatives is unacceptable, in that it is premised on racism. We would not regard representatives elected in this way as authentic. The ANC and MDM have several white members and supporters. We will refuse to hold an election for Africans only.

It has been hinted that, under certain circumstances, the MDM might consider dropping the boycott strategy if it felt it had sufficient control over the relevant political ground. So, if government's premise is wrong, what would be the correct one in terms of putting together a negotiation structure and electing representatives to that structure?

I am sure that the ANC, when unbanned, will prove beyond doubt that it enjoys mass support. Support for the ANC, which already runs into millions, will immediately be seen to be overwhelming. Millions of people, including whites and people in the independent homelands, would immediately become card-carrying members.

The release of the political prisoners has highlighted the profile of the ANC; it has shown, even to government, that the ANC has to play centre stage at the negotiations.

Once that has been arrived at, the ANC will be the key negotiator representing the people.

The best way of getting the negotiation machinery off the ground is to put together a constituent assembly. Then you have elections on a national basis. De Klerk appears to dismiss this out of hand because he fears the ANC will win overwhelming support.

It is a long road. The interesting thing is that government has shifted position, I do not know how many times, on the question of the ANC and negotiations.

The ANC has remained consistent, and the OAU document crystallises discussions which have taken place over the years. The issues covered in the document do not deviate from the positions adopted and upheld by the ANC over the years.

Government, on the other hand, shows it is confused and lacks direction. It has shifted its position to the point where it now accepts the need for a new constitution which will cover all people in South Africa.

This is a definite shift. But they have not done it out of the kindness of their hearts. They have done it as a result of massive national and international pressure. But again and again, government wishes to prescribe how this constitution is to come about.

Discipline and non-violence are the two cornerstones of the MDM/ANC's new strategy. Can you make them stick?

They are sticking now.

The leadership of the ANC would always have preferred a struggle conducted with great discipline and without violence. They resorted to the armed struggle because other avenues were closed.

We are saying that our struggle should be conducted in a disciplined fashion. Non-violence fits in with our hopes of achieving a free and democratic South Africa and our commitment to peace. But the ANC resorted to violence because it was up against a brutal government which uses violence to suppress the people of South Africa who are demanding their rights.

Anyone who was out at the Sisulu home in Soweto in the week following the release of the Rivonia trialists cannot fail to have seen the National Reception Committee, which appears to constitute the effective leadership of the MDM, involved in meeting after meeting, obviously to decide on strategy. Can you outline where you are going in the next few months, as we move further into this pre-negotiation period?

Our strategy is guided by the goal of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, to be achieved through disciplined struggle involving the masses of our people. This strategy includes the strengthening of the structures of the MDM to meet the challenges that are beginning to unfold.

The defiance campaign, which has been resoundingly successful, proved to government that it no longer has the initiative, this is in the hands of the people. We are now moving to the Conference for a Democratic Future where other strategies will be evolved.

Are these tactics that go beyond the defiance campaign?

They could go way beyond the defiance campaign. The release of our leaders means that our people are going to be propelled into mass activity through the structures that are being resuscitated, rejuvenated and rebuilt. These leaders are going to take their rightful place in our struggle.

Some of the new tactics will be in response to the state's strategies which, as we see them now, are aimed at demobilising our people. Negotiations are being dangled as a carrot which the regime hopes our people will latch onto and think that government is serious and genuine and wants to come to terms with our demands.

But we know that government wants to have a negotiated settlement on its own terms.

So, you intend to make it clear there is no way government can continue with the group approach. What kinds of strategies are you developing to that end?

Many of our organisations are already thinking about a post-apartheid South Africa — how it should look — and a lot of research and discussion is already under way.

We will draw extensively on the wisdom of our leaders, who are men of great stature. They have spent their years in prison analysing developments and projecting into the future. That is where they are going to play an invaluable role in the development of this country.

In terms of the overall leadership structure, what is the present relationship between those who have just been released, those who have led the struggle within the country, and those who remain abroad? Where is headquarters?

Headquarters are still in Lusaka. Sisulu has made that very clear. We are not going to have two ANCs.

When the leaders were released, several people, government included, thought, now would be the time to allow an above-ground, internal ANC.

That is not on. It would divide the movement: it would be seen as the bad fellows outside and the good and moderate fellows inside.

Who does one call the leader of the ANC today? Is there such a person, or is it a collective leadership?

It is collective leadership. The leadership of the ANC is vested in a National Executive Committee, and Oliver Tambo is the president, but he acts within the collective and speaks on behalf of the ANC. Decisions are arrived at collectively.

How do you interpret Mr Mandela's continued incarceration? Is it he or government that will determine his release date?

Mandela is not a prisoner of his own volition; he is imprisoned because the authorities put him there. Mandela would like to come out of prison and participate in ushering in a new South Africa. The main issue is, government does not at the present moment have the political will and courage to release him.

They have now released seven senior ANC leaders, and there hasn't been an outbreak of violence. Everything has been conducted in a very disciplined way. On the MDM's side, we can't wait to have Mandela among our leaders. We are ready to have him released into our hands.

When Mr Mandela is released, what will his status be within the struggle?

Once he is released and the processes start unfolding, he is one of those people who may have to be considered for a leadership position in the ANC.

Do you now, perhaps for the first time, have a real sense that your freedom is near?

I believe that the things we are doing are meaningful because our people are beginning to think and function in an effective political way.

They are listening to what De Klerk is saying and not dismissing it out of hand, but considering it; they are critically analysing and interpreting events as they unfold. I am convinced that freedom is within our reach.

Business urged to join forces with the masses

CM- Tim 23/11/89

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By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

BUSINESS must avoid falling into the trap of forming a partnership with government, Pierre du Toit, a partner in accounting firm Arthur Andersen, warned at the Cape Times Businessman of the Year lunch yesterday.

Instead, it should form a partnership with the masses who were both its workforce and its customers and whose sheer numbers gave them power.

Du Toit also called for a Taxpayers' Charter, on the lines of those in Britain and Canada, which would restore an element of trust and a belief in fairness to the tax system.

"Economically that trust becomes vital to the survival of the tax system and thus to the economic survival of our society and ultimately to the survival of society itself. Loss of that trust will cause the tax system ultimately to become an instrument of impoverishment and decline.

"In a SA where we already have to ensure our economic survival in the face of continued international isolation we have to maximise our resources, and for that we need to bring trust back into our tax system.

"Also," Du Toit continued, "politically we need to bring trust back into the tax system Disenfranchised, or at best malenfranchised, communities of colour are increasingly becoming part of our tax world and we dare not exacerbate the cry of 'No taxation without representation' with mistrust in the tax system itself."

He called for a Taxpayers' Charter — "a formal serious statement from the authorities as regards tax administration.

"The UK already has such an instrument. Canada is another example. While neither has enforceability as such in a court of law, it is generally considered that they have assumed a practical importance which has contributed to trust between those authorities and their taxpayers.

"In those instruments especially procedural issues are dealt with. Taxpayers are guaranteed their right to a fair hearing They are presumed to be honest until the opposite is proved. They are promised the right of equal treatment in comparable circumstances.

"They are guaranteed courtesy. More fundamentally, they are granted, explicitly, their right within the law to reduce their tax burden. And equally importantly, they are assured that those who seek to escape their share of the burden through illegal means will be brought to justice."

Discussing the need to avoid a business partnership with the government, and to form one with the masses, Du Toit said: "One does not need to be in partnership to encourage and powerfully support what one finds good in government.

"At the same time, not being in partnership enhances the ability to resist and oppose that which one finds cruel and counter-productive."

Du Toit said the present era was one of hope and expectation. "But one fears, especially overseas, unrealistic expectation. When the probably equally unrealistic disillusionment sets in — as it will — business cannot afford to have the world community see it as partner to that perceived disillusionment.

"If that happens, business will finally have been lost as possibly our last umbilical cord with the civilized world outside."

Du Toit said that business and "the people, the workers, the masses" were the two main power bases in SA.

Business was the engine of wealth, money. Even the government was subject to that power because without business there was no wealth, no tax and no government.

The masses were the people who "dig our raw materials, work our factories, drive our distribution trucks, man our tills. They also buy our goods, use our services, directly or indirectly spend money in our businesses.

"And," continued Du Toit, "they have the numbers. In the inescapable, inexorable, irreversible, undeniable force of their numbers lies the other power."

The partnership between the two should start with business being more active in the management of this country.

It must praise government for "doing right by our new partners". It must protest, oppose and resist any harm done to them.

Such a partnership made good business sense. "Business has the money. The people have the future. In partnership business can bring wealth to their future. They can bring a future to the wealth of business.

"If we do that, we may still become a tripartite partnership — one between business, an accepted government and all the people of a peaceful and prosperous SA."

THE FW VERSION OF REFORM

304A

W Mail. 24-30/11/89

New clothes for the old empire

THE Nationalist leadership, trapped by a deep ideological, and very expensive, commitment to the homeland system, is now trying to remodel that long-standing policy a little.

But despite yet another attempt to give the non-independent homelands a new name — Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said this week they could become provincial or regional governments — not much is changing in reality.

And ignoring the escalating cost and chequered history in the "independent" homelands, where there are two official one-party systems — Ciskei, which also has a life president, and Venda; one *de facto* one-party system in Bophuthatswana and a military government in Transkei — the government remains thoroughly committed to propping up their unique status.

Particularly as all the extra-parliamentary groups and many in-system groups insist on the abolition of the homelands system as one of the fundamental starting points for any meaningful negotiations, the government's obsession with perpetuating the homelands structures is somewhat strange.

Talk of the miniscule but overcrowded two-part QwaQwa becoming a provincial government for people classified as "black" but without incorporating adjacent towns and areas between the two parts of the homeland in the "white" areas, such as Harrismith and Fouriesburg, is frankly laughable.

Viljoen's thoughts, if implemented, would be race-based "own affairs" at its absurdist.

Equally, a kaNgwane provincial government without Nelspruit and Barberton or a Lebowa province without Pietersburg would simply be the old separate development concept under a new name.

Of course, this is not where the government is heading right now. It sees the non-independent homelands as the basis for black "own affairs" units and a core element of the new constitutional negotiating structures it wants to set up.

Viljoen has made this clear in the past. Earlier this year, he told *Leadership* magazine: "I think it is accepted today that these territories ... have autonomy over 'own affairs' that are readily geographically identifiable."

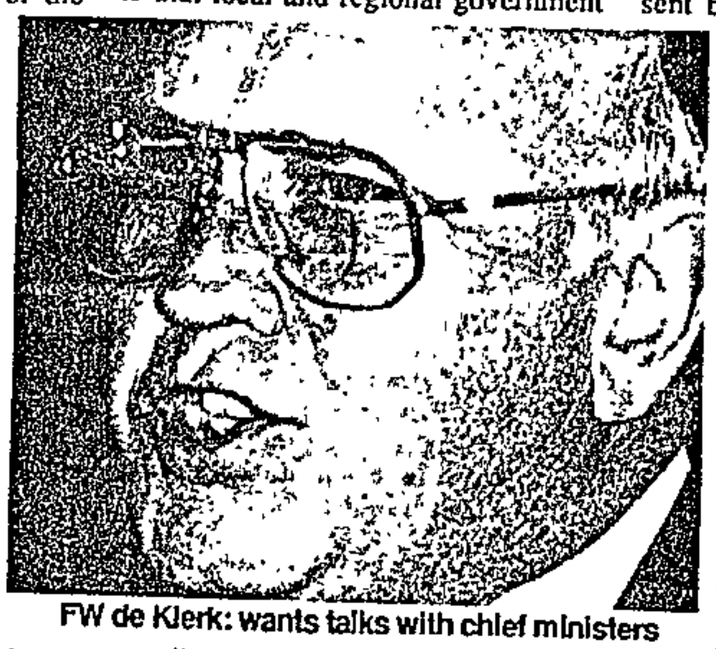
As he explained to the NP congress in the Cape in July, the group differences are "accommodated in the NP policy of self-determination by division of power and the diversion of power in a non-discriminatory way".

Apartheid's holy writs are being shredded one by one, but a key element remains untouched: the homelands system. In theory, the difference is that the homelands now form the basis for black 'own affairs' units. In reality, the old divide-and-rule remains

Self-determination, he added, ensured the protection of minorities and the prevention of domination by one group over another.

"In this connection, the NP still acknowledges the principle of own administrations for the different population groups, of autonomous self-governing areas (still with the choice of becoming independent although at present this does not seem very likely) and of own local managements for the different groups," Viljoen said.

Clearly, what the government means is that local and regional government over "own affairs" must continue to be racially divided and that some non-discriminatory structure for "general affairs" must be negotiated. In short, the homelands, whether they are called national states or provincial governments, must remain in place.



FW de Klerk: wants talks with chief ministers

On top of that, the government believes the homeland leaders are the legitimate, democratically-chosen leaders of the people in those areas. It wants the chief ministers of the six non-independent homelands to represent those people in the constitutional talks.

As President FW de Klerk told the Cape Nationalists in July: "The NP insists that all the recognised leaders in our country, who are committed to peaceful solutions, must be afforded the opportunity to be engaged in talks and negotiations.

"I say here today we will not allow propagandists to undermine the legitimacy of leaders who have the courage to play a constructive role through participation, notwithstanding divergent points of view. We respect them and we acknowledge their contribution and right to play their legitimate role in the process of building a new South Africa," De Klerk explained.

Indeed, Viljoen tried to persuade the QwaQwa cabinet this week that its chief minister, Kenneth Mopeli, should be the democratic representative of the QwaQwa people ("citizens" in the old lingo), at the negotiations.

The QwaQwa cabinet, however, opposed this proposal and called for nation-wide elections to chose representatives.

What the government has in mind that the chief ministers should represent the six non-independent homelands, white, coloured and Indian MPs should represent those race groups and some method must be negotiated to chose represent black people outside the homelands.

And the people in the four "independent" homelands will be out of the process. As Viljoen put it this week, those areas are not on the agenda.

It is all so easy, really.

Viljoen put it so nicely to *The Star* last week: "We must start with reality as it is now." The government's view was the whites, Indians and coloureds had already identified their leaders through elections, he explained. The fact that less than 20 percent of the people classified as "coloured" and slightly more than 20 percent of those people classified as "Indian" voted in September 6 elections and the fact that the election process in the homelands, where the legislative assemblies are dominated by government-paid non-elected chiefs, is anything but democratic is simply ignored.

Indeed, the only concession the government has made away from its original race-based approach is some vague talk about an "open" group which at this stage will not be represented anywhere.

The rest is firmly rooted in "own affairs" and groups.

Despite the new names and lingo, the homelands are to stay. They might be called provincial governments but they will be for blacks and blacks only. And, which ever way one looks at it, government thinking on the homelands issue has demonstrated that negotiations, which are not based on groups, remain a long way off.

Boksburg's CBD is opened to all raees

B/Day 24/11/89

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Boksburg's CBD was thrown open to all races after an announcement here yesterday by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel.

He said a proclamation had been signed by President F W de Klerk declaring the CBD, other areas in the municipality and parts of Reiger Park as free trading areas.

Kriel said government hoped Boksburg's negative image locally and abroad was now something of the past.

Businessmen and the community had paid a high price for the image.

Government, he added, was confident investment confidence in Boksburg would now flourish and that a prosperous future awaited the town.

Kriel said the issue had been under consideration since 1986. But the necessary investigations and consultations had been completed recently.

Inputs had come from the previous and present town council, organised commerce and industry, individual businessmen, local MPs and other interest groups. It was against this background the decision to declare almost all the advertised areas as free trading areas was taken.

EDYTH BULBRING reports that Boksburg NP MP Sakkie Blanche said yesterday he was pleased and excited by the announcement.

He was grateful government had recognised that Boksburg residents had given government a mandate for reform.

Blanche said he hoped De Klerk would make the announcement declaring Windmilll Park a free settlement area soon.

He believed the decision had already been made, but that De Klerk would include other areas when making the announcement.

Visits by Cabinet members discussed

CAPE TOWN — Released SA Communist Party stalwart Govan Mbeki and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela spent some of their three-hour meeting yesterday speaking about visits paid to Mandela by Cabinet ministers.

Mbeki, 79, arrived at Paarl's Victor Verster prison, where Mandela is being held in a house on the grounds, at 11am and left at 2.40pm. He held an impromptu Press conference at the prison entrance after the meeting.

Mbeki last saw Mandela in June when he was still under a restriction order. This was the first time he was able to give details of a visit to the Press.

He answered questions openly but diplomatically fielded questions on details of the visits to Mandela by government ministers. He said he and the jailed leader discussed a number of issues but the main topic was develoments arising from discussions between Mandela and these Cabinet members.

Mbeki said he could not disclose what was said about the visits and added details would be disclosed at a time "most opportune to his (Mandela's) organisation". He said he would be reporting back to his colleagues at a rally in Umtata on Sunday, where he and Walter Sisulu, are to speak. — Sapa.

Council fury at Boksburg trade turnabout

Argus 24/11/85 3044

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Boksburg's businessmen are delighted by the sudden turn of events after President De Klerk's announcement that the town's central business district and parts of Reiger Park would become free trading areas.

The Conservative Party-controlled East Rand town was declared an open trading area by President De Klerk last night, a move that has infuriated the council as much as it has delighted retailers, especially Indian traders who will no longer need to hide their business ownership behind white nominees.

The proclamation, promulgated in Pretoria, came as speculation mounted that the government was planning a major move in Boksburg in the wake of the jubilant return last weekend of coloured and black shoppers to the town. They returned following President De Klerk announcing his intention to scrap the Separate Amenities Act.

The business boycott, which resulted in shops closing and many people losing their jobs, took place after the CP-controlled town council imposed petty apartheid regulations on the town shortly after winning the municipal elections there in October last year.

Last night, in a statement issued by Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, the government said it hoped the decision would end "the negative image attributed to Boksburg, both locally and abroad, an image for which businessmen and the community paid a high price".

The chairman of Boksburg's Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johan Fourie, said the move was a welcome response to years of pressure by businessmen and commercial organisations to open trade in the town.

"Free enterprise can now take its proper place in Boksburg."

"UNDEMOCRATIC"

However, the Conservative Party has reacted with fury over the government's "totally undemocratic" practices regarding Boksburg.

The chairman of the council's management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, said: "If this is the method they are using, it is the beginning of the end of the white nation in South Africa. The National Party is destroying the purpose of our town council — to act on the mandate of those who voted us in."

Mr Mohammed Navsa, chairman of the Save Boksburg Committee, reacted coolly to the news.

"It is yet another example of legislation lagging behind reality. Indians have been trading in Boksburg for years and in terms of the status quo there has been no dramatic change. Why is the government talking peacemeal changes instead of real reform?" he said.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, the DP's spokesman on constitutional planning, warned yesterday that while the proclamation might bring a degree of relief to some business entrepreneurs in Boksburg, the government could not hope to solve South Africa's problems "in this peacemeal fashion".

Councillors get R1,7m less

EDYTH BULBRING

DESPITE increases in renumeration of President's Councillors, the State was saving about R30 000 a member, or R1,7m a year, a statement from the President's Office said yesterday.

The R15 000 a year salary, R150 a day subsistence allowance on days when the councillors were sitting, the R295 for each sitting, of which there were 60 a year and R4 600 annual pension contribution brought the 56 councillors' package to R46 300 a year.

Councillors used to receive R251 per sitting and R100 subsistence allowances. The increases, decided this month, were backdated to September this year.

President F W de Klerk cut back on costs of the President's Council in September, down-grading the positions to part-time posts and almost halving their salaries.

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NOBODY
CAN
MANAGE

Boksburg's CP leader warns of backlash

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

IF white people were pushed beyond the point of resistance, they would make what the ANC had done look tame by comparison, the leader of Conservative Party caucus in the Boksburg Town Council, Mr T J Ferreira, warned yesterday.

The right of white people to decide their own future was being taken away, he said in reaction to the government's decision to open Boksburg's central business district to all races.

He also predicted that schools would be opened to all races by the end of next year.

Mr Ferreira, who is helping with the CP campaign in the Ceres by-election, said in an interview: "I don't belive the whites are running South Africa any more.

"It is the masses, the MDM and the ANC and Nelson Mandela with his little fax machine in jail who are running South Africa. He (Mr Mandela) is ruling us from there."

He made a scathing attack on President F W de Klerk, said he was "a Hitler" who had ignored the elected town council of Boksburg, in spite of promises to the contrary, by opening the town's CBD.

Mr De Klerk was so "mad about reform" that he did not take into account the feelings of the white population of South Africa.

"I don't want to say it, but his initials really stand for 'Farewell Whiteman' De Klerk.

"He, De Klerk, has appeared in a photograph with Tutu and Boesak but he refused to be photographed with Terre'Blanche.

"That should tell whites a lot."

Mr Ferreira described the opening of Boksburg's CBD as "sickening" and said there was considerable unhappiness in Boksburg about the decision.

Earlier, he said that crime had returned since "the coloureds" had decided to come back to Boksburg.

His own business, which had never been broken into before, was robbed of R7 000 on Thursday night and his wife's car was stolen last weekend.

He said: "I don't think there has been a boycott for the last 12 months.

"I can't see how they can say the boycott is over just because 700 people come into Boksburg. It doesn't mean anything."

Weekend Argus SPECIAL REPORT

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

Afrikaner explorers see a path to peace through Africa



APARTHEID has been a tragic waste; whatever remains of it must be scrapped if South Africa is to come to terms with Africa.

And black Africa is ready to accept a new apartheid-free South Africa restructured on democratic lines.

This is a central message from members of a group of South African academics after talks with leaders in African states — including representatives of the African National Congress (ANC).

Their impressions, though alarming in some respects, offer fresh hope for a breakthrough in the bid for peace in southern Africa.

The group included Mr Wilhelm Verwoerd, a grandson of the architect of apartheid, former Prime Minister Dr H F Verwoerd.

AND this is how the new-generation Verwoerd perceived some of the effects of apartheid on neighbour states:

"Too few white South Africans understand the emotional and moral effects of our domestic policies. Black Africans see these policies as an offence to their self-esteem and human dignity, and an intolerable reminder of their colonial past..."

The journey into Africa clearly brought Mr Verwoerd, and others in the group, face to face with some of the stark realities of it all — more than three decades after the heyday of the National Party's failed and discredited apartheid dream.

"I regard myself as an African," he writes after the journey which, he says, was often a painful experience for him but one "of great personal value."

He was impressed by the potential and the need for co-operation. But he found too forces which were "pulling the subcontinent apart". These were generated by a lack of outward-looking statesmanship and by national security considerations "fuelled by white South African pre-occupation with political and cultural *differences* and especially Afrikaner attempts to isolate themselves from black Africa".

"On the one hand I was excited by the previously unknown potential for mutual enrichment on many levels ... On the other hand, I was grieved by the countless, unnecessary tears being shed in a beloved country and continent."

At present a post-graduate student of philosophy, politics and economics at Oxford University and a Rhodes Scholar, Mr Verwoerd has come out in favour of a non-racial "inclusive" democracy in South Africa.

His impressions and those of others in the group are outlined in a new book *Into Africa. Afrikaners in Africa reflect on "coming home"*, published this week by Stellenbosch University's Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics.

MEMBERS of the group visited Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe last year as part of an initiative by the Centre.

Like modern-day explorers, the academics, mainly of the University of Stellenbosch, sought to penetrate the great divide between white South Africa and black Africa

They crossed the Limpopo to find out what people on the other side of the dividing line are thinking and how they view the future. What has brought about all the hostility towards the "white" south? Why the tensions, the feuds and the wars? What hopes are there for future peace?

QUOTE

Too few white South Africans understand the emotional and moral effects of our domestic policies. Black Africans see these policies as an offence to their self-esteem and human dignity, and an intolerable reminder of their colonial past.

One of the aims was to test African opinion on the option for an inclusive democracy in South Africa.

The message they brought back underlines the importance of a political settlement and of new thinking in South Africa if this country is to play its potential role in the drive for peace and co-operation in southern Africa and in the continent of Africa.

Views were exchanged with churchmen, politicians, farmers, diplomats, members of the Afrikaans community in Zimbabwe, and others.

VARIOUS effects of apartheid are examined and analysed by those who contributed to the book. A central theme is the need they see for South Africa to become a part of Africa in every respect.

Professor Bernard Lategan, one of the editors and head of the Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, told Weekend Argus a key impression from the initiative was that South Africans would be welcomed "with open arms" in Africa if they abandoned apartheid altogether.

However, some of the optimism about South Africa's future role should be tempered with realism. There were many problems and much work needed to be done.

Prospects for South Africa's acceptance by Africa are examined by Stellenbosch theologian Dr Johann Kinghorn in a chapter on Afrikaners in Africa.

"What is important is that whites in South Africa should come to realise and accept that 'black' Africa, by and large, is not opposing the presence of whites," he writes.

"Theirs is not a fight against people but against a policy. And this applies to the ANC as well."

Southern Africa is rich in resources; yet much of this is being squandered on a tiresome feud related to apartheid.

HAD apartheid not existed in South Africa, the whole history of southern Africa for the past 40 years would have been different. The wars in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe would not have taken place. Sanctions, embargoes — hurting all of southern Africa — would not have been introduced

"It is time to stop the madness of apartheid once and for all," says Dr Kinghorn. A major factor which has bedevilled relations in southern Africa, according to several of the authors, is South Africa's alleged destabilisation of some of its neighbour states.

On this issue, political scientist Professor Hennie Kotze, of the University of Stellenbosch, says there is "substantial evidence" that South African security forces have indeed disrupted the infrastructures of neighbouring states in their attempts to combat the ANC.

Since South African commando actions in 1986, the perception has grown that South Africa is the "bully boy" of the region.

"The instability caused by South Africa's military involvement in neighbouring states is in nobody's interest."

PROFESSOR Kotze says the message South Africa should present to other African countries is that it is interested in their economic prosperity; that it regards itself as part of Africa

However, long-term goals for cooperation will only be reached once internal politics stabilises and "white South Africa" reaches a peaceful compromise with their "non-white" compatriots. This implies that a political solution incorporating the principle of non-racialism be accepted.

Professor Johann Groenewald, professor of sociology at the University of Pretoria, gained the impression that South Africa's destabilisation policies have had serious consequences. There has been a drain on scarce resources in southern Africa, and the loss of foreign investment for the region as a whole was ascribed at least partly to its instability.

A root cause of conflict that needs to be addressed directly in South Africa is "the unequal access to power and its preservation by the white minority"

"No amount of doctoring of symptoms will resolve the moral and material dilemma South Africa finds itself in today," says Professor Groenewald.

Politicans head for Bonn talks

Times 26/11/89

By DRIES van HEERDEN

FIVE prominent politicians will hold talks with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl this week to discuss recent political developments in southern Africa.

The five are DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, DP chairman Tian van der Merwe, the chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hendrickse, the national chairman of Inkatha, Dr Frank Mdlalose, and Professor André Roux, who will represent the Mass Democratic Movement.

The five will be guests of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

The delegates will also hold talks with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Bundestag president Dr Rita Süssmuth and Minister of Social Affairs Dr Norbert Blüm.

ANC is getting ready for a new De Klerk initiative



DRIES van HEERDEN

sensing a new mood in Lusaka, believes cross-table discussions may not be far off

TALK of "negotiations" may still be premature, but in a very real sense the Government and the ANC are edging inexorably closer to the day when they will meet face to face across the table.

A week spent in the company of senior ANC officials in Lusaka brought home a sense of impending movement towards resolution of South Africa's political conundrum.

Indeed, at no time since the National Party took power in 1948 and eventually, through its actions and legislation, forced the ANC into exile and towards a strategy of armed struggle, has the divide been this narrow

But, at the same time, seldom has the situation been so fragile, so fraught with dangers — and the consequences of failure so dire. Lusaka can be a long way from reality if you are a South African who has spent the better part of your life in exile.

Routes

You only learn about the marches, the rallies, the release of the leaders and the upfront waving of the ANC colours through the occasional newspaper from "home" that is passed from hand to hand by your colleagues in the exiled community

It may be heady days in Johannesburg and Soweto, but in Zambia the movement often appears glacial.

De Klerk ..? Just another name in the long list of Nationalist leaders who have tried to ease international pressure by affecting cosmetic changes. However, there is also a flip-side. No organisation, particularly the ANC, can be immune to what is happening in the rest of the world.

In Lusaka they are faced daily with the consequences of mismanagement and failed political and economic experiments. Zambia is fast turning into yet another Third World basket-case and its people are facing imminent hardships.

The Eastern bloc, its doors and coffers always open to the ANC in the past, is today absorbed in extracting itself from its own ideological blind alley. The Soviet Union, for so long the lodestar of liberation movements across the globe, is exploring different routes to the socialist heaven on earth.

In South Africa, President De Klerk, that unknown quantity in Lusaka, has moved with a rapidness that almost caught the ANC and its fellow-travellers with their pants down.

What a pity that the words of ANC leaders may still not be quoted in South Africa because of archaic laws and regulations that have become both absurd and counter-productive.

There is no doubt the ANC is positioning itself to respond to major moves expected in the near future from the De Klerk Government. There is a canniness in the ANC's leadership which belies the stereotype of a mere "terrorist movement" whose responses are limited to force and violence.

Clear

This week alone, countless hours were spent huddled in consultations with the broadest cross-section of Mass Democratic Movement representatives yet to visit Lusaka.

The preconditions set by the ANC for negotiations are clear and well documented. They were underscored by the Harare Declaration of August 21 which may in the near future also be adopted by the United Nations.

These are

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners;
- The unbanning of all restricted organisations and persons;
- The removal of troops from the townships;
- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- The cessation of all political trials and executions.

ANC leaders are very serious that they are genuine in their willingness to come to the negotiating table once these conditions are met.

It is not beyond their expectations that the Government may do exactly that. They also know that such moves will place the ball firmly in their court. Foreign governments — especially the United States and Britain, but also the Soviet Union — will begin to lean heavily on the ANC to moderate its stance and change to a negotiating mode.

On a number of crucial issues, the ANC even appears to be bending over backwards to facilitate the process leading to talks.

Adamant

- It is not insisting on being regarded the "sole and authentic representative" of South Africans or on being the only party at the negotiating table;
- It has markedly softened its stance on the issue of negotiations being only about a "transfer of power" from the present government to an ANC one;
- It does not demand the scrapping of apartheid legislation like the Group Areas Act or the Population Registration Act before talks can commence. That can be a "result of negotiations" rather than a precondition.

On a number of other issues, however, it remains adamant.

The Government's continuing commitment to the "group concept", with racially defined groups being the only building blocks for a future South Africa is a complete anathema to the ANC

It has no qualms about the NP presenting its group approach as an opening gambit to negotiations. In quiet moments, some ANC members would even agree that group rights may be part of a "transition phase" towards full democracy.

Unfortunately, the signals coming from the Government thus far have been decidedly mixed. Topping the "no-no list" is Dr Gerrit Viljoen's statement that any future dispensation will involve the "counting of groups and not heads".

If the Government wants to sit at the table with the "group concept" as an absolute non-negotiable it may never find the ANC occupying the chairs on the other side.

Another government attitude which could potentially scuttle negotiations is the constant kite-flying about holding "internal elections" to decide the "real leaders" of the black community to take part in talks.

Improve

There is no way the ANC can accept this. It sees in this an effort to entrench the position of homeland leaders and black local authorities.

Indications that the Government is considering "dropping the idea quietly" should greatly improve the chances for negotiation. The chasm between the ANC and the Government may still be wide, but the bridge is, in fact, being built — and new supports are being erected daily.

Three men, three jobs!

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's leadership troika has decided on a formal division of roles.

Dr Zach de Beer will lead the DP in Parliament, Mr Wynand Malan will oversee extra-parliamentary consultations and relations among the partners in the tricameral system, and Dr Denis Worrall will be in charge of the expansion and development of the party. This decision, taken at the DP's National Council meeting in Pretoria yesterday, will be presented to the party's parliamentary caucus for ratification.

The DP troika divides up the tasks

The decision formalises a natural role selection that has developed among the three leaders. It's aimed at using the individual talents of the three to the maximum benefit of the party.

Supporters

But its added significance is that Dr Worrall's prospects for the parliamentary leadership have now — at least temporarily — been put on hold.

Although Dr Worrall has never publicly declared his ambition for the parliamentary leadership — after the party opted for the troika arrangement — his supporters have continued lobbying for the possibility.

The leadership decision was taken at a council meeting to review the DP's strategy and relevance in the country's changing political circumstances.

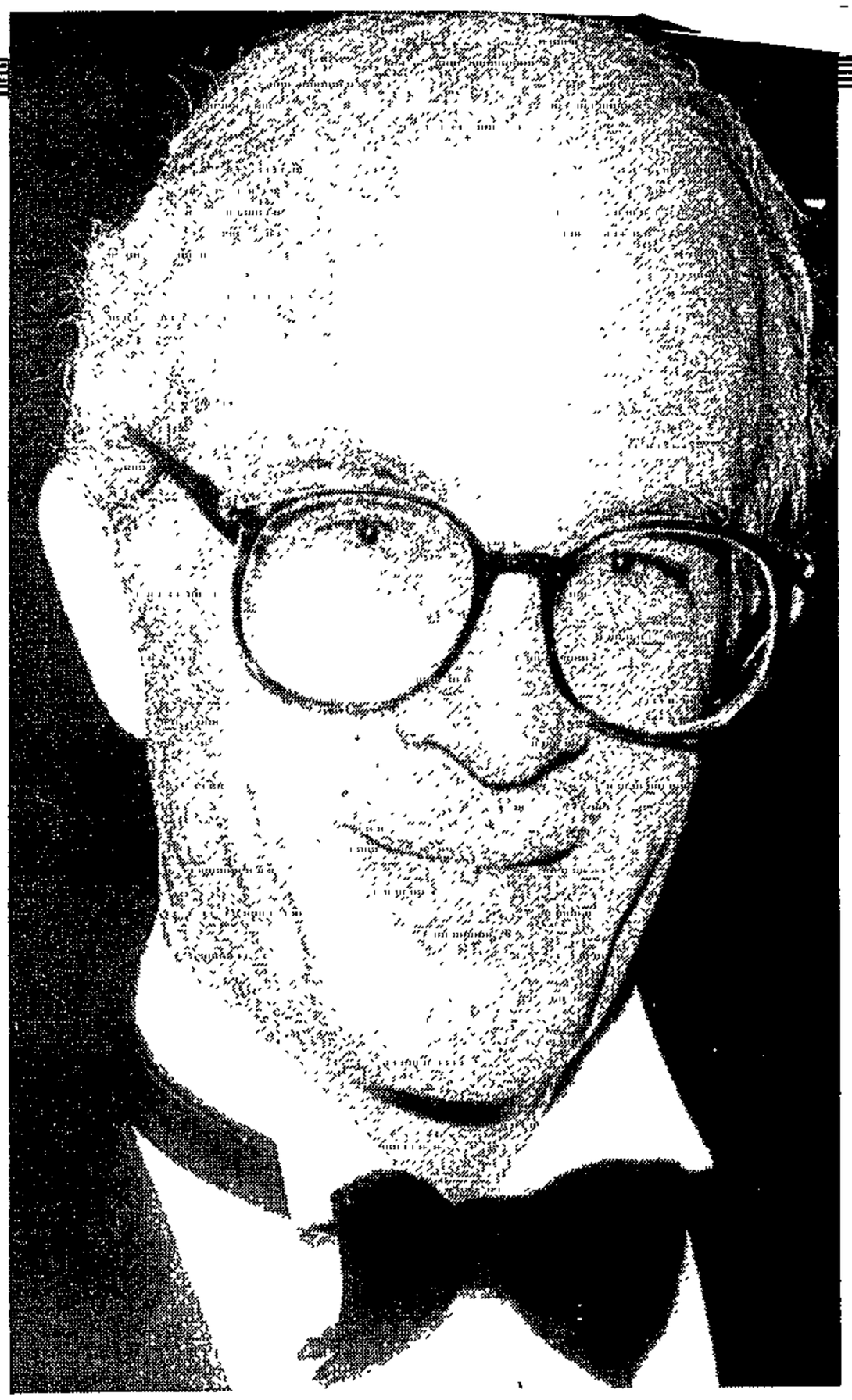
Mr Wynand Malan said the prospects for constitutional negotiation were already facing two dead-ends.

The one was the framework for negotiations: The ANC wanted a constituent assembly as in Namibia, while the Government wanted negotiations fully under its auspices.

The other was the Government's bottom-line demand on group rights — against the ANC's adherence to individual freedom.

Dr De Beer said the accelerated pace towards liberal democracy in the world would not leave SA untouched.

What the world was progressing to were the very goals the DP had set for South Africa, he said.



FOR more than eight years, as US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, **DR CHESTER CROCKER** toiled to bring peace to Namibia and Angola — and helped to pull off one of the major foreign policy successes of the Reagan administration.

Now back in academic life, he visited South Africa this week to discuss the lessons South Africa can learn from the negotiating process over Namibia.

He also places our dilemma — and that of the Third World — against the background of the advance of democratic liberalism in Eastern Europe.

HAVING won the cold war, the West is debating what new global system should replace the familiar one of the past 40 years.

In this heady atmosphere, all sorts of ideas germinate. One is the fashionable doctrine that history is dead: Western economic liberalism and democratic principles have won.

At one level, that is true, but the struggle is to realise that victory around the globe has a long way to go. Most of mankind still lives under governments that were never elected and probably would not survive free and fair elections.

So I have a problem with the notion that history is dead. For one thing, it remains a growth industry in the Soviet Union, where the burdens of history are evident in the struggles for perestroika.

I'm not so sure that history is dead in Europe or Asia either. Marxism, the last of the Utopian philosophies, most certainly is dead in Europe (One has to visit out of the way places like South Africa to find people who can, with a straight face, carry banners around saying things like "Workers of the World Unite").

China's Leninists have just voted themselves another, perhaps final, term of office. But Beijing's Leninists will fail.

Within the decaying Eastern empire, once centrally controlled from Moscow, the Brezhnev doctrine has been replaced, we are told, by the Frank Sinatra doctrine — each former satellite will be free to "do it my way".

This decision unleashes the two most powerful ideas in modern Western history — nationalism and liberalism. A symbol of all these trends is the extraordinary breaching of the Berlin Wall.

We do not yet know when the new Germany will emerge from the death of Marxism, but we do know a new Europe will be built on these foundations.

Europe's voice — long muffled and weakened by the legacy of two world wars, the decolonisation process and the responsibilities of the Cold War — may once again reach its potential.

Within the USSR, however, the primary alternative to a constantly redefined Marxism-Leninism is the principle of nationalism.

The Soviet leadership is paying an enormous price for decades of a policy of "separate development" in which local orientations and loyalties have taken root in the party and state structures of 15 union republics, 18 autonomous republics, 23 autonomous provinces and 48 autonomous regions (all of which are themselves multinational). Sound familiar?

My point is that history is not finished yet. Nor have we entered a golden age in which military power and armed conflict are strictly passé. That is especially true in the so-called Third World — a category of nations that does not really exist but which is taken to mean everywhere except North America, Europe, the USSR, China, Japan and Australia.

For, whatever the fate of these places, all the "isms" — even Marxism — are still contending for influence in the Third World.

Ninety-five percent of all the wars since 1945 have taken place in the Third World, and that horrible reality shows no signs of ending.

Why is this so?

The reasons lie in the inherent societal and regional frictions set in motion by the emergence of the global system of Western-style nation-states during the latter half of this century.

These countries face an awesome range of challenges: How to build effective state institutions, how to organise economic systems to enhance the general welfare, how to build new nations out of polyglot, multi-ethnic societies and, finally, how to create a legitimate political order.

Thus it should not surprise us that the Third World remains a laboratory for the clash of "isms".

It is not easy to build the future in Third World states, many of which have only a set of cliches for a past.

But, wait, I can hear you say: Doesn't the track record of the past 40 years in the Third World give us fairly conclusive results from this laboratory of the "isms"? Is it not fairly obvious by now that democracy and free market economies are the answer?

Just look at the newly industrialised countries, the so-called Asian Tigers, some of which are not only booming economically but moving towards more decent norms of political behaviour.

Just compare the results in Botswana, to take a case nearer home, with those in Tanzania or Burkino Faso!

Or, if large numbers impress you, just consider that much of Latin America has moved to democratic rule or the results of economic liberalisation in democratic India, a country that boasts a middle class of some 200-million people.

It's a strong case, but it also misses an awkward point: In much of the Third World there is no political accountability.

That means there is no capacity on the part of the people to demand that leaders respect the rule of law, resist the vast temptations of official corruption, permit a genuinely free Press, tolerate political opposition and create a climate where men and women can freely enjoy the fruits of their labour and entrepreneurial skill.

Third World nations that remain trapped in a morass of left and rightwing autocracy are the real losers of our age. Since they have nothing much to offer the dynamic, vibrant societies of the West — or, today, the failed Marxist societies of the East — their linkages to the world are eroded.

Investors and bankers lose confidence and leave. In our "information age" they are not totally ignored.

But the attention they receive is not like the attention received by successful societies: Instead, they become theme parks, Disney Worlds of barbarity and deprivation, places for which funds are raised by rock concerts. Saddest of all, these countries lose their best and brightest citizens.

Let me draw certain implications for southern Africa. I am not one of those in the West who have written off this region.

During the '80s I was privileged to lead my country's efforts to unravel the wars and reduce the polarisation in this wonderful region.

That experience leads me to say that the time has arrived for southern Africans, from the Cape to the Copperbelt, to reflect.

Since the second half of 1987, this region has seen the emergence of a peace dynamic that could transform it.

This dynamic was crystallised with the signature by Angola, Cuba and South Africa in December 1988 of interlocking treaties that represent the final end of the colonial era in Africa. Namibia will soon achieve independence and Angola will have a second chance.

Neither land has known peace since the early '60s. Nor is this dynamic confined to Namibia and Angola. Zimbabwe's nationalist movements have buried their hatchets, and in Mozambique a delicate process of internal reconciliation is under way.

In South Africa, something interesting and hopeful is happening just a few years after its citizens confronted the abyss of violence and destruction.

My purpose is not to claim credit for these developments, nor is it to deliver yet another American Sermon from the Mount. More useful would be to identify certain principles derived from our experience in the '80s and the ultimate success of the peacemakers.

One of these principles was realism. It never made sense to treat Namibia in isolation from its regional context.

So we decided to link the intractable problem in Namibia to the seemingly intractable problem of Angola. This radically altered the structure of negotiation, expanding the range of trade-offs and the number of parties.

Why South Africa has reason for hope

304A
S Times
26/11/89

This leads me to a second principle of the negotiation: That one must give in order to get. No one capitulated in the Namibia-Angola settlement. Everyone gained.

My third principle concerns the idea of stalemate and equilibrium. Scholars of conflict resolution have long debated the question of when a conflict is ripe for resolution.

My preferred principle is that solutions often emerge when the parties are in some rough balance in the power equation and when there is a real prospect that the level of mutual pain could increase if no solution occurs.

That, in general terms, is the case in southern Africa today — not only in Namibia and Angola.

Fourth, mutually advantageous negotiation occurs as a process, not an event. For some, this may look like a slippery slope toward capitulation while others may view it as an excuse for delay. But this kind of "old thinking" is flawed.

Our experience in the '80s demonstrates conclusively that creative diplomacy can create new facts. The very process of negotiation can enable the parties to understand accurately each other's interests and priorities so that deals can be struck.

Fifth, successful negotiation requires strong parties, not weak ones. I realise that some voices in this region hope to hold power by dividing the antagonists or to gain it by forcing their enemy's capitulation.

But when people seek to hold or acquire power in this fashion, they end up working harder and harder to get less and less. Such logic leads not to victory but to a wasteland.

Our diplomacy in the '80s ultimately succeeded when the top authorities in Luanda, Pretoria and Havana realised how much of a stake they had in the unity and cohesion of their negotiating partners.

Sixth, negotiation can only succeed if it increasingly develops a common language. This is the crucial ingredient in pre-negotiations, and your region and country have some distance to go in this regard.

Southern Africa is still debating two conceptions of how the external world should support the goal of regional economic development: One model calls for the West to bankroll a solidarity fund for SADCC without South Africa: The other calls for the West to fund a Marshall Plan for the whole region right now.

Well, the hard truth is that the West is not going to support either one. The first is sheer nonsense in economic terms and the second is at present a political non-starter. The West will support southern Africa once again when it is in our interest to do so — i.e., when southern Africans decide to make a success of their common destiny.

Finally, I would underscore the principle of local responsibility for decisions. The US did not impose or dictate the Namibia-Angola settlement. Nor did the US and Soviet Union act in parallel.

Yes, we offered the concepts and stuck with them through good times and bad. And we also provided a legitimate vehicle of communication and mediation. And it is true that Moscow at a certain point ceased its efforts to discredit our diplomacy and actually developed its own brand of constructive engagement.

But the three signatories to the New York accords took the tough decisions, recognised their stalemate and hammered out a new common language and shared principles.

I do not mean to imply there is a direct comparability between the structure of the Namibian-Angola negotiations and the negotiations that could produce a post-apartheid South Africa. The situations are very different.

The conflict in South Africa is an internal one and it can only be resolved by South Africans. It is also, *sui generis*, unlike any conflict elsewhere in the Third World. No one beyond your borders is responsible for solving it. And there are very few role models.

The USSR, the only modern state that has taken separate development as far as South Africa, is caught up in a web of nationality conflicts that risks making the place literally ungovernable.

States that define themselves in multinational terms for the purposes of organising power can only reap the whirlwind, because nationalism is the philosophy of zero sum games. Even the second most powerful country on earth cannot make apartheid work.

For many South Africans, such comments are depressing. But I would like to stress the other side of the story, the reasons for hope. I will cite a few:

- The majority of South Africa's people, whatever they may say, know in their hearts they are all God's children and must share or wreck their magnificent common land;
- Despite the best efforts of party politicians, Marxist intellectuals and sanctioneers you have not killed off the vibrant economy that remains a solid pillar for a free, democratic society;
- You have, by Third World standards, a very open society and — if my brief visit is any indication — you may become more open;
- It is true that many horrible things have taken place on South African soil. Physical and institutional violence still exists for the unenfranchised majority.

But I would appeal you look around you at the many societies that also experience these things, and especially at those who have been able to transcend them.

Every racial and cultural group in this great country has produced heroes and heroines: The best known are heroes of domination and resistance. The time has come to celebrate your peacemakers and reconcilers — and they are many;

- Also, look beyond your borders. The external conditions you face may be the best you've had for decades.

Inside South Africa, a majority of people have had the chance to look down into the abyss that awaits you — as sure as night follows day — if you do not. My own view remains that South Africa has the best chance of any country on this vast continent to build a truly democratic and prosperous society.

History is not shaped by belief systems alone: Individual men and women have always played the crucial role.

Think of some great individuals of our day. Many would cite Gorbachev, and I will not disagree. But I would add others — Margaret Thatcher and George Shultz, especially, because they had the acumen and courage to interpret accurately the death of Marxism and the significance of Gorbachev.

This is a final reason for hope. There are great men and women in the Third World as well, but they seldom have the same opportunity to shape their times.

South Africa is richly endowed with great men and women in its political, cultural, religious and economic life. They have built political movements, corporate giants, labour unions, churches, newspapers and marvels of engineering.

But your great political leaders have never been wholly free. Some have been held literally behind bars. Others have been imprisoned by the limiting dogmas and institutions of exclusive nationalism and racism.

When they become free, they will show the world why this is a land of hope.

□ *Extracted from an address at the 50th anniversary dinner of the Witwatersrand branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs.*

'Every racial and cultural group in this great country has produced heroes and heroines. The best known are heroes of domination and resistance. The time has come to celebrate your peacemakers and reconcilers — and they are many'

The Star

De Klerk glasnost fails an acid test

AMID all his encouraging moves on open beaches and open CBDs, President de Klerk has just failed an acid test. The limits of "own affairs" ideology cannot allow his government to countenance mixed State schools.

No matter how compelling the reasons to amend that archaic policy, no matter how desperate the pleas from those affected, apartheid remains alive and kicking in the school system (as it does in "own affairs" hospitals). The issue is poignantly highlighted by the response to the dilemma of Johannesburg High School for Girls.

The "solution" reached after months of bargaining with the Save Our School (SOS) committee is, in effect, hardly a solution. The school in its present form will have to close. It has been forced to become a private institution, getting no more than the regular 45 percent State subsidy, in order to continue as a school. It will operate in much reduced form, catering only for Standards 6, 7 and possibly 8, and at best only for 240 pupils instead of its full capacity of nearly 700. Even among existing pupils, only a handful say they will be able to afford the projected monthly fee of R100.

The pity and the wastefulness of it all is that JHSG was a perfectly viable going concern. It lacked only one thing, pupil numbers. Yet in adjacent Hillbrow and Berea there are large numbers of black children who want nothing more than to attend a decent and convenient school instead of travelling long distances to inferior ones. JHSG, in addition, has had plenty of experience in assimilating immigrant newcomers. All that was needed — by JHSG and many other schools in a similar plight around the country — was for Pretoria to drop its obsession with skin colour.

All that can be said for the present outcome is that the property will remain a school rather than being turned over to some other mundane purpose. Making the best of a sad situation, the SOS campaigners see privatisation as an "interim" step. Better solutions must wait until the Cabinet is capable of more realistic thinking.

FW pledges full probe of 'squads'

Star 27/11/89

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The police hit squad furore is likely to come to a head this week either with prosecutions of policemen or the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry.

Government sources indicated this today after President de Klerk told the *Washington Post* he would not tolerate such police action and that the allegations would be probed "to the bone".

Government sources indicated today that a commission of inquiry would be appointed if the current probe by Free State Attorney-General Mr T P McNally came up with nothing.

It is understood, however, that the McNally probe is sufficiently far advanced and that prosecutions might arise from it.

GROWING PRESSURE

This is understood to be the reason why President de Klerk has not yet appointed a commission of inquiry in spite of growing pressure to do so.

In the interview he granted the *Washington Post*, Mr de Klerk distanced his administration from the allegations, noting they involved deaths that occurred several years ago.

Asked if conservative whites in the police and military might attempt to undermine reform efforts, he said he was counting on discipline for the execution of Government policy.

"Obviously one of the challenges which I face is to allay the fears of a substantial percentage of white people, wherever they are employed, with regard to what renewal and reform power-sharing might hold for them.

"I'm not really worried about the far-right and the rightist parties in South Africa.'

Noting Mr Nelson Mandela's public statements that his release could not be an issue while the state of emergency was still in force, Mr de Klerk said he planned to lift the emergency as soon as possible — if not all at once, then in stages.

vate prosecutions would be brought

Constable Johannes Mabela, allegedly involved in Mr Maponya's murder.

Crisis of morale possible, says DP

Star 27/11/89

Recent allegations about death squads operating within the SAP are creating embarrassment for decent police personnel, the Democratic Party said in a statement issued yesterday.

The DP National Council expressed its concern at the possibility of a crisis of morale within the South African Police and the implications it had for law and order in the country.

The council called for a judicial commission of inquiry, assisted by independent investigators, to probe the allegations without delay because they created "an atmosphere in which law-abiding, dedicated policemen cannot perform their function", the statement said. — Sapa.

FW promises constitution plan



FW: Not revealing details

Cape Times 27/4/87 (3084).

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's plans for negotiations for a new constitution are to be presented at the opening of Parliament next year.

These will entail "a more concretised strategy and plan" for power-sharing talks and economic restructuring, President F W de Klerk told the Washington Post in an interview published yesterday.

Though he declined to offer specifics, Mr De Klerk said he hoped to lift the state of emergency "as soon as possible" because "I think we have succeeded to a great extent . to create a much more positive climate".

He was not prepared to reveal details of the government's plans concerning negotiations, but he said its strategy would focus on constitutional changes.

Economic restructuring would also be considered so that South Africa could recover from the effects of three years of sanctions.

Warning to US

He promised that "enough progress" would be made over the next six months to confirm the government's commitment to reform

"I think that if we prove, as we are proving, that we are deadly serious about reform that (violence) will further decrease and will bring us to a stage where we can absolutely normalise the situation in SA."

He warned, however, that US policy-makers should not expect a complete overhaul of the South African political system by the time Parliament recessed in June.

"I think we can make such progress in six months that the realisation, which is already growing, that we mean business... will then be strengthened But it's going to be a process, and I don't think all the problems of SA are going to be solved in six months or nine months"

In particular the government had no plans to repeal the Group Areas Act. This would have to be tied to the adoption of a new constitution because the voters' roll was based on the act and "we would not be able to hold an election" without it.

Mr De Klerk made clear he did not accept the ANC's negotiating proposals laid out in the Harare Declaration last August which he described as "the setting up of preconditions" which were "retarding the process of real negotiations".

"We are not prepared to move into a situation

To page 2





LEFT: A rescuer goes down a cliff-face at Chapman's Peak during yesterday's search.
ABOVE: The body of the woman who fell off Chapman's Peak is brought to the road.

Body found in 36-hour search

By CLAUDIA KING

THE broken body of 41-year-old Mrs Anette van der Merwe was discovered on Chapman's Peak yesterday after an intensive 36-hour search by Metro and Mountain Club rescuers.

She was found suspended in a tree halfway down a ravine, after falling 45 metres down a sheer cliff face on Friday afternoon. She and her fiance, Mr Wade Foster, were on holiday from Germiston and were returning to Camps Bay after lunching in St James.

Clad only in [illegible]

her when he made the discovery."

Mr Coelen said the area where the search was carried out was "extremely dangerous" [illegible]

From page 1

Cape Times 27/4/87 (3084).

where a lawfully elected government will be suspended and interim governments will come about," he said. Instead, the government would insist on negotiating in office.

Mr De Klerk also rejected the declaration's call for international involvement in a settlement.

He remained adamant that group rights would have to be enshrined in any new constitution but conceded some "fluidity" on how groups might be defined. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

US told that six-month timetables 'unrealistic'

FW rejects 2 ANC conditions for reform



Mr de Klerk . . . no to transitional rule.

Star 27/11/89

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

Washington

President de Klerk has rejected international timetables of six or nine months to find a political solution to South Africa's conflict.

He said his Government will not be able to meet the timetables, and described them as unrealistic.

In an interview with the influential *Washington Post*, he also ruled out the possibility of the Government repealing the Population Registration Act. The law was tied to the constitution. Disposing of it would have to go hand in hand with the writing of a new constitution.

He made it clear that whatever new political order evolved from negotiations, power in South Africa would be shared on the basis of racially defined groups, not according to the principle of majority rule.

Mr de Klerk also rejected an ANC demand that the Government abdicate its authority to a multiracial transitional government as a condition for negotiations for a new political system.

Flurry of reforms

The report said the President repeatedly sought to lower what he said were unrealistic expectations generated overseas by the flurry of reform measures he has implemented.

Six or nine months was not enough time to find a political solution to South Africa's racial conflict, but he hoped to have made substantial progress within that period.

Expectations by some US officials and congressmen of an overhaul of the political system as early as next June were unrealistic. "We are involved in a process. I don't think you can put a timescale to it. If there is a conception that we will have a final solution in six months, I think that's an expectation we cannot deliver.

"But I think we can make such progress in six months that the realisation, which is already growing, that we mean business ... will then be strengthened."

The important thing, he stressed, was to begin power-sharing talks on the basis of an open agenda in which any proposal could be put on the table.

Asked how he intended starting this process, he said: "The Government will have to take the initiative. We've just been elected two months ago ... We do need a little bit of time to get organised." He would present a "more concrete strategy and plan" when he opened Parliament in February.

Ruled out

His speech would focus on constitutional change and the kind of economic restructuring that would be required if South Africa were to recover from the effects of three years of sanctions.

Among the ANC conditions ruled out by Mr de Klerk were the proposal that the Government be replaced by a multiracial transitional authority for the period of negotiations, and the ANC's insistence that the Government could not come to the negotiating table with any non-negotiable positions, such as making any future political system based on racial groups.

He said once a new constitution had been negotiated with blacks under the supervision of the current white government, the existing authority in Pretoria would have to accept it and give way to a new government.

While saying there was fluidity in his thinking about how groups could be defined, in the final analysis the reality was that South Africa had a great diversity, including between black and black.

Secrecy as Paris Indaba begins

CAPE Times 27/11/87 304/A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Paris Indaba begins today under a thick veil of secrecy, with increasing speculation that the ANC will use the gathering to present a new "democratic constitution" that would completely abolish apartheid.

About 100 South African delegates are understood to be assembling in the French capital for the six-day meeting, which is being hailed as one of the most significant events on the road to change.

Arousing almost as much international attention as the meeting itself is the impenetrable secrecy surrounding the arrangements.

The venue is known only to a close circle of organisers, as are the identities of the delegates — who represent all sectors of the South African community and a wide spectrum of political persuasion.

However, it is reliably understood the ANC will have a 25-strong delegation, led by the organisation's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

It is believed Mr Mbeki will be putting the proposals for a new constitution before the conference.

South Africans named as delegates in recent press reports include: Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly; JCI head Mr Murray Hofmeyer; The Rev Allan Boesak; trade union leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and prominent anti-apartheid activist Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa.

The conference is being held under the auspices of Madame Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president, and human rights organisation France-Libertes. The status of the meeting has been described as "authoritative but unofficial".

Organised by Afrikaans poet, author and former political prisoner Breyten Breytenbach, the closed sessions are being held "somewhere in the suburbs of Paris", although there will be a public session at the France National Assembly on Wednesday by invitation of Mr Laurent Fabius, former prime minister and president of the assembly.

The French government's support is further illustrated in the private dinner for the delegates, which is being given by Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Breytenbach said that although there would be no direct government representation "there would be those who would be able to put the government's point of view unofficially".

He described the conference as a continuation of the process begun at Dakar — "breaking down the taboo of contact with the opposition" — but at a higher level and with a broader spectrum of people and a greater diversity of opinions.

But he stressed that the conference was not intended as some kind of camouflaged way of getting to negotiation. The idea was rather to continue to build up mutual trust and confidence and to bring people who are active in South Africa and could have influence together to discuss thoroughly the political and economic situation and to study proposals of how to get out of the crisis.

Surprise election of Gant to DP post

PRETORIA. — In a major surprise, President's Councillor Mr David Gant was elected chairman of the Democratic Party's National Council on Saturday.

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the DP's three co-leaders, had generally been expected to be chosen.

The council met in Pretoria for the first time on Saturday after being constituted at the party's national congress in Durban recently.

A DP source said Dr Worrall had been nominated for the chairmanship but declined to stand when it became clear there was going to be opposition.

Mr Roger Hulley, MP for Constantia, was elected vice-chairman.

The National Council is to replace the DP's interim national board, constituted at the party's formation earlier this year. — Sapa

'Biggest-ever' meeting on SA gets under way

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The biggest-ever conference on South Africa — featuring senior members of the ANC and a comprehensive cross-section of South Africans — got under way here yesterday amid tight security.

Over 100 delegates, virtually all of whom had slipped into France over the weekend, started the first session of the six-day gathering in Marly-le-Roi, about 20km west of Paris.

By mid-afternoon the conference organisers — the France-Libertes movement run by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand — were still keeping a tight lid on proceedings.

The French Foreign Affairs Ministry, which, along with a number of other government ministries, is actively involved in the administrative and security arrangements, was equally tight-lipped.

"It is a privately-organised affair and only concerns France-Libertes," said a spokesman.

He refused to confirm or deny a report in the French left-wing daily newspaper Liberation that the government was supplying all infrastructural needs and foreign affairs was picking up most of the tab.

Though the guest list had still not been made public yesterday, most of the obvious names bandied about in the press recently were thought to be present. These included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, members of the MDM and senior figures in the Broederbond.

According to Liberation, NGK church leader Professor Johan Heyns was also attending, as was Kangwane homeland leader Dr Enos Mabuza.

Mr Glen Babb, one-time member of the SA embassy here, may also be present.

Among the ANC delegation was foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, who, Liberation said, was accompanied by Mr Khadar Asmal, one of the authors of the movement's post-apartheid constitution.

Sources close to the organisers said the marked absence of Inkhata leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was on the express wishes of the ANC, who apparently vetoed a number of people.

Big indaba in Paris

From PETER SULLIVAN of The Argus Group in Paris

ON a first day of goodwill platitudes, promises of peace and gestures of welcome to delegates to the conference on South Africa here, the first real idea of the conference emerged — only to be shot down.

Rhodes University Professor Peter Vale suggested that the ANC, Front Line states and South African government should unite to form a "common desk" now to minimise economic damage to the region in the short-term.

He told delegates that Southern Africa had a fragile economic system, and elements of the South African government — notably the Department of Foreign Affairs — could get together with external forces to minimise damage in the run-up to negotiations.

Once apartheid went, Professor Vale said, South Africa's neighbours would deepen, not lessen, their dependence on the Republic.

Negotiation

But Professor Vale's intriguing idea was immediately attacked by several people who may not be quoted in South Africa. They made the point that South Africa did not have a good record on negotiation, that the struggle should not be slackened, that only armed conflict worked when political activity was banned.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told delegates he thought the old violent spiral of oppression, revolt, reform, reaction, oppression and so on had been altered by the accommodation between Russia and the US on regional conflicts.

But, he said, there was now a "mantra" chanted by all those who wanted to solve the South African problem: "Unban, dismantle, release, negotiate".

President De Klerk was starting to pick out the prime bits of this mantra by unbanning marches, dismantling separate amenities, releasing prisoners and indicating a willingness to negotiate, Dr Slabbert said.

The first day of the conference ended without any major exchanges, and after the welcoming addresses by poet Breyten Breytenbach, the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, Madame Danielle Mitterand and some debate in the afternoon, most delegates went to a concert given by Africanists in Paris last night

● MARK VAN DER VELDEN of Sapa reports that the indaba on a post-apartheid South Africa between the exiled ANC and mainly white liberal political and economic figures from within the country is being conducted far more discreetly with an eye to the future than its controversial 1987 forerunner in Dakar, Senegal.

Larger scale

Although on a numerically larger scale, and with the added impetus of participation by leading Afrikaner Broederbond and business leaders looking to their interests in a post-apartheid South Africa, the ingredients are essentially similar.

Once again it is France's presidential first lady and outspoken human rights campaigner, Mrs Mitterand, and Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa), led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, playing the key role of organisers.

From its side, the ANC has, as in Dakar, sent its articulate external affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki to lead a 25-man delegation to discuss the future of South Africa with delegates.

The difference in contrast to Dakar's blaze of publicity is that the Paris talks are being held in a secured sports complex outside the city — where many of the delegates are staying out of sight of the media — and that organisers are reticient, bar broad outlines, about details of the discussions.

Secret plans for the conference were leaked early in October, but organisers remained tight-lipped about details — sparse even then — until the first official press statement last week.

Contrast

They have not achieved quite the star-studded guest list from within South Africa they originally hoped for — with a scaled-down tally of 110 last week reduced on Monday to 75.

The list, "names available but not right now", is 25 more than the number of Dakar delegates from South Africa two years ago.

In contrast however, the South African government, while maintaining its stance of outright rejection of the Paris indaba as it did under State President P W Botha for the Dakar talks, has quietly played its role in facilitating this week's discussions.

It lifted security restrictions and speeded up passport applications for a number of key anti-apartheid activist participants.

South African diplomats keeping a distanced but as sharp as possible an eye on developments confirmed that this could be seen as in line with Mr F W De Klerk's reform commitments and "open door" policy to negotiations with anti-apartheid leaders on a "new" South Africa.

The South African government's stipulation that these issues be negotiated and resolved by South Africans, on South African territory and without interference from outside, did however stand unaltered, they said.

Climate

Indaba organisers have made clear the Paris discussions are seen as "exploratory" rather than a contribution to "talks about negotiation" on South Africa's future.

ANC spokesmen left no doubt that the organisation still felt the necessary climate for negotiations with the South African government was "nowhere near" and that the armed struggle would continue.

The government's concept of a future constitution based on group rights was unacceptable.

The ANC's demands, outlined in a pre-negotiation condition document drafted a few months ago and subsequently endorsed by the Frontline States and the Organisation of African Unity, still stood

Businessmen

These included unbanning the ANC and other banned organisations, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, removal of troops from townships and lifting the state of emergency.

The indaba's organisers claim many of the participants — businesmen as well as political think-tank leaders — from within South Africa are potential key participants in the actual anticipated negotiations on a new constitution.

The Paris talks are however clearly aimed at exchanging ideas on a post-apartheid South Africa.

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



Mrs Mitterand

Super-security for delegates

From PETER SULLIVAN in Paris

Is it a new constitution for South Africa? Or the question of a common voters' roll? Or perhaps the redistribution of land that is the major topic of conversation at the South Africa conference here?

No, it is security. Not the security of South Africans facing a total onslaught and/or violent revolution, but the security of delegates to this special conference.

While the diverse mix of exiles, businessmen, politicians, academics and writers are still a little wary of each other's opposing viewpoints, common cause has been found in laughing at the obsessive security surrounding the conference centre, which we are probably not allowed to say is near Versailles.

The 87 delegates are housed in spartan accommodation rather like university hostel single rooms, but the grounds are surrounded by policemen and nobody is allowed out, except on the bus and with motorcycle outriders.

The obsession with security is understandable after the murder of Dulcie September last year in Paris, but that does not make it less amusing or less irritating. We were even banned from attending Madame Mitterand's press conference on the conference we were having.

There are no trips to the city, no strolling on the streets or along the Seine. Already christened the new Bastille, perhaps the most horrifying thing about the conference centre is that the fortress has no pub, no bar, no place for socialising after the plenary sessions.

But the motorcycle outriders themselves have provoked nothing but admiration. Driving well ahead of the bus, the policemen appear almost to conduct the traffic like an orchestra, waving cars off to left and right, stopping traffic here, making it pause for a few seconds there.

French drivers are remarkably obedient, and several people have noted that Johannesburg rush-hour traffic would not tolerate being told what to do by anyone just waving his arms around.

Even going to the special concert last night the two buses were rushed through Paris with police lights whirling and traffic conductors out ahead, creating a path for the buses like Moses parting the sea.

One ANC delegate who may not be quoted in South Africa rubbed his hands together in mock anticipation and said .... well, I can't tell you what he said but suffice it to say that after certain freedom-loving people have achieved full democracy one can expect lots of motorcades and outriders on Pretoria's streets, even if it is only to see Mamelodi Sundowns play soccer.

DP slams govt's open policy

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE people of Hillbrow would be discriminated against, and shabbily treated, simply because the National Party did not have the guts or gumption to get itself a proper policy on abolishing the Group Areas Act, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

The moment areas like Hillbrow became "free settlement areas" there was going to be a flood of would-be-occupants of the properties and the result was likely to be gross overcrowding with problems of noise, sanitation and so on.

Dr De Beer, who spoke at a meeting protesting against the decision to declare Hillbrow a free settlement area, said he saluted all the people of the area because they had been thrust into a position where they had to be the pioneers of desegrated living in South Africa.

"Hillbrow is in its situation because the Nationalists, controlling both the city and the state, either are without a policy or are unwilling to apply whatever their policy may be."

The DP did not believe the rights of any human being should be determined by race, sex, creed or class.

Afrikaans-speaking Soviet academics will meet UDF

THE two leading Soviet academics who arrive in SA this week at Idasa's invitation are scheduled to meet UDF and Cosatu leaders in Johannesburg and Pretoria for four days from Thursday, an Idasa spokesman said yesterday. Bilon 28/11/87

Professors Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova from Moscow State University's African History Department can speak Afrikaans and are African history specialists. They have written several books on Africa. (3049) (003)

The DP presents plan for Hillbrow

By Jovial Rantao and Peter Fabricius

The Democratic Party, at a meeting last night, presented its five-point plan which would make Hillbrow "a more pleasant place to reside" and registered a bold "No" to the surburb being declared a free settlement area.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said declaring Hillbrow a free settlement area would lead to gross overcrowding, unreasonably high property prices and an exodus of people.

Addressing a multiracial crowd of about 200 'Brow residents, he said the National Party now had a "face-both-ways" policy on residential segregation and was not prepated to take a clear principled stand.

There was a terrible shortage of housing for people of colour and an overall surplus for whites.

Presenting the DP's five-point plan, Mr Lester Fuchs, MP for Hillbrow, said instead of dismantling the apartheid system the Government was tinkering with it and "South Africa and Hillbrow will suffer as a result."

Mr Fuchs said the DP would ask the Government to declare a moratorium on the declaration of a free settlement area in Hillbrow and the environs, and that was first on the party's five-point plan.

"Nothing short of the abolition of the Group Areas Act is our goal but as an interim measure and as a second prize, we would gladly accept the declaration of the whole of Johannesburg as a free settlement area."

ABOLITION

The abolition of the Group Areas Act was the second point on the plan.

In their third point the DP called on a Government initiative to provide more housing to alleviate the great housing shortage.

Delivering a warning to Hillbrow landlords in the fourth point, Mr Fuchs said the DP would insist that decent living standards were mantained in Hillbrow.

"Density, sanitation and health regulations should be strictly enforced to ensure that overcrowding doesn't become a commonplace.

"Landlords should be given a clear message. If they want to be hounded, fined and harassed by the City Council then allow your building to be dilapidated or overcrowded," Mr Fuchs added.

The last point on the plan was the rejuvenation and the revival of surbubs such as Hillbrow which have been under pressure. This was to be done by the City Council in co-operation with big business.

Mr Tony Leon, the DP's MP for Houghton said it was inefficient, impractical and unjust for the Government to select a few random suburbs as open areas and wall up the rest of urban South Africa.

"Creating islands of integration amidst a sea of racially divided neighbourhoods will heighten the tensions and problems which free settlement areas were meant to resolve," he said.

French tight-lipped over SA-ANC indaba

(304A) ROBERT GENTLE (AA 18)

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More than 100 delegates started the first session of the six-day gathering at 10am in the town of Marly-le-Roi, about 20km west of Paris. 6\10am 28/11/89

The venue is a sports complex consisting of a number of conference rooms and accommodation units.

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The French Foreign Affairs Ministry, which along with a number of other government ministries is involved in the administrative and security arrangements, was equally tight-lipped.

"It is a privately organised affair and only concerns France-Libertés," said a spokesman. He refused to confirm or deny a report in the French left-wing daily Liberation that government was supplying all infratructural needs and foreign affairs was picking up most of the tab.

"One is free to draw certain obvious conclusions," he said.

The spokesman said French police were watching over the event, but downplayed any suggestions of unusual secrecy.

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(304A)

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Glen Babb, one-time member of the SA Embassy in Paris, might also be present.

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Sources close to the organisers said the absence of Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi was at the express wish of the ANC.

A Western diplomat said one of the senior French government officials present was Edwige Avice, secretary of state in the foreign office. Earlier this year Avice walked out of the chemical weapons conference in Paris when SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha took the stand.

Reports are speculation, says FW

B Daily 28/11/89 (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The State President's office yesterday described as "just speculation" Press reports that the National Security Management System was in the process of being dismantled. The future of the nationwide shadow administration had been unclear since F W de Klerk took over as President.

FW criticised over Voting Act

EDYTH BULBRING 304A

NEGOTIATIONS under President F W de Klerk had no hope of success unless he changed his attitude on retaining the Population Registration Act as the basis for elections, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said in a statement yesterday.

De Beer was responding to answers given by De Klerk in a Washington Post interview.

De Klerk had said, from a judicial point of view, if the Act were to be repealed, "we would not be able to hold an election. Because voters' rolls are at the moment compiled from that".

De Beer said this meant De Klerk proposed to continue with elections on a racial group basis. This was unacceptable to everyone except the CP, De Beer said. Bloem 28/11/89

"If he does not change this attitude, his negotiations have no hope of success."

Learning a thing or two about the cost of group rights

B/Day 28/11/89

304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

TWO articles in Sunday's Press caught my attention. The first, obviously, was William Claiborne's interview with President F W de Klerk in the Washington Post. The second, buried deep in the New York Times, was a piece on former UN Ambassador Andrew Young's bid for the Georgia governorship.

Young, who is just closing a long and widely acclaimed term as Atlanta mayor, might have something to teach De Klerk on the apparent Gordian knot of group rights.

To De Klerk's way of thinking, Young ought to have no chance of winning a statewide race in Georgia because he is a member of America's, and the state's, minority black "group" and therefore cannot expect to garner the substantial proportion of white votes he will need to secure election. In fact, Young is the frontrunner in the race for the Democratic Party's gubernatorial nomination. He shows every sign of being able follow Virginia's recently elected Douglas Wilder and become the second black governor since post-civil war reconstruction.

Like Wilder, he has deliberately moved beyond "group" politics and is seeking to appeal to all of Georgia's population. As the New York Times article points out, this means going on the hustings in places where songs containing the word "nigger" still play on the jukebox. It also means risking offence to traditional civil rights leaders such as the Rev Joseph Lowery, president of Dr Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who have come very close to crying betrayal.

Lowery's position resonates almost eerily with that represented by De Klerk. It holds that black Americans, as the historical victims of injustice, are special, both in the moral sense that they are more "in touch with the struggles of other oppressed people around the world"; and because, having so long been denied full equality themselves, they must be granted special rights and protections. These should not only ensure blacks are never again treated as second-class citizens but must also make up for the past by guaranteeing them as a group disproportionate power and access to society's goods.

The underlying attitude is perhaps endemic to embattled minorities everywhere, and understandably so. More pertinent, however, is how detrimental such thinking has been to the minorities' interests when they have tried to square accounts by demanding entrenched prerogatives within their broader societies. Those making the demands have often ended up more isolated and powerless than they would have been had they not obtained the extra rights they sought. At best, the results have always been disappointing.

A classic, but understudied, example of this phenomonen can be found in the unintended consequences of the 1965 Voting Rights Act as subsequently amended by Congress and interpreted by the courts and the Justice Department. Abigail Thernstrom's splendidly fair-minded book on the subject, Whose Votes Count? (Harvard 1987), should be required reading for all SA constitutional planners, professional and amateur.

As originally adopted, the Voting Rights Act was a radical remedy in circumstances that cried out for radical remedies. Its purpose was to ensure equal access to the polling booth for black Southerners who were being effectively disenfranchised by white state and local authorities through the use of grossly inequitable literacy tests and other such discriminatory techniques. President Lyndon Johnson called for "the goddamnedest, toughest, voting rights Bill" his staff could devise. Congress concurred.

Any Southern state or county which used a literacy test and in which voter turnout had been less than 50% of voting population in the 1964 presidential election was deemed in violation of the law. Such jurisdictions were said to be "covered", which meant they were barred from using any form of test for five years.

Moreover, lest "covered" authorities sought to achieve their discriminatory ends by other means, they were also prohibited from instituting any new "voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice or procedure with respect to voting" without first obtaining "preclearance" from the attorney-general or US District Court in Washington. Southern courts were deliberately excluded from the process.

In American terms, this was an extraordinary usurpation of state and local authority by the federal government. Nobody, however, would now question that it was needed, or that it had dramatic and very swift results. Thousands of new black voters were enrolled within months of passage. Nonetheless, in view of their extreme nature, the remedies — in particular preclearance — were supposed to be temporary. In fact, as the law was renewed, amended and broadened with the 50% benchmark being applied to subsequent presidential elections and to jurisdictions beyond the South, the original short, sharp shock became more or less permanent.

Again, in and of itself this might seem no bad thing. However, legislation, especially of this kind, is a living organism, ever subject to tinkering by Congress and reinterpretation by the courts and those charged with enforcing it. In the course of this process, the law ceased to be a simple protection against the abridgement of voting rights. As Thernstrom demonstrates, it became instead a means to promote, through "preclearance" (i.e. federally dictated) districting, proportional representation in all but the highest levels of elected government for those minorities officially recognised as such by the government (principally blacks, Hispanics and American Indians).

In essence, the Voting Rights Act thus turned into a sort of legally mandated but unacknowledged political affirmative action programme providing effectively protected seats for chosen minorities on the evident theory that minority votes would only "count" if a member of that minority could vote with some confidence that one of his own would win.

Now some, especially the Congressional black caucus, might argue that such an effective setting aside of seats for members of a particular group is entirely just and warranted. It does, however, have a very serious drawback. To all intents, it limits the representation of black interests by placing an effective cap on the number of black elected officials everywhere from county commission to Congress — a cap proportional to the size of the overall voting-age black population. It also promotes the insidious notion that blacks will only vote for blacks, and whites for whites, by ensuring that this is standard practice.

As Thernstrom concludes: "The pressure for inter-racial, inter-ethnic coalitions lessens with the existence of ... districts drawn to maximise minority officeholders ... candidates who have joined hands in a victorious bi-racial coalition will tend to stick together on a governing body, since the next election is never far off. But when whites on a city council or other legislative body owe nothing to black support, blacks in the minority may find themselves consistently outvoted and thus isolated."

The author goes on to quote a black judge from Norfolk, Virginia, who complained of a supposedly progressive districting plan that had gerrymandered city wards in such a way as to guarantee two black seats on the council. "I am bitterly opposed to any effort to resegregate me," the judge said. "How does it help the black community to limit itself to two predominantly black wards and be of no consequence in the remainder of the community. Political power is not merely symbolic."

White South Africans will face similar marginalisation — just as white Rhodesians before them — if they pursue the group rights and protections path. Better surely to follow Young and Wilder and build coalitions that transcend colour or ethnicity. Democratic politics is ultimately about numbers, after all.

Ministers, FW meet businessmen

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a bid to restore credibility to the government's economic policy-making, President F W de Klerk and five ministers held a three-hour meeting with representatives from organised commerce and industry in Pretoria yesterday.

The government wanted input from the private sector on next year's budget and on ways to combat inflation. It stressed private-sector support for economic policies was now regarded as vital.

Mr De Klerk chaired the first part and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis the second of a discussion in which the main issues were the government's determination to control state spending and its wish to regain credibility.

Mr Du Plessis said it was becoming routine to consult the private sector.

He said in a brief statement: "Subjects which enjoyed special attention were the combating of inflation, economic growth, creation of job opportunities and the necessity for concrete co-operation between the public and private sectors for the healthy development of our country's economy."

The business organisations expressed their support for the efforts being made by the government to control state spending. The statement said it was agreed that success in maintaining monetary and fiscal discipline is a key factor in determining South Africa's future growth performance.

The other ministers present were Transport Minister Mr George Bartlett, Manpower Minister Mr Eli Louw, Privatisation Minister Mr Wim de Villiers and Agricultural Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers. From the private-sector side, top-level representatives of Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Chamber of Mines, the Life Offices Association and others were present.

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'Control of national security firmly back in civilian hands'

By PETER FABRICIUS of the Political Staff

THE National Security Management System, which President F W De Klerk largely consigned to the scrapheap yesterday, grew into a vast alternative securocrat-dominated bureaucracy under his predecessor President Botha — so much so that one critic described it as a "sinister creeping military coup."

ANALYSIS

That was probably a bit of an exaggeration but it contained more than a grain of truth.

From the State Security Council — which assumed almost equal importance to the cabinet, some would say more — down through the nine Joint Management Centres (JMCs) the 82 sub-JMCs and the 320 "mini-Joint Management Centres, the NSMS was virtually a parallel bureaucracy.

In between was the National Joint Management Centre with its plethora of sub-committees which sat in Pretoria under the Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

The JMCs corresponded first to the SADF regional command areas — but later to the economic regions when the government became embarrassed about the too-military flavour of the system — the sub-JMCs roughly approximated the SAP divisons and the mini-JMCs mushroomed alongside or in place of local authorities — mostly in the townships.

The mini-JMCs were the most visible part of the structure because they operated at the grassroots level. In many cases they virtually replaced the township administrations which collapsed during the worst of the rioting and intimidation of 1984 to 1987.

Though the government always claimed that the JMCs and their spawn were merely designed to co-ordinate the functions of several departments, the military and security police influence was obvious. Apart from the command areas coinciding with the JMC areas, all of the JMCs and many of the sub and mini-JMCs were chaired by military or police officers.

The effect was to give a security slant to all administrative decisions and to subordinate all interests to the security priority.

And the whole idea of joint action on this scale was an embodiment of the "total strategy" philosophy — the answer to the perceived "total onslaught" by the revolutinary forces — which was conceived by military strategists.

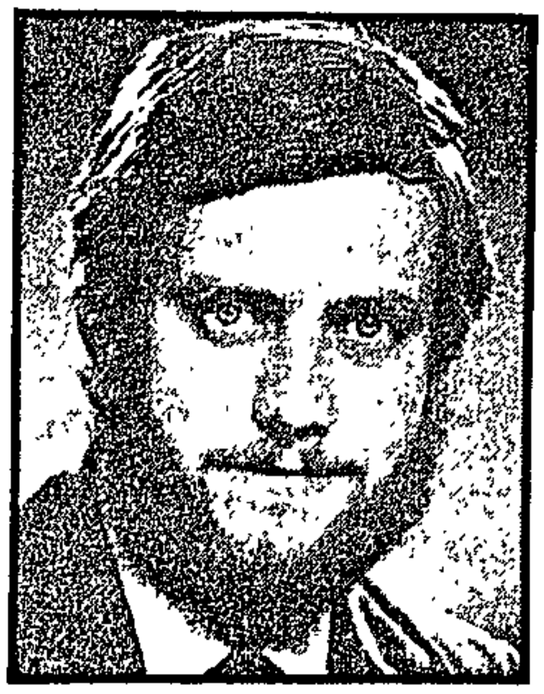
The total strategy approach dictated that the revolution should be fought by a combination of material upgrading of black living conditions plus stern security action.

It was in effect a local application of the "hearts and minds" strategy of winning revolutionary wars which the military had applied on the Namibian border.

Groundwork

President Botha learnt it from his brighter generals while he was Minister of Defence and in fact the groundwork for it was laid then. But the system really only reached its full flowering when Mr Botha ws firmly in the saddle and seeking a response to the most intense rioting and unrest of the mid-80s.

That was when the State Security Council enjoyed something like parallel status with the cabinet and when the



Mr James Selfe

NSMS bureacracy bloomed. The military and the police nevertheless always denied that there was anything sinister about it and insisted it was reaping undeniable benefits by bringing military efficiency and discipline to the provision of essential services where civilian departments had failed. And the system did indeed notch up a few relative sucesses — such as the upgrading of Alexandra township in Johannesburg and in Mamelodi.

Even its critics conceded that in terms of its own goals it had succeeded and that it broke the back of the uprising of the mid-80s. As Mr James Selfe, the Democratic Party's expert on the system said, the security action took out the leaders of the UDF while the welfare action cut the ground from under their feet.

The real problem though was that more and more power was being vested in the security establishment, that power was being exercised in secret — without accountability to parliament or the public — and it was directed at the destruction of forces such as the UDF rather than their accommodation.

For the securocrats the alarm bells started ringing the moment Mr De Klerk took over as head of state — and scrapped the portfolio of Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

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Sources close to Mr De Klerk said the co-ordinating centres would largely retain the present personnel of the JMCs and mini-JMCs. But they would be asked to appoint new chairmen.

FW's reign marks the end of the 'total strategy' era

Star 29/11/89

30/11A

During the reign of President Botha more and more power was vested in the security establishment — with a heavy emphasis on military influence — but yesterday President de Klerk changed that. PETER FABRICIUS reports.

The National Management System (NMS), which President de Klerk largely consigned to the scrapheap yesterday, grew into a vast alternative securocrat-dominated bureacracy under his predecessor President Botha — so much so that one critic described it as a "sinister creeping military coup".

...That was probably a bit of an exaggeration, but it contained more than a grain of truth.

From the State Security Council — which assumed almost equal importance to the Cabinet, though some would say more — down through the nine Joint Management Centres (JMCs) the 82 sub-JMCs and the 320 "mini-Joint Management Centres", the NMS was virtually a parallel bureaucracy.

Embarrassed

In between was the National Joint Management Centre, with its plethora of sub-committees, which sat in Pretoria under the Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

The JMCs corresponded with the SADF regional command areas — but later with the economic regions, when the Government became embarrassed about the too military flavour of the system — the sub-JMCs roughly approximated the SAP divisions and the mini-JMCs mushroomed alongside, or in place of, local authorities — mostly in the townships.

The mini-JMCs were the most visible part of the structure because they operated at grassroots level. In many cases they virtually replaced the township administrations, which collapsed during the worst of the rioting and intimidation of 1984-1987.

Though the Government always claimed the JMCs and their spawn were merely designed to co-ordinate the functions of several departments, the military and security police influence was obvious.

Apart from the command areas coinciding with the JMC areas, all of the JMCs and many of the sub and mini-JMCs were chaired by military or police officers.

The effect was to give a security slant to all administrative decisions and to subordinate all interests to the security priority.

This scale was an embodiment of the "total strategy" philosophy — the answer to the

curity Council enjoyed something like parallel status with the Cabinet and when the NMS bureacracy bloomed. By 1986, when the National Joint Management Centre was established — and a special portfolio of deputy Minister of Law and Order to go with it — the system was at its height.

The military and the police, nevertheless, always denied there was anything sinister about it and insisted it was reaping undeniable benefits by bringing military efficiency and discipline to the provision of essential services, where civilian departments had failed. And the system did notch up a few relative successes — the upgrading of Alexandra township in Johannesburg and Mamelodi, near Pretoria.

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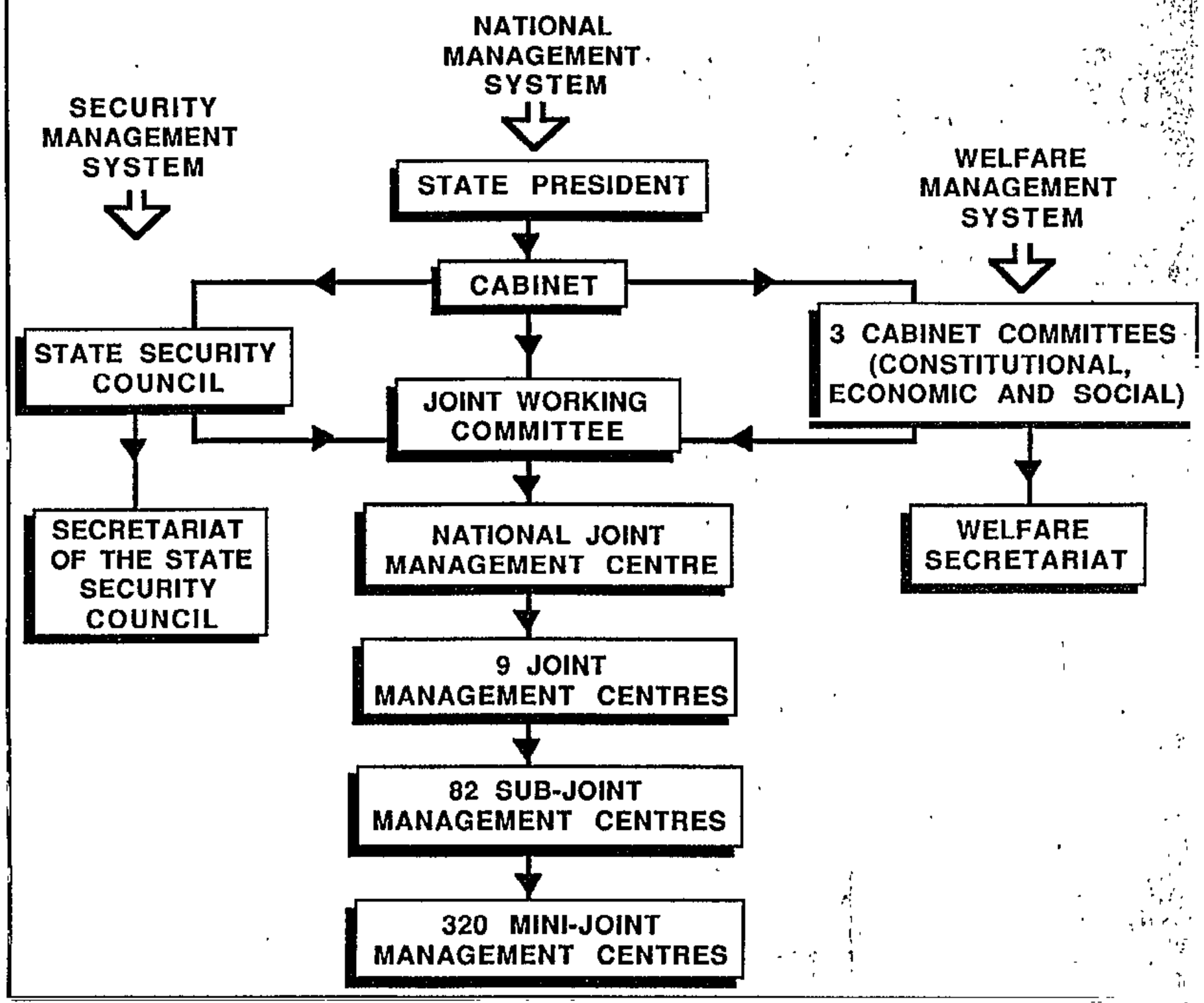
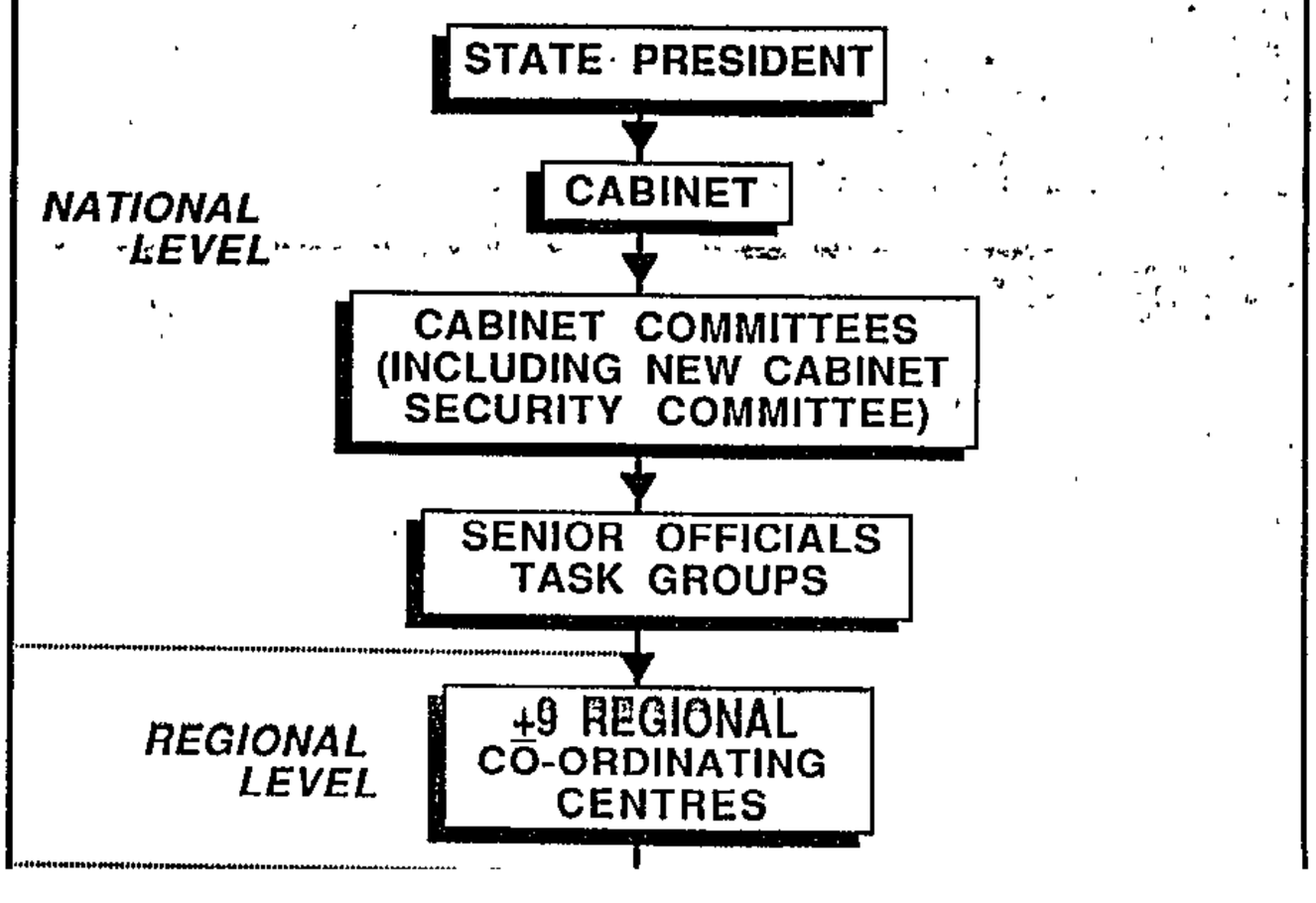
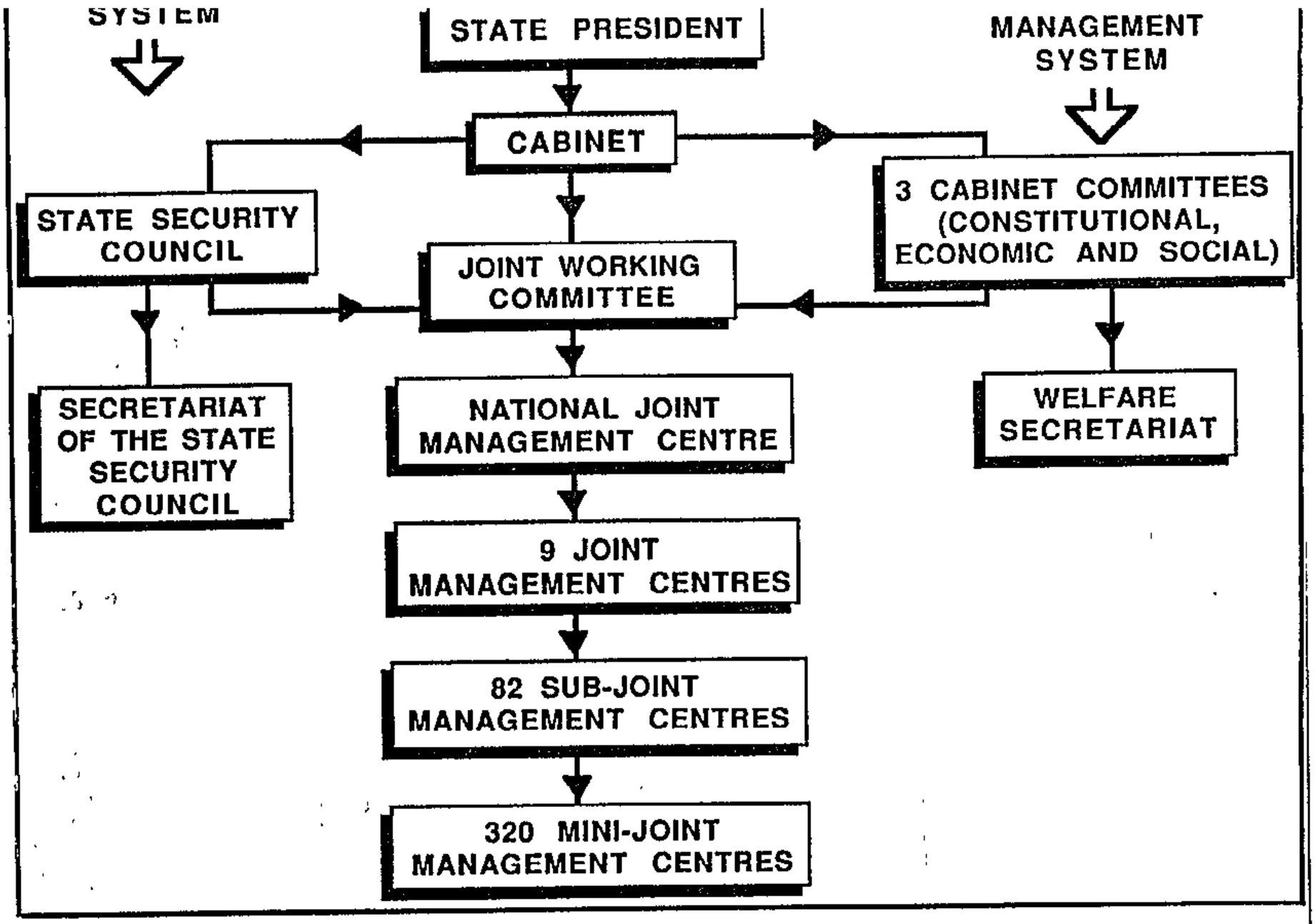
OLD NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM



THE NEW SYSTEM OF REGIONAL AND LOCAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEES WHICH REPLACES THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM





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The effect was to give a security slant to all administrative decisions and to subordinate all interests to the security priority.

This scale was an embodiment of the "total strategy" philosophy — the answer to the perceived "total onslaught" by the revolutionary forces — which was conceived by military strategists.

The total strategy approach dictated that the revolution should be fought by a combination of material upgrading of black living conditions plus stern security action.

It was, in effect, a local application of the "hearts-and-minds" strategy of winning revolutionary wars, which the military had applied on the Namibian border.

President Botha learnt it from his brighter generals while he was Minister of Defence, and, in fact, the groundwork for it was laid then. But the system really only reached its full flowering when Mr Botha was firmly in the saddle and seeking a response to the intense rioting and unrest of the mid-80s.

That was when the State Security Council enjoyed something like parallel status with the Cabinet and when the NMS bureacracy bloomed. By 1986, when the National Joint Management Centre was established — and a special portfolio of deputy Minister of Law and Order to go with it — the system was at its height.

The military and the police, nevertheless, always denied there was anything sinister about it and insisted it was reaping undeniable benefits by bringing military efficiency and discipline to the provision of essential services, where civilian departments had failed. And the system did notch up a few relative successes — the upgrading of Alexandra township in Johannesburg and Mamelodi, near Pretoria.

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Their influence declined further when Mr de Klerk overrode their objection to allow mass protest marches and rallies and to release unrepentant ANC leaders like Walter Sisulu.

By putting the NMS system to rest, Mr de Klerk has clearly put the control of national security firmly back into civilian hands and has perhaps driven the final nail into the coffin of the militarist and security-oriented thinking that dominated the previous administration.

Government sources have, in fact, made it clear that the move should be seen as an important symptom of the new approach Mr de Klerk is taking to the security problem.

Mr Selfe welcomed Mr de Klerk's decision of yesterday to overhaul the system. "I hope this means we are going to see a more genuine approach to reform and not just a strategy to counter the total onslaught."

Dr Philip Frankel, Wits University expert on civil/military relations, believes Mr de Klerk might have timed the announcement to move against the securocrats while they were in disarray over the widespread allegations of police murder squads.

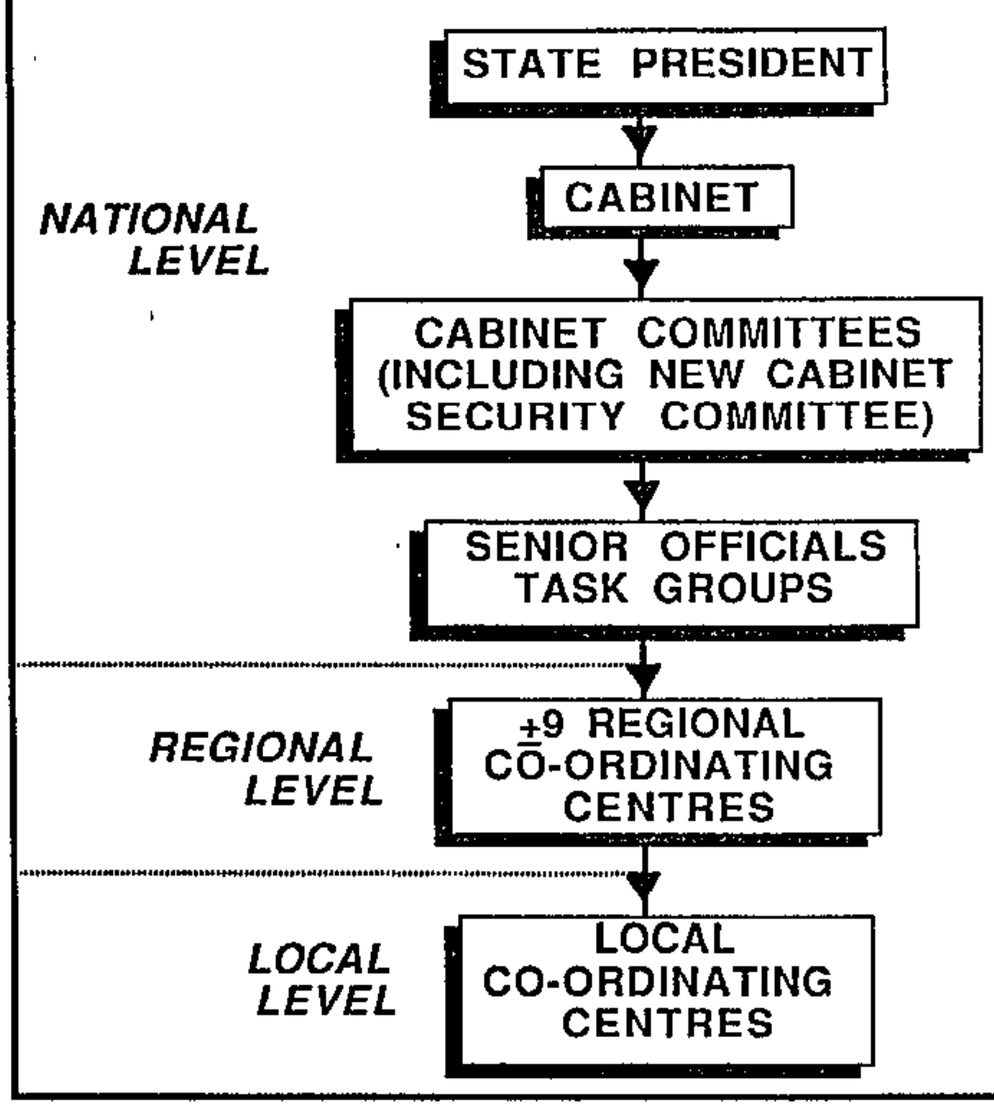
He said he was astonished that the security establishment seemed to be taking so much lying down. The latest move was clearly a slap in the face for the State Security Council and the security establishment.

However, he said, the dismantling of the NMS might not be unpopular throughout the security establishment. There were some military and police generals who had had misgivings about their overly political role, and they would be glad to withdraw to their proper domain.

Dr Frankel expressed some doubts that the NMS was really dead and whether the regional and local co-ordinating centres that were replacing them might not be continuations of the JMC in a different guise.

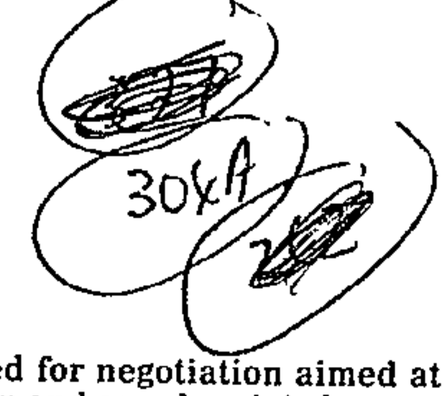
"We will have to know a bit more about these co-ordinating centres before passing final judgment, but certainly I think it is signficant that Mr de Klerk has placed control of national security in the Cabinet's hands," he said.

THE NEW SYSTEM OF REGIONAL AND LOCAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEES WHICH REPLACES THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM



De Klerk scraps JMCs

CAPE TIMES
29/11/89



By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday scrapped the controversial National Security Management System, with its 402 Joint Management Centres, and firmly placed control of the government under the cabinet.

The move, which decisively reduces the influence of securocrats on all levels of government except security, will be replaced by co-ordinated "goal-oriented" action based in the nine regions of South Africa.

Significantly, President De Klerk stressed that one of the advantages of the new system was that "it confirms the cabinet as the highest policy-making and co-ordinating authority".

The State Security Council, which was accused of being the "inner cabinet" under ex-President P W Botha, has been downgraded into cabinet-committee status except for its statutory functions, the council staff is to be "rationalised" and the JMCs, which were effectively under the control of the security forces, are to be abolished.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that it was "welcome news" that the National Security Management System was to be "largely demilitarised".

Dr De Beer added: "It is being described as 'needs-oriented'. This is good in itself.

"But Mr De Klerk must realise that in South Africa, just as in Eastern Europe, people are looking to gain control of their own governments, instead of being managed by civil servants responsible to others.

"The government must understand that if parliamentary procedures are to work, they need to be based on democracy.

"The need for negotiation aimed at a more open and equal society is more urgent than ever," Dr De Beer said.

However, the Conservative Party's spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, strongly criticised the announcement.

He also said the announcement was partly a result of tension between Mr De Klerk and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Mr Van der Merwe claimed that, according to reports, General Malan preferred the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, above Mr De Klerk for the position of State President.

"The announcement is also a personal setback for General Malan and will lead to even greater tension," Mr Van der Merwe said.

But in his speech, delivered at the Police College in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the new system had "the full support of the command structure of the Defence Force and the police and the ministers concerned".

The powers acquired by the Joint Management Centres (JMCs) will now be restored to functional government departments.

A new form of co-ordination on regional and local levels would be created through special committees according to needs, while at central government level, co-ordination would take place within the cabinet and cabinet committees, between senior officials and, according to need, between interdepartmental task groups.

According to Sapa, top government sources said yesterday that the new system amounted to decisions no longer being "forced down from the top" and was more needs-oriented.

"This does not mean security is less important," the sources said.

French Assembly hosts ANC, SA indaba delegates

Cape Times 27/4/89

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The hitherto closed-door conference between the ANC and 85 South Africans from almost all political persuasions enters its third day today with an unusual open session at the French National Assembly.

The France-Libertés human-rights foundation, which is organising the event with the help of the French government, said it would be the only such session.

It is at the initiative of Mr Laurent Fabius, former Socialist Prime Minister and now chairman of the Assembly.

Mr Fabius, a vocal anti-apartheid campaigner, instituted a boycott on South African coal imports during his term of office.

The public session is expected to shed new light on the proceedings which have been shrouded in secrecy until now.

Observers are keen to see whether there has been any meeting of the minds since Monday's strong remarks by the ANC delegation.

The thrust of the ANC message was that while much had been achieved in South Africa in recent months, the pillars of apartheid were still in place and State President F W De Klerk had not created a suitable climate for negotiation.

A senior Western diplomat said it would be interesting to see just how far the two extremes — the ANC on the one hand and the Broederbond on the other — would bend to find common ground.

Ceres, Vasco may end CP's Cape efforts

Cape Times 29/11/89

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

VOTERS go to the polls today in the safe Nationalist seats of Vasco and Ceres — and they could force the Conservative Party to write off the Western Cape as a lost cause.

The right-wing parties have made little impact on the Western Cape in successive elections, and in the September election they underlined their lack of support in the region by putting up fewer candidates than in 1987, despite increased backing in the rest of the country.

The scrapping of beach apartheid and the decision to repeal the Separate Amenities Act, as well as the decision to open the central business district of the CP-run Boksburg to all races — all decisions announced during the by-election campaign — should have benefited the CP among conservative voters in Vasco and Ceres.

But the indications are that the NP will win both seats with comfortable majorities.

In September, the NP won Vasco with a 3 899 majority in a 56,9% poll, a drop from its 5 243 majority in 1987. Vasco has been Nationalist since 1953.

The CP candidate in both those elections and in today's by-election, Mr Jan Rabe, increased his vote from 1 917 in 1987 to 2 644 in September this year.

His NP opponent is Mr Willem Doman, a former Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk minister and member of the Goodwood Town Council.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party also has a candidate, Mrs Riena Reyneke, but she is expected to lose her deposit and is unlikely to have much impact on the result.

In Ceres, the NP candidate is Mr Melt Hamman. The CP candidate is Dr Nick Burnett, who has twice fought Namaqualand unsuccessfully.

Ceres has been held by the National Party ever since 1910 and in September the NP won a 2 519 majority in a 77,3% poll, a slight drop from its 2 860 majority in 1987.

Govt is using act as ploy to entrench power — DP

29/11/89

304A

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The Free Settlement Areas Act was being used by the National Party in Johannesburg as a political ploy to create mini-cantons to entrench the party's powerbase in the Johannesburg City Council, said Mr Clive Gilbert DP councillor for Organe Grove.

"Why otherwise would they be planning to open Democratic Party strongholds including Houghton, Yeoville and Berea to all races, while keeping Hillbrow a whites only area?" asked Mr Gilbert.

Commenting on uncertainty in NP ranks over future free settlement areas, Mr Gilbert said speculation was that the next municipal election would take place at the end of 1992.

It was clear the NP, which held a slender four-vote council majority over the DP, was planning to entrench power by weakening the DP support base.

"The NP must spell out exactly how the residents will be affected once they become part of a free settlement area," Mr Gilbert said.

Since each mini-canton would have its own management committee, a huge new bureaucracy would have to be created while, at the same time, people who were on the common voters' roll would be disenfranchised.

"These residents may have to vote for parliamentary representatives in three different Houses while at municipal level they would have to vote for a mini-council divorced from the Johannesburg City Council to handle their roads, electricity and security.

"What they are doing is not opening but closing areas and the management committee must reassure the residents that they will not be taking away their rights," said Mr Gilbert.

People

304A Star 29/11/89

Gant the man to sort out DP's admin jam

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party's weekend choice of the relatively unknown Mr David Gant, to fill the key position of chairman of the national council, was a surprise to many inside and outside the party.

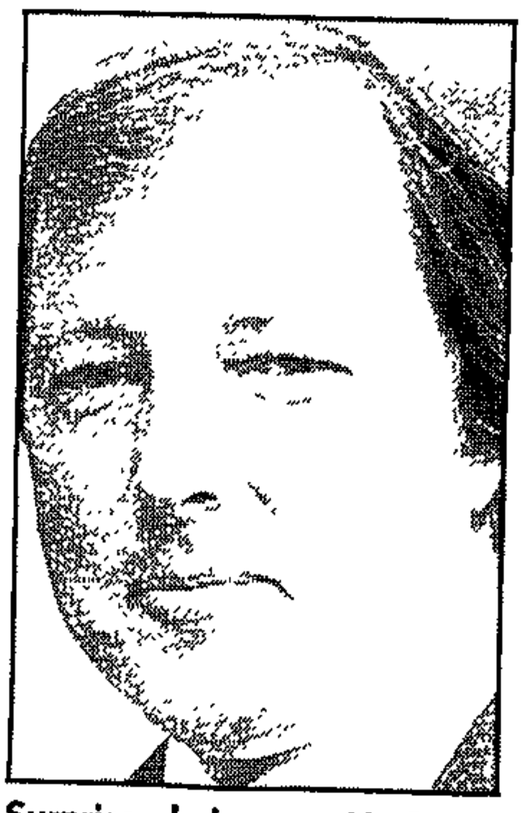
Yet there is little doubt the wealthy 42-year-old former chief executive of the listed fruit combine Gant Holdings is a popular choice for the job — especially where it counts, among the party officials who will have to work under him.

The DP national council chairman is the equivalent of a managing director, running the party from day to day. It is a post usually held by a public representative of long standing or high profile, or both.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall was widely tipped to get the post before the national council meeting at the weekend. But he stood down when it was pointed out to him by senior members of the party that there could be a conflict of interest in his holding one of the leadership positions and the chief executive position.

By contrast, Mr Gant is a newcomer to politics who stood for public office — unsuccessfully — for the first time this year and is relatively unknown to the wider public.

But senior party sources commend him as a first-rate administrator — an opinion borne out by his successful running of the large mainly fruit and jam business, Gant Holdings, which he took from a small canning factory into a listed member of the country's top 100 industrial concerns, before the family sold its controlling interest this year.



Surprise choice . . . Mr David Gant, DP's national council chairman.

Party officials like his easy-going style and his efficient management — which, they say, he demonstrated as soon as he had got the new job and begun running the national council meeting.

And though Mr Gant is clearly a Worrall supporter, there is general agreement that he was chosen not for his internal political affiliations but for his management abilities.

Merger

Mr Gant said in an interview that he first entered politics in 1987 when Dr Worrall resigned as Ambassador to Britain and announced he would be standing as an independent candidate in Helderberg.

He contributed finances and financial expertise to the Worrall campaign, then became co-founder and co-chairman of Dr Worrall's Independent Party and was heavily involved in the merger of the IP with the Progressive Federal Party and National Democratic Movement to form the DP this year.

His first shot at public office was in this year's general elections when he stood in the Somerset West constituency of Helderberg.

Mr Gant failed to win the seat and later narrowly failed to secure the DP caucus's backing for the party's one indirectly elected seat in Parliament, which went to Mr Andre de Wet of the Eastern Cape.

Later Mr Gant was chosen by the party as one of its three representatives on the President's Council.

Apart from administration and organisation duties, he said his task would be to boost the DP's growth and development.

The party had fought only 100 seats in this year's general elections and his aim was to give it a presence everywhere. One of his ideas was to create a training and development department to get out to the constituencies and train party and election organisers.

He also intended establishing an interaction department to engage with other political organisations, such as the Mass Democratic Movement.

Mr Gant denied he was a Worrall front-man but said he would be working closely with Dr Worrall because he was the co-leader designated to oversee the party's organisation and development.

Mr Gant was born in Somerset West, educated at Bishop's College in Cape Town and has an L LB from Stellenbosch University. He is married with three children and lives on the historic fruit farm Lourensford Estate in Somerset West.

Cabinet to control security B/Day 29/11/89

Way cleared to lifting the emergency

304A

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday gave the clearest indication yet that the state of emergency was on the way out by scrapping the controversial National Security Management System (NSMS) and downgrading the State Security Council (SSC).

Announcing the changes at a parade at the Police College in Pretoria yesterday, he stressed one of the main aims was to confirm the Cabinet as the "highest policy-making and co-ordinating power".

Senior Ministers involved in government's attempts to get negotiations going have already said they want the emergency dropped because it is a severe impediment.

The NSMS and SSC assumed greater significance than even the Cabinet after

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

the introduction of the emergency in 1985 and its reintroduction in 1986.

By scrapping one and downgrading the other, De Klerk has not only reinstated Cabinet control of national security, but given a firm indication that the emergency in nearing an end.

De Klerk said the NSMS had performed a valuable function, but changed circumstances necessitated specific adjustments.

A Cabinet committee consisting of De Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan will take ultimate control of national security away from the SSC.

The SSC's role will be reduced to its statutory function, which is to formulate national policy in relation to security and determine intelligence priorities.

MIKE ROBERTSON

The secreteriat of the SSC, headed by Lt-Gen J C Lloyd, will be rationalised.

GERALD REILLY reports that De Klerk announced a drastically rationalised, less costly mechanism to replace the national security management system.

The nine permanent Joint Management Centres (JMCs) chaired by military officers would be replaced by Regional Co-ordinating Centres that would meet when necessary.

The 82 sub-JMCs would fall away and the 320 mini-JMCs at local level would be replaced by Local Co-ordinating Centres, also meeting only when necessary.

Sapa reports that De Klerk said after a thorough investigation, the main aims of which had been better goal achievement, cost-efficiency, and the elimination of interference in departments' line functions and responsibilities, the Cabinet had decided the management system should be adapted from its present form.

De Klerk said the advantages of the new approach were:

- ☐ The Cabinet was confirmed as the highest policy-making and co-ordinating authority;
- ☐ Co-ordinated action and teamwork on all levels of state activity were still being promoted;
- ☐ Duplication was being eliminated;
- ☐ Several committees were being abolished;
- ☐ The line function authority of departments was being ensured;
- ☐ There were savings in costs; and
- ☐ Flexibility and adaptability were built in.

De Klerk said he wished to emphasise

☐ To Page 2

Emergency B/Day 29/11/89

☐ From Page 1

these steps should in no way be seen as a breaking down of SA's security forces.

"What is now being done enjoys the full support of the command structure of the defence force and the police and the Ministers concerned."

DP co-leader Zach de Beer welcomed the news that the management system was to be largely demilitarised.

It was being described now as "needs-orientated", which was good in itself.

304A

But De Klerk had to realise that just as in Eastern Europe, people were looking to gain control of their own government instead of being managed by civil servants responsible to others.

The CP's chief spokesman on defence and MP for Overvaal, J H van der Merwe, said in a statement in Pretoria shortly afterwards that the announcement was partly a result of tension between De Klerk and the Defence Minister.

Cabinet control of national security welcomed; some doubt expressed

State of emergency end a step closer

By Peter Fabricius
and Esmaré van der Merwe

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has been widely praised for placing control of national security firmly back in the Cabinet's domain by overhauling the controversial National Management System.

Some see it as a possible indicator that the four-year-old state of emergency could be abolished soon.

But doubts have been expressed about the function of the regional and local co-ordinating centres which will replace the army and police-dominated joint management centres which made up the NMS. And misgivings have been expressed that the centres might continue the JMCs in a new guise.

Mr James Selfe, a Democratic Party member of the President's Council, welcomed yesterday's announcement.

"The security establishment had a disproportionate influence in the formation of public policy in areas other than those directly related to its domain. We therefore welcome the reassertion of civilian control over policy matters.

"This is particularly welcome because one of the major problems with the system was that it was unaccountable to Parliament and the public.

"I hope that one of the implications of this move is that we are going to see ... instead of political reform for the sake of countering the 'total onslaught', reform for the sake of creating a genuine political dispensation for South Africa," Mr Selfe said.

Mr Lester Fuchs, the DP's alternate spokesman on law and order, said: "We welcome this announcement as a move towards taking the power out of the hands of the securocrats and into the hands of the Cabinet, where it belongs.

"This should open the way towards abolishing the state of emergency."

More cost-effective

Professor Mike Hough of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria agreed that scrapping the NMS could be a step towards phasing out the state of emergency.

"This move should be welcomed in the light of Mr de Klerk's reform drive and speculation about phasing out the state of emergency.

"The new system seems to be an effort to create a more legitimate system as opposed to the current closed, almost secretive, system. It would also probably be more cost-effective."

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed the news that the management system was to be "largely demilitarised".

"It is being described as 'need-oriented'. This is good in itself, but Mr de Klerk must realise that in South Africa, just as in Eastern Europe, people are looking to gain control of their own governments, instead of being managed by civil servants responsible to others," Dr de Beer said.

"The Government must understand that if parliamentary procedures are to work, they need to be based on democracy. The need for negotiation aimed at a more open and equal society is more urgent than ever."

Conservative Party defence spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe attributed the President's decision to scrap the system to tension between Mr de Klerk and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Personal setback

Mr van der Merwe said General Malan had preferred Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis above Mr de Klerk for the position of State President.

"The announcement is also a personal setback for General Malan and will lead to even greater tension. Mr de Klerk is definitely trying to curb the influence of the securocrats. The CP urges the State President to make important changes, like this one, only and purely on merit."

He questioned Mr de Klerk's experience on security issues since he had never held such a portfolio, saying: "We are living in the era of De Klerk's honeymoon. One wonders if this step is not too huge for someone who has no experience on security issues."

Dr Philip Frankel, senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and an expert on SA civil/military relations, said it was significant that Mr de Klerk had put security control back in Cabinet hands.

"This was clearly a slap in the face for the State Security Council, but before jumping to conclusions about the extent to which this undermines the securocrats, I would like to know more about these co-ordinating centres.

"Who will staff them and what will they do? Are we sure this is not a public showing of downgrading the security establishment while leaving its powers untouched in private?"

He was astounded at the way the securocrats seemed to be accepting so many recent moves by Mr de Klerk to reduce their influence.

"I'm not one of those who believe there's a military coup over the horizon, but I can't help thinking there must be considerable resistance building up," Dr Frankel said.

B/Day 30/4/89

Hit squad report may be with FW

0551 ALAN FINE 304A

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok took a copy of the McNally-Conradie report on alleged hit squads to yesterday's Cabinet meeting and had probably handed it to President F W de Klerk, a spokesman for Vlok said yesterday.

A spokesman for De Klerk said he was not sure whether the matter was on the Cabinet's agenda this week, and a statement would be forthcoming only after De Klerk had studied it.

The report was described as extremely lengthy, "at least as thick as a Pretoria telephone directory".

In a joint statement yesterday, Vlok and Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee said the report, handed to them on Tuesday, was "being studied in depth, whereafter the State President will be advised in this regard without delay".

B/Day 30/11/89

'Strange spot to discuss the future of SA'

304A

ROBERT GENTLE

PARIS — "What a strange place to hold a conference on the future of your country," said a labourer from the mayor's office as he showed me where it was happening. "I would have expected something grander."

Seen first-hand, the cultural and sports complex known as INJ (Institut Nationale de la Jeunesse, or National Youth Institute) at Marly-le-Roi, about 20km west of Paris, one feels the observation is not misplaced.

If absence of luxury concentrates the mind, the 110 South Africans holed up inside should get a lot of work done during their stay.

That something of note is happening becomes apparent within about 50m of the complex — hastly erected iron barriers are visible and the entrance is guarded by five policemen.

In full winter gear, they appear to be armed more against the biting cold than any terrorist — the only weapons they carry are pistols.

The hundreds of machinegun-toting guards a Swiss correspondent said he had seen the previous day are nowhere in sight, though a walk around the complex reveals a more discreet presence.

Not obsessive

A guard said the assignment was no big deal. They were there to protect the president's wife, Danielle Mitterrand, and, of course, the delegates.

To my surprise, the policemen at the main entrance politely accede to my request to enter.

My credentials are only cursorily checked. They chat with me casually, explaining that while they are leaving nothing to chance — an airport-style metal detector backs up that claim — they are not as obsessive about security as certain Press reports have suggested.

A petite, elegantly dressed woman politely rules out any chance of meeting the delegates. "Tell your readers everything is going well even though many delegates are suffering because of the cold weather."

At the Hotel de Ville (Town Hall), two employees about to leave for lunch express surprise when they learn the details of the conference.

"I saw all these cops yesterday, and I said ooh la la, what's going on?" one said excitedly. "All I heard was that Danielle Mitterrand was in town."

A snap survey among a few passersby confirms that it is business as usual in Marley-le-Roi. Few people even know, let alone care, that the future of SA is being discussed just down the road.

30AA Sowetan 30/11/89

DP presents a plan to make Hillbrow better

THE Democratic Party presented its five-point plan at a meeting which would make Hillbrow "a more pleasant place" in which to reside and registered a bold "NO" to the surburb being declared a free settlement area.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said declaring Hillbrow a free settlement area would lead to gross over-crowding, unreasonably high property prices and eventually an exodus of people.

Addressing a multi-racial crowd of about 200 Hillbrow residents, he said the National Party now had a "face-both-ways" policy on residential segregation and was not prepared to take a clear principled stand.

There was a terrible shortage of housing for people of colour, especially close to their work, and an overall surplus for whites.

Presenting the DP's five-point plan, Mr Lester Fuchs, MP for Hillbrow, said that instead of dismantling the apartheid system the Government was tinkering with it and South Africa and Hillbrow would suffer as a result.

Abolish Act

Fuchs said the DP would ask the Government to declare a moratorium on the declaration of a free settlement area in Hillbrow and environs.

This was first on the party's five point plan.

"Nothing short of the abolition of the Group Areas Act is our goal but as an interim measure and as a second prize, we would gladly accept the declaration of the whole of Johannesburg as a free settlement area.

"This will have the effect of minimising the pressure which will be placed on certain facilities and will lessen the intrusion into the free market principle," Fuchs said.

The abolition of the Group Areas Act was the second point on the plan.

In their third point the DP called on the Government to initiate the provision of more housing in the country to alleviate the great housing shortage.

Delivering a warning to Hillbrow landlords in the fourth point, Fuchs said the DP would insist that decent living standards were maintained in Hillbrow.

"Density, sanitation and health regulations should be strictly enforced to ensure that overcrowding doesn't become a common place.

Rejuvenation

"Landlords should be given a clear message. If they want to be hounded, fined and harrassed by the City Council then they should allow their buildings to be delapidated and overcrowded," Fuchs added.

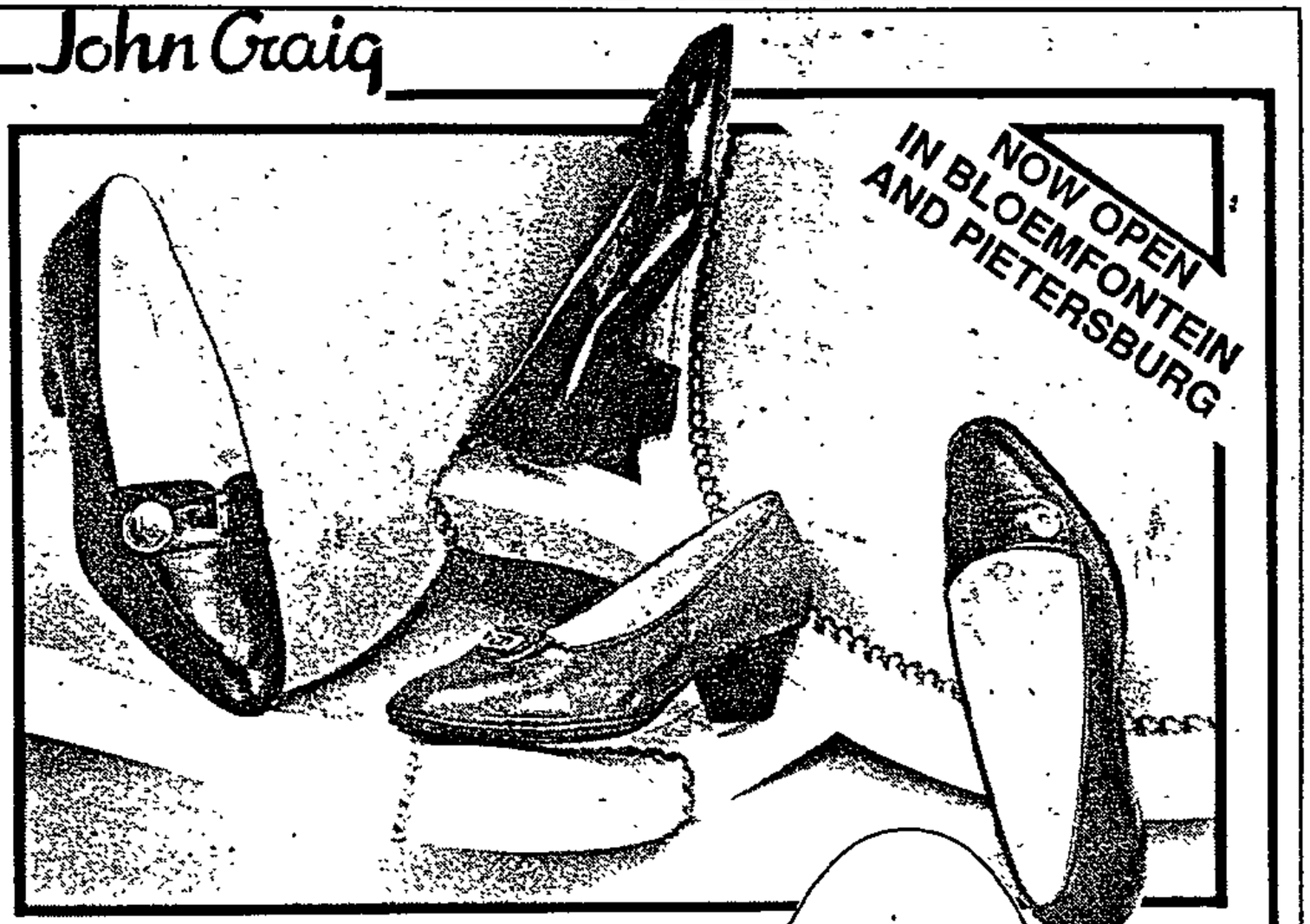
The last point on the plan was rejuvenation and revival of surburbs such as Hillbrow which have been under pressure.

Tony Leon, the DP's MP for Houghton, said it was inefficient, impractical and unjust for the Government to select a few random suburbs as open areas and wall up the rest of urban South Africa.

"Creating islands of integration amid a sea of racially divided neighbourhoods will heighten the tensions and problems which free settlement areas were meant to resolve," he said.

The Group Areas Act had to be scrapped or major cities, like Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, had to be exempted from it, Mr Leon added.

John Craig



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Indaba talk dominated by sanctions

CAPE Times 30/11/89

30/11/89

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Sanctions dominated the open session of the Paris indaba held at the French National Assembly yesterday as Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo and the ANC called on France and other nations to tighten the screws on Pretoria.

White domination was still entrenched, cheap labour was still being exploited and foreign arms were still killing children, the packed gathering of South African delegates, French politicians and foreign media heard.

"What options do we have?" Mr Naidoo asked his 200-strong audience. "We cannot ask the French army to march in and help us."

He called on France to support SA workers by pressurising President F W de Klerk to move away from "cosmetic reforms" and address fundamentals.

Sharing the platform with MDM spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe, Wits principal Professor Rob Charlton, poet Breyten Breytenbach, Ms Danielle Mitterrand and the ANC's Mr Paulo Jordan, Mr Naidoo said it was an irony that he was able to address such a gathering in France but not in SA.

The ANC's Mr Jordan — standing in for Mr Thabo Mbeki — poured scorn on the sudden concern in the West for the plight of black workers and called it so much "ash in the mouth".

The MDM's Mr Morobe was more nuanced in his address, describing SA as being in a state of great flux which would herald one of the most important events of the decade after perestroika.

"On a number of fronts apartheid has been significantly rolled back, especially on the front of perception," Mr Morobe said.

Prof Charlton was alone on the platform to oppose sanctions, saying that the country needed a strong economy and that many problems faced today will not disappear in a post-apartheid era.

SA needed to go beyond merely digging minerals out of the ground and become more entrepreneurial like the Pacific Rim countries, he said.

With the session thrown open for debate among the delegates, various degrees of support for and against sanctions emerged.

DP co-leader Dr Wynand Malan urged caution on both sides and called for a closer look at Mr De Klerk. "He is not totalitarian. We are making too little of the switch of government from Botha to De Klerk," he said.

Author Andre Brink, whose Dry White Season has just opened at French cinemas, called for "massive aid" to counter the harmful effects of sanctions.

This aid argument was endorsed by Peninsula Technikon director Dr Franklin Sonn, who told the audience that the government had cut funding to his institution.

Walls crumble around Curry

THE walls are crumbling around the Labour Party's Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Mr David Curry, voted "Man of the Year" last year by the Institute for Housing of South Africa.

The shortage of housing in South Africa presents one of the deepest crises faced by the government. For the majority of South Africans it is an area of intense need where the policies of apartheid have been bitterly experienced.

It is difficult to decide where the blame for the housing crisis lies.

"It's not us, it's Curry's fault," says the City Council. "Blame the Minister of Finance," say representatives of local government.

But for the homeless on the Cape Flats, the buck stops on Curry's desk. Residents associations and tenants in the townships say the crisis has worsened since Curry was given responsibility for housing.

Waiting list

In the five years of tricameralism, there have been less houses available for "coloureds" in the municipal area of Cape Town than ever before.

This year, local government provided finance to build only 500 new rental houses — the least built since 1956.

When Curry took responsibility to administer housing as an "own affair" there were 40 000 families on the waiting list.

Since 1984, the list has more than doubled to 93 000. The City Council spends R1 million a year just on administering the waiting list.

The council blames the House of Representatives for the lack of action to solve the housing crisis.

They say the House of Representatives is not meeting its financial obligations and is placing a burden on the people of Cape Town.

The council's housing programme for "coloureds" may stop completely this year because it was given only R41,3-million to build houses — R14-million less than it needs.

The council had asked for R95,9 million but was told the House of Representatives had set aside only R35-million for the council to spend.

Now the council cannot start any new housing projects, repair any houses, or provide housing for the elderly. Work on their housing programme will end next February.

Curry tried self-help schemes and provided 4 500 serviced plots where people were expected to improve shell houses when their economic conditions improved.

Curry developed his housing policy around the self-help scheme, and it was this venture which won him the "Housing Man of the Year" award in 1988.

The self-help scheme has practically collapsed. Residents in Belhar, where the scheme has been implemented, complain that they are expected to spend far too much money to complete the houses.

Shell houses are constructed without doors, floors and ceilings. The residents are then expected to improve the houses and pay back the money spent on erecting the shells.

"The price of equipment keeps going up while our wages stay the same or we lose our jobs," said Mr William Abrahams, a Belhar resident.

"Why must we build the houses ourselves? It is the government's responsibility to provide proper houses."

Abrahams said he needed at least R18 000 to complete his house. He is the only employed member of his family and earns R750 a month.

The biggest error made by the House of Representatives was in Blue Downs, where angry residents demanded Curry's resignation.

Curry insisted that he, and not the Cape Town City Council, was going to handle the project. He turned down a R50-million loan raised by the council four years ago for the project.

The area was designed to eventually house 250 000 people. However, after the first 8 000 residents moved in, the problems became clear.

The residents bought in the area after being promised a home of their own for as little as R500 a month. A few months later, some found themselves paying more than R1 200 a month.

Residents complained that the houses were of a low standard and the promised schools, clinics and playing fields were never built. Four ratepayers' associations in the area called for Curry's resignation.

Big crisis

They claimed that when the decision was made to build Blue Downs, Curry was told that very few "coloureds" could afford to buy there. Only 10 percent of the community could afford to buy houses and had already done so.



David Curry

A Cape Town community worker commented: "When there was a big crisis on his hands, Curry wanted to blame everyone else, including the developers and the residents, for the problem.

"Curry's folly is that he assumes he has the power to control the lives of the so-called 'coloured' people through housing and that he can win their appreciation with every step he takes.

"The reality is that his steps were taken in arrogance and ignorance. He is completely out of touch with the plight of the community."

Curry had to remember that he was dealing with people's lives and that his portfolio was not a game.

At the end of the day, the government was to blame for the housing and land problem in South Africa.

"They should all resign because they are not fit to govern this country. We want houses for all at rents we can afford."

A City Council spokesman was more optimistic: "Perhaps now that the army has left Namibia, the government will spend less on the SADF and more on housing."

Apartheid 'grinding on'

Bishops fear FW has no grand plan

304A

Star

30/11/89

CAPE TOWN — Developments in South Africa under new State President Mr F W de Klerk were encouraging, the Synod of Bishops of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa said in a statement yesterday.

The bishops were, however, "deeply concerned" about the consequences that could follow if the Government failed to live up to the expectation it was creating.

"Mr de Klerk's decisions to allow protest marches, to release eight long-term political prisoners, to concede May 1 as a public holiday and to open beaches to all races have been praiseworthy and are warmly welcomed," the Synod of Bishops statement said.

But, it said, Mr de Klerk's actions appeared "to be ad hoc responses to internal and foreign pressure, and not part of a comprehensive plan to dismantle apartheid".

The bishops said that while many in the white community and some foreign leaders speculated excitedly about changes to come, the people in most of their congregations experienced no change to their daily lives and struggled to keep up hope for the future in the face of "an apartheid machine which continues to grind on relentlessly".

Giving examples, the bishops said:

- There was no end in sight to the terrible suffering which had been brought to the people of the Eastern Cape by grand apartheid.
- The failure of police and prosecutors to act against the violence of police riot squads did not augur well for an adequate government response to the death squad revelations.

Ciskei brutality

- Priests and church members continued to be the victims of repression.

The Bishop of Pretoria, the Right Rev Richard Kraft, had had his home and office raided after campaigning against the Separate Amenities Act.

The Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russell, had to deal in the course of his duties with Ciskei security forces "whose brutality is a byword in the Eastern Cape".

- *New Nation*, which "publicised the views of political forces which would play a role in genuine negotiations", was under threat of banning.

The bishops said that as long as the Government made only incomplete and ad hoc gestures, distrust between blacks and whites would continue.

If Mr de Klerk wanted to promote a climate of trust, there had to be purposeful action to negotiate "a comprehensive timetable for the phasing out of apartheid" and the introduction of a non-racial democracy.

Pressures

"In view of our feeling that Mr de Klerk's recent concessions have been a response to pressure, we reiterate the belief ... that the application of political, diplomatic and economic pressure remains necessary to persuade Government to take purposeful action."

The bishops said the damage apartheid inflicted on the economy and society far outweighed that done by economic pressure.

Recent events in Eastern Europe offered convincing evidence that there could be no vibrant economy in an undemocratic society.

"As in Eastern Europe, we believe the priority is to establish a democratic and just society."

The bishops believe the Government should:

- Reincorporate East Peelton into South Africa, reinstate the pensions of South African citizens from that area and pressure the Ciskei authorities to release community leaders.
- Appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the existence of police death squads, comprising at least three judges from different backgrounds.

Also, there had to be widespread consultation on the composition of a commission to ensure that the widest spectrum of South African opinion had confidence in the people appointed.

- Lift the state of emergency, including those regulations curbing the media, and allow non-violent political expression.
- Unban all political parties, and release remaining political prisoners and detainees.

In particular, it was essential that Mr Nelson Mandela be released: "He is one of the leaders who could bring together a wide variety of political groups," the statement added. — Sapa.

Rally row: CP plea to recall House rejected

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

CLASHES between the government and opposition parties over the Soweto rally continued today with the rejection of an appeal for parliament to be recalled to discuss the issue.

The call came from Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht. He said concern was mounting over the government's allowing leftist forces to become established.

At the same time the Democratic Party called for the scrapping of apartheid laws and the state of emergency so that ordinary law could apply.

President De Klerk referred inquiries about Dr Treurnicht's statement to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Mr Coetsee said it was not necessary to recall parliament as the rally had been within the parameters of the law. The government was in firm control and there was no reason for political parties to panic.

The peaceful nature of the rally augured well for the future, he said.

The government's first objective — a peaceful and orderly outcome — had been attained. It could now consider further steps to normalise the political situation.

However, certain activities at the rally which had not been "in keeping with the spirit of the arrangement with the organisers" would have to be "evaluated".

ANC event

This was an apparent reference to the organisers' presenting the rally — ostensibly intended to welcome home Mr Walter Sisulu and other released African National Congress leaders — as an ANC event.

Flags of the ANC and the SA Communist Party were displayed and speaker after speaker affirmed the alliance between these two movements.

Other government sources said today that Mr Sisulu's statements at the rally had differed in subtle but important respects from the standpoint of certain ANC hardliners.

Dr Treurnicht said the ANC and SACP were being given freedom to propagate their aims.

The CP had instructed its legal advisers to investigate the apparent breaking of the law on propaganda by banned organisations and to take steps.

Mr Tian van der Merwe MP, spokesman on law and order for the DP, said each time the government scrapped or reformed an apartheid law, it had been only when the law largely had been abrogated. This caused contempt for the law and confusion among policemen who had to apply it.

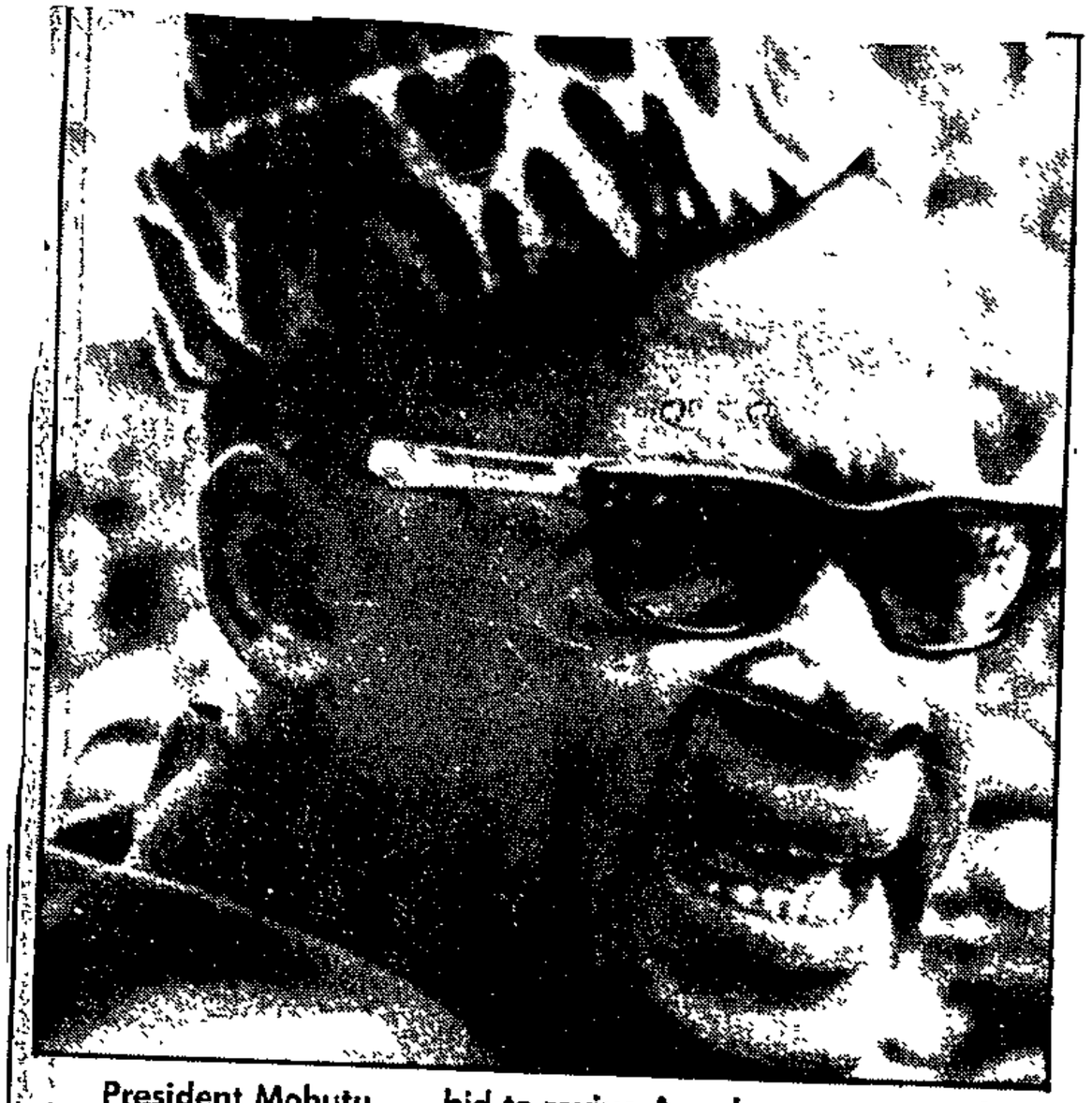
● The SABC has blamed the National Reception Committee, organisers of the rally, for the absence of Mr Walter Sisulu's voice in its radio and television coverage of the event.

This comes in response to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall's criticism that the SABC's coverage was "scant" and required an explanation.

The chief director of SABC News, Mr Carel van der Merwe, said: "The essence of Mr Sisulu's speech was used on both TV and radio.

"The reason why inserts of his voice were not used was the refusal by the organisers of the event to allow the SABC near the podium."

As a result, the sound quality had been too poor for broadcasting, he said.



President Mobutu . . . bid to revive Angolan peace accord.

Pik attends talks on Angola

PARIS — Foreign Minister Pik Botha flew into Paris yesterday for talks in the south of France with Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko on the Angola conflict.

Mr Mobutu, basing himself in his French Riviera villa, is trying to work out a ceasefire formula acceptable to rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The Zairean leader held talks with Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem on Saturday, and with Dr Savimbi and US envoy Mr Herman Cohen yesterday.

South Africa agreed in December to end its support for Dr Savimbi's Unita rebels in a pact which involved a withdrawal of the Cuban troops backing the Luanda government. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mobutu meets Savimbi and US official in France

PARIS — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko yesterday began his most serious attempt to revive a peace accord to end Angola's 14-year-old civil war.

Mr Mobutu was holding secret talks in southern France with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Mr Cohen played a key role in talks in Washington earlier this month when President George Bush persuaded Dr Savimbi to return to the conference table.

CEASEFIRE

A Zairean spokesman described the talks as "very delicate".

He was referring to the crucial issue of what peace formula Dr Savimbi would accept as a condition for agreeing to a ceasefire in the war between the Luanda government and Unita.

Dr Savimbi denies he had agreed to go into exile and merge his guerilla force into the Angolan army as announced after the June summit in Zaire.

A blaze of publicity followed the Gbadolite meeting at which Dr Savimbi met and shook hands for the first time with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Diplomatic sources said the US leaned hard on Dr Savimbi to soften his stand on the question of exile and the future of his guerilla army.

If he agreed to soften, the Luanda government would in return have to agree to some form of power-sharing, a long-standing US demand, the sources said.

If President Mobutu is able to put together an agreement on these key issues, African leaders will meet in Libreville, Gabon, this month for the formal signing of a ceasefire accord, the Zairean spokesman said.

Journalists trying to follow the latest talks were not allowed within two kilometres of President Mobutu's plush Riviera retreat in Roquebrune, near Monte Carlo.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is scheduled to be briefed on the talks in a separate meeting with Mr Mobutu, officials said.

KEY PARTY

Pretoria withdrew its forces backing Unita following its agreement on independence for Namibia. But it is still a key party in the Angolan crisis because the Namibian independence accord is linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

South Africa insists on the departure of the Cubans, and diplomats say the Namibia deal could be damaged if the troop pullout is stopped because of escalation in the civil war. — Reuter.

'Encouraged' by Sisulu remarks

Political Staff

The Government was studying remarks by former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and other released political prisoners to see if they contributed towards a climate for negotiation, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said today.

Indicating he was encouraged by the initial remarks of Mr Sisulu since his release, Dr Viljoen said the Government had released the eight to "test the waters" before considering other steps to normalise the security and political situation.

Asked if the Government was prepared to talk to the ANC without preconditions, as had been suggested, Dr Viljoen said the Government's approach all along was that it was willing to talk to anyone provided they committed themselves to a peaceful negotiation process.

"This implies logically that they will be distancing themselves from violence."

Asked if this meant the ANC would have to renounce violence formally, Dr Viljoen said he "did not want to define the requirements too specifically. It is also important that there should be a climate conducive to meaningful negotiations.

"This can only come about if in practice people distance themselves from violence and destabilising activities."

RECOGNITION

Asked if remarks by NP chief information officer Mr Con Botha that organisations promoting the ANC would be allowed to form inside South Africa meant that the Government was moving towards de facto recognition of an internal ANC, Dr Viljoen said the Government had made no decision on that matter.

● The South African embassy in London has issued a statement claiming ambassador Mr Rae Killen had been "quoted in isolation", giving the wrong impression, following a BBC news interview. He was quoted yesterday as saying the Government was not setting any preconditions for negotiations with the ANC.

The statement said that if "the thrust of the interview had been accurately conveyed to viewers, the point made by Mr Killen ... would have emerged clearly".

The point he was making, according to the embassy, was "that commitment to peaceful change and a desire to negotiate in good faith were essential prerequisites for all parties to begin talks on a new dispensation in South Africa".

● The National Party's chief information officer and Natal Admistrator-elect, Mr Con Botha, also clarified today comments he made yesterday that there were no legal reasons why "an informal support group" for the ANC could not be established internally and that there had never been a ban on support for the ANC or its goals.

He said today his words could be misinterpreted.

Although the Government realised that many people inside South Africa supported the goals of the ANC, that in itself did not imply de facto recognition of the organisation.

Mr Botha said there was a difference between furthering the aims of an illegal organisation, as prohibited by law, and academic support of the ideals of such an organisation.

Pik spells out SA stance on ANC talks

Star 10/10/89

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has stated clearly that the Government is prepared to talk to the ANC only if it is committed to peaceful change.

He was asked at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday if the Government was prepared to talk to the banned organisation.

The Government's position is clear, he said. It is prepared to talk to anyone who is committed to peaceful change.

BBC REPORT

Mr Botha's remarks follow a BBC report that South African ambassador to Britain Mr Rae Killen had said in an interview that the Government was ready to talk to the ANC now.

The South African embassy in London later issued a press statement saying Mr Killen had been quoted out of context and had said elsewhere in the interview that the ANC's commitment to peaceful change was a "prerequisite" for talks.

Mr Botha also reacted to the call by United Democratic Front leader Dr Allan Boesak to the Commonwealth to give the South African Government six months' grace before imposing harsher sanctions.

Dr Boesak is attending the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, where the issue of increased sanctions against South Africa is to be debated.

Mr Botha said he would need to study Dr Boesak's statement, "but in general the South African Government rejects timescales set by other people".

He warned Dr Boesak and other black leaders calling for sanctions that "if a window is broken it is broken on both sides". Church leaders like Dr Boesak would also have to pay the price if the economy was ruined by sanctions.

He said most of the Commonwealth countries mooting sanctions were in no position to help South Africa if the economy was ruined by sanctions.

FAMILY ANNOUNCEMENTS

Bezuidenhout vote check: DP's Engel gains 5

A report by the Registrar of the Pretoria Supreme Court on the checking of votes cast in the general election in the Bezuidenhout constituency, indicates that the DP candidate, Mr Geoff Engel, obtained five votes more than the official result.

This means that Mr Engel defeated the NP candidate, Mr Sam Bloomberg, by 361 votes and not 356.

The report followed an application by Mr Sam Bloomberg who lost to Mr Geoffrey Craig Engel. Mr Engel obtained 5 618 votes.

Mr Bloomberg asked the court on October 16 to order an investigation into the counting of ballot papers.

The action was brought against the Director-General of Internal Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl; the returning officer, Mr H J Geldenhuys; Mr Geoff Engel of the DP; Conservative Party candidate Mr Isak Johannes de Jager; and two independent candidates, Mr Johan Adam Enslin and Mr Azriel Lionel Reichenberg.

The report shows that no information on postal and special votes, which had been needed for the investigation, was available.

Mr Bloomberg said yesterday he did not intend to take any steps regarding possible irregularities or to make an election application.

The report stated that envelopes containing special votes were not available for inspection as they had probably been mistaken for rubbish.

An agreement between Mr Engel and Mr Bloomberg, stating that Mr Engel was not aware of irregularities during the election or counting of votes, was made an order of court by Mr Justice Roux.

Mr van Zyl was ordered to present the Registrar of the Pretoria Supreme Court with all the election documents and reports of September 6, which were kept in terms of the Electoral Act.

Mr Geldenhuys was told to hand over all the application forms and envelopes for special votes to the Registrar, who was authorised by court to inspect the election documents on Tuesday this week.

For purposes of the investigation, a form listing postal and special votes could not be presented.

Mr Geldenhuys told the investigation he did not receive such a form and therefore did not complete it.

Various objections were also made by representatives against votes which were discarded in the count following the election.

RESULTS

In an affidavit, Mr Bloomberg told the court: "I learnt the results from one of the supporters of another political party."

He said Mr Geldenhuys announced the election results in his (Mr Bloomberg's) absence without informing him that he was about to do so.

"A number of serious irregularties occurred during the the election.

He said the failure of Mr Geldenhuys to comply with the prescribed procedure was wide ranging.

He was convinced that errors of "a gross nature" occurred and that it was incorrectly found that more votes had been cast in favour of Mr Mr Engel.

DP men quit in 'PFP row'

Three regional leaders of the Democratic Party have stepped down from office in apparent protest against alleged anti-PFP sentiments within the ranks of the party.

Mr Tertius Spies, Northern Transvaal regional chairman, Dr Rhett Kahn, regional chairman of the Free State, and Mr Paul Osborne, executive member of the Northern Transvaal region, resigned this week.

Mr Spies said yesterday it seemed to be DP sentiment to "hide away" former members of the PFP. He would, however, remain a party member.

Dr Kahn confirmed his resignation but he would not comment on the reasons.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said he could not accept there were any anti-PFP feelings in the party (30/4/A) Star 20/10/89

Fewer voters than at election

Staff Reporter

There were 29 769 fewer voters on the roll for the House of Assembly on September 30 than on May 31, which was the cut-off point for the September 6 election.

This was because citizens had not applied for identification documents.

The fact emerges from voter statistics released in Pretoria yesterday by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw.

On May 31 there were 3 170 667 white voters, the number registered for the general election, while by September 30 this had dropped to 3 140 898.

Mr Louw pointed out in an accompanying statement that, in terms of Article 4 (3A) of the Electoral Act of 1979, all South African citizens aged 18 and older, to whom identity documents had not yet been issued, were from September 7 no longer entitled to register, or to remain registered, in a constituency.

SA has plan to discredit Swapo — Sue Dobson

30 APR Star 20/10/89

By Mike Siluma,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The former Bureau for Information employee, Mrs Sue Dobson, disclosing her membership of the African National Congress (ANC), has accused South Africa of maintaining a secret disinformation unit in Namibia to undermine Swapo and harry the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, in direct contravention of the UN independence plan.

In a statement through the ANC office here, both Mrs Dobson and her computer expert husband, Peter, said they had been ANC operatives for the past 10 years.

In that time Mrs Dobson worked as a journalist on various newspapers and the SABC. At the time of her flight to London she worked for SA's Bureau for Information.

According to the couple, Mrs Dobson had been posted in Windhoek as part of a covert South African Government team whose tasks included "to undermine Swapo, harry Untag and promote the Administrator-General and the (pro-South African) DTA.

Her other tasks included interviewing people such as the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the heads of the controversial, now disbanded, counter-insurgency unit Koevoet.

Mr Dobson rose to the rank of lieutenant in the SA Defence Force Military Psychology Institute during his two-year conscription period, they said.

Specific information to which he had access related to South Africa's sanctions-busting computer purchase strategies and the development of a new command-and-control system.

In addition, the Dobsons said they had carried out many tasks for the ANC, concerning "gaining access to institutions of the Pretoria regime including the National Intelligence Service and the SA Defence Force".

"During September 1989 it became clear that we were in danger and were instructed by the ANC to leave SA. This was a conscious decision and certainly not the result of some brainstorm or breakdown as the SA press have tried to convey," added the Dobsons, rejecting allegations that they were mentally unstable.

They said before leaving for London, Mrs Dobson had turned to the Soviet mission in Windhoek, but did not receive help.

They also denied they acted in concert with Mr and Mrs Jeremy Brickhill.

● Last night, the Soviet Embassy in London denied having been in contact with Mrs Dobson.

Nats caution: No new deal expected from FW at congress

ALTHOUGH the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is expected to throw some light on the Government's next moves to normalise the political situation when he addresses the Transvaal National Party congress today, Government sources have cautioned not to expect any new policy direction.

They believe he will essentially repeat earlier statements about the Government's attitude to the African National Congress.

The sources nevertheless indicated that he and other senior Cabinet Ministers will discuss the implications of the release of ANC general-secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders and may spell out the Government's attitude towards talks with the still-banned organisation.

NP newspapers speculated yesterday that Mr de Klerk might indicate a more "approachable" attitude to ANC talks in his congress speech.

It is also expected that the

PETER FABRICIUS

State President might throw new light on recent statement by Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen which suggest an important shift in Government attitude.

Committed

These statements suggest that the Government is now looking for signs that the ANC is in practice committed to peaceful negotiations — rather than requiring the ANC to formally renounce the armed struggle.

Government sources said, however, that it was unlikely that Mr de Klerk would use the congress to announce the next move in the Government's step-by-step process to "normalise" the political situation.

The release of Mr Sisulu and others has been seen as part of this process.

But it is probably too early for another step — such as a partial or complete lifting of the State of Emergency — to be announced.

"The Government has not yet fully assessed the impact of the release of Sisulu and it is still too early to do this," a source said.

However, the source said it was possible that Mr de Klerk might spell out the conditions or guidelines that would have to exist before such a step was taken.

Meanwhile Mr de Klerk is still keeping even his own party guessing about whether or not he intends giving up the Transvaal leadership. Party sources believe it is unlikely, however.

They also believe there will be no other changes to the Transvaal leadership at this stage.

Instead of debating specific resolutions, the congress is expected to discuss general themes on subjects such as the economy, constitional development and law and order.

The Transvaal executive of the NP met yesterday to discuss arrangements for the congress.

DP accuses NP municipal candidate of rightwing link

THE nomination contest for Johannesburg's vacant Berea municipal ward was launched yesterday with accusations by the Democratic Party that the National Party candidate was a "crypto-AWB/CP" and the man behind the apartheid protest at the recent multi-racial Hillbrow "swim-in".

Marketing executive Mr Clive Stevens was nominated unopposed as the DP candidate in Ward 17 (Highlands North) and advocate Mr Sias Reyneke (DP) will oppose the NP candidate, hotelier Mr Melvyn Whyte, in Ward 27 (Berea) on November 8.

DP council leader Mr Ian Davidson immediately went onto the attack, demanding that the NP withdraw Mr Whyte, whom he alleged was "one of the organisers of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging/Conservative Party swimming pool protest," with his right-hand man, Mr G Pitout.

SHIRLEY WOODGATE

"We are up against an agent of the CP and the management committee must immediately withdraw him if it is sincere about following the F W de Klerk reform initiative," Mr Davidson said.

NP management committee chairman Mr Jan Burger said the allegations were an election ploy by the DP, which he said had been "caught with its pants down" because the NP had already extensively canvassed Berea.

"Mr Whyte is a member of the NP and was selected by the party's divisional council in Hillbrow and the executive of the NP's regional council in Johannesburg, chaired by Mr Pik Botha.

"It is therefore clear any decision is not in the hands of the caucus," he said.

'Futile if only the prisoners are freed'

304A Star 21/10/89

ALTHOUGH the release of eight political prisoners was welcome and long overdue, it was futile to release political prisoners when their organisations remained banned, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said in a report released this week.

The report entitled, "Repression trends in South Africa in the De Klerk era", which monitored the months of August and September (when President F W de Klerk was initially acting State President), the HRC said the releases were, "only the first of a series of actions the Government must take to end its practice of repressing its political opponents."

"The Government is still imprisoning hundreds of other political activists ... courts are crammed with political cases as the Government attempts to criminalise opponents ... almost 700 people live under restriction orders. Newspapers are effectively censored by the emergency laws ..."

Most importantly, the report said, it should not be forgotten that South Africa had entered its fourth year of a national state of emergency. It asserted that, if the Government was serious about negotiations, "it must create a climate where political activity and debate can take place".

But the HRC said there were 71 people presently

JANET HEARD

being held under the emergency regulations, significantly fewer than the thousands who were in detention early this year.

However, the report said, the State was relying more and more on other forms of "less visible forms of control" in its "attempt to pacify the international community, while at the same time ensuring it retains its grip on the status quo".

These methods included placing restriction orders on political activists, including high profile leaders, such as Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, Mr Titus Mafolo, Ms Joyce Mabudafhasi, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Mr Graeme Bloche, Mr Trevor Bonhomme and Mr Willie Hofmeyer.

According to the report, the courts have been used in the following instances:

- During July and August, 312 politically related trials were on-going in South Africa and the homelands. Of these, 41 involved individuals who had been charged with contravening their restriction orders.
- Seven trials were on-going in the Transvaal and the Western Cape involving newspapers which all allegedly contravened the emergency media regulations, the Internal Security Act and, in one case, the Prisons Act.
- Ten Johannesburg families face charges under the Group Areas Act.
- At least 1 187 people nationally were presently appearing in courts on charges of illegal gathering which related to Defiance Campaign activities.
- The courts had been used to prohibit a defiance march planned by Women Against Repression, due to have taken place in September.

"Instead of using the emergency regulation or the Internal Security Act, as has been the most common case in the past, the Minister of Justice applied for a court order prohibiting the WAR march. This was granted."

The report noted that subsequent to September 13 — the day 30 people marched peacefully through the streets of Cape Town — the police had changed their attitude in their response to marches.

The change, said the report, was due to the public outcry against police violence, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's condemnation of the riot police for behaving like "wild dogs", and the negative international media coverage which the police action and the arrests provoked.

Under the title, "Informal repression", the HRC said there were at least three assassinations and 10 assassination attempts on anti-apartheid activists since August which had taken the form of shootings, petrol bombings and hand-grenade attacks.

Two of the targets were restricted persons.

DP calls for clarity on ambulance apartheid

CLARITY over Johannesburg ambulance service's racial policy when responding to emergency calls is urgently required as the present system is open to abuse, says the chairman of the Democratic Party caucus in council, Mr Les Dishy.

But Transport and Utilities Committee chairman Mr Ernie Fabel says

BRENDAN TEMPLETON

the ambulance department renders an equal service to all groups.

He said in a statement responding to problems in the service highlighted by The Star this week that "there are instances ... where patients ... prefer to be treated by persons who are fluent in their particular language. If no lives are at stake, and if at all practicable, these requests are met".

Mr Dishy and sources in the service believe the problem of language would be a non-issue if ambulances crews were completely racially mixed.

The chief superintendent of Johannesburg Hospital, Dr Reg Broekman, said he was told at a meeting between officials and staff that the official policy was that ambulances would be dispatched to priority one — life or death — calls irrespective of the patients' race.

Consideration of race would enter only into priority two and three calls, he said.

Star 21/10/89

S. A. GOVT & POLITICS - 1989

DECEMBER

B/Day. 11/12/89 (304A)



President F W de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a news conference at which the release of Nelson Mandela was discussed. Picture: REUTER

Paris Indaba gets flak from left-wing activists

CHARLENE SMITH

THE Paris Indaba has been criticised by leading SA anti-apartheid activists who have attacked the organisers for "presuming to choose the people's leaders".

An executive of the mass democratic movement (MDM) said the conference was "insignificant; it is purely an academic exercise".

Although the MDM sent delegates, it did not send all the officials requested — leading activists such as Mohammed Valli Moosa, who had his restrictions lifted to obtain a passport, Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM and Cassim Saloojee, among others, did not travel to Paris.

The MDM decided the Internal Conference for a Democratic Future, in Johannesburg on December 9, was of far greater significance and kept leading figures here to continue organising that conference.

The MDM's views are shared by the Pan Africanist Movement, which has also rejected the precepts of the Paris Indaba.

"Foreigners and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa) cannot decide who the delegates to a conference discussing the future of SA and the negotiation process should be — that decision has to be made by the South African people. They are in a way deciding who the representatives of the people are.

"For such an exercise to be meaningful it has to be done in consultation with the people," a leading anti-apartheid leader said.

Reservations

The Paris conference was organised under the auspices of France Liberte, a human rights foundation run by Danielle Mitterand, wife of Presient Francois Mitterand.

Similar reservations were expressed by the SA government when news of the conference was first leaked in October.

At the time Foreign Minister Pik Botha said South Africans should solve the country's problems in SA.

Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa) cannot decide who the delegates to a conference said South Africans should solve the country's problems in SA.

To negotiate or not to negotiate

NEGOTIATIONS — or a refusal to negotiate — are the topics expected to top the agenda at two important anti-apartheid conferences scheduled within the next 10 days in Johannesburg.

The conferences have been dubbed the most important in three decades of SA political history by activists and political observers.

Next week's Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) begins on December 9.

The conference has been referred to as being, potentially, the most important gathering of activists committed to a non-racial, democratic future since the Congress of the People held at Kliptown in June 1955.

The Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) congress beginning in Soweto today will officially launch the organisation

But it is also expected to follow closely

CHARLENE SMITH

some of the recommendations laid down at the PAC conference at the end of November in Harare.

Among the PAC decisions — taken with delegates from SA — was a chief decision that there was no basis for negotiations at this stage in SA.

The CDF is likely to agree with the basic precept of the PAC and RAM that a negotiating climate is not yet present.

But they are likely to move closer to a negotiating platform and a programme of action based on the August, Harare declaration drafted by the ANC and adopted by the Organisation of African Unity.

Delegates from both internal movements have made it clear that measures against apartheid will be intensified and not relaxed.

ECONOMIC SUMMIT

A necessary journey?

304A Finail 1/12/89

It's encouraging to know that the business leaders who spent three hours talking to President F W de Klerk and five Cabinet ministers on Monday discussed the importance of combating inflation, economic growth, control of State spending, creation of job opportunities and so on. But should we not be told a few more details?

The bland official statement simply recites the agenda. If the sole purpose of the meeting was to raise the issues, one wonders why it took so many high-powered individuals so long. How did this event differ from the jaw-jaws under P W Botha, which soon deteriorated into one-way harangues?

There appear to be two main answers. First, this time round there was a genuine two-way communication, with both sides listening as well as talking.

Secondly, it was an attempt to circumvent the weaknesses introduced into the composition of the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) in the latter stages of the P W era.

For years, private-sector EAC members represented, among others, bodies like Assocom, the FCI and AHI. In a counter-productive "reform" they were replaced with individuals, who had no brief or mandate from the business community at large. Significantly, all the private-sector delegates on Monday represented broad business groups.

In political matters, F W has shown clear awareness that the time for talk is over: action is needed, and fast. The same need holds for the economic arena. But it would be premature to dismiss Monday's meeting as just another non-event; what counts is what happens next. ■

FW flies to Ivory Coast for Angolan talks

B1 Dan 1/12/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

A HIGH-POWERED SA delegation headed by President F W de Klerk left for the Ivory Coast early this morning for a day of intensive discussions with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, his deputy Leon Wessels and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden accompanied De Klerk. The main item on the agenda was expected to be the civil war in Angola.

The Angolan peace talks have become bogged down since the collapse of the ceasefire agreed in June at Gbadolite. There have also been disagreements about what was agreed at Gbadolite.

After Unita expressed dissatisfaction about the mediation role being played by Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, there was speculation that Houphouet-Boigny could play a more prominent role in the talks. (304A

But Portuguese President Mario Soares, who met Houphouet-Boigny this week, said the latter, a close ally of Unita's Jonas Savimbi, would remain in the background.

Savimbi also met the Ivory Coast leader last week. He later met officials from the SA Foreign Affairs Department.

The South Africans would be careful not to be seen as detracting from the role being played by Mobutu, but would be aware that some European countries, with extensive interests in Angola, were beginning to doubt the Zairean leader's ability to be a successful mediator.

De Klerk was also accompanied by a delegation from the National Parks Board and an announcement about SA aid to the Ivory Coast in this regard can be expected.

Houphouet-Boigny was expected to question the South Africans on the progress being made in removing obstacles to negotiations and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela would almost certainly be raised.

De Klerk has said he will make one more unexpected important announcement in December and it is possible he will disclose this to Houphouet-Boigny.

FW serious about reform, says Buthelezi

kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said after talks in Pretoria yesterday with President de Klerk that he believed the State President was serious about reforming apartheid.

He said one of the biggest obstacles to progress was the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, but, he said, Mr de Klerk had convinced him that the ANC leader would be freed "at the first suitable opportunity".

Mr de Klerk had said the Government was prepared to put the issue of group definition on the agenda for negotiations.

"On the other hand, the reality of the diversity inside South Africa is one which cannot be ignored," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he supported moves to bring the four nominally independent homelands back into South Africa.

De Klerk off to Ivory Coast

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk left this morning for a visit to the Ivory Coast - a mission which could set the stage for a meeting between South Africa and the Frontline states.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

The Angolan civil war is also expected to be one of the main items on the agenda of talks between De Klerk and his host, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

De Klerk is accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. Discussions begin later today.

Houphouet-Boigny made the surprise announcement of De Klerk's "friendly and working visit" early last month at the end of talks he held with Dr Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the Frontline states, and three other African heads of state. The meeting sought to resolve the conflict in Angola.

Speaking after the talks, Kaunda said a meeting between South Africa and the Frontline states could take place if the November 6 Namibian elections went smoothly.

Kaunda told journalists: "If South Africa should do well over the issue of Namibia getting independence, come November 6, and things go smoothly, we are prepared to organise a get-together of all those involved within South Africa and without, so that we can help end apartheid and bring genuine peace not only to South Africa itself, but also to the region as a whole."

South Africa and the Ivory Coast do not have full diplomatic relations. However, Houphouet-Boigny said in announcing the visit: "We condemn apartheid but Ivory Coast is the country of dialogue."

He has recently granted landing rights for South African Airways to stop over in Abidjan.

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Swing to CP in two by-elections

304A

Poll results seen as reaction to reform

Star 1/12/89.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government has suffered setbacks in two Cape by-elections — and the Conservative Party has interpreted them as a "vote of no-confidence in President de Klerk's reform programme".

Support for the National Party was cut by 12 percent in Vasco — a working-class constituency in the Peninsula — and by 5 percent in rural Ceres.

The result has been widely interpreted as a negative reaction, especially from lower-income whites, to the Government's decision to scrap the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that the "writing is on the wall for the NP, which clearly has no mandate for its political integration".

The NP has conceded that the loss of support was due at least partly to the decision to scrap the Act.

But NP chief information director Mr Con Botha said the party had expected to lose support to the CP for the first 12 to 18 months of Mr de Klerk's reform initiatives. This was a temporary phenomenon which should wear off before the NP faced the electorate in general elections again.

The by-election results are being seen as a fairly accurate barometer of Mr de Klerk's first two months in office — and his rapid reform moves.

Voter interest low

Dr Treurnicht said the by-elections were an indication that power-sharing did not grip the electorate's imagination. He described the CP advances as "spectacular".

Mr Botha said no party liked to lose votes, but other factors should be taken into consideration.

One was that voter interest was low so soon after the general elections, and everyone was fed up with politics.

"But there is no sense in trying to run away from the fact that voters — especially in conservative areas like Vasco — will be put off temporarily by reform measures."

Mr Botha thought it was far too early to see the by-election results as an indication of permanent loss of NP support.

University of Potchefstroom election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie said Vasco, in particular, was obviously a good result for the CP. If the NP suffered a national swing away from it on this scale it would lose its overall majority.

But he thought the result was localised. Vasco was an area particularly sensitive to the scrapping of separate amenities.

It was surrounded by coloured areas and whites had expressed fears of having their facilities swamped by coloured neighbours.

The better result for the NP in Ceres indicated that rural voters were more stable — and also did not face the same threat of sharing amenities with coloured people.

Act boldly, F W is told

304A

CAPE TOWN — The South African Media Council yesterday expressed the hope that State President F W de Klerk would "boldly and fundamentally" address current restrictions on the media. Star 1/12/89

In a statement, the chairman of the council, Mr Jan Steyn, noted the comments made by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday night when he said urgent attention would be given to the problems the media faced due to emergency regulations.

"We are encouraged by the State President's understanding of the contribution the press could and should make to the national debate and that he would not like to place unnecessary obstacles in the path of the press," said Mr Steyn.

He added the free flow of information was never more essential than at a time of fundamental political change.

"We are pleased to note from the State President's statement that he does intend to address this matter with some degree of urgency. We also trust that he will do so boldly and fundamentally," he added. — Sapa.

ROBERT GENTLE ..

Apartheid is on wane — Rocard

PARIS — French Prime Minister Michel Rocard has praised the new climate in SA, saying things were "moving in the right direction" and that apartheid was "slowly on the wane". B1 Dawn 1/12/89

The presence in Paris of more than a hundred South Africans of all races discussing the future of their country showed that people were beginning to speak to each other differently, he said.

Rocard's remarks, reported last night in the French daily Le Monde, were made to a group of journalists on the occasion of the Paris indaba, which started on Monday.

The indaba was an important element in the slow move away from apartheid to which the SA government had resigned itself, he said. (304A)

France's role in the event stemmed from the interest she had always shown towards Africa, as well as the desire to promote, "wherever we can be heard", respect for freedom and human rights.

Le Monde reported that the ANC's Thabo Mbeki would like to see Danielle Mitterand, whose France-Libertes movement organised the indaba, granted citizenship of a free and democratic SA.

Meanwhile, the SA embassy in Paris confirmed that Neil van Heerden, No 2 in the SA department of Foreign Affairs, had visited Paris last Friday and met a senior

☐ To Page 2

Apartheid wanes

☐ From Page 1

(304A)

figure in the Elysee, the office of the French president.

Van Heerden was received by African Affairs councillor and brother of the French president Jean-Christophe Mitterrand at the Elysee.

Informed sources said Van Heerden gave Mitterrand an overview of events in southern Africa, with particular emphasis on Namibia, Angola and the crucial importance SA attached to Mozambique.

This region of the subcontinent, Van Heerden told Mitterrand, would become Pretoria's No 1 priority over the next six months. B1 Dawn 1/12/89

Sources said Van Heerden also spoke of what was described as a "two phase approach" to ultimate reform in SA. The first involved promoting a climate of confidence in which opposing sides could get together. Only then would formal negotiations begin.

Observers said this explained why Pretoria had not stood in the way of the Paris indaba, despite not having sent any representatives itself.

It also emerged yesterday that Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope made a private visit to Paris earlier this week and met a number of leading French politicians.

These included Paris mayor Jacques Chirac, Rhone MP and former presidential candidate Raymond Barre, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission in the French Senate Jean Lecanuet.

B/Day 1/12/87

Govt is not obsessed with groups, says FW

Govt

PRETORIA — Government was not ideologically obsessed with groups, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He was speaking at the Union Buildings after two hours of discussions with a KwaZulu delegation led by Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi.

Goverment opponents, said De Klerk, were making negative proganda of the group issue.

The reality of diversity could not be ignored, he said. It was a powerful force. It had been acknowleged in other countries, among them Switzerland, and the reality had to be addressed and accommodated.

Buthelezi told Pressmen that there was a need to be wary about talk of cultural groups.

He said at the meeting representations had been made on problems created by rapid urbanisation and the numbers flooding into the urban areas with no voice or channel of communication to goverment.

The Nelson Mandela release issue

GERALD REILLY

was raised and De Klerk had assured him the matter was being seriously addressed.

Buthelezi said Mandela's release was "the biggest obstacle to getting negotiations off the ground".

De Klerk intervened to say an announcement would be made as soon as government was ready.

De Klerk said discussions were cordial and centred on the need for negotiation and ways in which moves could be made in that direction, and impedients removed.

Minorities

Buthelezi had contributed valuable inputs on planning the way ahead and these would receive government's close attention.

De Klerk repeated government's commitment to negotiation and the creation of a new dispensation which would be fair and include all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, and which would prevent domination of minorities.

Buthelezi said he was encouraged by De Klerk's direct style. He never tried to indulge in petty and cheap politicking like his predecesssor.

De Klerk added discussions with Buthelezi would be resumed in the near future.

Sapa reports that De Klerk was assisted by Constitutional Development and National Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, and Constitutional Development and National Education Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer.

Buthelezi, who also heads Inkatha, was assisted by members of his executive, including Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's executive secretary.

Buthelezi said he had requested yesterday's meeting as a follow-up to one he had in May, when a committee was set up with former Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis to investigate obstacles impeding negotiation.

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Results 'show 12% swing to CP'

Cape Times 1/12/89

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday claimed that the by-election results in Vasco and Ceres, where the National Party majorities were slashed, showed a 12% swing to the CP over the last 12 months.

The results, the CP said in a statement, were a clear rejection of President F W de Klerk's political reform.

However, although the reduced majorities were a setback for the NP, the CP only marginally increased its total vote in both seats — up 286 in Vasco and 73 in Ceres.

The dull, low-key by-election campaigns did not arouse much voter interest.

Nevertheless, the decline in the NP majority in Vasco from 5 243 in 1987 to 3 899 in September to 1 243 this week and in Ceres from 2 860 in 1987 to 2 473 to 1 570 this week does reflect a serious drift away from the NP.

If the trends reflected in the two Western Cape seats were reflected nationally, the NP would be in danger of losing many more seats in other elections.

Reform by NP too fast — Citizen

Political Staff

THE National Party may be going too fast with its reforms and it should not alienate its own followers, the government-supporting newspaper the Citizen commented in an editorial yesterday.

It claimed that the government's reform policies, specially the opening of beaches, the intention to repeal the Separate Amenities Act and the de facto unbanning of the ANC, had had an adverse effect.

The editorial reflects a growing unease among the right-wing of the NP about the pace of reform since President F W de Klerk was sworn into office.

This uneasiness is one of the reasons cited for the NP's poor showing in this week's by-elections in Vasco and Ceres.

The Citizen, which was started with secret Information Department funds and was later transferred to Perskor, said the NP "cannot afford to alienate its followers even at this particular time".

Reception marks end of Paris indaba

PARIS. — The largest-ever gathering between the ANC and a cross-section of some 85 South Africans drew to a close last night with a final reception at the French Foreign Ministry hosted by Foreign Minister Mr Roland Dumas.

Mr Dumas was the fourth senior French government figure in almost as many days to have received the delegates, underlining what some observers see as a mini diplomatic coup by the French.

Earlier in the week, the group met with Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard, National Assembly chairman Mr Laurent Fabius and Minister of Culture Mr Jack Lang.

France has effectively climbed on board the vehicle of reform in South Africa with the successful conclusion of what has already been dubbed Dakar II and has further enhanced its image in the eyes of black South Africans.

A final press conference was scheduled for today, a France-Libertes spokeswoman said, with most of the delegates scheduled to leave at the weekend.

There's no turning back

From PETER SULLIVAN
Weekend Argus
Special Correspondent

PARIS. — A week of debate here has significantly altered the future of South Africa — it is as simple as that.

On two major points, the African National Congress (ANC) on one hand and Cosatu on the other, changed attitudes as irreversibly as the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

Neither is easy to explain, both contain political complexity. Yet they represent a major shift in policy, in line with shifts taking place around Eastern Europe almost daily.

But these two significant issues represent only a drop in the ocean of inter-reaction that took place in a week of dining together, talking together, debating, visiting French dignatories and the inevitable late night sessions of intense discussion over bottles of red wine which saw former adversaries become firm friends.

It is almost impossible to over-emphasise the rapport established between opposing economists, for instance, or the friendship that grew between the Chairman of JCI, Mr Murray Hofmeyr and the ANC's rising star, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

They drank together, talked together into the wee hours and laughed together at the silly jokes which always help to alleviate the tension of political cut and thrust.

Attempting to adequately describe a week of speeches and hundreds of comments by about 90 people is impossible. Only glimmers of what really happened can be offered.

Who was here? The list is long, but it includes all the ANC's top brass from Lusaka except for its President Oliver Tambo, ill in hospital. Big business was represented, a large number of Press people were delegates, not there to report but to listen and take part in debates, and perhaps the most significant other group was the Mass Democratic Movement/United Democratic Front/Cosatu alliance, many of whom were meeting the ANC for the first time.

Nobody can doubt that this alliance and the ANC have similar political ideals, but it was the small differences which emerged that fascinated.

Who made the best speeches? It is difficult to say, but most delegates would single out Cosatu economist Mr Alec Irwin for making the most dramatic, and ANC constitutional researcher Mr Albie Sachs for his brief comment on human rights which made even the normally intransigent editor of Business Day, Mr Ken Owen, ameliorate his position.

University of the Western Cape economist Professor Pieter de Klerk put his finger on the main economic debate when he said it was how to get the mix of a mixed economy right. And the biggest gains of the conference were on the economics front, for a full day was spent in deep discussion of economic plans and philosophy.

This is when Mr Alec Irwin made his dramatic input, declaring that old style command economy ideas had to change as they had shown they could not market their goods effectively.

Put in simple language, what he finally said means that Cosatu has abandoned a strict economic view and is more flexible, agreeing that some of the free market economic truths are more important than old political beliefs which essentially nationalised all business.

Yet he remained extremely critical of present government policy. He said the country had to get a coherent and useful science and technology programme, as it did not help if every university did its own thing; a decent manpower programme so that artisans were not trained in modules that removed some essential skills; find an environment policy that did not rape the natural resources; change the education policy; get a tourist policy that was coherent and so on, all of which should be done democratically with worker input.

What the Paris meeting showed was that the talks held with the ANC have changed its positions, and that the ANC is willing to listen to debate and values the input from people as diverse as big business, university principals, authors like André Brink and poets like Antjie Krog, editors, economists, trade unionists and politicians like Wynand Malan of the Democratic Party — the only MP who was a delegate.

The conference was organised by Idasa, and executive-director Dr Alex Boraine said it had been wonderful to bring together people like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, the UDF's Murphy Morobe, Trevor Manuel, Cheryl Carolus of the Western Cape and Janet Cherry of the Eastern Cape with the ANC, business, editors, academics and writers.

"Idasa's aim is to make it possible for South Africans over a broad spectrum to get together and discuss tough issues to prepare for a new South Africa and this is what we achieved," he said.

All in all it was a remarkable meeting of brains and political planners.

If people can now meet the ANC in Paris without government panic, it cannot be long before President De Klerk unbans the organisation and the ANC ceases its violent struggle.

Ivory Coast gives F W red-carpet welcome

Star 2/12/87 (304A)

DAVID BREIER
Political Correspondent

YAMOUSSOUKO (Ivory Coast) — President Felix Houphouet-Boigny (84) rose from his sickbed yesterday to welcome South Africa's President de Klerk who is paying a State visit here.

Salute

However, Mr Houphouet-Boigny, who is suffering a bout of malaria, had to rest after lunch and delay his talks with Mr de Klerk, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his deputy, Mr Leon Wessels.

Talks were due to resume late last night.

When President de Klerk stepped off an SAA jumbo jet on arrival at the Ivorian capital, he was greeted by a 21-gun salute, brass band, traditional bands and dances.

A 100 m-long red carpet was laid out for him and he inspected a guard of honour.

Thousands of local people, many waving South African flags, lined the streets of Yamoussouko, Mr Houphouet-Boigny's home town, which he recently declared the capital.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny was the first black African leader to support dialogue with South Africa in 1971. There was speculation this weekend that he was considering opening official diplomatic ties with South Africa.

He is due to retire next year.

The Angolan civil war was expected to top the agenda of Mr de Klerk's talks with Mr Houphouet-Boigny, who has repeatedly called for dialogue with Pretoria despite opposition from hardline anti-apartheid leaders.

South African officials say privately that little concrete can be expected from the talks.

But, they said, the civil war in Angola and the abortive peace talks last June, in which Mr Houphouet-Boigny played a leading role, would be discussed in detail.

The Angolan peace talks have been undermined by the collapse of a ceasefire in the bush war between Unita rebels, supported by Pretoria, and Angola's Marxist government.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) has complained that the principal mediator, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, can do no more to break the deadlock, and Mr Houphouet-Boigny has been mentioned as a possible replacement.

But Portuguese President Soares, who met the Ivorian leader last weekend, dampened speculation of such a handover and said that Mr Houphouet-Boigny would remain in the background.

Reform

The Ivorian leader is likely to ask Mr de Klerk to use his influence over his Unita allies to bring them back to the negotiating table.

Mr de Klerk's plans to reform South Africa would also be a key item in the talks and the possible release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela would probably be raised, officials added. — Reuter.

WORLD WATCH

Bush sailing in rough seas

WHEN George Bush, then US President-elect, met Mikhail Gorbachev a year ago in New York there was some uncertainty about how to address the Soviet leader.

He was still Secretary-General of the Communist Party, but he had also been named President.

"Just what do we call you, anyway?" Mr Bush asked.

"Anything you like," Mr Gorbachev replied. So "President Gorbachev" it became, which sounds a great deal more democratic.

The incident says something about Mr Bush, who was not only interested in the detail of protocol but relaxed enough to broach a subject President Reagan had avoided. In another typical gesture, Mr Bush gave Mr Gorbachev a signed Russian-language edition of his campaign autobiography Looking Forward.

When the two leaders met off the coast of Malta yesterday they knew a little more about each other, but Mr Bush and his small team of aides are still wary of Mr Gorbachev's penchant for stealing the limelight with startling initiatives.



STAMP OF APPROVAL ... Malta commemorates the summit

By PETER TAYLOR of the Daily Telegraph

"Nothing is more on his mind, and on the mind of his advisers, than avoiding another Reykjavik," said a White House official (at Reykjavik, President Reagan came within an inch of being talked into giving up America's nuclear arsenal).

Quick

The administration has learnt fast in this respect. Secretary of State James Baker was hopelessly outmanoeuvred in Moscow last May, when Mr Gorbachev chose Mr Baker's visit to unveil unilateral Soviet troop cuts in Europe.

They dominated the media for days. When Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze visited Mr Baker in Wyoming last September, the Americans were quicker off the mark.

Protocol dictated that Mr Shevardnadze's Press conference should take place before Mr Baker's, so the Russian would have made the first official announcement of next year's Bush-Gorbachev summit in Washington. But Mr Baker phoned Mr Bush, who promptly broke the news to a group of reporters who were following him round the golf course at his Kennebunkport retreat.

Mr Bush understands perfectly that the American media demands winners and losers: No draws.

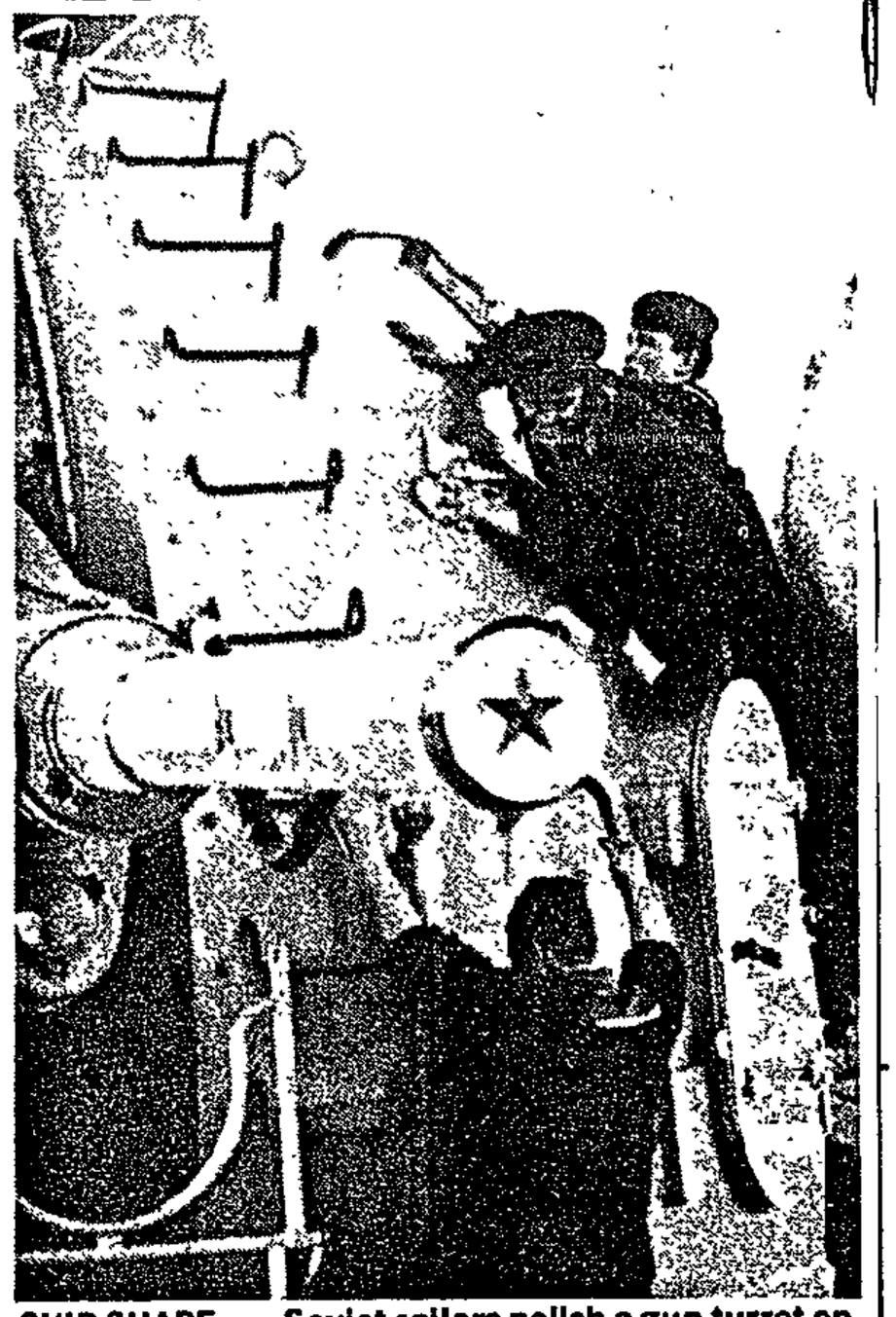
The Bush Administration is run the way Tory governments used to be: By a "magic circle" of chaps from much the same background. No one in the circle is closer than Mr Baker. But he, like Mr Bush, is reactive rather than ideological.

"This is the first administration since the war that has been more concerned with the consequences of communism's demise than with the threat of communism," he said recently.

"Is there a plan for that? Nobody has been faced with it before. It takes considerable management skill to handle it properly."

That Mr Baker should see the future of East-West relations in terms of "management skill" again says much about Mr Bush's approach to Mr Gorbachev. "Think no evil, hear no evil, see no evil" could be this administration's motto, as evidenced by Mr Bush's muted reaction to the Tiananmen Square massacre.

The President will have to spell out what the US can properly accept — but that may be quite a lot.



SHIP SHAPE ... Soviet sailors polish a gun turret on the cruiser Slava at Malta

Divided

Although Mr Gorbachev has given assurances to the US that "peaceful dissent" will be tolerated within the Soviet Union, it is clear that he intends to draw the line at demands for ethnic autonomy.

A senior administration official said: "If you start getting into questions of secession and independence — of the Baltics, for instance — they have got a very firm view that is a 'no-no', because it could lead to the complete dissolution of their entire nation." The outside experts to whom the President reputedly pays attention are still bitterly divided about Eastern Europe, and conflicting advice has been swirling round the White House.

No sooner had Dr Henry Kissinger averred that German reunification is "inevitable" than up popped Paul Nitze, formerly a national security consultant to both Democratic and Republican administrations, to say: "I do not think that anything is inevitable."

George Kennan, doyen of foreign policy analysts, went further, claiming that German reunification was "unthinkable". Then former Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger warned that reducing Nato's strength would be "criminal folly."

The economic consequences of the Cold War's end are also beginning to stir debate in Washington. A recent survey showed that of 940 Soviet joint ventures with foreign partners, 595 were with European and Japanese companies, and only 97 with American. There is growing concern that opportunities are being missed.

'Release as and when it is possible'

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday stated publicly for the first time that imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be freed — "but I'm not prepared to speculate on when".

Speaking at a news conference after a day of talks with Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, he said: "As and when it is possible, he will be released."

After a two-day visit, marked by the rousing welcome he received, Mr De Klerk also said reforms undertaken by his Government were being recognised by African and other foreign governments.

"There is a spirit of hope, and people are reaching out for one another in South Africa," he said.

Asked if he hoped to establish full diplomatic ties with Ivory Coast, whose President has praised his reforms, he said: "I don't think it is a dream. It can become a reality."

But he wouldn't speculate on the timing of such a move, because the Ivory Coast must make its own decision.

Trade

"I strive to normalise relationships throughout Africa, wherever and whenever possible. And I have no doubt that in that process the Ivory Coast will obviously be one of the first possibilities," said Mr De Klerk.

President Houphouet-Boigny has made it clear that, though he favours closer economic ties with SA and favours negotiations to end apartheid, Mr Mandela must be released before full relations can be established.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, arrived on Friday on a 24-hour visit.

The talks between the two leaders centred on the 14-year-old civil war in Angola. They discussed how to restart stalled peace talks between Luanda's Marxist government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita. President Houphouet-Boigny has maintained close ties with Unita.

South African products are openly sold in the Ivory Coast, despite an OAU ban on trade links. South African Airways has a direct flight between Johannesburg and the capital, Abidjan.

President Houphouet-Boigny, 84, who has met former SA leaders John Vorster and P W Botha, advocates dialogue rather than trade sanctions as a means of getting Pretoria to dismantle its apartheid policies.

This has earned him indirect criticism from SA's hardline opponents like Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Sunday Times Political Staff, Yamoussoukro.

304B
3/12/89

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Perspectives

S/Times 3/12/89 (309A

De Klerk's velvet

THE manner in which President De Klerk has reined in the security establishment has given rise to much (and often exaggerated) comment that the new broom in Union Buildings is bent on "sweeping out the securocrats".

In truth, the matter is much less confrontational.

True, the new State President probably *does* believe that men in uniform acquired too much influence under his predecessor. But his decision to reduce their presence in the making and execution of policy is more a question of adapting to circumstances than to pique towards the wearers of those uniforms.

Those who may be lulled into believing that Mr De Klerk is soft on security should think again. The iron fist will be retained inside the velvet glove which Mr De Klerk uses to address political questions; he knows that strong security forces must be maintained to hold the ring when a society enters the dangerous period of transition. He's actually made a point of saying so.

Some perspective, therefore, on recent developments affecting the security forces: The virtual dismantling of the National Security Management System, the curbing of the Security Council's powers, and the (apparently well founded) reports of impending cutbacks in the Defence budget.





by Lester Venter

Anxious

For one thing, as a question of personal style, the new President, with his legal background, has a preference for governance through law.

Mr De Klerk is anxious to nudge the country back towards civilian rule although South Africa was never really the full-blown police state as it was caricatured by its critics, whose often harsh, uninformed responses were often believed.

Thus, whatever the future holds, we can expect a different kind of administration from what we have become used to in recent years. Former President Botha was, in many respects, a product of his experience as Minister of Defence and carried a metaphorical baton with him into every meeting. Mr De Klerk prefers a law book.

This week he astonished many by scrapping the NSMS almost totally. We need not, however, have been so surprised, the system had simply become superflous

When it was introduced four years ago, during the height of political violence sweeping the country, it was designed to fill a very real need and it did a creditable job

Quite simply, incompetent administration by other branches of the public service had led to appalling service failures in the townships — which quickly became focal points of unrest — and well-trained SADF officers were best equipped to knock recalcitrant bureaucratic heads together in order to get some action

Many of the justified grievances in black communitities arose when good ideas, carefully mapped strategies and ministerial commands went into the departmental maw — and then became lost.

"Comrades" tried to make townships ungovernable because bungling civilian officials had made them virtually uninhabitable

So, enter the NSMS as the cavalry to put things right. Only the military had the leanness of command and efficiency of execution (not to mention the sound middle-management training) to start fixing very real practical grievances in the black community These were anything from taps and street lights to sewerage pipes and community halls

Besides, it was the military that had formulated the strategy they called WHAM — Win Hearts and Minds.

In due course, the military came to feel that it had fulfilled its brief as best it could. Many of the taps were fixed and the halls were built; it was then over to the politicians to create the constitutional structures in which the seeds of WHAM could flower.

Alexandra, near Johannesburg, was one of the best examples.

But the politicians of the P W Botha era let them down. Policy-making, and execution, came to a dead stop

The men in uniform became frustrated, some embittered. The NSMS became flaccid and the mini-government-within-a-government had little to do except eat up manpower.

Waste

Mr De Klerk, a tidy housekeeper, quickly spotted the waste — and acted

Suggestions of a rift between Mr De Klerk and General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, are simply not supported by the evidence.

Even the cutting of SA's huge defence expenditure is a logical outflow of recent events and not a pointed device to knock the defence establishment on the head. Indeed, such a cut-back was a major — if not the principal — motivation behind bringing the Angola-Namibian war to an end and launching our costly colony on the road to independence.

It cost literally billions to maintain a border army and to conduct operations into Angola. On a cost-and-return basis, the game simply wasn't worth it. With sanctions and other similar factors eroding the economy's base, the country could not afford it any longer.

Furthermore, in the last five years a new management system within the SADF, initiated by General Malan, has streamlined the use of funds by the forces and great savings have been achieved.

The day-to-day running costs of the SADF have been turned from about 80 percent of budget some years ago to under 50 percent at present.

These savings are urgently needed for defence hardware. The primary project is the hugely expensive development of an indigenous fighter aircraft — currently on the drawing board and scheduled for service at the turn of the century.

Looking at the country's security bill in wider terms, indications are that it is Mr De Klerk's intention to transfer expenditure [illegible] boys on the border to bobbies on the beat — where, it is now recognised, the ultimate security crunch will lie

Far from resisting the changes of policy emphasis, General Malan has actively [illegible] for them.

However much a hawk he may have been in the gung-ho days of "total onslaught" and perceived conventional military threats, his experience of the last two years of regional peace negotiations has broadened his vision and today he tends to cast himself more in the role of soldier-diplomat.

Logical

He has personally experienced the manifold benefits of agreements over the negotiating table rather than on the battlefield.

Meanwhile, it was logical to assume along that Mr De Klerk would, once in office, shift the centre of power in South African government closer to the end of the spectrum from which he draws his authority ... the civilian one.

He wants to bring government closer to the people. All that remains is for it to be brought closer to *all* the people.

CALLING INVESTORS, ENTREPRENEURS,

S/Times 3/12/84.

...'s velvet glove

(304A)



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Harald Pakendorf

How hearts and minds were lost

IT WAS little known, cost a great deal of money and 196 000 Owambos kicked it in the teeth.

Nobody talks about it now that the war along the Angolan border is over, yet it was one of its most significant failures.

It went with a WHAM rather than a whimper.

Winning the Hearts and Minds (WHAM) of the people in Owambo was a civic action programme of which the army was particularly proud.

Roads were built, schools were manned by national servicemen and health programmes were upgraded. Over the years the army poured money and people into these efforts because it believed a guerrilla war was not won by force alone.

No, that only accounted for 20 percent of the war effort. The other — and vital — 80 percent should focus on the day-to-day problems of the people and ought to give them hope for the future.

In a way it was saying: The people are unhappy about their circumstances, that's why they are rising up against us. They don't want the vote — they just want to live a little better.

But it didn't work because only 9 000 Owambos voted for the DTA while 196 000 said yes to Swapo.

WHAM is, however, still with us in South Africa.

There are innumerable studies, often quoted by the Minister of Defence, which say precisely what the army was saying about the Owambos. It is not really the vote the people want.

That call is just the work of agitators, mostly inspired by foreigners.

South Africa's WHAM was run by the National Security Management System which, through the State Security Council, originated and co-ordinated security operations and addressed the community needs of the people, again on the 80-20 principle.

The NSMS was killed off this week by the State President, who brought decision-making back to where it belongs — the Cabinet.

Of course people will be unhappy if they are not properly housed, fed, schooled, if there aren't jobs, if tomorrow does not look better than today.

And of course there are agitators and some are foreign.

Yet it is difficult to agitate if people don't feel themselves wronged — which they did in Owamboland and which they do in South Africa.

There is something to be said for WHAM, for the 80-20 principle, for the army belief that it can only create the security space within which politicians must look to the grievances of the people.

Who is to blame for the death of WHAM in Owamboland? The army, which won the war but lost the peace, or the politicians who failed to address the political grievances of the people?

Would the DTA not have fared even better if it had been allowed to scrap apartheid and lead South West Africa to independence as Namibia?

The answers are not simple but the lessons ought to be clear. The community needs of people have to be addressed That is the job of all governments everywhere. But this is not enough. Political demands will also have to be met — not halfway but fully.

You cannot win the hearts and minds of the people by denying them the vote. People will always insist on being part of the government, on helping to decide the composition of the government.

And if the vote is not given, it will be taken.

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THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

Why America is committed to staying involved in your future



by William Swing

U.S. Ambassador to Pretoria

SOMETHING approximating a process towards change has begun in South Africa — however falteringly, however undefined publicly and however uncertain the outcome.

While the main pillars of Verwoerdian *grootapartheid* remain, there is daily erosion which varies widely from place to place.

Of course, as in the past, many of these changes are unrelated to official action; over time, policy catches up to stamp *de facto* developments *de jure*. There seems to be growing popular consensus on:

- The inevitability of change;
- The irreversibility of the fledgling process;
- People's desire to participate in the new order;
- Realisation by both blacks and whites that nothing inside South Africa can any longer be done unilaterally or by force.

My sense, after a few months in South Africa, is that we are still very much in the climate creation phase, and that the parties are still very far apart. This comes as no surprise, given the years of accumulated mistrust and suspicion.

Timing has always presented a challenge in addressing South African issues. What some believe should come years later, if at all, others believe should have occurred yesterday.

There seem to be two broad schools of thought on the timing of fundamental change.

One is the "Big Bang" theory, which holds that the new political millennium will arrive tomorrow.

The other is the "Stations of the Cross" school of thought, which envisions a credible negotiation process in which a series of confidence-building measures allows all sides to become gradually comfortable with

National dialogue must dwell less on outcomes and more on process

one another in the growing knowledge that a just order will be achieved within an acceptable timeframe.

not work; the scars violence leaves perpetuate animosity and fear

Here there have recently been encouraging developments. Cross-border raids have ceased, the Cubans are pulling out of Angola, Namibia has held free and fair elections preparatory to

HANK COHEN, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, has been quietly floating the notion that, if President F W de Klerk sticks to his present course, President George Bush may be in a position next June to propose modifications to the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

The CAAA permits the US president to take such a step if Pretoria meets four of five conditions, one of which — the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela — is mandatory.

The others are the repeal of the state of emergency, the unbanning of political organisations and activity, the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts and the government's agreement to enter "good faith" negotiations with "truly representative members of the black majority".

Of these, the only one that De Klerk himself has declared impossible is the repeal of the Population Registration Act as it provides the basis for the electoral roll

and will therefore be required until such time as a new constitution has been formally adopted. The rest, in cohen's view, at any rate, are already starting to be fulfilled on a de facto basis.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that four of the five requirements are fulfilled within the next six months or so and De Klerk thereby scores the required 80 per cent.

Will the Berlin Wall the US has tried to erect around South Africa over the past decade come tumbling down as precipitately as the real one did a few weeks ago?



Bush can't turn back the tide of hysteria . . .

Simon Barber — Washington Diary

No. To begin with, I doubt that if and when push came to shove the Bush administration would have the guts to seek serious changes in the CAAA, Cohen's hints notwithstanding. The law gives Congress 30 days to veto — by majorities in both houses — any modification the president might contemplate.

And even though such a veto would be by no means certain in the senate, a vicious fight with the house of representatives would be inevitable.

The administration doesn't fight with Congress, least of all on peripheral matters.

Second, the act is only one part of the wall. Punch holes in it and the sections of the Export Administration Act that oblige the US to oppose South African access to the International Monetary Fund would still stand.

Such access, as Anglo American's Gavin Relly has recently been arguing over here, is the one concession from the rest of the world South Africa really needs.

Third, and perhaps most important, all federally imposed sanctions could be lifted tomorrow and there would be absolutely no rush of US trade or capital back into South Africa.

For most US businessmen and bankers, South Africa is history. As Zimbabwe ought to bear witness, once sanctions drive US investment out of an African country, it rarely comes back.

In South Africa's case, whatever Bush might persuade Congress to accept in terms of easing the CAAA, there would still be the matter of State and local selective purchasing laws and related shakedowns.

Away from Washington, the harassment of anyone even faintly connected to South Africa continues unchecked. The point has been reached where brokerage houses will not even research South African mining stocks for fear of losing bond underwriting business from municipalities like Los Angeles.

From January 1, the situation is likely to get even worse. From that date California will effectively require any US or foreign company wishing to sell stock in this country to disclose publicly any tie to South Africa, however tenuous.

Even a US firm that lent money to another US firm which had done more than R26 000 business with the Republic would be obliged to report that fact, opening itself to blackmail and other abuse from the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In short, America has made itself all but irrelevant to South Africa's future happiness. Coben's hints are nice, but they aren't worth a damn.

one another in the growing knowledge that a just order will be achieved within an acceptable timeframe.

Today's South Africa may need to develop a common political vocabulary. A reassuring phrase to one may be a pejorative buzz word to another.

What one may view as a major concession on its part may be interpreted by its opponents as a ploy to divide or confuse. (And both may equally miss the point.)

Some may even see my government's modest assistance in human rights, black empowerment and education as diversionary and *prima facie* evidence that we are not ultimately committed to fundamental change leading to a new just order; still others may view these same aid efforts as conspiratorial or radical.

A common desire to move beyond South Africa's recent status quo could be advanced if each party were willing to seek a settlement other than exclusively on its own terms. Right now there appears to be two separate agendas: The dismantling-of-apartheid agenda which some are following, and the power agenda which others believe to be the real one.

"Apartheid — nee" and "amandla — yebo." Which is it? Or is it both? The potential for misunderstanding, mutual disappointment and further delay could be largely eliminated if these dual agendas could be reconciled.

I believe the national dialogue would be more productive if it dwelt less on outcomes and more on process. While vision is important, so too are first steps, and these have begun.

There are, of course, no "made-in-Washington" solutions. I fully accept the "Frank Sinatra doctrine" in South

Violence will never work — its scars perpetuate animosity and fear

Africa — you should do it "your way". Let me nonetheless paint the general contours of US policy toward South Africa as viewed through the prism of a recently arrived ambassador.

Justice is the objective of our policy, non-violence the nature of the process, and prosperity the motor to power the peaceful process toward the just end.

While South Africans must determine what kind of post-apartheid system they desire, it is hard to imagine a just society unless every citizen is equal to every other citizen under the law. The well-being of all is best secured through a negotiated settlement.

Each of us has good history and bad history. A mark of national maturity, however, is to accept that it's all our history.

The second leg in this three-legged policy stool is peace. And peace comes when there is consent of the governed. The prospects for a just society are enhanced if people are able to get there through peaceful, non-violent means: Talking, negotiating, working together. Violence from whatever quarter will perpetuate animosity and fear.

Here there have recently been encouraging developments. Cross-border raids have ceased, the Cubans are pulling out of Angola, Namibia has held free and fair elections preparatory to independence, Mozambique has renounced Marxism/Leninism, and South Africa is witnessing its own "thousand points of light" through countless private initiatives of reconciliation which augment the Government's first steps in this direction.

Peace, it appears, is gradually settling her mantle over this region, as South Africa improves relations with her neighbours and seeks to engage in a national dialogue at home.

Our policy is to encourage and assist this process.

The third leg is prosperity. All South Africans and all who wish this great country well, including my own country, have an interest in keeping the South African economy sound during the political transaction.

Clearly a new political dispensation has significant economic implications. Apartheid is at the heart of South Africa's economic troubles — a wasteful system, in both human and money terms, which created self-fulfilling prophecies based on race.

All South Africans, we believe, share a common interest in moving into a

No African country has a more promising future than does South Africa

post-apartheid era with an economy intact — a restructured economy accessible to all people.

Attention must be directed at the economic structures and policies appropriate for the post-apartheid era. South Africa's needs and aspirations are unique and it will have to develop a unique economic model. But world experience will be relevant, and it shows that a free-enterprise, market-oriented system is most suitable for meeting the needs of a free and just society.

My government wishes to reaffirm its commitment to remain engaged in South Africa. The US must be a player to be helpful. This means effective dialogue with the Government and all other players.

It is hard not to be enthusiastic about this country despite the years lost walking down a dead-end alley — and despite the wide chasm between the key players. South Africa's strength is its people — besides which, it is richly endowed and possesses half of Africa's productive capacity, one of the world's finest climates, the continent's best physical infrastructure and technological base, and stable institutions.

I know of no other African country with a more promising future than South Africa — provided its "people problem" can be transformed into a "people opportunity."

During my first tour of duty in South Africa, the Rivonia prisoners were sentenced to life imprisonment — and on my return most have been released. While it saddens me to think of the lost intervening years, I am fortunate to have returned to this beautiful country as it begins to step into the future.

● *Extracted from an address at the Sunday Times Top 100 Companies banquet in Johannesburg this week.*

3/12/89

There IS a light at the end of the sanctions tunnel

John Chettle

former director for North America of the South Africa Foundation, sees encouraging signs of improved relations between the United States and SA

IF private assurances that have been given to the Bush Administration by the South African Government are carried out, relations between the US and South Africa may be on the brink of a significant improvement — perhaps the most dramatic change for the better since the National Party took power in 1948.

Such a statement may surprise South Africans who have been following Press reports on US attitudes.

During the October Senate hearing on South Africa it was widely reported, for example, that South Africa had been given a deadline: Change by the end of the next parliamentary session ... or else.

Similarly, recent reports have suggested that whatever F W de Klerk does, Bush will be unable to "turn back the tide of hysteria". It is said that it would be a waste of time for him to visit the US, and that even if he were to go, there would be very little that the Bush administration could or would dare to do for him.

Affront

It has been suggested that the "volkspolitzei" in the House of Representatives and the 15 percent of the electorate which is black (actually, closer to 11 percent and not voting in those numbers) would regard any alleviation of sanctions as a direct affront.

Finally, South Africans have been told that US investment in South Africa is already about as uncomfortable and isolated as John le Carré's spy who came in from the cold, and that the position is likely only to deteriorate.

Now, it's true that some of the these points need to be taken seriously. Divestment measures by state and local governments have operated almost irrespective of what is happening in Washington — not to mention what is happening in South Africa itself.

It is also true that this is an issue which makes politicians very nervous. South Africa has been in the dogbox for so long that politicians are still afraid of being bitten. There is also a genuine concern about black opinion, both in the US and in South Africa — the more so because Americans are uneasily aware of lingering tensions and inequalities within their own society.

And it is true that President Bush and his agile Secretary of State, James Baker, have shown no inclination to fall upon their swords, either in this or any other cause. This is not an administration with any profound philosophical principles; its guiding principle is pragmatism.

One can be cynical about that, or one can observe that it is an inevitable corollary of a divided system of government in which Congress is controlled by the opposing party. Bipartisanship is not merely a strategy for the Bush administration — it is all but a necessity.

Confidence

And, finally, it is true that the Democratic Party, which controls Congress, is deeply beholden to black support, and has been in the vanguard pressing for sanctions against South Africa.

Perhaps that sounds as if the case for the situation being hopeless is made, and that nothing more need be said.

But the trouble with such arguments is not merely that they are arguments of despair. They are, in effect, arguments that existing circumstances cannot be changed, that the US is irrevocably antagonistic.

The most astonishing revelation at the recent Senate hearings lay in the predictions of change made by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Hank Cohen.

He divided the process of reform in South Africa into three phases. The first was what he described as the "process issues". Obviously, it is impossible to have a negotiation about a future constitutional structure while the leaders of one essential part of those negotiations are in jail. By definition, then, Nelson Mandela and the other detainees have to be released.

Similarly, there can be no negotiation while their parties are banned or they are unable to move freely around the country to consult with their followers.

It follows, therefore, that the state of emergency has at least to be suspended and the ANC (or at least its non-military wing) unbanned.

The second aspect of the programme for change sketched by Cohen was the removal of discriminatory legislation, particularly the Group Areas Act, the Land Act of 1913, the Population Registration Act, and the Separate Amenities Act.

Here again, what was stunning was Cohen's confidence that much of this legislation would be removed. He said: "I would expect that much of this would be done in the next parliamentary session, which begins in February in Cape Town." But more important was Cohen's belief that the reforms would take place — a belief, as he made clear in a subsequent interview, that was based on assurances given by the South African Government.

The final phase of reform, that of negotiation with blacks about a new constitutional structure, Cohen described as the most important, but he set no deadlines.

Cohen, in another phrase that was not picked up by the Press, noted that "our policy will balance pressure and incentives".

This raises the question very directly. What would be the reaction of the administration and the Congress to a sequence of events in which the state of emergency is ended or at least suspended; in which the ANC and other parties are unbanned; in which the State President announces that certain pieces of discriminatory legislation will be scrapped (as he has already done in connection with the Separate Amenities Act); and in which Nelson Mandela is released and invited, together with other major white, black, coloured and Indian leaders, to participate in negotiations on a new constitution?

Results

It is here that one needs a little imagination. What will be the impact of such events on a media-driven society like the US? Would the Bush administration and senior members of the Congress simply renege upon their assurances of reciprocity? Would this be an intelligent thing for them to do?

Practising politicians here understand that such reforms have an electoral cost. They realise that the South African Government needs to show results. And what would be the reaction of the South African Government if there were no effort to reciprocate?

A good deal will also depend on the attitude of black leaders in South Africa. US Congressional leaders will undoubtedly look for guidance to black leaders in South South Africa — their role may not be decisive, but it will be important.

But those leaders are in a difficult position. They still have no assurance that the Government is going to share power, and may overestimate their own.

Some may believe that sanctions have been more effective in getting the Government to move than is really warranted. Some may feel a temptation to play it safe, to use tough rhetoric rather than to explore the possibilities of compromise.

Some see sanctions as the only weapon they have to put continued pressure on the Government. They worry that, if some sanctions are removed, they may not be able to reinstate them if the Government fails to negotiate in good faith.

But perhaps black leaders don't understand the full dimensions of their problem. For if there is no demonstrable recognition from overseas of what the Government has done — and the relaxation of some sanctions would be the best sort of recognition — there may be a backlash which brings reform to a halt.

It was, in fact, the absence of any domestic or overseas recognition of the reforms Sir Edgar Whitehead introduced in Rhodesia in the early '60s which helped to bring the Rhodesian Front to power, and led to Mr Ian Smith, UDI and civil war.

The question is whether there is a Lech Walesa among those black leaders who is statesman enough to recognise the fears among whites as well as the need to give leadership to blacks. One thing such a statesman needs to do is to give that guidance to Congress and the administration.

What can South Africa expect? Not the elimination of all sanctions, certainly. But there are some sanctions that are likely to be removed.

Battle

The US may well also eliminate financial sanctions, including the requirement that the US vote against any South African application for financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund.

The criteria for removing that restriction are less demanding than for removing sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

None of this means that this is going to be an easy battle, or that South Africa can sit back and wait for sanctions to fall like ripe fruit.

South Africans are going to have to shake the tree and be there to catch the fruit; but that the fruit is there to be caught and that it can be shaken loose there can be very little doubt.

S/Times 3/12/84.

304A

Delighted Paris indaba delegates find they have much in common

By KAREN MacGREGOR: Paris

MUCH excess baggage has been shed en route from Dakar to Paris ... and at this week's meeting of more than 100 South Africans and ANC exiles, people tackled the nitty-gritty of life after apartheid.

Largely abandoning rhetoric, fears and ideological platforms, most delegates found it was easier to travel light. They engaged in what must be one of the most exhaustive debates held on South Africa's future economy, constitution and society.

Subjects discussed included recent developments in southern Africa, the economy and a new constitution, the SA Law Commission Report, the ANC's constitutional guidelines, the Harare Declaration and government proposals.

In spite of the absence of some notable players (not the least of which were the SA Government and Inkatha), the meeting was broadly representative, including black and white business leaders, Cosatu, lawyers, academics and a judge, media people, politicians, 25 ANC leaders and several members of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Several of the South African delegates had restrictions lifted to enable them to attend.

The importance of the Paris indaba, after 50-odd contacts with the ANC since 1987, was not only the quality of debate and the building of bridges but the high-level involvement of the French Government.

At a dinner with Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr rejected the concept of group rights in a post-apartheid society.

Group rights would simply entrench existing inequalities.

He said negotiations between the Government and the ANC would require the acceptance of two basic conditions:

"The first is that every South African should be a full citizen with full rights, including political ones.

"The second is that, having recognised the need to destroy the wicked doctrine of apartheid, it is necessary to recognise that the concept of group rights also has to be abandoned."

Strong individual rights were needed to create a genuine democracy.

The only serious moment of disharmony came when "moderate" delegates disagreed with the pro-sanctions stance of the ANC and MDM.

The conference was hosted by France Liberte, a foundation created by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, but organised by exiled author Breyten Breytenbach and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Idasa co-director Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said the progress made since Dakar — where there was far more posturing and less talking — was remarkable.

He said: "There has not only been a greater appreciation for positions adopted by the different sides, but much greater willingness to accept areas of common ground that previously did not exist at all."

He said it would be better if it was the South African Government talking to the ANC, "but the very fact that debate has to be initiated by the people present is a reflection of the deadlocked position which the Government has yet to break out of."

Discussing the law debate, Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of South Africa, said there had been acceptance of fundamental freedoms.

Delegates were happy with the ANC guidelines on an independent judiciary.

"It is also clear that the ANC will allow further debate on federalism and proportional representation."

Perhaps the most remarkable session was on the economy, where ideas rather than sparks flew.

Dr Ronnie Bethlehem, group economist with JCI, said delegates had uncovered much common ground.

"While differences remain, particularly on the matter of the redistribution of wealth, we are not too discouraged," he said.

Cosatu economist Alec Irwin said: "The fact that Cosatu is socialist should be the starting point of the debate, not the end. The same applies to business when they talk of free markets."

By the end of the week the mood was tangibly optimistic.

Every such conference, said Dr Slabbert, "strengthens my conviction that, given the appropriate circumstances and a conducive climate, South Africa has both the resources and the people to bring about fundamental change".

A closing statement declared that apartheid was "untenable and indefensible" and that a new post-apartheid SA was imperative.

"Such a society should be based on fundamental human liberties and equal political and economic choices and opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or gender."

They said negotiation politics would only succeed if a climate of negotiation was developed. "Such a climate would be encouraged by action against apartheid and towards a nonracial democracy in every sphere of life."

The UDF's Mr Murphy Morobe said the Paris debate should be continued vigorously in South Africa.

South Africa a'flutter over gift from Cuba

By RYAN CRESSWELL

CUBA has opened the doors for an exchange of wildlife with South Africa by presenting the Government with a gift of 20 rare Caribbean flamingos.

The birds were flown from the Cuban national zoo in Havana via Luanda in Angola.

They were escorted by two Cuban veterinarians and arrived at their new home in Durban's Umgeni River Bird Park this week.

Dr Alän Abrey, managing director of the park, said the birds were "a goodwill gift" to the South African Government.

He said: "This gift must indicate to what extent relations have improved between Cuba and South Africa. It is also an opening for the exchange of animals and birds between the two countries.

"We will probably be sending them some birds from our part of the world and I have heard they are keen to obtain two cheetahs from us."

Dr Abrey said he had scoured bird parks in Europe for Caribbean flamingos.

Then he asked the Foreign Affairs Department to put out a request for the rare birds when a South African delegation went to Cuba about two months ago.

"The department did a wonderful job and the Cuban authorities seem to have taken a lot of trouble with their gift," said Dr Abrey.

Caribbean flamingos are the largest variety and easily the most exotic with their bright orange-red plumage.

The beautiful birds are fairly rare and are difficult to obtain from Cuba.

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Colgate chief praises De Klerk

4/12/89

30 FA

By Jono Waters

A top businessman of a Boksburg-based multinational has praised the Government's move to open the town's CBD and declare Windmill Park a free settlement area.

The managing director of Colgate Palmolive, Mr Gerry Nocker, said in a statement the moves had proved business had an inescapable duty to advise and work with the Government to remove unjust racial laws.

He praised the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, for his handling of Boksburg affairs.

Mr Nocker, with international support from Colgate, has been in the forefront of criticising the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council, which re-introduced petty apartheid last year.

● See Page 15.

I'm smiling since I started to subscribe — not only am I saving money, but I am also enjoying the convenience of home delivery too!

Mandela, hit squads debated

Cabinet in indaba on new reforms

Star 4/12/89

304A

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Several important policy decisions are expected to be made at an intense special work session the Cabinet is holding in the Transvaal countryside today and tomorrow.

Among the matters expected to be decided are the date for the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, what to do with the McNally report into alleged police hit squads, and also the constitutional package for next year's session of Parliament.

It is also possible that the Cabinet will decide on measures to replace the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act which President de Klerk announced recently that he would scrap.

Another major decision which has been looming for some time is a lifting or partial relaxation of the media emergency regulations — and possibly some of the other regulations of the state of emergency.

President de Klerk raised expectations that one or more of these issues could be resolved soon when he said last week that he would be making an important announcement before going on holiday — in other words probably before mid-December.

The release of Mr Mandela now seems to be a foregone conclusion and the only question is when.

The special Cabinet work session is also expected to deal with next year's legislation programme and this will entail tackling the crucial question of group rights.

Government sources have recently indicated that the Cabinet has accepted that it will have to clear away the obstacles to negotiation — the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

New approach

Now it is considering what sort of consitutional proposals it will place on the negotiation table and what it will do about contentious apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenites Act and Population Registration Act.

Mr de Klerk has already indicated that the last Act cannot simply be scrapped, because it underpins the Constitution, but clearly some substantial amendments are necessary to bring it in line with the Government's new approach to groups — which includes the acceptance of voluntary formation of groups and the existence of an open "South African" group.

Mr de Klerk has also announced the Government's intention to scrap the Separate Amenities Act — but that special measures would have to be negotiated to deal with "sensitive areas" — like hospitals and clinics, camping sights and caravan parks and community swimming pools.

The Government has not yet said what these measures will be, though it has indicated that privatisation — and reserving certain amenities for people of a community — are two options.

All indications are that the Government intends to go to the negotiating table with a revised group-based system, and that this will be the major issue of disagreement between it and its negotiating partners.



A language barrier did not prevent Soviet Presid
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Malta summit decl that Cold War is o

VALLETTA — Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, basking in the warmest superpower climate since World War 2, have set their sights on a treaty by next June to halve their arsenals of intercontinental nuclear weapons.

The Soviet and American leaders wrapped up their first summit yesterday pledging to work for a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) by the time they meet again in the United States in the last two weeks of June.

They played down differences over issues such as naval arms control and Central America, and said their discussions had been thorough despite a storm in the Mediterranean which forced them to cancel one round of talks as well as dinner.

"We are leaving one epoch of Cold War and are entering another epoch," Mr Gorbachev told a news conference aboard the Soviet liner Maxim Gorky, where he and Mr Bush met at the weekend in a sheltered bay off the island of Malta.

Mr Bush welcomed liberal political reforms in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and said: "He (Gorbachev) knows that not only the president but all the people of the United States would like to see

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Impressions of the Paris indaba

AK643 4/12/89 304A

By PETER SULLIVAN, reporting from Paris

DELEGATES to the conference on South Africa's future held in Paris last week dined on fine French food and drank wonderful wines but it was the food for thought which was really memorable.

Five days of intense debate left every delegate with new insights. These are some of mine.

Economics:

☐ The attention of the North (rather than the West) is shifting quickly from Africa to eastern Europe, as traditional communism collapses. Aid will follow this shift.

☐ Command economies can achieve substantial changes but cannot market their reserves adequately or provide the needs of a more sophisticated economy.

☐ Subsidising food was acceptable when white Afrikaners were starving, now it is essential and economic sense because black Africans are starving.

☐ We will need a common currency for southern Africa to rival the common currency being planned for Europe in 1992.

☐ Previous formulas which were common among socialists — taking over the commanding heights of industry for example — are no longer acceptable to themselves and are being deeply questioned.

☐ If negotiators insist on retaining group rights they need not start the negotiations because they are doomed to fail, according to JCI's Murray Hofmeyr.

☐ The main debate on economics is how to get the "mix" right between command economy and free marketeering — nobody believes one system is correct.

☐ After a truly democratic non-racial government takes over in South Africa, the country will become more of a regional power with even greater responsibilities, not fewer. It could even start the process of uniting Africa politically for the first time in history.

☐ Sanctions are like chemotherapy: too little poison has no effect on the cancer, too much kills the patient more effectively than the cancer itself.

☐ The indigenous human resource is the way concerned trade unionists describe black workers.

Politics:

☐ ANC violence is no longer a major issue. Most parties believe the movement will be unbanned soon, probably within the next year.

☐ ANC leadership is diverse with flashes of brilliance and times of stupidity — like any political cabinet of any Western or Eastern country.

☐ The ANC, UDF, Cosatu, and MDM share major ideals but differ substantially on details of those ideals and on strategies to implement them.

☐ One of the major obstacles to negotiation is that the ANC will not contemplate an interim government, while the South African government can see no other way.

☐ An agenda and strict parameters will have to be set for negotiations. An open agenda with all things on the table will take too many years to resolve.

☐ President De Klerk is reforming extraordinarily fast, gaining huge space and credibility, but nobody is sure of where he intends to go by the start of the next century.

☐ A Bill of Rights is essential but the debate about its wording is far from over.

☐ Gender discrimination (women's rights essentially) still needs huge debate.

☐ Detention without trial is not only disgusting, it is an outrage on a personal level. Imagine yourself being separated from your 10-week-old child and only seeing him or her when they are two — with no chance to fight in court; imagine the frustration, anger and outrage that is felt.

☐ The cycle of oppression, revolt, reform, reaction cannot be undone by chanting the mantra "unban, release, dismantle, negotiate".

☐ Death squad revelations disturb Afrikaners who are no longer placated by slogans of war, total onslought, or false accusations of betrayal.

☐ There is an epidemic of tubercolosis among black people in South Africa which needs urgent action and funding.

☐ We must be ever vigilant and constantly suspicious to ensure that at the moment of liberation one tyranny is not replaced by another tyranny.

Naude meets ambassador in TV debate

Star 4/12/89.

The Star's Foreign News Service

VEENENDAL (Holland) — Two well-known Afrikaners — Dr Beyers Naude and the South African ambassador to the Netherlands, Dr Albert Nothnagel — faced each other in a 25-minute debate on Dutch television last night.

The debate took place on IKON television's "Kenmerk" programme.

Dr Nothnagel asked Dr Naude to "help us in South Africa by not asking for sanctions overseas, which causes so much suffering . . ."

Dr Naude laughed: "I hear what you are saying . . . But when can Nelson Mandela and the State President, Thabo Mbeki and Pik Botha talk to one another inside South Africa so that the entire population, black and white, could listen to (the Government)?"

Dr Nothnagel — who before becoming the ambassador often pleaded for a direct debate between the African National Congress and the South African Government — replied: "We live in a world in which everything is possible."

After the debate, which covered a wide spectrum of subjects, the two men smiled at each other and shook hands — but Dr Naude immediately turned away.



Things are looking up . . . the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha tour the enormous Basilique Notre Dame de la Paix, in Yamoussoukro, on their weekend State visit to the Ivory Coast. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

F W hopes for Ivory Coast diplomatic links

YAMOUSSOUKRO — President de Klerk, seeking to end South Africa's isolation in black Africa, said at the weekend that he hoped to establish diplomatic ties with the Ivory Coast.

After talks with Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Africa's longest-serving leader, Mr de Klerk said that formal relations with the West African country were possible.

"I do not think that it (diplomatic ties) is a dream, it can become a reality, but I do not want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny and I do not want to make specific predictions," Mr de Klerk told a press conference here.

The Ivorians had no comment to make on their relations with Pretoria.

The talks between the two leaders centred on the 14-year-old civil war in Angola. They discussed how to restart stalled peace talks between Luanda's Marxist government and Western-backed Unita rebels.

President Houphouet-Boigny has close ties with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

DIALOGUE

Mr de Klerk said he greatly valued the relationship with President Houphouet-Boigny, one of the few African leaders to have maintained a dialogue with Pretoria.

South African products are openly on sale in the Ivory Coast, despite an Organisation of African Unity trade ban. South African Airways has a direct flight between Johannesburg and the country's main city, Abidjan.

President Houphouet-Boigny (84), who has met former South African leaders Mr John Vorster and Mr P W Botha, advocates dialogue rather than trade sanctions as a means of getting Pretoria to abandon apartheid policies.

This has earned him indirect criticism from South Africa's hardline opponents such as Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Pretoria has sent elephants and white rhinos for a safari park President Houphouet-Boigny is building near Yamoussoukro, the sprawling but almost deserted capital he has carved out of the plantations around his native village.

Mr de Klerk and his delegation returned home on Saturday night confident that the visit was an overwhelming success and would contribute to better relations throughout Africa. — Reuter.

'Ties with SA depend on Mandela's release'

Political Staff

CONDITIONS for the resumption of full diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Ivory Coast have been spelled out in a front page editorial in the Ivory Coast daily newspaper Fraternite Matin.

The conditions would be the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the start of negotiations.

Fraternite Matin made it quite clear in an editorial the day President F W de Klerk arrived in Yamoussoukro that "it all depends on De Klerk".

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release was "not a dream and could become a reality". He acknowledged that the ANC leader had been discussed with Ivory Coast president Mr Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

"I have no news for you in that regard," he said, adding that the government was constantly reviewing the situation and "as and when it is possible, he will be released".

Addressing a press conference prior to returning to SA, Mr De Klerk said the talks had ranged from practical issues of mutual concern to political developments in Africa.

The Ivory Coast president, he said, had been very interested in developments in SA and the latest initiatives.

South Africa was prepared to play its part in Southern Africa on a constructive and positive level.

Asked whether SA planned to approach the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for membership, Mr De Klerk said: "I don't think we should press for membership. We must normalise relations with as many countries as possible and membership will flow from that."

Mr De Klerk said he had not asked Mr Houphouet-Boigny to help SA normalise relations with other countries, but had no doubt that he would inform other countries of the conclusions he had drawn from the talks.

Asked whether he was not caught between the two fires of black demands and the white right-wing, Mr De Klerk said he did not feel he was caught "and not between fires".

If there were fires, he added, he would put them out.

He said it was impossible to satisfy everyone, but that he believed the majority of South Africans supported the process which had begun in SA.

"There is a spirit of hope and people are reaching out to one another in South Africa."

Paris indaba closes on high note

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The six-day conference between 110 South Africans from the ANC and a wide spectrum of political opinion ended on Saturday, achieving what a final communique described as much common ground despite clear differences.

The event, the largest of its kind, was organised by the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation through its human rights movement France-Libertes, with active support from the French government at the highest level. It brought together members of the ANC, the Mass Democratic Movement, business, the clergy, the media, organised labour and academia.

"The discussion was often intense, characterised by a spirit of inquiry and underlying unity which transcended the various viewpoints of the delegates," the final communique said, citing especially the economic debate.

The delegates agreed on the need for apartheid to go and be replaced by a system based on fundamental human liberties and equal political choices and opportunities for all, irrespective of race, creed or gender.

"There was a consensus that a non-racial democracy would require honest thinking, hard work, commitment and, wherever possible, unity of action and purpose," the communique said.

Expanding on this theme at the indaba's final press conference, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyer said a major shift was needed as change would not be achieved by small incremental actions.

The ANC's general-secretary of information, Mr Paulo Jordan, while conceding that certain reforms had taken place, said the ball was still in the government's court for creating a climate of negotiation.

The ANC and Pretoria should agree to what he called a "mutual ceasefire at the same level" — in effect, a level playing field.

Pretoria could, for example, confer with whoever it wished in the interim, whereas the ANC could not, because key black figures were either in prison or under some form of restriction.

FW's critics seek evidence of reform

B/Dag 5/12/89 (304A)

WASHINGTON — American critics of apartheid say there is still no hard evidence that President F W de Klerk intends to make fundamental changes to SA's system of racial segregation.

Since his inauguration in September, De Klerk has allowed largely symbolic changes to indicate his willingness to move cautiously away from apartheid, they say.

Public anti-apartheid demonstrations have received his tacit approval, formerly segregated beaches and restaurants have been opened and some political prisoners have been freed. De Klerk's weekend visit to the Ivory Coast indicated a willingness to talk to black African leaders.

But his critics in Washington say these changes amount to frills on the bedrock of apartheid, with no movement in the key areas of voting and equal representation in government.

"When one shears away the window-dressing and looks at the very foundation of apartheid, we find (De Klerk) no more committed to dismantling those pillars than his predecessors," said Randall Robinson, chief of the Washington-based Africa interest organisation, Transafrica.

One was left to conclude that his policies were designed to placate Western powers that had imposed sanctions, he said.

Howard Wolpe, a Democrat on the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs committee, said: "Perhaps there is a fundamental commitment to change, and that may be what De Klerk has in mind. There is no evidence yet that that is the case."

Sceptical

US hopes may have been raised by De Klerk's inauguration address, in which he said his goal was "a totally changed SA, an SA which has rid itself of the antagonisms of the past".

But De Klerk recently told a Washington Post reporter that he would reject any multi-racial interim government while a new constitution was framed.

Publicly, the US is encouraged by De Klerk's talk of reform, but one State Department official was sceptical.

She praised various reforms, and government's quick investigation into reports of police death squads.

But she said De Klerk had not managed to realise any of his goals, leaving a four-year-old state of emergency in effect and refusing to lift bans on anti-apartheid organisations.

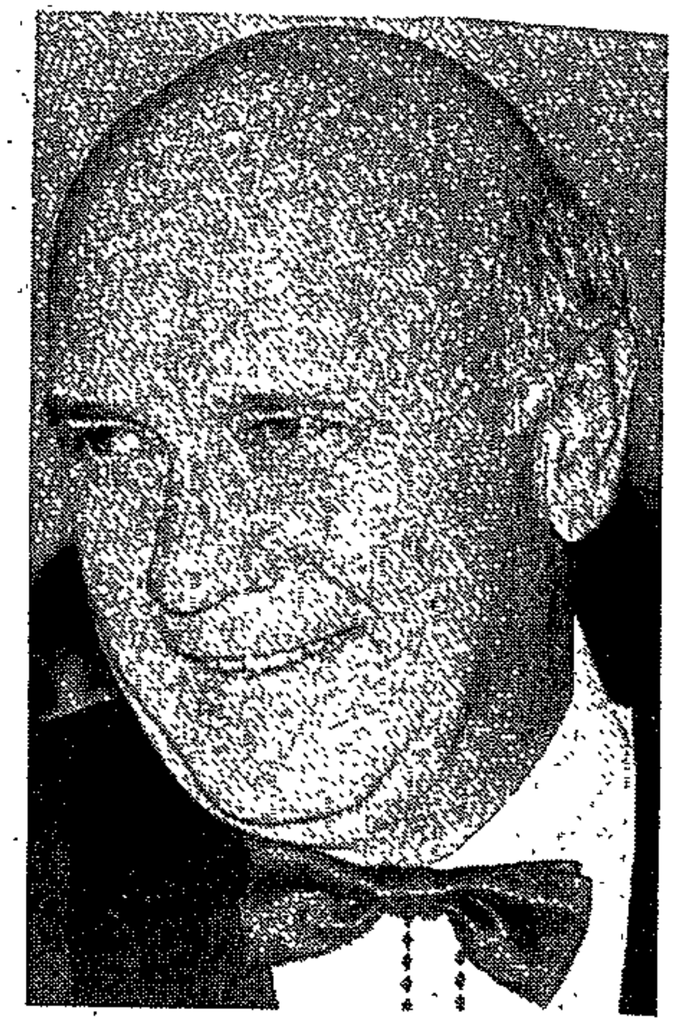
De Klerk had not brought about a climate conducive to apartheid-ending negotiations, the official said. Wolpe echoed those sentiments.

While the group rights formula sounded attractive to the American ear, it was an SA "code phrase" for the preservation of white minority control, he said.

Wolpe felt the key to De Klerk's moderate talk was the pressure of US economic sanctions imposed in 1986. He stressed that this pressure should continue.

He was concerned that the US would be lulled into lifting sanctions by De Klerk's early "superficial changes".

"The greatest danger of all is to mistake cosmetic change for anything substantive really having occurred," said Wolpe. — Sapa-Reuter



☐ DE KLERK . . . symbolic changes

Success at Paris indaba raises hopes for a new SA

GERALD SHAW, who was there, gives his impressions of last week's conference in France between the exiled ANC and a delegation of South Africans.

THE conference in Marly-Le-Roi, outside Paris, last week between the ANC-in-exile and a diverse party of internal South Africans was an outstanding success, measured in terms of exploded myths and the discovery of a surprising area of common ground.

What has made the difference between the hardline mood at the Dakar conference in 1987, where rhetoric and reproaches were initially the order of the day, and Marly-Le-Roi, where there were no reproaches and almost no rhetoric at all?

Obviously Mr Gorbachev's transformation of international and regional politics has something to do with it. Since Dakar the world has been continuing to change with astonishing speed, notably in Eastern Europe, where the urge for individual freedom is sweeping aside communist tyranny.

At home Mr P W Botha's bleak and comfortless militarism has made way for Mr F W de Klerk's very different and more hopeful style.

Cross-section

The conference, superbly planned by Dr Alex Boraine and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and sponsored by the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation, brought together a remarkable cross-section of influential or otherwise significant South Africans.

There were the exiled ANC and MDM/UDF/Cosatu activists on the Left and captains of industry on the Right, with an array of academic lawyers and economists and other specialists, a novelist (André Brink), a poet (Antjie Krog) and a few journalists.

Confined in conditions of maximum security amid the zero temperatures of a European winter, far from the sunny skies of home, the South Africans who went to Marly-Le-Roi seem to have been all the more conscious of their common commitment to South Africa — and the responsibility resting on this generation to turn the country away from conflict.

There were three outstanding moments of the conference which the South Africans who were present are unlikely to forget very quickly.

First it was the exiled Cape Town advocate, Albie Sachs, who suddenly bound the conference together emotionally when he stood up to declare his faith in human rights as the common property of mankind, transcending conflicting systems. It was a speech of compelling power and sincerity which dispelled much distrust and steered the conference away from recrimination. Sachs, a legal and constitutional adviser to the ANC, survived a car bomb attempt on his life carried out by a death squad in Mozambique. He suffered appalling injuries and lost an arm. After many months of surgery and recovery in hospital, he taught himself to use a word processor with his left hand and is pursuing his legal and constitutional research at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London.

High symbolism

He may not be quoted in South African newspapers, but it may be said that Sachs's dramatic intervention in the debate on the draft Bill of Rights drawn up the South African Law Commission was generous and magnanimous. He spoke in terms which would astonish those who have had him typecast as a cold, hard-eyed communist ideologue.

Then there was the moment of high symbolism when the delegates were royally entertained amid the gilt-and-chandelier splendour of the Quai D'Orsay by the Foreign Minister of France, M Dumas, who was loud in his praise of the ANC and in particular of Mr Thabo Mbeki, describing him as a future foreign minister of South Africa.

Mr Mbeki, the leading public spokesman for the ANC, was called upon to reply on behalf of the South Africans. In a gesture of great tact and shrewdness he immediately offered the floor to Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of JCI, inviting Mr Hofmeyr to reply on behalf of the ANC and the South Africans present. Mr Hofmeyr did so in superb fashion, stressing the common ground which had been reached at the conference, including a commitment to a non-racial democracy which would exclude a group-based constitution.

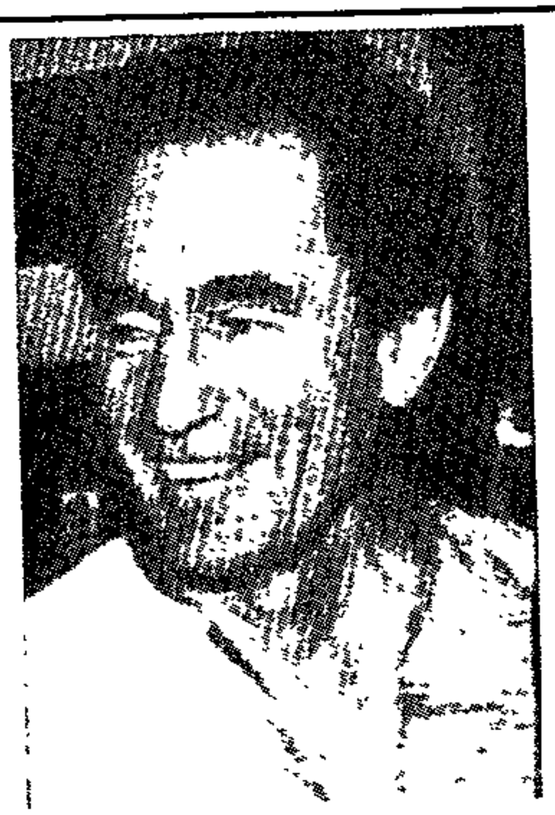
Lucidity

It was a fine show of South African solidarity on foreign soil.

Thirdly, there was the debate on the economy, which veterans of such conferences agreed was on a level seldom reached on these occasions. It was introduced with admirable lucidity by Professor Pieter le Roux of UWC,



MURRAY HOFMEYR, chairman of JCI ... superb reply.



ALBIE SACHS, car bomb victim ... faith in human rights.



THABO MBEKI, ANC spokesman ... diplomatic stroke.

followed by a brilliant Alex Erwin on behalf of the Cosatu unions and by Mr Max Sisulu, son of Mr Walter Sisulu and an economic spokesman for the ANC. Finally, there was Mr Ron Bethlehem, a JCI economist.

South Africa's glaring inequalities and the poverty of so many of its people were acknowledged on all sides. And there was a surprising measure of common ground on what might be done about it, including massive investment in education, health and housing.

Disillusionment with the role of the State is widespread, evidently, and the old rhetoric of nationalisation — capturing the commanding heights of the economy — was explicitly disavowed. The need for rapid growth was readily acknowledged.

Redress

Naturally there are areas of serious disagreement remaining between the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and the enlightened business leadership present at Marly-Le-Roi on the other.

But these areas of disagreement, as in questions such as privatisation and restructuring the ownership of business, could well become more manageable in negotiation. Enlightened business seems ready to act to restructure ownership towards the black community to redress the huge imbalance — to pre-empt punitive action.

The ANC, for its part, will defer a great deal to the trade unions in framing detailed economic policy, which could be problematic, and it is not too keen to be pinned down on specifics just yet. Yet the message is broadly reasssuring, it seems to me, foreshadowing social democracy and a mixed economy.

No matter what we have been told for decades, the ANC would not uphold a communist tyranny, and this would become rapidly apparent to everybody if the ANC and its spokesmen could say so for themselves.

It is tragic that key ANC spokesmen cannot be quoted in their own country. As long as this is so it will be difficult to convince white South Africans that they have been misled — and are still being misled, as recently as yesterday morning's SABC editorial — about the history, nature and goals of the ANC.

Acceptance

Certainly the ANC is radical and is concerned to transform the lives of the poor. With its huge working-class constituency it would be remarkable if this were otherwise. But they are not devils and they are open to discussion.

The leadership in exile is of remarkable quality, given the notoriously demoralising effects of prolonged exile. There is no outward sign of bitterness, only an extraordinary warmth and acceptance of their fellow South Africans as compatriots.

So what about the future? If it identified common ground, the conference also identified more clearly than ever the problem areas. It suffices to note three of the most important:

Firstly, there is the ANC's current insistence on an interim government of national unity to hold the ring once substantive negotiations have begun. Neither the De Klerk government nor any foreseeable successor is likely to agree to relinquish power before the terms of a new constitution have been agreed.

Secondly, there is also the NP's continuing insistence on a group-based constitution, and thirdly the problem of black disunity, notably the bitter animus between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at the head of six million Zulus, and the ANC and its allies.

But whatever the obstacles, the delegates at Marly-Le-Roi went home full of hope, and determination to build a new South Africa.

Praise for FW's 'intelligent' approach

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africans have to understand that the toll that 15 years of war has taken of the economy is far worse than imagined, says Johan Rupert, CE of Rembrandt's international group Richemont. BI Day 5/12/89 (304A)

Government should come clean and say exactly what the state of the economy is.

Rupert, in an interview published in the latest issue of Executive, says that under Prime Ministers Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster, Ministers of Finance had great clout.

However, "over the past decade or so, there had been either an inadvertent or, at worst, a deliberate debasing of the power of the Minister of Finance" and an attitude of indifference towards the the Treasury.

"This has already changed under President (F W) de Klerk."

Rupert, 41, son of Rembrandt founder Anton Rupert, described De Klerk as "clearly highly intelligent and a gentleman".

Rupert said that after 15 years of war, sanctions, and the export of capital for the past four years, SA had a recipe for disaster. He was optimistic because De Klerk had the intelligence and moral courage to tackle what needed to be tackled.

The liberal role as apartheid dies and socialism recedes

B/Day 5/12/89 (304A)

KEN OWEN

THERE was a moment outside Paris last week, during the conference at Marly le Roi, when it became clear to me that in South Africa, at this time of momentous worldwide dislocation, it is not enough to win the arguments.

A heavy duty rests on every one of us to search diligently through the debris of communist ideology for conciliation.

The realisation — less than epiphany, more than an intellectual insight — came as I listened to the flat South African accent of Albie Sachs, the broken-bodied victim of a car bomb whom I had regarded for nearly 30 years as a fanatic and a killer, a high priest of the doctrine of violent seizure of power — what today we would call a Stalinist.

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The rules of the conference and the laws of South Africa forbid me to quote Sachs but I found myself, astonished, in agreement with him. The people of this country have accumulated enough suffering to deserve freedom; none of us needs tyranny to replace tyranny.

Somehow a way must be found, and soon, to make this country safe and free for all its people, and to bring our scattered children home.

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As bluntly as I could, I spelled out my own central fear for the future: that liberty will be betrayed at the moment of liberation when the South African Communist Party, acting as a vanguard party of the revolution, and equipped with considerable military resources, embarks on the "second stage" of its agenda to overthrow the new democracy.

The struggle against apartheid, which is the doctrine of the spawn of Hitler, has lasted so long that I really do not have the heart for another liberation struggle, this time against a regime headed by the spawn of Stalin.

All this needs to be kept in perspective. The conference was inherently unequal. It brought together leaders of the ANC and the SACP — Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Pallo Jordan, Aziz Pahad, Jeremy Cronin — with leaders of Cosatu, the UDF and the MDM, and on the "other side" a disparate gaggle of business leaders, academics, writers and journalists who might, at a pinch, be described as "liberal".

The "liberals" (some will not forgive me for the label) lacked any mandate, either to negotiate or even to speak for others. While both the ANC-SACP group and the members of the MDM caucused regularly, the rest were individualistic to the point of self-indulgence and some were free spirits to the point of anarchy. Only the businessmen showed a capacity to get together, but as individuals.

The whole affair got off to a rocky start, the first day consumed by boring Marxist rhetoric from the "outside" speakers, and intransigent posturing by the "inside" spokesman. That night I was close to flying home.

On the second morning, given the rare honour to address the French Assembly and to engage in a public exchange of views with the deputies of France, Murphy Morobe of the UDF, Pallo Jordan of the ANC, and Jay Naidoo of Cosatu made ringing speeches designed to reinforce the desires of the deputies to impose sanctions; only the vice-chancellor of Wits, Professor Robert Charlton, demurred firmly. Both Wynand Malan and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert fumbled ineffectually in trying to redress the balance without precipitating a civil war.

Many of the rest of us, taken by surprise, suspected a left-wing plot, especially since the French persisted in referring to us all as "the South African delegation", but it turned out to be simply the consequence of the imbalance of forces. Trust was restored and by the end of the week, Thabo Mbeki was publicly inviting Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of JCI, to speak for us all.

Perhaps I was mistaken to think that it was Sachs who broke the initial logjam, but whatever the reason, the debate was joined, and it deepened throughout the week. There was no agreement, but much illumination. Lines of stress, even fissures, appeared where they were least expected; unplanned alliances emerged (on one occasion, disconcertingly, between me and the ANC's Pallo Jordan)

What follows is not a report on the conference, but a distillation of my own observations — my tentative conclusions:

Firstly, the liberation of Eastern Europe has shattered all post-war paradigms, but for the left it has been devastating. Old-style communism is as dead as God was once said to be, and nobody is a Stalinist any more. The communist world is embarked on a transition, historic in its scope, towards democracy and while the South African Left obviously cannot shape that immense process, neither is it immune.

Liberals, I suspect, would be wise to stand back, and give the best members of the Left the space they need to work out a new definition of themselves. South African socialists, like all socialists, are groping towards ideas of liberty, and we should not throw obstacles in their path.

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If nothing else, it would weaken their ties with the opportunists who have climbed on the international anti-apartheid bandwagon to make a living out of the destruction of this country, and who care nothing for our people

Thirdly, the international standing of the ANC is simply astounding We were treated by the French government as no South Africans since the Smuts era have ever been treated We were sponsored by Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, courted by the President of the Assembly, Laurent Fabius, feted and feasted by the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Cultural Minister and diplomatic corps, and swept through the rush-hour streets in cavalcade.

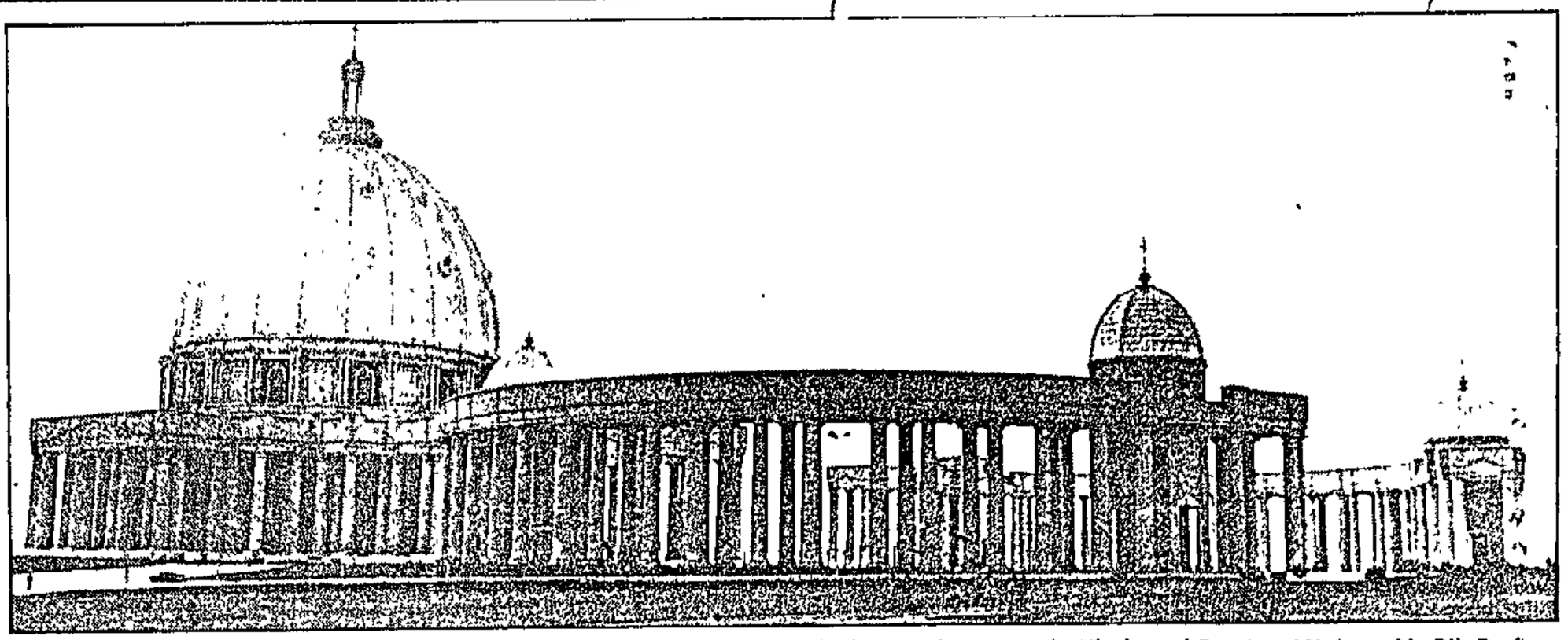
Till my dying day I shall remember 74-year-old Henry Fazzie, released from restriction after years on the run, seated with serene dignity on the silk-backed chair where Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher had sat. I shall never forget the ebullient rascal from the Eastern Cape, Mkhuseli Jack, also recently free, leading the *toyi-toyi* beneath a swaying crystal chandelier and under the gaze of a benign, if slightly apprehensive, host.

And when *Vrye Weekblad* was said to be under threat of closure, it took the French only hours to come up with a guarantee of R1m to keep the paper alive. The message was unmistakable: the global village is a reality, and it has had enough of apartheid. Our government can no more shoot its way out of trouble than the East Germans; liberation, one way or another, is at hand.

Fourthly, any solution in South Africa must meet two essential criteria: it must, of course, eradicate every trace of apartheid, but it must also satisfy a deeply felt need among people long oppressed for some kind of redress. If liberal thinking is to prevail, it must offer a credible solution to the problems of deprivation and poverty, and this is the time to offer it.

This brings me to my final observation, which is less tentative because it is more personal: the war against apartheid is all but won, and the threat from the left is receding as socialist thinking disintegrates around the world. We can put aside those arguments while we search for conciliation.

In the end, what we need is a country that offers space to live in peace and freedom even to our enemies.



The enormous Basilisque Notre Dame de la Paix in Yamoussoukro, which President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha visited during their trip to the Ivory Coast.

Benign rule of the one-man party

304A

Despite being ruled by one dictator since 1959 the people of the Ivory Coast appear satisfied with their lot, reports **The Star's Political Correspondent, DAVID BREIER.**



A fierce-looking tribal dancer who greeted President de Klerk.

The Ivory Coast is governed from its new inland capital of Yamoussoukro from a marble presidential palace protected by a wide crocodile-infested moat and four-metre-high walls.

For South Africa's long standing friend in West Africa is more than a one-party State — it has a one-man party in Africa's longest-serving ruler, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny who has been in power since 1959.

Overwhelmed

Last week, the ageing president who is officially 84 but generally believed to be closer to 90, played host to South Africa's President F W de Klerk, and his entourage who were overwhelmed with hospitality.

The people in the streets of the town appear satisfied with one-man rule. For although he may be a dictator, he is a benign one.

His people enjoy a thriving free market economy — the large ramshackle market at Yamoussoukro still goes strong well past midnight and the night life would put all similar-sized South African towns to shame.

Officially 100 percent of all votes cast in the last election in 1985 were for President Houphouet-Boigny.

The town enjoys his special patronage as he was born there and owns much of the tribal land in the area. This led to his decision to move the capital from the large coastal city of Abidjan with its 2 million people to the small backwater of Yamoussoukro.

The town could be a smaller version of Umtata, but with huge extravagant prestige buildings standing in splendid and apparently meaningless isolation in the bush.

The locals are especially in awe of the colossal basilica built in imitation of Saint Peters in Rome. For them it is not an exercise in vanity and futility. It appears to have injected new national pride in a country which needs it as the economy has declined along with falling commodity prices.

The equally lavish Peace Centre is a huge conference complex which would be the envy of South Africa.

But local people point out that spending money on prestige building projects is far preferable to spending it on MiGs.

The thousands of people who lined the streets and waited at the airport to welcome Mr de Klerk were well-drilled and many wore the T-shirts of President Houphouet-Boigny's party.

Stability

But their enthusiasm was not that of an oppressed people. There was genuine friendliness.

However, next year the ailing President is due to retire and to be replaced by a governing team. When Houphouet-Boigny goes, the Ivory Coast could do worse than retain the stability which it has enjoyed since independence, despite the large number of tribes which make up its 11 million people.

MP injured at meeting

Sowetan 5/12/89

DEMOCRATIC Party MP for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje was injured when police clashed with a crowd of people who attended a protest meeting in Edendale near Maritzburg on Sunday.

The meeting, which was to have been held at a sports stadium in Edendale, was banned and the venue was changed to the Ecumenical Centre which holds about 1

500 people.

A crowd of between 2000 and 3000 arrived at the meeting and those who could not be accommodated inside gathered outside the hall.

According to police, the crowd outside the hall became angry and threw stones and bricks when the police ordered them to disperse. Police then used stun-grenades and birdshot on the crowd.

Cronje, who had been attending the meeting, was struck in the chest by a stone during the fracas.

A DP spokesman confirmed that Cronje had been at the meeting and had been hurt but said the injury was only slight and he was "fine."

CP officials to mull over integration

Star 6/12/89

304A

Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party's Transvaal municipal association meets in Pretoria today to consider further steps to oppose the Government's decision to scrap the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today the committee — consisting of representatives of all CP town and city councilors — would look at legal action to block integration.

He said the CP would be aiming to obtain an explanatory court decision on the rights and duties of local governments in the present situation.

He had sought the advice of legal experts who advised him that this should be possible. Dr Treurnicht said the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was still on the statute book and the question was: what should local government do with it?

Referring to his announcement last night at a meeting in Boksburg that the CP would launch a programme called Action 1 million — to push up the CP vote from 700 000 to one million in order to win power — Dr Treurnicht said the next step in the programme would be the right-wing forum which the CP was planning for January.

This would bring together rightist thinkers from all walks of life "from academics to unions" — in an attempt to start a rightist "volksbeweging" or national movement — against Government reforms.

Dept of Finance

Wits to honour Helen Suzman

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Celebrated parliamentarian Mrs Helen Suzman — recently made a Dame Commander of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth — is to be honoured again. Wits University is to name a new professorship after her.

The Helen Suzman Chair of Political Economics is to be established at Wits next year by the Anglo American Chairman's Fund and the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust with a R1,5 million grant.

Mr Bobby Godsell, chairman of the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust, said the purpose of funding the chair was "to pay tribute in a meaningful and appropriate way to the public service of Helen Suzman."

The choice of the university and the academic field was apt because Mrs Suzman had lectured in economic history at Wits before she entered Parliament in 1953.

"And the relationship between political structures and economic realities was something she addressed throughout her parliamentary career."

The Chairman's Fund is the social responsibility arm of Anglo American Corporation

304A

Don't underestimate us – Treurnicht

By Kevin Udemans

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night said that the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, must not underestimate the love which CP members and their allies had for their nation.

At a meeting in the Boksburg Town Hall, attended by over 1 000 rowdy right-wingers including uniformed members of the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk should not underestimate the chances of resistance by the right wing and their ability to carry out this resistance.

"We've had enough," the CP leader said, to loud applause and shouts of "hoor, hoor" (hear, hear) from the enthusiastic crowd.

Dr Treurnicht, who was joined on the stage by several Members of Parliament and mayors of CP-controlled town councils from throughout the Transvaal, was reacting to the alleged denegration of the police and security forces in the media, recent political demonstrations and the threat by the Government to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to open certain areas to all races.

Refferring to Mr de Klerk, Dr Treurnicht asked: "When last did you say something to touch the hearts of your own people and to make them happy? What about our rights?"

He said the right wing was not sour because Mr de Klerk was continuously meeting other leaders inside and outside South Africa.

"We do that ourselves but we speak with people with whom we can identify and who we can understand.

"Mr de Klerk covers a lot of ground across Africa but he doesn't attend to the problems of his own people back at home," Dr Treurnicht said.

Dr Treurnicht said the Government claimed its five-year plan was already bringing about results.

"They say their allowing the rallies (like the one at Soccer City) and peaceful marches have brought about encouraging results."

Dr Treurnicht quoted a Johannesburg newspaper's lead article on October 30 which said that the Government was turning a blind eye to the contraventions of the law by other people.

"What are you going to do if, for instance, the Boksburg Town Council challenges you to take it to court if it insists on upholding the mandate which it received from its voters — to keep the amenities in its area reserved for whites?" Dr Treurnicht asked the Government.

He said that the CP-controlled town councils should ask for a court order requesting that the powers of the local management bodies be defined.

P.T.O



We've had enough! . . . This was the message Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had for State President de Klerk when he addressed more than 1 000 supporters at the Boksburg Town Hall last night.
● Picture by Sean Woods.

Ken Owen looks at THE PARIS INDABA

Everyone's duty now is to search for conciliation

CM Times 6/12/89 (KOA)

THERE was a moment outside Paris last week, during the conference at Marly-le-Roi, when it became clear to me that in South Africa, at this time of momentous worldwide dislocation, it is not enough to win the arguments.

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Taking risks

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Ringing speeches

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Unmistakable

Until my dying day I shall remember 74-year old Henry Fazzie, released from restriction after years on the run, seated with serene dignity on the silk-backed chair where Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher had sat. I shall never forget the ebullient rascal from the Eastern Cape, Mkhuseli Jack, also recently freed, leading the *toyi-toyi* beneath a swaying crystal chandelier and under the gaze of a benign, if slightly apprehensive, host.

And when *Vrye Weekblad* was said to be under threat of closure, it took the French only hours to come up with a guarantee of R1 mliilon to keep the paper alive. The message was unmistakable: the global village is a reality, and it has had enough of apartheid. Our government can no more shoot its way out of trouble than the East Germans; liberation, one way or another, is at hand.

Fourthly, any solution in South Africa must meet two essential criteria: it must, of course, eradicate every trace of apartheid, but it must also satisfy a deeply felt need among people long oppressed for some kind of redress. If liberal thinking is to prevail, it must offer a credible solution to the problems of deprivation and poverty, and this is the time to offer it.

This brings me to my final observation, which is less tentative because it is more personal: the war against apartheid is all but won, and the threat from the left is receding as socialist thinking disintegrates around the world. We can put aside those arguments while we search for conciliation.

In the end, what we need is a country that offers space to live in peace and freedom even to our enemies.

'Important' statements expected

By Peter Fabricius.

The Cabinet holds its last meeting of the year today amid expectations of several important announcements.

Today's meeting at the Union Buildings takes place after a special two-day work session which the Cabinet held in the Eastern Transvaal to discuss several crucial questions.

It is understood that the problem of getting negotiations off the ground, and of drawing up a constitutional plan to present at the negotiating table if they do, featured high on the agenda of the special meeting.

Speculation is that President de Klerk might make an announcment about this today. Mr de Klerk said last week that he would be making an important announcement before going on holiday and since today is the last occasion which the Cabinet will have to make decisions, an announcement could be made soon.

Other possibilities are that he will announce a date for the release of jailed ANC leader Nr Nelson Mandela or that he will announce a relaxation of the media emergency regulations.

An announcement on what action the Government will take about growing allegatins of police and military assassination squads is also expected.

A report by Free State Attorney-General Mr Tim McNally was handed to the Cabinet last week.

Right 'have had enough' — CP boss

ARGUS 6/12/89

30 KM

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night that President De Klerk must not underestimate the love which CP members and their allies had for their nation.

At a protest at the Boksburg Town Hall, attended by over 1 000 rowdy rightwingers including uniformed members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Dr Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk should not underestimate rightwing resistance, and their ability to carry this out.

"We've had enough," the CP leader said, to tumultous applause and shouts of "Hoor, hoor!" (Hear, Hear).

Dr Treurnicht, who was joined on the stage by several members of parliament and mayors of CP-controlled town councils from all over the Transvaal, was reacting to the "denegration" of the police and security forces in the media, the recent peaceful demonstrations and the government threat to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to open certain areas to all races.

In a question directed to Mr De Klerk, Dr Treurnicht asked: "When last did you say something to touch the hearts of your own people and to make them happy? What about our rights?

"What are you going to do if, for instance, the Boksburg Town Council challenge you to take them to court if they insist on upholding the mandate which they have received from their voters — to keep the amenities in their areas reserved for whites?" Dr Treurnicht asked the government.

The Conservative Party's Transvaal municipal association meets in Pretoria today to consider further steps to oppose the government's decision to scrap the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

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CP candidate narrowly wins by-election in Krugersdorp

West Rand Bureau

The Conservative Party candidate in the Krugersdorp by-election, held in Ward Five yesterday, defeated his National Party opponent by 20 votes.

The seat in the ward fell vacant after Mr Ceward Thornhill of the Conservative Party was found guilty of election fraud and was forced to resign.

Mr W C (Wessel) Cronje polled 591 votes and Mr I G ("Sakkie") Theron obtained 571 votes.

There were five spoilt papers and the percentage poll was 33,2 percent.

Observer status only for DP and business

ALAN FINE

THE Democratic Party and the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) have been accorded observer status only at Saturday's Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF).

At a media briefing yesterday, CDF convenors outlined plans for the conference at Wits University. They said it would "be characterised by non-sectarianism and unity of the oppressed".

Murphy Morobe, explaining the limited status of the DP and CBM, said the September general election had highlighted serious contradictions within the DP. UDF affiliates strenuously opposed DP participation in the House of Delegates election.

Sensitivity

However, Morobe added: "We are not shutting the door on them and we look forward to the day when those contradictions can be resolved."

He said convenors had also had to consider the views of the trade union movement as regards the CBM. There was a great deal of sensitivity, especially in the light of struggles against the Labour Relations Act.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan said his party empathised with the organisers' difficulties in managing their programme and believed there could have been objections from black consciousness groups. While the DP would have preferred full delegate status, it still supported the initiative.

The CBM's Christo Nel said he recognised the realities of the situation and the organisation held to the view that the identification of common ground among all actors held the key to the future. The CBM represents about 100 prominent businessmen.

The conference will be attended by 2 500 delegates, representing hundreds of organisations, who will discuss the question of negotiations, international support for the anti-apartheid struggle and a "programme of mass action to end apartheid".

Keynote speakers will be Walter Sisulu and Jerry Mosala.

CDF convenors said Nactu's participation remained in doubt, while Inkatha had not applied to attend.

Nactu sources said yesterday the question of participation was still being discussed. There appeared to be reservations in Nactu about the attendance of a number of homeland-based political parties. Transkeian ruler Bantu Holomisa may also attend.

Africanists in Nactu also appeared to wish to adhere to the non-participation line expressed earlier this week by the newly-established Pan Africanist Movement, while black conciousness elements were willing to attend.

CDF convenor Haroon Patel said the purpose of the conference was to "seek to put ordinary people in charge of the process of change as a way of ensuring that the new order we seek is truly a product of our own struggles and not of the benevolence of F W de Klerk and the NP".

Star 7/12/89

'Keep SA off the path of poverty'

Staff Reporter

The initiatives being taken by the Government in the political arena now needed to be extended to education if South Africa was not to tread a path to poverty, the president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr Kennedy Maxwell, has said.

Mr Maxwell was speaking at the recent opening of a new building for the faculty of engineering at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"Given the path to poverty ensured by an economic growth rate which



Mr Kennedy Maxwell ... total review of education needed.

continues to lag behind our population growth, we need a total review of our educational system," he said.

Mr Maxwell said the Government had to overcome the inefficiencies of inequality which had resulted in chronically overcrowded black schools while more than 200 000 places at white schools stood empty.

The constitutional progress needed to go hand in hand with the development of skilled manpower to generate wealth and future prosperity, he said.

Star 7/12/89

2 Soviet academics on 2-week SA visit

By Brendan Templeton

The idea that the ANC had departed from the armed struggle was more a figment of South Africans' imaginations than a process which was really taking place, two Russian academics said on their arrival at Jan Smuts airport yesterday.

Professors Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova are on a two-week tour of the country on invitation from the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

They will visit the cities and townships of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

"There is much spoken about (the ANC's departure from the armed struggle), but it is more the wishes of South African people than reality.

"Previously the main stress was on a military solution, now political solutions seem to be more fruitful ... but by no means will Russia abandon the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC," Professor Filatova said.

PERESTROIKA

"Political solutions are very much a part of Gorbachev's policy," Professor Davidson said.

"I hope you have heard of perestroika. Now we want to see if it is in your county," he said.

They studied South Africa for many years, but were able to come here now only because of the loosened constraints on academics in Russia after President Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika policy, he said.

The policy was not a departure from socialism, rather it was an attempt to change the face of socialism and to move away from Stalinism, Professor Filatova said.

The question of diplomatic relations between

SA change can't take place overnight — US

304A

American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, says Washington is aware that basic constitutional change in South Africa cannot take place overnight.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Cohen said he was optimistic there would be visible progress in the next six to nine months concerning the promises made by President F W de Klerk's government.

He said the United States would take stock of the situation in South Africa at the end of that country's parliamentary session and would in particular be looking at whether the negotiating process had begun.

Mr Cohen pointed out that the mainstream of Congress, including prominent Democrats, had in effect accepted Secretary of State Mr James Baker's proposal to give the South African government a chance to show what it could do.

Mr Cohen said the United States was moving away from sanctions as the centrepiece of American policy, towards trying to promote negotiation between the various parties in South Africa so that they could reach a conclusion that was acceptable to the entire population.

Sanctions were just one aspect of many in Washington's policy, he said. A policy based on sanctions was not a real policy, it had to be comprehensive.

Mr Cohen said there was now consensus between him and Congress that in the area of sanctions there should be maximum flexibility. — Sapa.

SA must go with the tide or drown

The recent taste of fundamental freedoms in South Africa will generate an intense hunger for more, says **BARRY JAMMY** in this article written for International Human Rights Day on December 10. The writer is national vice-chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights.

When the history of the current, concluding decade comes to be written and studied in future years, 1989 will surely be highlighted as a year of extraordinary significance in the sphere of human rights.

Events in Russia, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Namibia, radically affecting the lives, welfare and freedom of millions of ordinary men and women, have consistently made headlines and filled television screens throughout the world.

A groundswell of reform has, on a broad front, become an international tidal wave and, let it immediately be said, things have been happening in South Africa, too. Their significance, however, is very much a matter of personal perception.

For South Africans who have been directly affected by four decades of racially repressive government, there is little of real consequence to get excited about.

The new administration has committed itself to the eradication of apartheid. But whilst the petty trappings of that policy are being to some extent done away with, its structural foundations remain very much intact.

Vague promises

Commitment to the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act has been qualified and legislation relating to population registration and group areas, two of the principal pillars of the apartheid edifice, is still firmly in place.

Statements of future government policy which might indicate the true depth of its reform commitment are vague, to say the least.

South Africa remains barred from a vast number of political, socio-economic, cultural and sporting bodies and institutions worldwide, and moves to expel it from the diminishing numbers of others in which it still participates continue unabated.

[illegible] citizens of this country, whatever their political affiliations might be, are still restricted in international travel and frequently ostracised in many of the countries that still accept an SA passport.

If, as is sometimes now suggested, the flow of young, talented people out of this country and the consequent erosion of qualified talent in so many diverse fields has slowed, this is not necessarily because there are now better reasons to stay.

It is mainly because it is becoming increasingly difficult to get into most of the other countries which have traditionally accepted South Africans.

The ANC's willingness in principle to negotiate the future political, social and economic structure of this country, as a vital participant in any new dispensation, has been evident for some time.

In July of this year, for example, senior ANC officials discussed the SA Law Commission's Working Paper on a draft Bill of Rights with a Lawyers for Human Rights delegation in Lusaka.

Ready to talk

While finding the report unacceptable on a formal basis as the product, in essence, of an agency of an illegitimate government, it was nevertheless seen as a possible basis for deliberation and negotiation.

That willingness, and similar indications since then, should be reciprocated by the Government with relief and energy, rather than with reservation and qualification.

The Government rejects attempts to impose upon it time limits for the reform programme. It appears not to accept in that context that time is of the essence.

It is a basic fact of human nature that a taste of something appealing generates an appetite for more.

The hitherto voiceless, repressed majority has suddenly and unexpectedly savoured the exercise of certain human rights which have been denied it for decades.

The grant of those new, qualified liberties is not even a partial panacea for South Africa's ills; if anything, it will exacerbate them unless the therapy is urgently completed.

The denial of basic inalienable human rights to many millions of this country's peoples has kept South Africa in the spotlight of world censure for as long as most can remember.

This will never be a matter of consequence to the lunatic fringe of the privileged class, but to those who yearn for normality and decency in their relationships with their fellow men, the need to generate and maintain the momentum of change has never been so critical.

If South Africa does not now swim strongly with the current international tide of reform, it will, finally and inevitably, drown.

Viljoen is cleared

'No desire on his part to cover up irregularities'

FORMER Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Gerrit Viljoen may have thought that reports about irregularities in his department were merely "political games" being played by the Press.

This was revealed yesterday when the second report of the Van den Heever Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the Department of Education and Training was published in Pretoria.

The weekly publication, *Financial Mail*, was the first to refer to possible irregularities when it published a story on June 17, 1988 headlined: "Black education: More cream for more cats."

In its findings the commission - headed by Miss Justice Leonora van den Heever - says it had not found any indication "of any desire on Viljoen's part to cover up the irregularities in his department.

"The Commission finds that he may have been eager to believe that there were no irregularities and that the Press were merely playing political games but that indications are that he wished to expose errors and rectify them."

Commenting on the findings, the new Director-General of the Department of Education, Dr Bernhard Louw, said: "The integrity of the Minister (Viljoen) is very clear in this matter."

Viljoen is now Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education.

The Minister of Education and of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday the Government was determined to "continue relentlessly to identify all irregularities."

He said there had been "shortcomings" in the manner in which the DET had been managed.

"The Government has studied the findings and recommendations ... and has taken decisions.

"They are a continuation of the action taken by the former Minister of Education and Development Aid (Dr Viljoen).

"From 1987, my predecessor had alleged irregularities investigated by the Advocate-General and an investigating officer Mr S J P du Plessis, and took steps to rectify matters regarding management, administration and control."

The latest report is the second of four which are being produced. The first dealt with the purchase of computers and the third and fourth are to cover the acquisition of sites for youth camps and the purchase of library books from an unnamed publisher.

The reports issued so far have resulted in the restructuring of the Department of Education's head office as well as regional offices, the vesting of full responsibility for management in "line managers at various levels" and the creation of control systems.

There has also been a reformulation of the objectives of various programmes and new budgeting methods for the 1990-91 financial year.

This includes allocating to various programme managers all the resources that are needed for the attainment of objectives," the statement said.

It added that simplification of communication methods had been vested in individuals while there was also a reconsideration of priorities. See page 6.

Top officials moved

THE Government was determined to take action against top officials in the Department of Education and Training in the wake of the Strydom affair, according to a statement released in Pretoria yesterday.

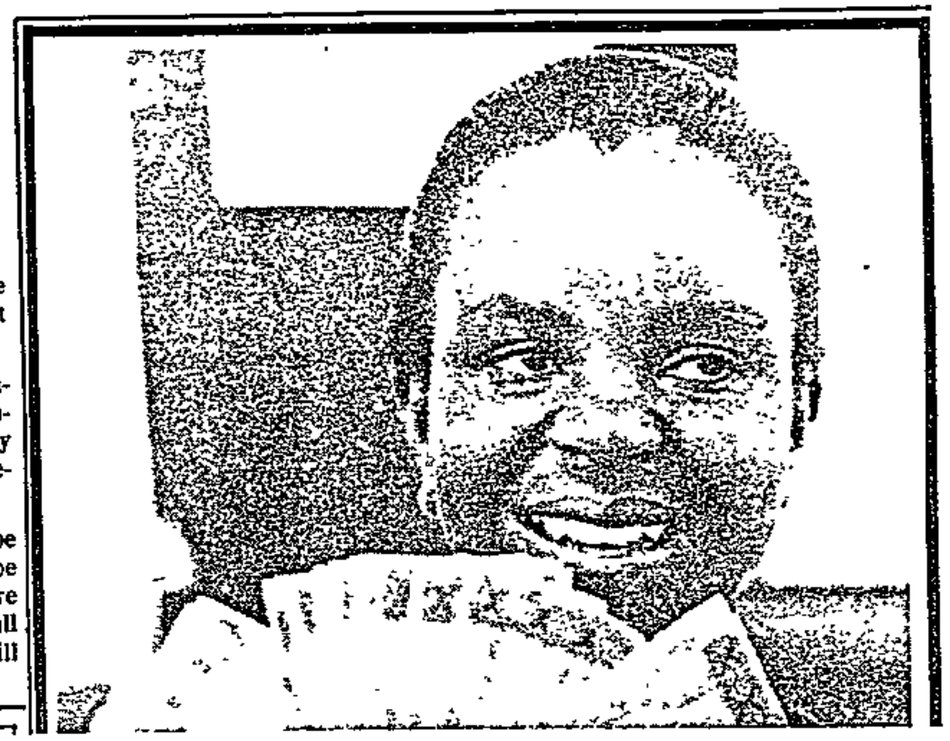
Officials have been transferred and there is also the possibility that money spent by the DET will be recovered from the public servants involved.

"The DET has already taken certain steps with regard to some of the officials about whom there were negative findings ... for example, transferring them to suitable posts elsewhere in the department.

"Where justified, steps will be taken against other officers without delay," the statement said.

The DET is also investigating whether "fruitless expenditure" was incurred "through failure to comply consistently with the relevant prescriptions and procedures.

"Where such expenditure can be attributed, consideration will be given to recovering such expenditure from them. Such an investigation will require vigorous attention and will obviously take considerable time."



Pik warns UN: don't damage SA's aims

Staff Reporter

United Nations support for proposals made in a "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa" would seriously damage future negotiations within South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha warned last night.

In a letter to UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Mr Botha urged the General Assembly not to adopt the draft at its special session on apartheid next week.

He said the Government was irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system. Its sincerity was shown by the release of long-term security prisoners and the permitting of peaceful demonstrations.

South Africa had also made a positive contribution towards independence in Namibia, and supported efforts to end conflicts in Mozambique and Angola.

Included in the Government's political aims were: equal human rights; protection of minority groups and indiviuals; and that no individual or group should have the right to govern others without their consent.

CREDIBLE NEGOTIATIONS

"The South African Government fully realises the urgency of getting credible negotiations off the ground and trusts that it will soon be in a position to make further announcements that will clear the way for negotiations with recognised leaders.

"The adoption of this declaration would have an extremely negative effect on the initiation of negotiations between the relevant parties in South Africa."

Mr Botha said the declaration was an attempt to incorporate as much as was possible of the Harare Declaration, which endorsed the position of only one of the parties likely to take part in negotiations, the ANC, thereby putting it in a preferential position.

"The ANC can qualify itself for participation by commiting itself to the peaceful resolution of differences. Such a commitment will match the South African Government's commitment to a new political constitutional dispensation aimed to meet the political aspirations of all through peaceful means."

He said that by suggesting a continuing role for the UN and the international community, and promoting the concept of an interim government, the proposals overlooked South Africa's rights as a sovereign state.

"If the international community wishes to encourage the people of South Africa to proceed on their declared course of creating a new South Africa ... the way to go about it is hardly to promote continuation and extension of sanctions."

Financial Mail

3044

THE MITTERRAND SOIREE

Knitting-needle diplomacy

It really is rather rich that the French should try to become involved in peaceful political change in SA — especially in the year they have so enthusiastically celebrated their own bloody revolution which plunged Europe into decades of tyranny and deprivation.

No doubt, even socialist France has that certain Gallic style that will make all those who were fêted by Madame Mitterrand at last week's conference in Paris feel warm, wanted, well-fed — and quite self-important. Those who attended have presumably been beguiled into the belief that it was all to the good. But is that really so? For an essential player — the SA government — was not there.

Indeed, an early leak to the press from the ANC in London put paid to any possibility of Pretoria's being present, even if that had been the original French intention. Clearly, the ANC had its reasons.

Central to the problem of a post-apartheid economy is that the NP government wants to continue moving away from its collectivist roots towards the freedom of democratic capitalism. But the black nationalists, whatever their acronym, want to inherit the socialist structures of grand Verwoerdian apartheid that enabled the Nats to enrich themselves at the expense of everyone else.

The black nats continually make it clear that they want not only a greater share of the spoils, which is their due, but also some dramatic recompense for their years of degradation and relative exclusion from prosperity. And so they talk about the mix of a mixed economy, believing that State ownership somehow equates to what is called social justice, and that this should be the starting point of a larger debate.

That is either plain foolishness or self-delusion because any State ownership tends to impede rather than enhance the economic growth that is the most important requirement of a peaceful, prosperous and free post-apartheid SA. Nor will the benefits of that growth be confined only to a few. The free enterprise system rewards those who are innovative and assume the greatest risks. The important thing is all must be free to do so.

More government through State ownership simply means less freedom to benefit — as anyone who has lived under apartheid for 40 years should know.

If the black nats in Paris ever doubted that, they had only to look at events in eastern Europe to see otherwise; or reflect on how the Mitterrand socialist government has had to abandon its own collectivist views and begin to reverse the foolish nationalisations of its early years.

Maybe in that there was some advantage in the general trek to Paris at the expense of the well-meaning and generous Madame Mitterrand. In that respect her money may have been well spent. It also allowed black nats to fraternise with their white sympathisers, which they unfortunately can't do at home. Dialogue it is called among fashionable political commentators who claim instant and illuminating insights from occasions like this one.

The danger is that it encourages the black nats to think that their ideas of a collectivist post-apartheid society have greater international credibility than is the case. And that they are about to march on Pretoria in triumph.

Perhaps, therefore, the French knitting-needle diplomacy of last week, while it might have been in character, was nevertheless misdirected. There are no indications that the West — including France — wishes to see revolution in this country. Therefore, now that Pretoria's intransigence has ended and the De Klerk government is moving steadily towards creating the conditions domestically for dialogue with black leaders, Madame Mitterrand would have been better advised to seek to encourage that process.

Economic tendencies often presage political ones. The substantial purchases from abroad of SA gold shares and utility bonds cannot be accounted for only by the higher gold price and cheap financial rand, though they undoubtedly must have helped. These purchases are, we believe, indicating a subtle change in attitude of foreign investors towards this country.

The reason is that we are beginning to implement — even though too slowly — sensible economic policies that will reduce inflationary pressures and encourage growth. Our foreign debt is being repaid — not without hardship — at a substantial return. And President De Klerk, clearly a very different personality to his predecessor, is pushing along political change at about the pace that European investors find comfortable. The trick is for him to keep both processes going without faltering or setback.

Few sensible people in the West, while they want to see apartheid go, also want the whites of this country to capitulate and acknowledge a collectivist post-apartheid society that will lead inevitably towards SA's decline into a Zimbabwe or Zambia. Ordinary folk in those countries might be free to suffer economic deprivations. They are not free to engage in enterprise as they will.

Western diplomacy might well be able, therefore, to bring about faster and more lasting change by encouraging Pretoria along its chosen path, rather than conspiring to succour those who want to acquire, for their own enrichment, the coercive features of an apartheid economy, and masquerade that as social justice.

If the black nats require the nationalisation of the mines and banks as retribution for past wrongs — real and imaginary — they will simply reduce the general level of prosperity which will, in turn, hinder the process of the eradication of poverty. That is precisely what apartheid has been doing over the past 20 years.

The fact is that, throughout Africa, liberation movements have promised what socialism cannot deliver, which is prosperity. If the Mitterrand soiree enlightened them, it was of use. If it didn't ... well! ■

BY-ELECTIONS (3 D4A)

Holding the line

The NP can take comfort from the by-elections in the Cape constituencies of Vasco and Ceres — the first since F W de Klerk became State President.

In Vasco, the CP increased its share of the vote by around 12% since the September general election — but this is deceptive. Only 301 more people voted for the Right this time, while the Nat total dropped by a massive 2 379. In other words, that "swing" is really an indication of a Nat stayaway. In any case, by-elections tend to favour opposition parties.

Much the same thing happened in the Randfontein by-election in 1988 and that "swing" did not materialise in the 1989 general election. If it had, the CP would have taken power.

There is even less cause for Nat alarm in Ceres. Though there was a 4% swing to the CP, it gained only 73 votes — whereas the Nat total dropped by 876.

The CP has based some extravagant claims on these results, but they appear unfounded. The increase in rightwing votes is marginal and probably much smaller than might have been expected, given what has happened since the September election.

However, these polls indicate that the NP will lose the upcoming by-election in the Free State seat of Fauresmith (where the Nats tied with the CP in September) and several other marginal seats remain extremely vulnerable to the CP.

□ The HNP is now the political equivalent of the walking dead. Its candidate drew 24 votes (0,3%) in Vasco, only 11 more than the spoiled papers. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL DECEMBER 8 1989

30HA Star 8/12/89

AWB taped speeches and logos found among arms

By Louise Burgers

Tapes of speeches made by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and armbands bearing the AWB insignia were found with the large arms cache seized by police at the homes of five right-wing men arrested this week.

Police yesterday displayed the cache to the media.

Mr Fanie Goosen (29), Mr Dawid Johannes de Beer (38) and Mr Cornelius Johannes Lottering (24), all of Vereeniging, and Mr Hendrik Francois Binneman (41) and Mr Cornelius Gerhardus van Zyl (28), both of Randburg, were held in connection with attacks on leftist activists, police said.

A hit list with the name of Mr TerreBlanche was allegedly found during the swoop on the group.

DANGEROUS

SAP media chief Major-General Herman Stadler released the names after they had become known in "certain circles".

He said further arrests could follow.

The head of the security police on the Witwatersrand, Brigadier Piet du Toit, told the press conference that the arms found were highly dangerous. "One could do a lot of damage with all this."

Among the guns, some with silencers and telescopic sights, were hunting rifles, shotguns and a machine pistol.

There was also a grenade, a crossbow, gelignite and dynamite.

There were gas masks and about 30 teargas grenades and canisters.

● See Page 3.

CAPE TIMES 8/12/87

CP takes ward by 20 votes

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party retained a municipal ward in Krugersdorp after narrowly defeating the National Party in an election on Wednesday.

In a statement CP official Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said Mr Wessel Cronje beat the NP's Mr Sakkie Theron by 20 votes. The percentage poll was 38,2.

Mr Cronje polled 592 votes to Mr Theron's 572.

The CP controls nine wards and the NP six. — Sapa

Rewarding Paris talks after a long tough road

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

FOR South Africans, the political journey from Dakar to Paris has been a long and tough one. But, having led through West Germany and several other foreign stop-overs, there finally seemed reward at the Paris end last week.

Participants left the Paris indaba on South Africa's future well impressed. Even from Pretoria, the proceedings seemed this time to have been watched with interest more than annoyance.

The conference was largely organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and sponsored by the Liberté Francaise foundation in which Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president, plays a leading role.

This week Dr Alec Boraine, executive director of Idasa, looked back on the difficult path to Paris and at the challenge ahead of bringing South Africans of all races and political persuasions together, not only in foreign places but, eventually, also within the country.

He and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of planning and research, left parliament in 1986 because of the need they saw for negotiation politics.

They realised the various groups could not hear each other or talk to each other. They saw a need to break down caricatures and myths that had been built up, most important of these being the state's *demonisation* of the African National Congress.

One of the first priorities was to see if the ANC could be de-mystified, which meant finding out who they were, what their history was and what kind of support they had.

AFTER a number of meetings with leading ANC members in Lusaka and Harare, some 60 key figures, mainly Afrikaners, were invited to meet ANC members in Dakar in July 1987. It was Idasa's first major project and extremely tough.

Said Dr Boraine: "People were deeply suspicious and there were fairly angry exchanges focussing on violence, communism and socialism. On the other hand, there were the accusations by the ANC that whites were in an unholy alliance with the government and the apartheid structure.

"Towards the end of that conference, a level of trust had developed which made it possible for us to arrange subsequent meetings."

There was a major women's conference which included 50 leading white women from South Africa with ANC women in Zimbabwe under the theme of "Women in search of peace".

Another was between the ANC's legal division and promiment constitutional lawyers and professors from inside South Africa. Again people were deliberately invited from the Afrikaans universities in addition to representatives from the so-called liberal universities.

Half-a-dozen meetings for student leaders, including Afrikaners, were organised in Lusaka and Harare. Groups of academics were also taken to similar meetings.

ONE of the most successful of these was held in West Germany last year when a group of white South Africans from the professions, business, academia and the church met prominent members of the ANC executive and a delegation from the Soviet Union.

Once more, attempts were made to clear the ground, to move away from caricatures and to facilitate dialogue.

The Paris conference had its roots in the Dakar conference where Mrs Mitterrand had first given some help. This time a much wider group of South Africans took part in the dialogue. It was a meeting not only between Afrikaners and the ANC, but also had a delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement.

Dr Boraine explained: "The dynamics of the conference meant that you had a much wider expression of views, in terms both of principle and strategy.

"The other major difference was that for the first time, particularly in the economic debate, people started listening to one another instead of simply adopting a fixed position and refusing to budge.

"Socialists, for example, agreed that the market should play a role; that there were real dangers in a centralised economy.

"On the other hand, free marketeers acknowledged that there should be some state intervention in order to deal with the inherent historic disparities.

"Of course clear differences remained but there emerged far more common ground than many of the delegates had imagined possible.

"We have, in other words, come a long way from Dakar. Instead of diffrences and antagonism there was a genuine commitment to a common search for a new democratic South Africa."

THERE was agreement on the prerequisites for the creation of a climate for negotiation, such as the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of organisations.

There were long discussions on the role of President De Klerk, how genuine he was, how far he was prepared to go and the question of group rights.

The concept of group rights was strongly opposed. It was felt the focus should rather be on an individual bill of rights protected and safeguarded by an independent judiciary.

What came as a great surprise to many delegates was the ANC's commitment to a bill of rights enshrined in the constitution, a multi-party state and a mixed economy.

On the absence of government representatives, Dr Boraine said the government had stated that it felt such a conference was unnecessary, that such conferences should be held in South Africa and that they did not intend attending. "In other words, they excluded themselves.

"It is my personal view, however, that, [illegible]e the initial response, we ought to t[illegible]o involve people in government in any future conference of this kind. The time is long overdue for the two main antagonists to meet each other and to begin to establish areas of difference and of common ground."

ON the decision not to invite Inkatha, he said it was felt that the present violence in Natal would make it extremely difficult for representatives of this organisation to be present and that it might have had a potentially disruptive effect.

He believed, however, that Inkatha should be drawn into the process to guarantee a peaceful transition. He was hopeful that talks between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu could be resumed.

The Pan Africanist Congress was not invited because it was not interested in working with white South Africans. This was in sharp contrast to the ANC and its commitment to a non-racial South Africa.

At the conference, it was agreed that every opportunity should be used to have regular meetings, for example, between the MDM, Cosatu, business, academics and clerics.

On the reason for holding the conference in Paris and not in South Africa, Dr Boraine said that as far as the ANC was concerned it was agreed that pressure for the unbanning of the movement should be kept up so that it could participate in the normal political process.

"If this should happen we would not have to go elsewhere."

ON the other hand, most of Idasa's activities at present were inside the country in the form of occasions to bring together whites and blacks over a wide spectrum of the community, including business and labour leaders, lawyers, teachers, students and pupils.

One of Idasa's main aims was to help whites realise that there was life after apartheid. Fears had to be dealt with honestly. One way of doing so was to bring whites into contact with blacks from whom they had so long been separated.

The climate of negotiation, which made significant progress in Paris, could only be developed if the contacts established there were broadened internally.

Idasa would, therefore, continue with efforts to get people from all race groups together, also internally. Hopefully, in this way, the message would reach the government in time that a climate for genuine negotiation was developing.

De Klerk rejects inquiry calls

STATE President F W de Klerk yesterday rejected calls for a judicial commission of inquiry into alleged police death squads, saying such a commission could take years to reach a finding.

"The well-known expression 'justice delayed

SAPA

is justice denied' remains valid," he said in a statement issued through the Bureau for Information.

"Last week I indicated that the Minister of Justice and Law and Order had received the McNally report (into alleged squads).

"I also stated very clearly that criminality in governments will not be tolerated. I said that crime, wherever it appears, must be combatted and exposed," the President 's statement said.

"Justice must also be done as quickly as possible. This implies that investigations must be finalised as quickly as possible.

"Thereafter immediate consideration must be given as to whether prosecution by an attorney-general should take place or not, and if it is decided to prosecute, the accused

● To page 2

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Inquiry calls

30HA

● From page 1

must swiftly appear before the court," the statement said.

Mr de Klerk noted there had recently been a number of calls for the appointment of judicial commission can take months if not years to reach its final conclusions.

"In the meanwhile a climate of suspicion and distrust could develop, something the country can ill-afford at this stage in its history.

"It is essential that



Mr de Klerk.

this matter be finalised as soon as possible in the most incisive and fair manner, so that the country, the Government and the South African police can continue unhindered with the important tasks that lie ahead.

"The well-known expression 'justice delayed is justice denied' remains valid," the President said.

8/12/89 Sowetan

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Plan to kill FW, Pik, Vlok and Malan revealed

Star 9/12/89

304A

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and three Cabinet Ministers were on an "order of death" list found when Mr Dawid Johannes de Beer and four others were arrested, police revealed in Pretoria yesterday.

"Among other things, there was a plan to attack these four simultaneously. That would have created chaos in the country," Major-General Jaap Joubert of the detective branch of the SAP told a briefing for journalists.

The Ministers named were Mr Pik Botha, Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan.

Police had been monitoring the five people, a right-wing splinter group of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Charges pending against the five include terrorism, murder, armed robbery and contravention of the Arms and Ammunition Act as well as the Explosives Act, General Joubert said.

The "order of death" list contained many names, including those of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak.

Mr Vlok and the acting Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, were also present at yesterday's briefing.

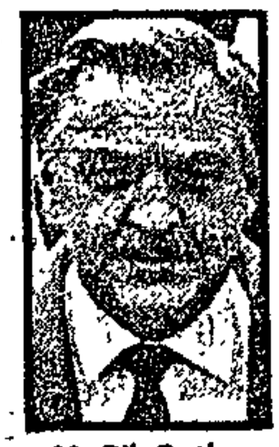
The men arrested with Vereeniging resident Mr de Beer were identified earlier this week as Mr Fanie Goosen (29) and Mr Cornelis Johannes Lottering (24), both of Vereeniging, and Mr Hendrik Francois Binneman (41) and Mr Cornelius Gerhardus van Zyl (28), both of Randburg.

Rifles, shotguns, teargas canisters, grenades, knives, crossbows, mortar bombs, gelignite and dynamite were among items seized from five different loca-

● TO PAGE 2.



Mr de Klerk.



Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Malan.



Mr Vlok.

P.T.O.

THE UMTATA OPTION

S/Times 10/12/89

Dries van Heerden

considers the role Bantu Holomisa may play in bringing South Africa and the ANC to the negotiating table



THE TRANSKEI — long spurned as the untouchable offspring of one of the world's foremost pariah states — may yet turn out to be a place where the disparate agendas of the South African Government and the ANC find common ground.

Indubitably, something is stirring in the theoretically independent homeland since General Bantu Holomisa's coup d'etat rid the place of its egregious former rulers.

Having swept government offices clean of the last vestiges of the Matanzima dynasty, the cocky little general seems to be positioning himself to become a player on the regional scene.

Originally, the Transkei was meant to become the crowning glory of the Verwoerdian vision of a southern Africa pockmarked by sovereign independent states, leaving the Republic lily-white. However, this was not to be and quite soon even the most dire predictions of prophets of apartheid doom were proved right.

To this very day its independence is recognised in no other capital than Pretoria. It remains hopelessly tied to South Africa's budgetary apron strings. And there is little semblance of independent foreign, military or economic policies.

Pathetic

All attempts to make it anything but a rather pathetic client state have not succeeded. Even ex-President Botha's grand design of a "constellation of southern African states" didn't help. It brought forth grand summit meetings and spawned countless inter-governmental committees — but little else.

Likewise, the idea of a confederation also seems to be stillborn. No regional solution that is based on the premise of a divided South Africa stands much chance of acceptance in the international world.

Even inside the National Party government this has become the conventional wisdom. Indeed, this was implicitly recognised even during the Botha era when it was agreed that citizens of the former homelands could still lay claim to South African nationality and passports.

Under President De Klerk, Verwoerdian dreams may finally have come to an end. In the spirit of revisionism that is sweeping through government corridors, many politicians are tearing out their hair in frustration as they lament the fact that the NP ever embarked on the road of homeland independence.

And the possibility of the TBVC states (as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei are known) ever growing into the TBVCKLGKQK states — that is, with KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KangwaneQwaQwa and KwaNdebele joining the ranks of the independents — is now utterly remote.



Rapid developments inside South Africa itself are having a ripple effect in the region's geopolitical orphanages. The marches, rallies and even the whiff of negotiations add to their marginalised position.

And, baby, it's getting colder outside.

Looking through the window into South Africa, Gen Holomisa senses that the table is being laid for negotiations. And there is no place at the table with his name on it.

In public Gen Holomisa likes to portray himself as the humble career soldier who was forced to take on the sordid task of ridding his country of corrupt politicians and who would love to return to the barracks once he has fulfilled his duty.

But from his actions it is obvious that the general sees himself as something else. Unlike his predecessors — who were content to be ostracised, but rich, in their own fiefdom — he fancies himself as a major actor on the subcontinental stage.

The ANC seems not to be altogether sure how to handle Gen Holomisa. On one hand he is tarred with the collaborationist brush because he leads a homeland.

On the other, it seems he is held in some regard by Mr Nelson Mandela. And his personal connections with people inside "the struggle" are said to be strong.

In private conversation, some senior South African officials say only half-jokingly that the ANC is already the de facto government in Umtata. That may be an overstatement, but it's indicative of a growing disquiet in Pretoria over where this relatively unknown quantity may be leading his country.

The leverage South Africa has over the Holomisa government remains immense. Almost half of the R2-billion Transkei budget for 1989/90 is derived from South African budgetary aid. And a further 30 percent (R764-million) comes indirectly from sources such as the Customs Union and tax transfers from Transkeian citizens working in the Republic.

So the means of putting the screws on an obstreperous Umtata are to hand.

On the other hand, the opportunities that could arise from a Transkei straddling "the Structure" and "the Struggle" are also great and Pretoria is not blind to them.

If Gen Holomisa decides to officially unban the ANC within his territory — as he is expected to do quite soon — it will present the exiled organisation with an interesting dilemma.

If it starts operating legally in the Transkei it will gain an important strategic foothold in the region — but at the same time it will be affording what amounts to de facto recognition of a homeland government.

Reality

For the De Klerk administration the Transkei experience with a legalised ANC could then become a laboratory for what may yet be an important decision that awaits Pretoria in the future.

And if the Transkei does decide to return to the South African fold — and Gen Holomisa has indicated he will ask his citizens to vote on this in a referendum — he will have killed two birds with one stone ... the ANC with legalised structures already in place, and a South Africa accepting it as a reality of the day.

This may present both sides with a way to cross hurdles they both know they face but are reluctant to admit to in public: How to legalise the ANC and how to get it to the negotiating table.

Pretoria is already holding the Transkei card in its hands. How and when to play it may require considerable finesse.

TRANSKEI WILD CARD COULD HELP SOLVE PRETORIA'S ANC

Simon Barber

Washington Diary

Jesse plans a new visit



THE Rev Jesse Jackson is once again toying with the idea of visiting South Africa, but much depends on whether or not he is given a visa.

SA Ambassador Piet Koornhof, who believes he has developed a meaningful relationship with the preacher, is lobbying on his behalf.

Dr Koornhof apparently holds the view that Mr Jackson will be so impressed by what he sees in South Africa that he may renounce sanctions, or at least take a more moderate stance on the issue.

Furthermore, I am told the ambassador is not alone in this rosy expectation. Mr Jackson's arrival, it seems, is eagerly anticipated in certain business circles.

Of course, if he wants a visa, he must be given one. But it must also be understood that there is about as much chance of his changing his opinion of sanctions as there is of Margaret Thatcher joining Britain's Labour Party.

It is true that in recent talks with Dr Koornhof he applauded the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders and the easing of restrictions on demonstrations and political rallies. Unfortunately, that is an extremely slender reed upon which to found any higher hopes of the man, especially since only days earlier he was at the United Nations laying into the "racist regime" for allegedly trying to rig the Namibian elections.

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After a similar session with Dr Koornhof last year, he emerged from South Africa's embassy sounding for all the world as if he had dropped his preposterous demand that South Africa be officially declared a terrorist state and thus worthy of the total isolation accorded such nations as Iran, North Korea and North Yemen.

The next day, alas, he was back to his old tune which subsequently, at his bidding, found its way into the Democratic Party's presidential election manifesto.

To believe he will behave differently after a meeting with, say, Mr F W de Klerk would be, as someone once said of marriage, a triumph of hope over experience.

His reasons for wishing to visit South Africa are purely opportunistic. He craves the headlines, perhaps more so than ever now that the victory of Mr Douglas Wilder in the race for the Virginia governorship in November has proved that a black politician can win high office not only without him but despite him.

South Africa looks to be a hot issue next year as the Congressional black caucus and Mr Randall Robinson's TransAfrica set out to prove that apartheid's flame burns as brightly as before, only Pretoria has found a more sophisticated bushel under which to hide it.

Mr Jackson, whose narrowing list of options includes becoming mayor of Washington and thus betraying his absolute lack of administrative ability, yearns to lead the crusade.

While we're assassinating characters, look for Mr Warren Clark, senior deputy to Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, to be packed off into an ambassadorship within the next 12 months. Mr Clark, who led the US delegation to the latest joint comm-ission meeting in South Africa, has not impressed colleagues with his thirst for information.

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Several weeks after the event, he was asked what he thought of President De Klerk's inauguration speech and confessed that he had not read it, though from news-accounts it looked promising.

A few weeks earlier he had appeared as acting secretary in hearings on Angola before the House Africa Sub-Committee. Chairman Howard Wolpe quizzed him about a letter President George Bush had sent to Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi urging him to attend the Kinshasa mini-summit on September 18.

Mr Clark admitted he was unaware of the letter. He was also unclear about the scale of the fighting then under way in Angola, offering a variety of assessments ranging from major to relatively minor. By the end of the session the aide sitting next to him looked in need of a stiff drink.

Government turns to risk management

S/Times 10/12/89



Harry Schwarz

304A

the MP for Yeoville discusses the consequences of the wave of protests across SA

SOUTH AFRICANS were in the main taken by surprise by the new State President's more relaxed attitude to processions and meetings designed to protest not only against unacceptable laws, but against the "system".

The public had become accustomed to the state of emergency powers being used to prohibit gatherings and the police stepping in if the laws were defied.

Tension ran high and potential conflict and casualties loomed — particularly in Cape Town, where prominent clergymen were determined to proceed with protests in defiance of the law.

A choice had to be made — permit and take a risk, or prohibit and take a risk. Which was the greater threat?

Politics entered a phase of risk management.

The State President did not want his term of office to start with bloodshed and resultant new international pressures — particularly as he had gone out of his way to convince both South Africans and Western political leaders and opinion formers that he would embark on a process of genuine reform and meaningful negotiations about the constitutional future of the country.

He and his colleagues — probably not unanimously — decided to take the risk of allowing processions rather than the risk of dealing with defiance.

It is interesting to compare previous events of a similar nature as well as look at the not entirely dissimilar events in Eastern Europe and China.

South Africa has witnessed a number of protest campaigns and a study of all of these shows certain common denominators in planning, execution and result.

Take just one of these — the 1952 campaign. This was envisaged by its organisers as a defiance of the law by an ever-increasing number of people with an eventual overwhelming public response.

The campaign failed after a high degree of violence and was suppressed by new laws and firm police action.

The 1989 campaign started with violence on one hand and avowed peaceful defiance on the other, but the result was quite different. The protests were allowed to go ahead.

The legalised march in Cape Town was followed in other centres and by the phenomenon of "welcome back" rallies for released ANC prisoners and by campaigns defying laws — particularly the Separate Amenities Act and its application to beaches.

Unjust

There is another difference from previous campaigns. Not only did the Government permit marches and meetings, but the campaign against the Separate Amenities Act was followed by the President's announcement of the proposed repeal of the law. Instructions went out to open the beaches without delay.

All and sundry are claiming credit for the President's action. But it is a pity, from the viewpoint of those who believe in peaceful change and negotiation, that the law was not abandoned without prior defiance of it.

Peaceful defiance of one law endangers a system where respect for the law is fundamental and endangers respect for laws other than discriminatory and so-called unjust laws.

It would have been a victory for negotiation politics if the law had been abandoned before the massive defiance campaign and rather as a result of meetings with black leaders who, after the talks, would have been able to show their followers that negotiation does bear fruit.

Lesson

In other words, abandonment of the Separate Amenities Act was not the result of negotiations but came about as a consequence of demonstration and defiance.

In a situation where government has become a risk management exercise, the lesson of this must be obvious.

Much has been written about events in China and Eastern Europe. China has now faded from the news. The unrest was put down with a high degree of force and the pro-democracy leaders harshly punished.

The lesson to be learnt is that determined persons in power, relying on the security forces, can put down uprisings.

It is only when those in power lose their nerve or the security forces join the revolution and/or when they lose the capacity to control and/or if the movement is so strong it can no longer be resisted, that popular uprisings succeed.

Events in the Soviet Union and a number of Eastern European States are viewed by many white South Africans with pleasure. They oppose communism and socialism and it appears that these systems have failed.

So while some white South Africans derive pleasure from scenes of mass demonstrations in Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and unrest in Azerbajan and Armenia, they view popular demonstrations in their own country (of which they see relatively little on television) in quite a different light.

One wonders whether those compiling television news in South Africa realise the message of the Eastern European and Soviet demonstrations which is being conveyed to the viewer who regards himself as oppressed, particularly when such demonstrations in some instances result not only in changes of policy but even of government.

There are, however, other important messages which come from these demonstrations. Nationalism is not dead in some of the Soviet republics.

Ethnic conflict is the cause of the problem, and rivalry, envy and dislike of one group for another have not been eliminated in the Soviet Union.

Human rights is an issue for many, particularly the activist and the student. But above all it is the economic failure of the system which has led the masses to become dissatisfied with the ruling powers.

The breach of the Berlin wall has not resulted in thousands of East Germans shouting that they can now breathe the air of freedom.

But they are flocking to the department stores, staring at shop windows and gaping at the food in West German restaurants.

Wealth

Economic deprivation and relative standards are fundamental issues. This also lies at the root of Gorbachev's realisation that there must be reform in his country.

South Africa, with its vast wealth and income gaps, with its rapidly increasing population, with its high unemployment, can learn from what is happening in Eastern Europe.

So where do we go after the demonstrations?

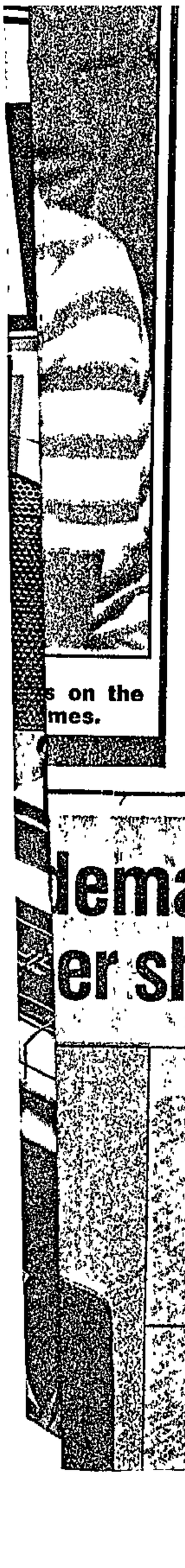
- While certain processions and demonstrations have been prohibited, mainly in the smaller centres, it will be difficult in the future for the authorities to withhold consent for gatherings in the major towns.
- The authorities appear to hold the view that allowing such gatherings to take place will remove the novelty and the desire for them will dwindle — as demonstrated by the failure of the Johannesburg-Soweto human chain.

I do not share this view. More demonstrations on other issues are bound to be planned and will be supported by substantial numbers.

- Demonstrations cannot be seen in isolation. They are part of a pattern and process and lead to other actions.
- The choices which confront South Africa are clear. Either before the situation accelerates the authorities must adopt a successful repressive stance or they must create a situation where there is a diffusion of the political conflict by reform and liberalisation, accompanied by negotiation to achieve a political and economic dispensation which will remove the desire to protest and defy unacceptable laws and conditions.

The repression option, if exercised, will give at best only short-term respites and no solution. The liberalisation/negotiation option has many obstacles, but in the long-term it is the only option if the situation is not to remain uncertain and become increasingly unstable.

Demonstrations are not an end in themselves — they are merely a beginning. South Africans need to recognise this.



by Winnie Mandela.

rebuild the family home-

about what's happening,"

De Klerk change forced, say top Soviet academics

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's reform initiatives were the result of pressure from democratic forces and struggles within and outside of South Africa, according to two top Soviet academics who arrived in Johannesburg this week as guests of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

They told a Press conference that if South Africa became more "democratic" diplomatic relations between this country and the USSR could improve.

Professor Irina Filatova and Professor Apollon Davidson, both African History specialists at the Moscow State University, will be visiting towns and townships to assess recent developments.

"We're here because we want to see South Africa. Many South Africans have visited our country and we have some good friends here like Alex Boraine, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Archbishop Desmond Tutu," said Filatova.

The two said the Soviet Union would never abandon the ANC and the South African "struggle".

Soviet policy on South Africa had altered in recent years from a military to a more political one, they told reporters.

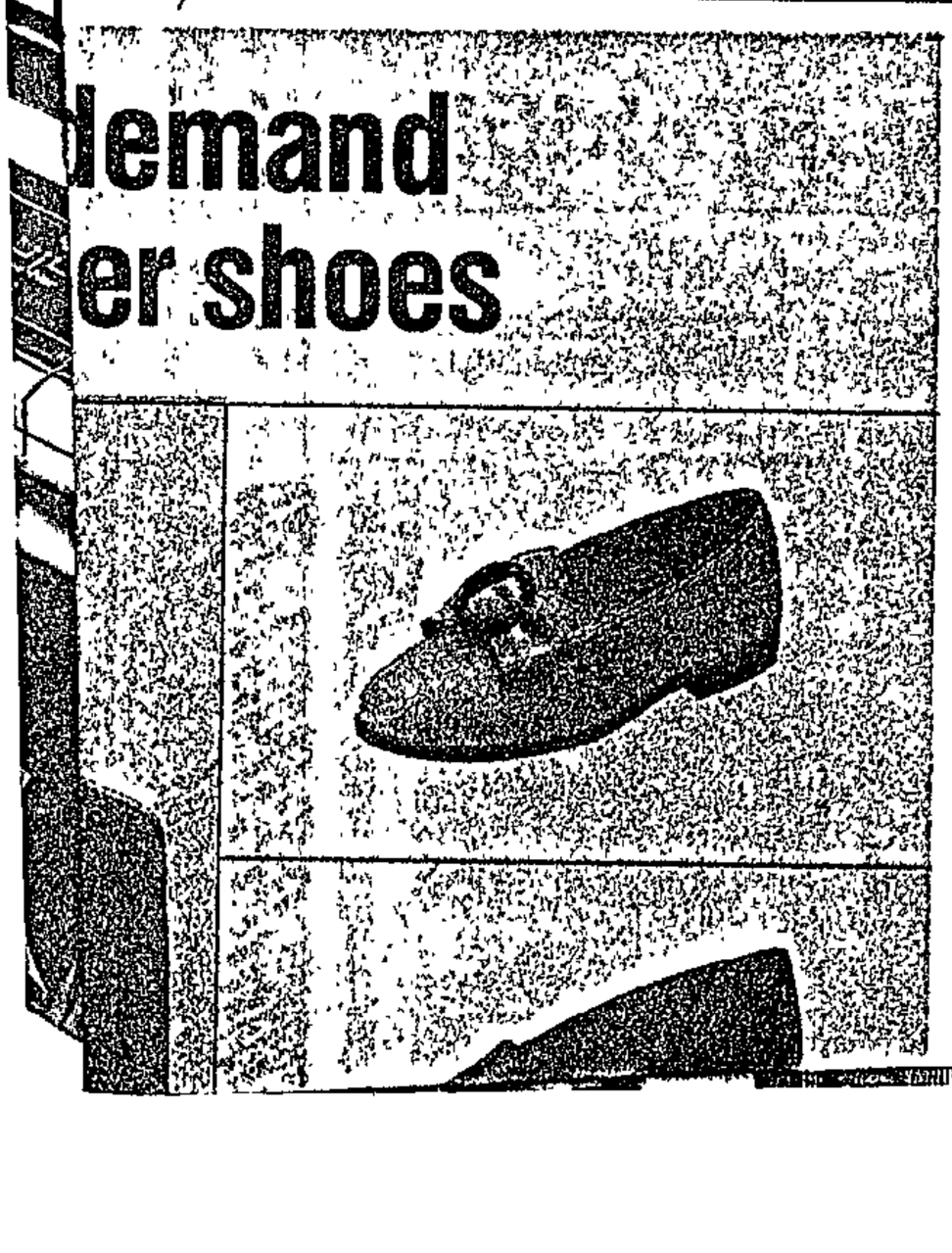
They said political solutions could not be ruled out, and the Namibian settlement was a good example.

Political decision-making was an important part of President Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika*. His reforms aimed at creating a more democratic and humanitarian state, and a more efficient economy.

Asked if they thought capitalism would be a solution to the problems of their economy, the academics said if capitalism was instituted immediately, their country would play second fiddle to countries which had had many years of capitalist development.

The demand for independence from some Soviet republics was a natural outcome of the unjust manner in which some of the republics became part of the union. Some Soviet policy-makers were mooting a secession mechanism and a period of transition for the republics which demanded independence, they said.

Davidson has been asked by the Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, to write articles on the visit. – Sapa



Europe unimpressed by reforms in SA

SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

THE European Community said South Africa was not scrapping its apartheid system fast enough and called for talks between what it called the true leaders of all its ethnic groups.

In a final declaration after a two-day summit, the 12 EC leaders welcomed moves by President F W de Klerk in recent weeks to allow greater political freedom and the release of a number of jailed black nationalists.

"These measures, however, are still insufficient with respect to the immense task posed by the dismantlement of apartheid," it added.

Calling for an end to violence and a dialogue between all parties, it added: "Only broad-based negotiations bringing together the true leaders of the different constituent parts of the South African people can result in a lasting settlement."

The declaration said the EC would maintain the pressures it was exerting on the South African Government, but would reconsider them "when there is clear evidence that changes have been obtained".

Economic measures adopted by EC members to press Pretoria into faster reform include bans on the promotion of tourism and the import of certain South African goods, including gold coins, iron and steel.

The declaration said last month's UN-supervised elections in Namibia had permitted the appointment of a Constituent Assembly "which truly reflects the wishes of the Namibian people".

Czech bounces to power

ONLY 14 days after being released from prison on subversion charges, Mr Jan Carnogursky is about to be appointed a deputy prime minister in Czechoslovakia's new government.

It is a reflection of the breathtaking speed with which Czechoslovakia is returning to its democratic traditions after 41 years of suppression under hardline communist rule.

SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

"It is exactly 14 days since I was released from prison," the slight, bespectacled Mr Carnogursky told reporters.

"As I rode home in the tram that evening I saw huge posters calling for free elections. My call for free elections was one of the reasons I was arrested."

S/Times 10/12/84

304A

Roles reversed as SA Marxists grill Soviet professors

By MATTHEW CURTIN

SOUTH AFRICANS were given a timely lesson in glasnost at Wits University this week as Soviet citizens addressed a public meeting in this country for the first time since the '50s and the academic boycott.

Professors of history from Moscow State University, Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova, had arrived in South Africa only 24 hours earlier. Professor Filatova yesterday also addressed a mass rally at the Conference for a Democratic Future at Wits while Professor Davidson attended as an observer.

After introducing themselves briefly to the eclectic audience — including foreign correspondents, trade union officials, turbulent churchman Dr Beyers Naude, Wits academics and students — they answered two hours of questions from the floor.

And that proved a harder task than they had perhaps expected.

you had had the chance to live in the Soviet Union, you would not ask such a question.

"The Soviet pursuit of perestroika does not mean the blind acceptance of capitalism, but the adaptation of socialism.

"We are against monopolies of any sort, capitalist or socialist. In the words of Lenin, 'every monopoly leads to stagnation'."

There was resounding applause.

Both Soviets gave valuable insights into the realities of perestroika, especially for academics.

Only in the last few years, Professor Filatova recounted, were senior academics elected rather than appointed to posts, lecturers able to choose their own subjects and students their lectures. "Students can now show their opinion of their lecturers by voting with their legs."

Professor Davidson added how much easier access was to overseas writing now, a change from when he was a student in the '40s

guage in which the questions were couched.

Professors Davidson and Filatova patiently waited for questioners to finish mini-speeches littered with hackneyed phrases of Soviet dogma — "socialism in one country", "internationalism", "international Leninism", "permanent revolution" and "peaceful coexistence" — the very phrases which would have greeted inquisitive Westerners in the days of Stalin and Brezhnev.

Roles seemed ironically reversed as the professors cordially listened to the barrage and proceeded to answer with refreshing frankness.

One trade union official asked whether Soviet acquiesence to events in Eastern Europe, in particular the demise of the Communist Party, was not in effect selling the Eastern Bloc out to capitalism and an admission of the failure of socialism.



REVISIONISTS: Soviet scholars Filatova and Davidson

Professor Filatova replied: "If Language problems aside, it was startling with what ferocity, ignorance and insensitivity questions were fired at the Soviet pair.

Many in the audience seemed to think they were in the presence of Messrs Gorbachev and Shevardnadze rather than a pair of Moscow academics, judging by their detailed inquiries about Soviet foreign policy.

More revealing was the language in which the questions were couched, and those who spoke foreign languages were seen as subversives.

He was also quick to warn against drawing parallels too closely between the Soviet Union and South Africa.

"Though, as we appreciate the problems of religion, nationalism and even racism in our own country, it equips us better to understand these issues in a South African context."

Time proved too short for either professor to provide more than glimpses of life in the Soviet Union. And neither had spent enough time in South Africa to comment incisively on events here.

But the message they ended with was that it was time for those who inherited the blinkered mindset of Marxist-Leninism from their European mentors at least to drop the rhetoric, if not the ideas and "ism's". If the Wits meeting was anything to go by, the Soviets did so long ago.

Anti-apartheid groups reject De Klerk's negotiation initiative

THE WAY TO A NEW SA



Come and join us, Sisulu asks De Klerk -Page 2

A section of the 4 500-strong audience at the Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg at the weekend.



THE Conference for a Democratic Future, a gathering of more than 2 000 anti-apartheid organisations held in Johannesburg at the weekend, rejected the State President, Mr F W de Klerk's negotiations initiative.

It called for the establishment of a non-racial Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

In a statement at the end of the conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, the CDF's convening committee said: "The conference also adopted a political declaration which expressed a shared perspective of the current political situation.

"Thus a firm basis was established for the political direction of all anti-apartheid forces well into the 1990s, the decade of the final onslaught against apartheid."

President De Klerk has already rejected the idea of a Constituent Asssembly.

The conference which was attended by 4 500 delegates represented about 15 million South Africans, according to the convening committee. Most organisations subscribed to the pro-Freedom Charter, Mass Democratic Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Present as observers were 23 representatives of European and American governments, including Professor Irina Filatova and Dr Appolon Davidson of the Soviet Union.

● To page 2

304A

Sowetan 11/12/89

Sowetan 11/12/89

The way to a new SA

3044

• From page 1

Messages of support were received from Sweden, a major financial sponsor of the conference.

In calling for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly the CDF said: "There can be no solution in the interests of the oppressed and exploited masses while apartheid structures and its laws exist.

"The basis and climate for genuine negotiations do not exist and De Klerk's proposals for negotiations, supported by the imperialists, are designed to enmesh our organisations and people in schemes to maintain the *status quo*".

The CDF also issued a call to all whites to break decisively with apartheid and take to the streets to indicate their rejection of apartheid.

Saying that many whites had indicated their desire for an end to apartheid and "a speedy and just resolution to the conflict" in the country, the CDF said the protest should be in the form of marches from the towns to the townships

The CDF resolved:

+To call on all organisations and people to mobilise forces, organise and intensify the struggle for the creation of a single non-racial democratic South Africa with a single parliament and a single universal suffrage;

+To call on the international community to intensify the isolation of the South African Government and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions;

+That "real democracy" be given to the freely elected delegates of the people united in the Constituent Assembly on the basis of one-person-one-vote in a unitary South Africa;

+That only the Constituent Assembly had the right and duty to define a new constitution as well as the form and social content of a new and just society.

In its statement the CDF's convening committee said the Black Consciousness Movement took the view that it was going to take all the resolutions as recommendations for further discussions by its constituency "but was nevertheless happy with the conference continuing with its deliberations".

The convening committee said: "The most significant development of the conference is the adoption of the OAU's Harare Document, especially in view of its imminent discussion at the United Nations on Tuesday (December 12).

ARGUS 11/12/87 30K/A

'We will expose the limits of De Klerk's reforms'

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

AT the age of 35 Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, the new chairman of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, has come a long way from being a cattle herd in the Eastern Cape where he grew up.

PROFILE

In an interview he looked forward to what he described as "exciting times amid indications of a change in the political terrain."

It was while studying for a B Proc degree at Fort Hare university from 1974 to 1977 that he had his first brush with the police. He was detained, along with other students, for attending a memorial gathering for Steve Biko. They were cautioned and discharged.

The next time it was more serious.

In 1981 he was doing his articles in the office of Durban lawyer Griffiths Mxenge whose murder that year has recently been linked with allegations of police hit squads.

Mr Ngcuka was in that year sentenced to three years imprisonment for refusing to testify against a friend in a treason case. Some of that time he spent in Victor Verster prison in Paarl.

Increasing defiance

He had attained an LI B degree through Unisa by the time he was released in 1985.

Then followed a spell of two years with the International Labour Organisation in Geneva where he was in a department which implemented the ILO's programme against apartheid.

Again he made good use of his time, gaining a master's degree in international relations from an American university.

As a restricted person, prohibited from taking part in or speaking about the activities of the UDF his position may seem a strange one, but his recent election as chairman is seen as another sign of increasing defiance among restricted organisations.

In terms of his restrictions Mr Ngcuka also has to be indoors from 8 pm to 6 am, but he is not prohibited from making statements about the political situation in general.

He came to Cape Town where he became a partner in a legal practice in Athlone.

Speaking in his personal capacity Mr Ngcuka said he saw the De Klerk regime as "completely different from all the other Nationalist administrations we have been dealing with where there was usually no response to the demands of the oppressed majority. If there was any answer it was usually expressed in violent forms.

"Now it seems as if we are dealing



Mr Bulelani Ngcuka

with an administration that has a different approach to the issues and of necessity our tactics will have to change.

"In terms of real issues there is no difference but in the people's perceptions there is the impression that the De Klerk government is prepared to listen and talk, even if they keep talking about group rights.

"The mere fact that they want to talk to the extra-parliamentary groupings gives some people more hope.

"That is the challenge we have to deal with in a manner which will ensure that the momentum of our struggle will not be affected and to ensure that our people are not hoodwinked into a situation where they accept something less than a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

How can this "challenge" be met?

"We must introduce strategic thinking through debate and political discussions.

"We must engage in actions that expose the limits of the government's reforms.

"We must mobilise all the people — I mean all the people — who believe in a true and non-racial South Africa to join the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement.

"We must enter into tactical alliances with those forces who have hitherto supported the apartheid system but who are now disillusioned with it.

"There are a growing number of Afrikaner intellectuals who can no longer support the system. We must find ways of accommodating them in our structures."

Referrring to negotiations Mr Ngcuka said the questions were about who had to negotiate with whom ... and even that had to be negotiated.

On the one hand there was the government in power and on the other the representatives of the people.

It was generally accepted that the African National Congress was the leading "proletarian movement" in the country.

Negotiations would have to take place mainly between the MDM, including the ANC on one side and the government on the other.

Referring to efforts to create a climate for negotiations Mr Ngcuka said there had been hopes that, with the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC prisoners the government was starting to create the necessary climate.

Conversely, however, there had been further detentions and restrictions under the De Klerk government.

He pointed to the detention of Ms Cheryl Carolus, and now Mr Whitey Jacobs, president of the Cape Youth Congress, who has been charged with breaking a restriction order.

Mr Ngcuka had himself been restricted under the De Klerk regime.

If there were to be negotiations the people would have to know what was being negotiated because they would be affected. A system of accountability would have to be devised.

Under a state of emergency and with Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners still in jail and organisations banned there could clearly not be negotiations.

Optimistic

Referring to the future Mr Ngcuka said he was optimistic.

"There is no way in which one can be involved in the struggle and not be optimistic. The balance is changing in our favour. The government is involved in an escalating crisis, economically and politically.

"This gives us reason to believe that finally we will see the end of apartheid. The government has come to realise that it cannot continue in the way it has all these years and that it must change".

There was also the question of white fears.

"As long as there are people who present a picture of white influence suffering under a majority government we must address these fears, even if there is no basis for them. We must guard against a situation where such fears are going to be exploited.

"Promoting joint activities will go a long way to allaying the fears. We believe that the country belongs to all of us, blacks as well as whites.

"For whites to be in a position where they will influence the events in our country they must join the struggle. Our doors are open", Mr Ngcuka said.

China visitors give praise and criticism

Staff Reporter

The first official delegation from China, which included three Communist Party members, left South Africa last week after condemning apartheid but praising medical and mining achievements.

Members also criticised black education and housing facilities.

South Africa can expect to host more delegations in the future, they said. Some observers believe future groups might even meet high-ranking Government officials.

Increasing numbers of South Africans have visited China, but this is the first visit by its party members to this country.

Pretoria has close ties with the rival Taiwan Government.

During their 12-day visit, the delegation met a wide range of political, academic, business and church leaders, and were briefed on South Africa's views on issues in the subcontinent by Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Rusty Evans.

Host to the group, headed by the executive vice-president of the China Christian Council, and including two seconded diplomats and a researcher, was Mr Colin Eglin, the Democratic Party (DP) spokesman on foreign affairs.

DP staffers organised and accompanied them on their tour. It included visits to farms and agricultural projects.

MODERN WEAPONRY

Mr Eglin, who initiated contacts with China after knocking on the door of the country's ambassador in Botswana and asking for a visa. He visited China in 1987 and 1988 as a guest of the Chinese Association for International Understanding.

Said Chinese delegation lead Mr Han Wenzao: "We were deeply impressed that economically South Africa is quite developed in its construction of highways, mining, and technology in the medical field."

During the trip he spoke to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak, the Rev Frank Chikane, Archbishop Denis Hurley, and the Rev Stanley Mogobe.

Senior researcher Mr Wang Zhongjie said he was impressed by medical advances such as heart transplants, modern industries, gold and diamond mines, the modern nuclear power station, and weaponry.

"On the other hand, black housing and living conditions are poor, and the education of blacks is an urgent and important problem facing South Africa."

They met leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement and United Democratic Front in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. They visited Soweto, the Cape Flats and townships outside Maritzburg.

Mr Zhu Junfa, a member of the Chinese Communist Party, said: "It seems some black people do not have basic human rights. We visited a hostel outside Cape Town, and in an area of 10 m sq three families were living. This apartheid system must be scrapped.

NARROW GAP

"Economically, China is not well developed yet, but there is a narrow gap in living standards. We have solved the problem of housing, feeding and clothing 1,2 billion people."

In Natal, the group had high praise for the pioneering Uthongathi multiracial school near Tongaat.

"The headmaster, teachers and supporters are doing a very important job and making a great contribution to the future," said Mr Wang.

Mr Han said they had come to realise that there were a growing number of whites who want to do away with apartheid.

He described the opening of social facilities, beaches, theatres and restaurants as positive, but said that in education, human rights and constitutional justice, there was "a long way to go".

Mr Eglin commented: "China and South Africa have an important structural similarity. Both have a society consisting of First World and Third World components.

"The challenge is to bring these two components together in a way that will produce social justice, economic progress and political stability, and overcome problems of urbanisation, rural development, housing, education and job creation."

'CP hatred' caused violence

JOHANNESBURG. — It was pathetic that the driving force behind Saturday's incidents of violence at the Boksburg Lake was "blind racial hatred" spurred by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the chairman of the Save Boksburg Committee said.

Mr Mohamed Navsa said black communities throughout the country faced with the reality of CP-controlled town councils would not submit to them.

"The AWB and some Boksburg councillors should be seen for what they are — Neanderthal men," Mr Navsa said.

He said Saturday's incidents of violence could be traced back to last week's speech by Dr Treurnicht in Boksburg in which he "preyed on peoples' prejudices, promoting racial animosity".

Violence erupted when a group of AWB and Conservative Party members attacked Reiger Park residents at a Boksburg Lake picnic area on Saturday.

As Beachboys music blared from lakeside speakers, police dragged away a number of Reiger Park residents and their supporters after the AWB assaulted and physically removed them from what they termed "our braai area".

A man whom police were trying to arrest was kneed in the face by an AWB member.

Earlier, a TV cameraman had his camera broken and his sound assistant was assaulted.

A photographer had his film confiscated and a Sapa journalist was forced to hand over his audio cassette to police.

The immediate reasons for the confrontation apparently arose from a decision by the Save Boksburg Committee to have a braai at the lake. The CP group had decided on Saturday to have a braai at the same place, a CP spokesman said.

The two sides disagreed as to who was at the braai area first. — Sapa

Sowetan 11/12/89

The way to a new SA

• From page 1

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Join us call to De Klerk

(SOWA Sowetan 11/12/89)

STATE President Mr F W de Klerk's negotiations idea got the thumbs down from two political leaders who spoke at the Conference for a Democratic Future held in Johannesburg.

Former general secretary of the African National Congress Mr Walter Sisulu and Azanian People's Organisation's leader and theologian Dr Jerry Mosala gave keynote addresses at the University of the Witwaterand to 4 600 delegates from more than 2 000 anti-apartheid groups.

Sisulu instead called on De Klerk to get a mandate from those who wanted him to represent them and join conferences such as the CDF.

He said: "In fear perhaps, you (De Klerk) shorten your gaze to the stony ground that lies between you and us. Look up. Do not be afraid. Others from your community have stepped boldly forward and found a home with the democratic movement.

Mosala said the the country needed a climate conducive for negotiations but that De Klerk and his government did not have the "moral wherewithal" to provide it.

"We cannot negotiate with them to negotiate with us. We must seize the initiative and relocate it in the struggles of the most oppressed and exploited classes of our country.

"What we need is a programme of action that can bind together the forces of liberation in the country. Yes, we need a climate for negotiations, but we must create the climate for negotiations ourselves," Mosala said.

under the influence of liquor.

Cut jail sentences for objectors, MP urges

304A Star 1/12/89

Political Correspondent

The Government has been urged to shorten the period of imprisonment for conscientious objectors, in line with the reduction in national service.

Mr Peter Soal, Democratic Party MP, appealed to the Government to review especially the six-year jail sentence for objectors who refused to do any service. At present the period was 1½ times the length of military service, without remission or parole.

He urged the Government to review the six-year prison term and in particular the cases of David Bruce (26) and Charles Bester (19) who are both now serving the maximum six-year sentence.

He would be contacting Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee directly to appeal to him for a review.

Zulu prince joins ANC group

ULUNDI — Zulu senior Prince Mcwayizeni's joining of the pro-ANC group Contralesa drew strong criticism yesterday from kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi.

The chief said in a statement Contralesa was an organisation aimed at sowing discord between kwaZulu and Inkatha officials.

The prince had abused Chief Buthelezi.

"I have never had a quarrel with the senior prince and politically it never occurred to me he would want to challenge me. I have never had to deal with him as a political enemy," the statement said. — Sapa.

Star 1/12/89

SA, Mozambican Ministers meet in Maputo to discuss economic affairs

(Rec'd 3044) Star 12/12/89

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — South African and Mozambican ministerial delegations met here yesterday for the third meeting of the Commission on Economic Affairs set up between the two countries in 1988.

The South African delegation was led by Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Mozambican side was led by Labour Minister Mr Aguiar Mazula.

On the agenda were reports from the sub-committees dealing with labour, infrastructure, transport, natural resources, trade and health.

A short statement issued after the meeting expressed satisfaction at the progress made by the sub-commitees but gave no details.

State alleges fraud, bribery and theft

Ex-MP De Pontes appears in PE court

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Former National Party MP for East London, Mr Petro de Pontes, appeared briefly in the Port Elizabeth Regional Court yesterday on charges of fraud, uttering, bribery and theft involving about R500 000 in cash and property.

Mr de Pontes was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to February 19. He was released on warning.

A draft charge sheet listed two charges of theft, four of fraud, one of bribery, one of forgery and another for uttering.

OWN ACCOUNT

The State alleges Mr de Pontes managed to obtain control of a Ciskei company, Papillon International, by forging the signature of Mr Vito Roberto Palazzolo.

He allegedly visited Mr Palazzolo in a Swiss jail in 1986. Funds totalling $26 200 (about R67 000) were made available to him for Ciskei charities.

On the strength of the draft, the State alleges, Mr de Pontes obtained R58 482 from Boland Bank. He gave R20 000 to the Ciskei People's Education Trust and put the balance in his own account, knowing it belonged to Mr Palazzolo.

The charge sheet states that he applied to the Reserve Bank to have the dollars converted into financial rands after fraudulently telling Boland Bank the money was part of an investment of 2 million Swiss franks. He said the money was intended for investment and the purchase of shares in Silkon (Pty) Ltd in Ciskei.

He allegedly said the capital would be used for major investments in Ciskei and East London. Boland Bank accepted his bona fides. The State maintains Mr de Pontes knew the money had not been given to him for investment purposes.

He is also charged with fraud relating to applications for a visa and resident's permit for Mr Palazzola. The State maintains he interceded with the Minister of Internal Affairs for a visa for Mr Palazzola while withholding information that he had a conviction in Switzerland.

He is also alleged to have applied to Ciskei for a residence permit for Mr Palazzola in the name of Robert von Palace Kolbatschenko.

He is charged with bribing Mr Johan Schaffer, a clerk in the Department of Interior, to obtain and complete forms for Mr Palazzola/Kolbatschenko without any mention of his Swiss conviction. In December 1987 a Ciskei resident's permit was granted to Mr Kolbatschenko.

Mr Palazzola was arrested on January 31 last year and returned to Switzerland. Mr de Pontes, it is alleged, drew up a letter from Mr Palazzolo resigning from Papillon and handing over the company and assets to Mr de Pontes.

The State claims the signature on the documents was fraudulent. False documents were also supplied to A W and C Management Consultants and to auditors Hoek and Wiehahn, who were instructed to transfer the company worth R450 000 to the name of Mr de Pontes and to obtain share certificates on his behalf.

'Open politics' move behind CDF talks

Cape Times 12/12/89

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Conference for a Democratic Future held at the weekend was part of the government's initiative for more open politics, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

"It is part of the normalisation process of politics that is taking place," Mr Meyer said in an interview.

He declined to say whether this process would result in lifting restrictions on 32 organisations.

He said the conference was organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which was not banned.

When it was put to him that both the UDF and Cosatu — key elements of the MDM — were restricted, Mr Meyer replied: "They are restricted, but they are not totally banned."

The government had taken note of the conference, but there was not much to say about the proceedings.

"It seems to me that part of the emphasis was to make a unified stand before the coming UN meeting.

"It is doubtful whether there was a unified meeting in the sense that it was dominated by the MDM groupings."

Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party, who attended the conference as one of 20 DP observers, said that the conference had taken place at all was a positive sign. He added that the fact that attempts were made to bridge the gaps between charterism and Black Consciousness was also positive, as was the fact that contacts — which could only be to the good for negotiations — were made. He said this emphasised the need for multi-party negotiations.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) said yesterday white people had always had a role in the struggle to end apartheid, but black people had a right to wage an autonomous black struggle.

The BCM would talk to and accept the support of white people, but Africans had to be their own liberators, a senior Azapo member, Mr Jerry Mosala, told a press conference called to outline the BCM position on the conference.

"Given the nature and structure of South African society, whites are part of the problem, and our primary responsibility is the mobilisation of the black working class."

The BCM had been deliberately and maliciously misrepresented on this point, he told the conference.

The BCM claimed the MDM "pushed" to get the Harare Declaration passed so it could be taken to the United Nations for discussion.

December 1989

Mayor fights for peace

By ALAN DUGGAN (3048)

IN THE last century, a Colt revolver nicknamed "The Peacemaker" helped tame the Wild West.

Today, the city of Cape Town has a different peacemaker — a mayor named Gordon Oliver.

But there the analogy ends. This first citizen doesn't believe in shooting his way out of difficult situations.

He prefers to talk. And, if necessary, he'll march.

He says: "I have to become personally involved. I don't want to be seen as a cocktail-party mayor."

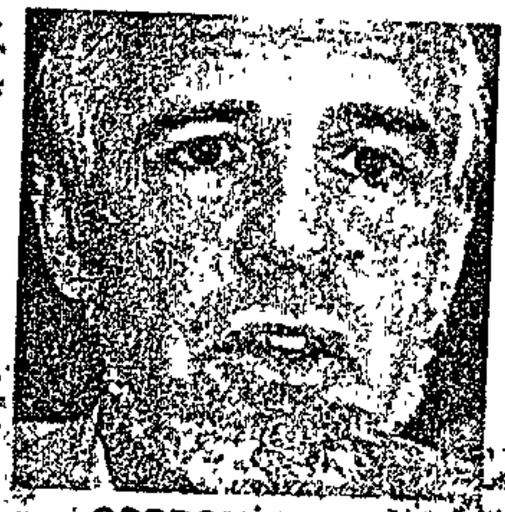
Within three months of taking office, Mr Oliver has established himself as a caring and courageous man who's prepared to stick his neck out for a cause he believes in.

For example, he joined a protest march by 35 000 people less than two weeks after he took office.

That decision brought him strong criticism from some of his colleagues, who claimed a mayor had no business getting involved in politics.

But it also earned Mr Oliver the respect and admiration of many Capetonians, who had begun to believe that nobody cared.

The mayor himself insisted that his involvement had nothing to do with politics — and had everything to do with peace. In a more recent incident, Mr Oliver did his best to defuse a clash between members of the New Age movement and born-again Christians. The born-again faction objected to New Age holding a dawn ceremony on the slopes of Table Mountain.



GORDON OLIVER
Our Berlin Wall is down

After a spirited confrontation with one of the Christian group's leaders, Logie Buchanan, the mayor appealed for religious tolerance.

He later invited Mr Buchanan for talks, which ended with the two hugging each other.

Said Mr Oliver after their meeting: "There's a tremendous mood in local and national politics and a new awareness of what can be achieved.

"The 'Berlin Wall' is coming down in our hearts and in our city."

One of his dearest wishes was to see a return to District Six by the people who were forcibly removed by the Government many years ago.

Mr Oliver said: "We want the sort of development that people can afford — not a suburb for wealthy whites.

"But District Six is only part of the problem.

"What we really want is for the whole city to be opened to everyone."

Celebrating 1850 arrival

Sunday Times Reporter

A TWO-DAY gathering next year will celebrate the 140th anniversary of the arrival of the British settlers in Natal's Richmond-Byrne area.

The celebrations on May 12 in Richmond and May 13 in Byrne are being organised by the Richmond-Byrne and District Historical Society.

More than 200 settlers arrived in Natal by ship under the Byrne Emigration Scheme of 1850. Only 13 settled in the Byrne Valley because the land was unsuitable for farming. Others settled in Richmond.

Alterations to improve security

No holiday at home for FW

3044

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Security is being improved at President de Klerk's Hermanus holiday home, so he will spend the Christmas holidays at the official presidential residence, Botha House, on the Natal South Coast.

Mr de Klerk's last official engagement before going on holiday is a speech on Saturday at a Day of the Vow celebration at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein.

Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general in the State President's office, said yesterday that Mr de Klerk would not be spending his holiday at Hermanus because alterations were being done — partly to improve security and partly to improve accommodation. Dr Roux said Mr de Klerk would spend his holiday "elsewhere".



13/12/89

President de Klerk won't be spending Christmas at his Hermanus home this year.

Surprise

Other sources indicated he would holiday in Botha House.

Dr Roux quashed speculation that Mr de Klerk had been told he could not stay at the Hermanus house for security reasons.

"The State President visited his Hermanus house last Saturday and Sunday so there is no reason for him not to go there," he said.

But, he said, the improved security at the home was necessary "because he is now State President".

Meanwhile, a presidential spokesman has confirmed that Mr de Klerk's statement last week that national service was to be halved was the "surprise announcement" he had promised to make before going on holiday.

Mr de Klerk told the Johannesburg Press Club recently that he would make a big announcement.

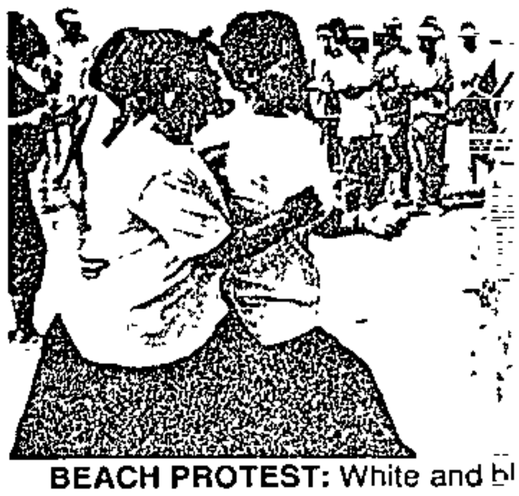
As he talked about the media emergency regulations in the same speech, it was presumed the surprise announcement would concern a partial or total lifting of those regulations. This now seems unlikely before next year.

3044





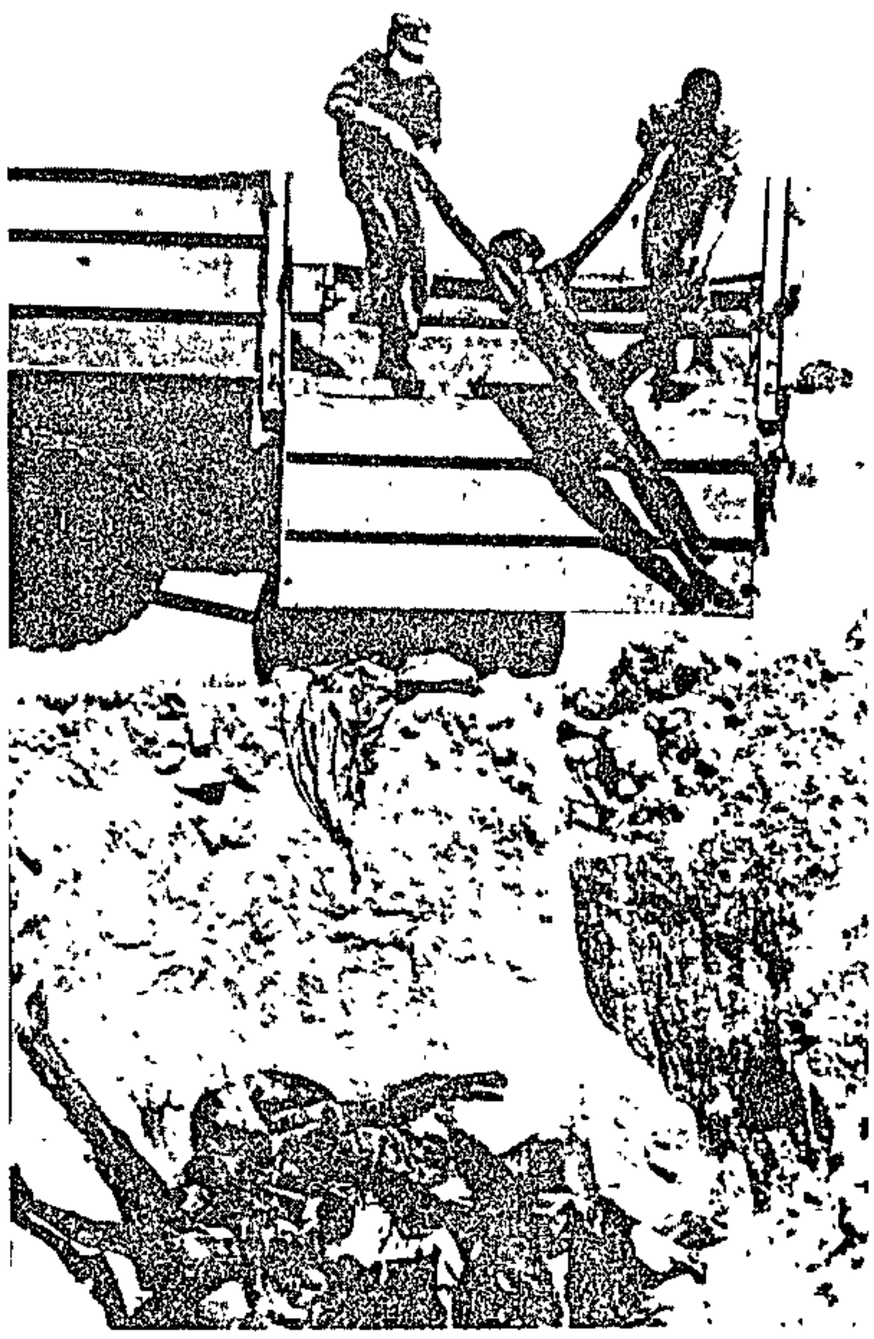
TRIUMPH: At the last Swapo rally before the Namibian elections, Swapo leader Sam Nujoma rides to victory



BEACH PROTEST: White and bl

TEARS: There were a host of tragic events during the year. Above, mouners carry the coffins of Coline Williams and Robbie Waterwitch Into the church for their funeral service, and below, SADF and Untag troops lower the bodies of Swapo PLAN soldiers into mass graves in Namibia in April

Triumph an



1989 was a year of profound political changes that will s... celeration of the liberation struggle in the 1990s.

It was the year of mass defiance, street marches and hu... gained in fame, stature and respectability. Namibians w... kicked off the political stage. The Conference for a Demo... the greatest challenge to apartheid rule in 30 years.

But not all the news was pleasant: Winnie Mandela got ... ginning of the year. Pretoria got a much worse one at the... year of the death squad scandal.and the cold-blooded killin... Anton Lubowski. The state of emergency continues. Ri... views the past 12 months.

JANUARY

WINNIE Mandela makes the headlines in January when her "football team" bodyguards are accused of being party to the death of a young activist, Stompie Seipei.

Her ordeal ends when three people are arrested for the murder. Nelson Mandela, in a message from Victor Verster prison, pledges support for his embattled wife.

Also in January, South African spy Olivia Forsyth accuses the ANC of mistreating detainees in camps in Angola She makes a dramatic escape from the ANC and flees to Britain

President PW Botha suffers a massive stroke. However, his illness is hushed up before being leaked to the press eight days later

Azapo leader Dr Abu Baker Asvat is gunned down in his Johannesburg surgery.

FEBRUARY

News leaks from prisons around the country in February that detainees have embarked on a hunger strike to demand their releases.

Within a week, more than 300 detainees join the strike and there are fears for their health

By the third week, a substantial number of detainees are hospitalised, and a few make dramatic escapes from their hospital beds.

After a month, the government begins to release detainees. Within weeks, the number of detainees drops from 900 to fewer than 100

However, most detainees are restricted after being released.

MARCH

In March the first United Nations Trasitional Assistance Group (Untag) troops roll down Kaiser Street, Windhoek, to implement Resolution 435. The Namibians view them with mixed reactions.

APRIL

April begins with a shock to Namibia and the world. The media show pictures of Untag and South African troops burying Swapo fighters in mass graves after the massacre of April 1.

Swapo's PLAN fighters who had crossed the border of Angola into Nambia were killed in three days of fighting.

In South Africa, there are scenes of jubilation outside the Rand Supreme Court when labour leader Moses Mayekiso is acquitted of subversion and sedition.

MAY

Worker celebrations on May Day are marred by the assassination of Wits academic David Webster who is gunned down outside his home.

JUNE

During the month of June, thousands of Capetonians join a march from the Baxter Theatre to District Six in support of the Open City Iniative.

JULY

Emotional scenes at the JC Strydom airport in Windhoek when the first "returnees" arrive home from exile.

UDF leaders Albertina Sisulu, Curnick Ndlovu, Azar Cachalia and Titus Mafolo are feted during a tour to the United States and Britain, where they meet Margaret Thatcher at Downing Street.

PW Botha summons Mandela for tea at Tuynhuys for the now famous "tea party". Meanwhile the rest of the national Party bays for his retirement.

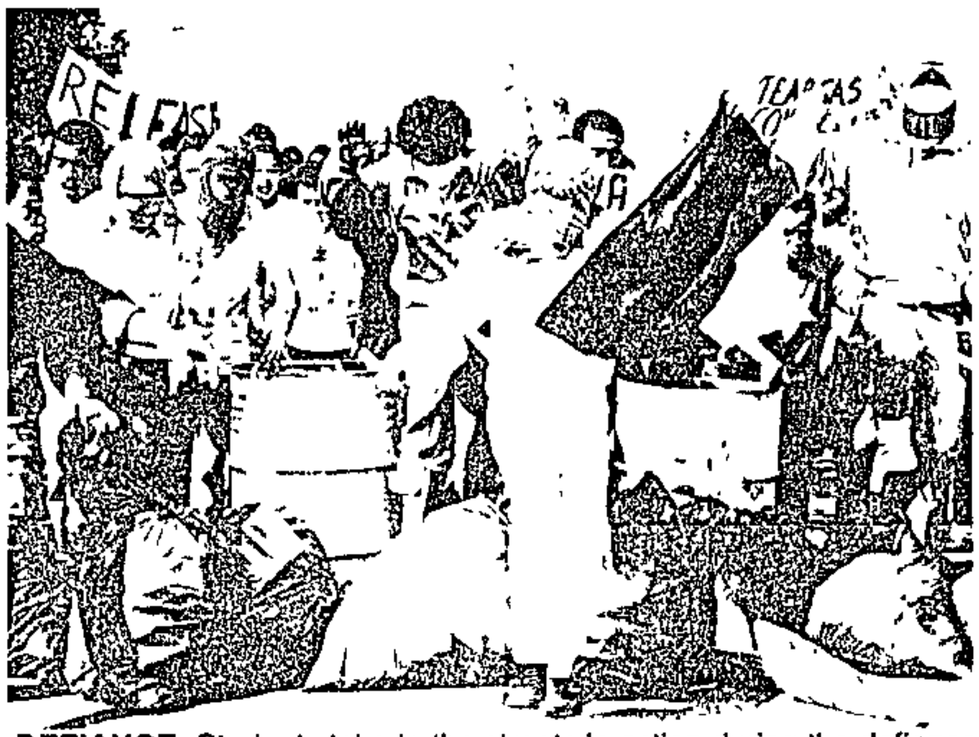
The world sees the Mandela family celebrating a reunion and Mandela's 72nd birthday at the Victor Verster prison.

Cape Town activists Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams die in an explosion near the Athlone Magistrates Court on July 31.

AUGUST

The Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign is launched in Cape Town at a press conference on August 2

In the weeks that follow, high



DEFIANCE: Students take to the streets in action during the defiance campaign.



CLERGY MARCH: The Dean of the Anglican Church Rev Colin Jones and Archbishop Tutu are stopped by a policewomen when they attempt to march to parliament



and black alike share the fun of a beach picnic during the defiance campaign

...id tears

...i will set the scene for an ac-

... and hunger strikes. The ANC ...ans voted, and PW Botha was ... Democratic Future presented

...eia got a bad press at the be-...e at the end of1989. It was the ...d killings of David Webster and ...ues. REHANA ROSSOUW re-

... school students take to the streets in action against the police, Waterwitch's and Williams' funeral draw thousands of mourners and 32 restrictees declare themselves unrestricted at a church service in Hazendal.

On August 20 organisations are declared unbanned at a rally to celebrate the UDF's birthday.

On August 26 an education summit and workers summit map out joint plans of action.

PW Botha finally resigns and FW de Klerk is sworn in as acting-president

SEPTEMBER

September sees marches and placard demonstrations taking place almost daily in Cape town

Hundreds are arrested, beaten and teargassed The marches include delegations of women, lawyers, teachers students, residents workers, journalists, clergy, squatters, unemployed and rural residents

On September 6, election day, at least 13 people are killed at the end of a day of barricades and teargas

Rebel policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman makes world headlines as he slams the "wild dogs" in the riot police.

On September 13, 40 000 Capetonians take to the streets of Cape Town in a "march for peace" to mourn the election day deaths The march kicks off hundreds of similar ones in towns and cities throughout the country

OCTOBER

South Africa celebrates the release of Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni and Oscar Mpetha on October 15.

Thousands of people flock to Soccer City on October 29 for the first "ANC rally" since the organisation was banned in the 1960's

NOVEMBER

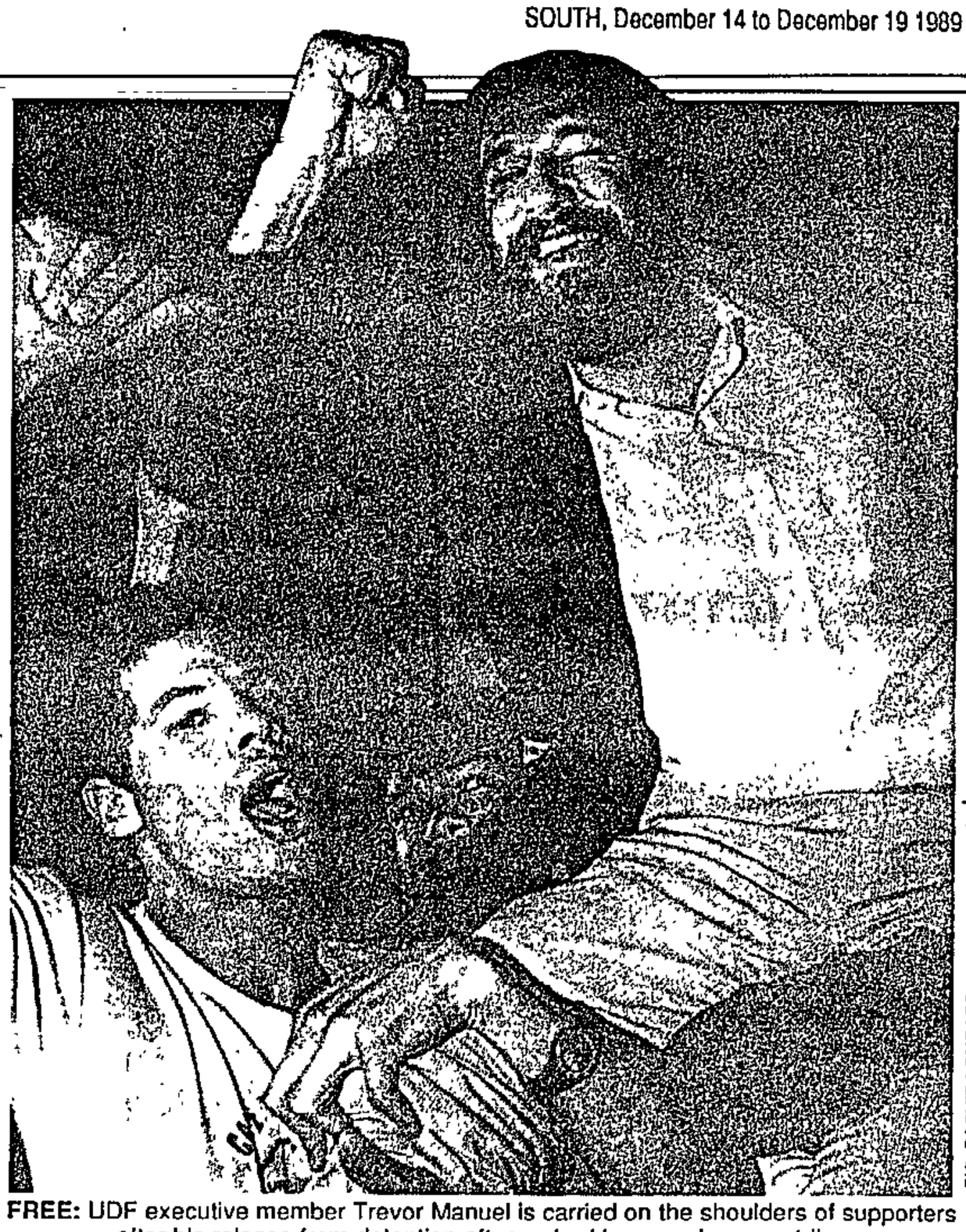
In the first week of November, Namibians flock to the polls in the first independant elections, observed by the world. Swapo wins a clear majority but fails to take two-thirds of the seats in the Constituent Assembly.

The alternative Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad breaks the news of South African "death squads" with claims that the squads have been responsible for the deaths of scores of activists

DECEMBER

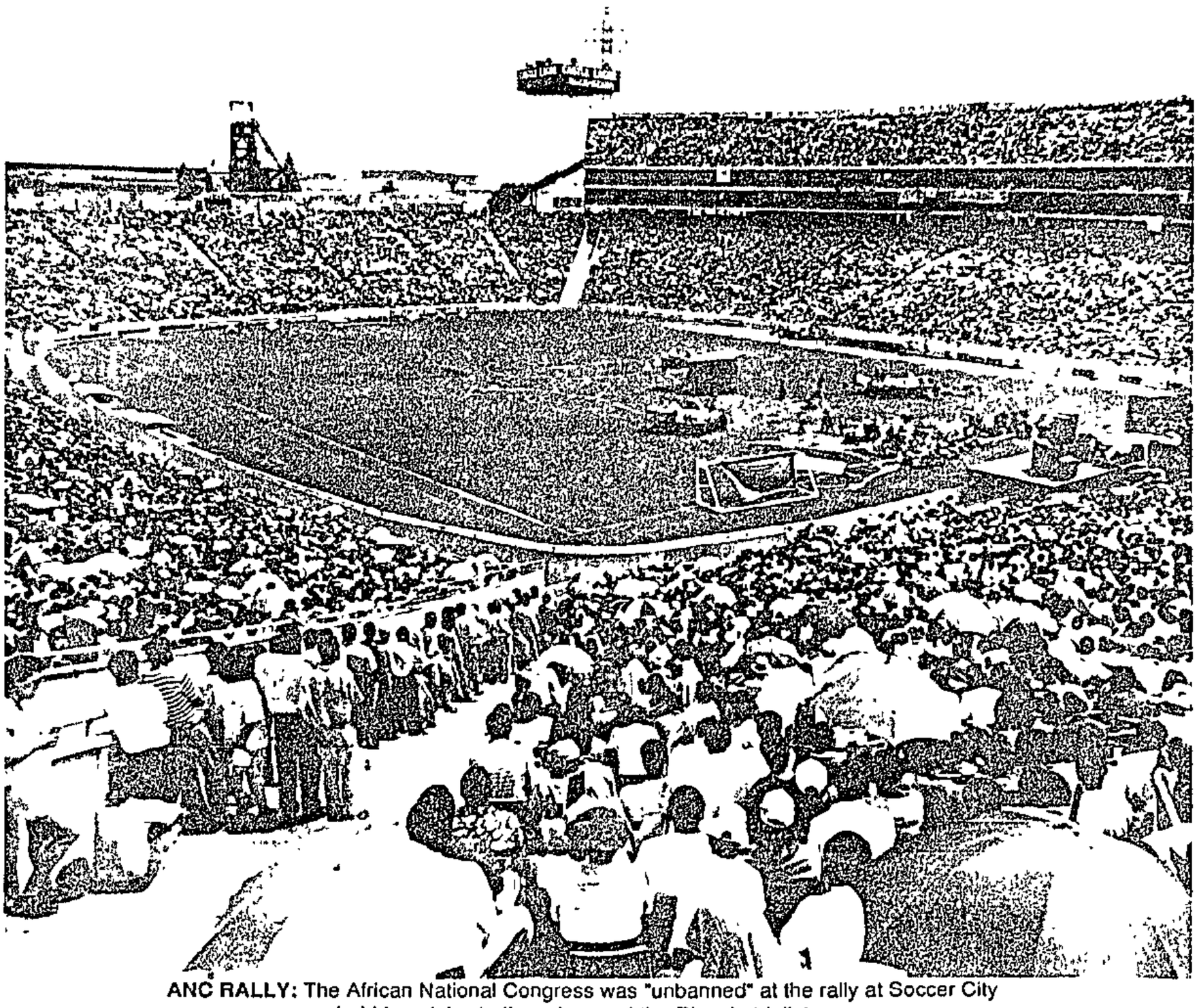
December sees an extraordinary meeting in Paris, with120 people from inside South African and from across the political spectrum thrashing out ideas on the economy and polities with the ANC.

The year draws to a close with the Conference for a Democratic Future which draws 4 600 delegates from South Africa and the homelands and ends on a high note as organisations pledge to unite and intensify the struggle against apartheid.



PIC: RASHID LOMBARD

FREE: UDF executive member Trevor Manuel is carried on the shoulders of supporters after his release from detention after embarking on a hunger strike.



ANC RALLY: The African National Congress was "unbanned" at the rally at Soccer City held to celebrate the release of the Rivonia triallsts

Deputy Minister praises Natal troops

New era opens for for political aims

30 HX

14/12/89 Star

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A new era is opening in South Africa's history where all peoples' legitimate political aspirations could be met, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, Deputy Minister of Defence, said yesterday on his tour of six military bases in Natal.

Accompanied by Brigadier Hatting Pretorious, Officer Commanding Natal Command, Mr Breytenbach visited the SAAF base at Louis Botha Airport, the naval base at Salisbury Island, the recce base on the Bluff, Highway Commando headquarters, Group 9 in Maritzburg, and the Ndumu base on the Mozambique border.

His purpose was to officially thank the soldiers and their families for their contributions.

In his addresses, Mr Breytenbach said the SADF had in the past two decades not lost a battle in Namibia and Angola, and this had brought relative calm in southern Africa — apart from Durban and Maritzburg.

This had created the atmosphere where political reform could be undertaken as quickly as possible.

Honourable way

The Government wanted South Africans to settle their differences in a peaceful and honourable way, where political leaders sat together and talked.

They should meet the legitimate and rightful aspirations of people to participate in the decisions that ruled their lives.

Mr Breytenbach was optimistic that South Africa was on the verge of writing a new chapter in its history.

People who thought South Africa could live with international isolation and internal conflict were making a big mistake. The country should take note of what was happening in the world around it.

Colonel J M A Swanepoel, Officer Commanding Group 9, said troops were presently actively deployed in black townships.

At Ndumu, Mr Breytenbach's speech was translated into Zulu for the large contingent of black troops present.

After visiting Ndumu, Mr Breytenbach said there had not been a single racial incident between the black and the white soldiers.

"Once you get away from petty party politics and get a job to do", white men from conservative areas and black soldiers co-operate. "There is a wonderful spirit."

Extra-parliamentary politicians confused and concerned as ...

MANDELA MEETS DE KLERK

Sowetan 14/12/89

Nelson Mandela meets De Klerk

IN A surprise move that sowed confusion and concern among extra-parliamentary politicians, State President De Klerk yesterday met jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN and Sapa

The Bureau for Information reports that the meeting took place at the request of Mandela and that De Klerk welcomed the opportunity "since it continued the initiative of his predecessor and also fitted in with the President's programme to consult with the full spectrum of political opinion concerning the mutual future of all South Africans".

Senior members of the Mass Democratic Movement yesterday reacted guardedly to the announcement that Mandela had held a meeting with De Klerk.

The jailed ANC leader was taken from his luxury bungalow in the Victor Verster prison compound to Tuynhuys, the official residence of the state president.

When approached for comment, Mr Mandela's closest comrade Mr Walter Sisulu said he did not know of the meeting.

"This is news to me," said Sisulu, who visited his colleague earlier this week.

The meeting also seemed to come as a surprise to anti-apartheid activist, Mr Murphy Morobe.



NELSON MANDELA

Meaningful dialogue

"We do not know what they discussed, but we are certain Mandela cannot deviate from the people's long-standing demands," he said.

The meeting was the second between Mandela and a South African head of state in the past five months.

On July 5, former State President P W Botha "had tea" with the imprisoned ANC leader.

The Bureau yesterday also said that issues that were explored between De Klerk and Mandela included ways and means to address current obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue. The bureau reported that more talks are envisaged.

It said further statements at this stage would serve no positive purpose.

The meeting was also attended by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Reacting to the meeting, the president of Azapo, Mr Nkosi Molala, yesterday said he was shocked and expressed concern that Mandela was talking to the Government while still behind bars.

Molala said any meaningful dialogue had to take

To Page 2.

● From page 1

place out of prison.

"We are even more concerned that the meeting came at Mandela's request. We thought that the aftermath of the last meeting (between Mandela and PW Botha) had exposed the dangers of talks with the regime," Molala said.

The general secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), Mr Benny Alexander, said he was confused.

"When Mandela met PAC stalwart Mr Japhta Masemola recently, (Walter) Sisulu said Mandela had no mandate to talk to anyone.

"Furthermore, the CDF (Conference for a Democratic Future) declared at the weekend that this was not the time for talks," Alexander said. PAM was not part of the CDF.

The executive director of the Institute For A Democratic Alternative For South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday the meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela "is to be strongly welcomed by all South Africans who are committed to negotiation politics".

The meeting was a further step in the inevitable release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress, he said



...ld how | arrives in Ermelo on a routine

HRB 304A w mail IC-20/12/89.

Mandela did tell MDM of FW talks

By GAVIN EVANS

THE Mass Democratic Movement had prior knowled[illegible]at jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was about to meet State President FW de Klerk.

Contrary to speculation that the MDM and ANC were "caught by surprise" by the meeting, MDM representatives said they had been told the event was in the pipeline weeks before it took place.

"Soon after his meeting with PW Botha, Mr Mandela raised the possibility of meeting with De Klerk, and we therefore knew it was about to take place, although we did not know the exact date," said MDM representative Murphy Morobe.

He said the MDM was cautious about commenting on the meeting. "We will have to wait for a detailed report from Mr Mandela." Morobe said the MDM was confident Mandela would have articulated the ANC position and said the meeting was "part of the process. We have never had any reason to question his bona fides. He has always taken his lead from the movement." The ANC has yet to respond to news of the meeting, but has kept in touch with developments.



When Mandela met PW Botha four months ago, the ANC welcomed the event. While Botha's Tuynhuys "tea party" came as virtually the last act of his presidency, De Klerk's marks a major step in an ongoing process of negotiation. Having engaged in discussions with Mandela, De Klerk is likely to open the prison doors within the next few months.

Advocate Dullah Omar, who represents Mandela, stressed the ANC leader wished to be freed immediately, but was "not going to beg for his release".

Wednesday's Tuynhuys meeting was the first encounter between the state president (pictured left) and the ANC leader. Also present were Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

● *To PAGE 2*

we go to court to hear our case but we get shot. We don't fight but we still get shot."

avoid distribution problems over the Christmas weekend.

MDM knew of Mandela talks

●From PAGE 1

Coetsee said they had discussed "ways and means to address current obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue".

Phrased differently this amounts to a discussion about what the ANC and the government have termed the "climate for negotiations".

Coetsee added that "follow-up talks in the new year were envisaged" and that their discussion "fitted in with Mr De Klerk's programme to consult with the full spectrum of political opinion concerning the mutual future of all South Africans".

But the meeting between the two represents more than just an item in the state president's diary.

According to De Klerk, the meeting was initiated by Mandela, although MDM sources indicate that both parties had put out feelers about the get-together at least a month earlier.

It is perhaps significant that the encounter came four days after the Conference for a Democratic Future adopted the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration on negotiations

The declaration states that "discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire".

The catch is these "talks about talks" only begin, according to the declaration, once the climate for negotiations has been created.

304A

Wmail 15-20/12/89.

FW meets Chissano over peace initiative

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk flew to Maputo today to meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano for talks expected to centre on the faltering Mozambique peace initiative.

It will be Mr de Klerk's second meeting with President Chissano in Maputo, but his first as State President. Today's meeting will also be attended by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his deputy Mr Leon Wessels.

SA Government sources believe there was a sense of urgency in President Chissano's invitation to the meeting. This suggests the regional efforts to end the devastating civil war in Mozambique will be uppermost in President Chissano's mind.

15/12/89.

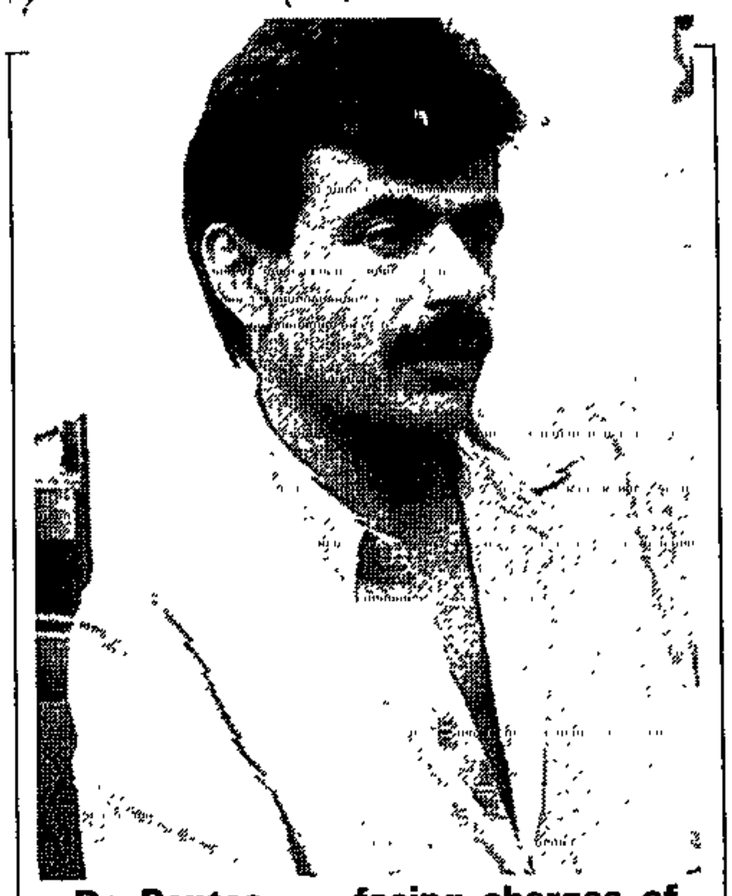
JUSTICE 304A (Murder)

De Pontes in court

Former Nat MP for East London City, Peet de Pontes, appeared briefly in court in Port Elizabeth this week on eight charges of theft, fraud, bribery and forgery and uttering.

They relate to findings of the Harms Commission into irregularities involving Italian businessman Vito Palazzolo who is now serving a prison sentence in Switzerland for drug-related offences.

The Harms Commission found that De Pontes played a key role in Palazzolo's illegal entry into SA.



De Pontes ... facing charges of fraud, bribery and uttering

De Pontes was not asked to plead and the hearing was adjourned to February 19. ■

3044A wmail: 15-20/12/89

The British made the mess; they must clean it up

The West, so eager to become involved in the liberalisation of Eastern Europe, should show the same enthusiasm about the democratisation of South Africa, argues ANTHONY SAMPSON

THE speed of change at the end of 1989 has been almost as fast as the changes 40 years ago, when a large part of the world was rapidly taken over by brutal and autocratic governments.

In the single momentous year of 1948, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania were consolidated under communist governments; while the communist army swept through China, North Korea became a communist republic. They all retreated behind iron curtains, out of sight of democratic inspection.

But there was another much less noticed defeat for democracy in 1948: in South Africa the new apartheid government was pledged to abolish black rights, to reverse the liberal trend and to maintain white supremacy.

The South African system claimed to be the dead opposite of the communist regimes and much of the ruthless supression that followed was done in the name of anti-communism.

But they had much in common. Because they were undemocratic, they were inevitably corrupt, providing more and more privileges for their own people at the expense of those without power.

Their avowed ideologies gave them a ruthlessness and contempt for human rights which was reminiscent of religious wars, as they rooted out heresies and apostates. They hanged, imprisoned and tortured in the name of maintaining the purity of their system.

But behind their ideological facades they were more like any old corrupt autocracy than like purist ideologues.

And because they were corrupt and undemocratic, they didn't work. The attitudes of the Soviets and the Afrikaners were both essentially anti-commercial: they wasted their wealth and misused the manpower which was their chief economic recource.

Now, 40 years later, the autocracies appear to be crumbling as rapidly as they first established themselves.

And against all their different backgrounds the reasons are the same: they are both corrupt and bankrupt, and they cannot recover without the support of their own people and the rest of the world.

In Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachov felt compelled to embark on *perestroika* and *glasnost* because he realised that the Soviet empire was unmanageable, and could not be turned round without greater freedom and openness, and an infusion of foreign aid and loans.

In Pretoria, FW de Klerk has moved out of Namibia because he could not maintain South Africa's empire; and he released political prisoners because he needed both international loans and black support for any future growth.

The lesson has been a simple one but it has taken a long time to learn — whether in rich countries or in poor ones. As the development committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development reported last week: "There is a vital connection, now more widely appreciated, between open, democratic and accountable political systems, individual rights and equitable operation of economic systems."

Now that the truth has begun to dawn, it is all the more heart-rending to look back on the evils that were perpetrated in the name of lies and humbug. The horrors of the Soviet empire and communist China were far the greatest in scale.

But the horrors of South Africa are more shaming to the West, because they were done in the name of maintaining Western values and defeating communism. And for most of those 40 years Western interests were prepared to support or condone them financially and diplomatically.

Recriminations and guilt will not be helpful, for they can all too easily encourage a new false idealism, and the assumption that a new era will emerge through goodwill and truth alone — the assumption which has misled so much of post-colonial Africa.

The fact is that whether in Russia or Africa, autocracy has been the traditional way of life, and personal freedom is an unfamiliar notion.

The connection between democracy and prosperity may now be obvious but the institution of genuine democracy does not happen naturally.

There have been successful capitalist systems, including Nazi Germany, which have suppressed human rights; and many business interests, whether foreign or domestic, prefer to deal with autocracies which can be much more decisive and predictable than changeable democracies.

In the disintegrating Soviet empire the future of democracy will largely depend on the Eastern people and their rulers. But in South Africa, which still heavily depends on Western business interests, the West will play a much more crucial role.

It is absurd now to argue that South Africa can sort out its own problems by itself: for it was the fact that Britain gave its white people independence 80 years ago, without black safeguards, which led ineluctably to its autocracy, bigotry and near-disaster. The bankruptcy of South Africa puts the responsibility firmly back with the West.

The West must now insist, through the economic pressures which have already begun to work, that South Africa can only become acceptable and economically viable if it presses ahead, not only to liberalise its system, but to set up the genuine democracy which respects the individual rights of all.

●Anthony Sampson is a distinguished British author and commentator. His most recent book, *Black & Gold* deals with business and apartheid.

VISITING SOVIET ACADEMICS ON THE CHANGING SOVIET UNION

Pillay's widow sues for R800 000

Sowetan 15/12/89



Mrs Rose Pillay.

THE widow of murdered alleged drug dealer Mr Peter Godfrey Pillay of Eldorado Park is suing the Minister of Law and Order and the killers of her husband, Captain Jack la Grange and Sergeant Robert van der Merwe, for R800000 compensation.

In a sensational trial at the Rand Supreme Court last year La Grange and Van der Merwe were found guilty of the murders of Pillay and his business rival Mr Benny Ogle of Ennerdale. Both were sentenced to death but former State President PW Botha reprieved them.

In her personal capacity Mrs Rose Pillay claims R300000 from the three defendants; R100000 in her capacity

SOWETAN Reporter

as the mother of her 14-year-old daughter Zinobia; R150000 in her capacity as the mother of 12-year-old Lee-Ann; R250000 as mother of her four-year-old son, Peter.

Another victim of the two former policemen, Mr Ernest Malokoane, has sued for R49000 in injuries sustained when La Grange and Van der Merwe allegedly attempted to murder him on September 29 1987.

Molokoane said he was seriously injured and had to be hospitalised after the two former policemen shot him in 1987.

Pillay argued that her husband was shot dead on October 5 1987 by La Grange and Van der Merwe, or by Van der Merwe while under the command of La Grange, and that the shooting was illegal.

15/12/89
Sowetan

Chissano, FW in talks

THE release of Nelson Mandela is expected to be discussed along with the subjects of economic co-operation and security matters when State President F W de Klerk meets Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo today.

De Klerk will be accompanied on his one-day visit by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels and senior South African officials.

The talks will be a continuation of discussions between De Klerk and Chissano held on July 19 this year.

Speculation about the release of ANC leader Mandela - fuelled by a meeting at Tuynhuys between Mandela and De Klerk this week - will almost certainly be raised at today's talks.

Cahora Bassa

Other matters, of bilateral interest, such as resuscitating the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, are expected to also feature at the talks.

It will be De Klerk's fifth African trip this year, following his July 19 talks with Chissano, and his visits to Zaire and Zambia in August and to the Ivory Coast earlier this month.

At a joint Press conference in July after the two leaders had met in Maputo - when De Klerk was still National Party leader - Chissano said if there was a definite move away from discrimination in South Africa, the country could become part of a regional group of Southern African countries.

He said he believed the "problem of discrimination" would be solved during the term of office of the next South African State President, De Klerk, - Sapa.

Mguli burial

In Wednesday's *Sowetan* we incorrectly reported that the funeral of Mrs Nettie Deshi Mguli is on Sunday.

The funeral is in fact on Saturday and leaves the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West at 2pm for the Avalon cemetery. Mguli was the widow of the late Rev Mguli, a priest in the Anglican Church.

Hectic 88 days for FW, and no end in sight

'Action Man' President just keeps running

SOWA Stow 16/12/89.

MR F W De Klerk's first 100 days as State President will be up just after Christmas.

He goes on holiday this week for a well-deserved break after a remarkably energetic start to his presidency.

In the 88 days since was inaugurated as State President on September 20, he has been a blur of movement, making a major announcement almost every other day, unravelling the security establishment, going some way to unbanning the ANC and consulting a vast spectrum of political figures, from AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche through to jailed ANC elder Nelson Mandela.

This week past Mr de Klerk was supposed to have started his holidays. He spent a few days at his Cape Town residence Westbrooke before popping up unexpectedly at Tuynhuys for the historic meeting with Mr Mandela.

Then he flew to Natal to the official presidential holiday home Botha House on the south coast - before interrupting his holiday once again to fly to Maputo to see Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano yesterday.

Today he flies to Bloemfontein to deliver a Day of the Vow address at the University of the Free State, before resuming his holiday in Natal until early January.

It would not be suprising however, if he fitted in another major engagement or two in the interim.

It is clear that Mr de Klerk or the Government have decided to market him as "Action Man" and to give him as much exposure as possible to ensure South African and the world gets the message that this is a new administration.

The National Party mouthpiece crowed in its most recent edition that, "a President on the move clearly inspires confidence".

It listed his engagements until November 20, including 27 major addresses, announcements or meetings, receiving 47 foreign



PRESIDENT DE KLERK: Man with a mission in a hurry.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

and 58 South African visitors, entertaining 183 official guests and conducting a large number of TV interviews.

Since then the tempo has picked up if anything.

And apart from all the public announcements and engagements, the Cabinet itself has been beavering away behind the scenes, working at least twice as hard as it did under President Botha.

Mr de Klerk has given proof of his intention to down-grade the dangerously authoritarian presidency and to govern by Cabinet.

In fact he has really behaved much more like a Prime Minister than a State President, stepping up the frequency of Cabinet meetings from fortnightly to weekly, and making them last all day instead of mornings only as before.

On top of this he has also held at least three Cabinet "bush indabas" — special brainstorming sessions to discuss security matters, economic problems and constitutional plans.

And he has effectively delegated powers, setting various Cabinet task groups to work to tackle specific problems.

Whether or not the movement and the exposure will get anywhere in the end perhaps only time will tell.

But certainly it is true that he is taking the business of Government very seriously, that his new impetus has inspired confidence, that he has placed his stamp very firmly on government, both through matters of mere style — such as eradicating much of the pomp and ceremony of the presidency which President Botha loved — and through matters of substance such as allowing protest marches and rallies and scraping the sinister National Management System — which President Botha also loved.

In essence his achievement has been to go a long way towards civilianising the country again and creating a spirit of glasnost — of political openness — as a prelude to the real challenge of thrashing out a true democracy.

Perhaps his biggest mistake has been not appointing a judicial inquiry to investigate the police hit squad controversy — although the wisdom or otherwise of that judgement might only become apparent as prosecutions against certain policemen unfold.

And though much has been done, even the glasnost programme is far from complete. Three major remaining hurdles are the release of Nelson Mandela and other prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency and — toughest of all — the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

Then comes the real Rubicon — a new constitution.

How F W took South Africa by storm

11 October: Meets Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, and Dr Alan Boesak, leader of World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at the Union Buildings.

15 October: Release of Mr Walter Sisulu and other long-term prisoners without restriction or condition.

22 October: Allows the 80 000-strong welcome home rally at Soccer City near Soweto which became, in effect, an ANC rally.

26 October: Announces public service is to be rationalised and numbers cut.

30 October: Holds special Cabinet session in the bush, tells all Ministers — especially defence — that their budgets will be severely cut.

9 November: Meets the leaders of the far-right resistanace groups, including the AWB, and tells them violence will not be tolerated.

16 November: Announces Reservation of Separate Amenities Act to be scrapped as soon as possible and beaches to be opened immediately.

20 November: Meets non-aligned churches.

28 November: Announces the National Management System — the securocrats' bureaucracy — is to be scrapped.

THOUGH some of Mr de Klerk's biggest decisions — such as allowing the 30 000-strong protest march in Cape Town — were taken before his inauguration, these are some of the achievements of his first 88 days as State President.

30 November: Meets kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the Union Buildings and is praised for not indulging in "cheap politicking".

1 December: Is warmly received by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny in the Ivory Coast on his first State visit.

7 December: Cuts national service from two years to one, and announces that Armscor's arms manufacturing programme will be cut back.

13 December: Receives surprise visit from jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys to discuss obstacles to negotiation and sets off flurry of speculation about Mr Mandela's role.

15 Decemeber: Visits Mozambique President Chissano in Maputo at Mr Chissano's invitation.

It's double standard time

S/Times 17/1/1994

304A

THE United Nations held a three-day anti-apartheid jamboree here this week and ended up demanding standards for South Africa that many of its members fail miserably to practise.

Speaker after speaker noted that it was up to South Africans to shape their own future — and then adopted what amounts to the broad outline of a new system.

Countries like Haiti, Panama, Cuba, Albania, Nigeria, Zambia and China, where dissidence gets short shrift, joined in a call for all South Africans to have the right to form any political party of their choice.

It was also demanded that all South Africans be allowed to enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.

Even the United States supported a provision in the UN package of principles for South Africa that would be impossible to enforce in the US — that there could be no political party that furthered "racism".

Removal

Observers noted that such a ban was impossible in the US, where freedom of expression is protected by the First Amendment to the constitution and white racist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan can function openly, protected by the law.

After three days of talking, in which representatives were given 10 minutes each and heads of state 20 minutes to present their cases against South Africa, the world body adopted by consensus a resolution based on the OAU declaration in Harare in August and later endorsed by the Commonwealth.

Intense lobbying by South African and some Western diplomats led to the removal of some provisions, such as a demand for additional mandatory sanctions, the establishment of an interim government in South Africa and an international framework for constitutional negotiations — and many of the UN delegates went out of their way to reassure the South Africans that the declaration should not be seen as an ANC document.

From our Special Correspondent: Washington

But to the South African Government this is exactly what it was, and therefore direct interference in South Africa's internal affairs.

A disappointed South African Ambassador to the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearar, said afterwards: "It is a great pity that the document did not acknowledge reforms taking place in South Africa. That made it a one-sided document.

"It is a fundamental failing of the UN and of the whole negotiating posture that it sacrifices principle for expediency — and that was done again this week," said Mr Shearar.

United

The declaration emphasised a commitment to a peaceful solution for South Africa and made no demands that sanctions be tightened — which some observers saw as a softening of the UN's traditional hard line — but it castigated South Africa for causing "untold loss of life and destruction of property" in the region and described apartheid as a "scourge and an affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality".

It said South Africa must be transformed into a united, unfragmented, democratic and non-racial country with justice and security for all and with universal franchise, a nonracial voters' roll and a secret ballot.

It should have an independent, nonracial judiciary and an economic order that would promote the wellbeing of all South Africans.

"A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples," it said.

Credit

Among other acts such as the release of political prisoners and ending the state of emergency, it called on the SA Government to "cease all political trials and political executions".

The UN apparently sees for itself a role in South Africa's future. It included in the declaration a set of guidelines for the negotiating process which contains an agreement by all parties on "the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order".

Some observers believe leading Western countries gave support to the declaration because they did not want to be accused of undermining an international consensus against apartheid.

The observers said the statements of the Western ambassadors should be studied carefully, particularly where they gave credit to the De Klerk Government for its reform steps in recent months.

These statements were more significant than the UN consensus, they said. But they added that the SA Government had created expectations and that it was vital that these should not be dashed by a slowdown in the country's reform momentum.

● See Page 8

An idea whose time is now up

by Tony Leon

MP for Houghton, who attended the Conference for a Democratic Future

DEPUTY Minister Roelf Meyer's complaints about last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future are quaint, if not misdirected. Mr Meyer observed that the outcome of the anti-apartheid jamboree at Wits was a "takeover by the Mass Democratic Movement" characterised by "stale rhetoric".

As regards the latter point, Mr Meyer and his party know what they are talking about. They have fine-tuned the meaningless phrase ("reform", "power-sharing", etc) to a point of perfection.

His first objection about MDM domination is more alarming. What would he have preferred? Would it have been more significant if the range of Black Consciousness organisations present had established an ascendancy?

Sitting with my DP colleagues, corralled on a balcony with other assorted observers, our sidelined status merely emphasised the yawning chasm between the various participants.

Crusade

The momentous build-up to the conference and the accompanying media-hype was remarkable. Organisers proclaimed it would be "the most significant event since Kliptown" where the first Freedom Charter was published in 1955. It promised to unite anti-apartheid forces with new purpose and innovative strategies.

Certainly there was fire-and-brimstone rhetoric, accompanying a dizzy cascade of resolutions which promised "mass action", "a decade of defiance" and "an intensified struggle". Noteworthy, however, was the subsequent retraction of the "call on our people to reject capitalism and the free market".

However, the conference flattered only to deceive. The unity was physical rather than coherent. It was no small achievement for the Charterist/MDM and Workerist/Black Consciousness groups to arrange the meeting jointly. But any alliance around a set of coherent principles or ideology seemed entirely missing.

ANC wise man Walter Sisulu and Azapo executive member Jerry Mosala were from different orbits. There were few points of coincidence between them, save for ritualistic system-bashing and outpourings of rage against the apartheid state.

Sisulu's address touched all the bases of the real world. While he might not agree with the changes in Eastern Europe, the initiatives of F W de Klerk and the role of international pressure he at least acknowledged their existence.

Mosala's oration was a flight of political fancy. "Capitalism", "Western imperialism" and "negotiations" were simply dismissed as an evil trade which hindered, rather than advanced, the struggle. Aside from rubbishing the tenets of liberal democarcy, his approving references to the socialist pantheon from Karl Marx right through to Malcolm X merely underscored the Leninist notion that "all oppressive phenomena are linked ... the whole system is rotten, needing to be replaced".

The delegates clearly gave their hearts, if not their minds, to Sisulu rather than Mosala. However, the mention of the Soviet Union, and the presence of a Soviet academic at the conference, drew throaty roars of approval from the assembly. There is nothing new in this response.

The "Welcome Home" rally for the Rivonia prisoners saw Soccer City in Soweto festooned with a hammer and sickle banner which fluttered, like freedom's own flag, as the emblem of liberation in South Africa. Subsequently, certain ANC leaders have spoken approvingly of "scientific socialism" or have confirmed their allegiance to the SA Communist Party.

So while Europe is engulfed by a human tidal wave which has torn down the Iron Curtain in weeks, if not months, our national liberation appears to be marching to the beat of a different drummer.

But circumstances here are different: for nearly 40 years the Government has branded most of its opponents as "communists". It has enacted legislation aimed at the "Suppression of Communism", even though most of those caught in the net of that Act, and subsequent legislation, have been nothing of the kind.

Failure

The deliberate blurring of the lines between liberal, even radical, dissenters who remain committed to freedom, and hard-line Marxists who have no such commitment, has been handy for white elections. But its (no doubt unintended) consequence has been different: nothing less than the assumption, held by many, that if communism is such an effective — indeed, monstrous — enemy of apartheid, it must have great merit.

The Government, though, can be creative. As it inches towards the legalisation of the ANC it should simultaneously decriminalise, and demystify, communism. Communism, and its socialist variants, needs to be brought into the mainstream political debate. The contradiction evident from its collapse and failure must be answered by its adherents.

Only then can meaningful realignment occur, and the vision of freedom under the rule of law be contrasted with the "virtue" of the centralised state and its dead hand of control over every nook and cranny of daily life.

Perhaps we are closer to normalising and realigning our politics than we think. Twenty-five years ago this was unthinkable — but that was the time when Nikita Kruschev (remember him?) said that communism would overtake the capitalist world — by 1990!

DEATH SQUAD'S CRAZY HIT LIST

S/Times 17/12/89

304A

Breakfast TV axes stars as audience plunges

By DOUGLAS GORDON
TV Correspondent

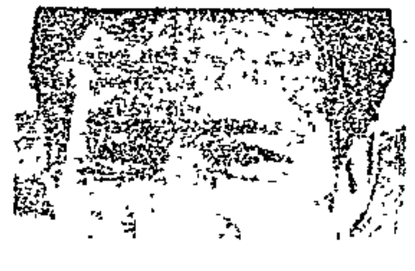
THE SABC's crisis-hit breakfast TV show has axed two regular hosts and is chasing radio stars to try to rescue its falling viewership.

But Radio 5's Martin Bailie and Alex Jay have both turned down big-money offers to move their morning shows to TV.

The Good Morning South Africa show, hit by plunging ratings and a dismal new format, is desperate for a strong replacement for David Hall-Green, who is quitting.

In a bid to pack more punch into the morning cereal.

● OUT go blonde Elna Botha and dashing George Mazarakis:



Farewell, my lovely

RED ROSES FROM THE SAD FIANCE OF TRAGIC TANIA



TANIA VOLSCHENK: Killed in car crash



By DE WET POTGIETER

MEMBERS of the so-called Order of Death compiled a bizarre hit list that ranged from an underwater attack on the former home of President F W de Klerk to killing the rare budgie collection of HNP leader Jaap Marais.

The breakaway AWB group, allegedly led by Vereeniging dispatch clerk Dawie de Beer, also had plans to slaughter Mr Eugene Terre Blanche's prize Brahman cattle, Angora goats and pedigree Dobermann dogs.

Mr Terre Blanche and other "out-of-line" rightwingers were to be terrorised until they adopted a more militant stance.

If intimidation failed, Mr Terre Blanche was to be killed — and a Star of David branded on his buttocks.

A highly placed source told the Sunday Times that, absurd though it seemed, members of the order — revealed by police when five men were detained 10 days ago — had well-laid plans.

They underwent advanced underwater training in preparation for their planned attack on President De Klerk.

They planned to swim the Vaal River for an assault on the waterside home he once occupied at Drie Riviere near Vereeniging.

Plots

At least two of the men trained as snipers on a farm in the Northern Transvaal.

Others on the hit list included Cabinet Ministers Pik Botha, Adriaan Vlok, General Magnus Malan and Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

HNP leader Jaap Marais, one of South Africa's foremost budgerigar breeders, was to lose the hundreds of prize birds he keeps at his Pretoria home.

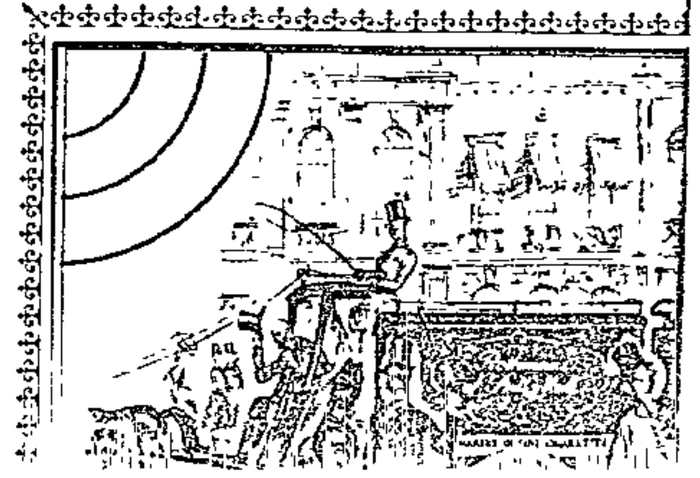
But the Order of Death — already linked by the police to an explosion in July at the home of former Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan — did not confine its diabolical plots to "moderate" rightwingers

Police are investigating the possiblity that the squad was responsible for two bomb blasts in Pretoria's Indian township of Laudium, and linked to a grenade at-

Will people like YOU like people like THEM?
TV special, see Page 17

PWINA FENSTER TALKS TO PIK
See Page 11

DAVID FROST, MILLION DOLLAR DADDY! Page 3



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Police are investigating the possiblity that the squad was responsible for two bomb blasts in Pretoria's Indian township of Laudium, and linked to a grenade attack on a Masonic lodge in Windhoek 10 years ago.

Police are also investigating whether there was any connection between the alleged members of the Order of Death who were held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on December 5 and an armed robbery at a Vanderbijlpark bottle store earlier this year.

The men being held are De Beer, Corrie Lottering, 24, and Fanie Goosen, 29, all of Vereeniging, and two Randburg men, Hendrik Binneman, 41, and Cornelius van Zyl, 28.

Protest

Meanwhile there were indications this week that assorted extremist groups had broken away from the AWB because of disillusionment over Mr Terre Blanche's personal conduct.

According to sources, a united front of "more than 20" AWB splinter groups planned a United Rightwing Mass Movement in the Transvaal in direct opposition to the Mass Democratic Movement. Spearheading talks to reunite the former AWB members are Professor Alkmaar Swart, Dr Chris Jooste, Advocate Chris Beyers, Mr Jan Groenewald, Mr Willie Olivier and Mr Manie Maritz.

In the Cape, prominent AWB member Mr Keith Conroy has formed the Cape Rebels in protest against the province's exclusion from plans for a Boerestaat.

In the Free State, self-confessed eccentric Mr Eddie von Maltitz, of Ficksburg, claimed this week that he was the national leader of the "new" AWB.

He said: "Senior members of the AWB approached me to head the new movement. Afterwards, I prayed for guidance and asked God to strike me down if He did not want me to take over the leadership.

"Instead, I clearly heard God's voice saying: 'March!' "

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

...al trio ...ndela

...er spending four-and-...ears in jail on treason ..., received a rousing ...e at Jan Smuts Air... Friday night.

..."Terror" Lekota, pub... ...ecretary of the UDF, ...po Molefe, the move... ...general secretary, Mr Chikane, a former ...ive member, Mr Tom ...ata of the SA Council ...rches and Mr Gcina ...li, of the Vaal Civic ...ation, were held aloft ...chanting; jubilant 300-... crowd after their ...e.

...r a night of non-stop ...ations to mark their ...mas homecoming, Mr ...a said in an interview ...e, Mr Molefe and Mr

□ Page 2

TV special, see
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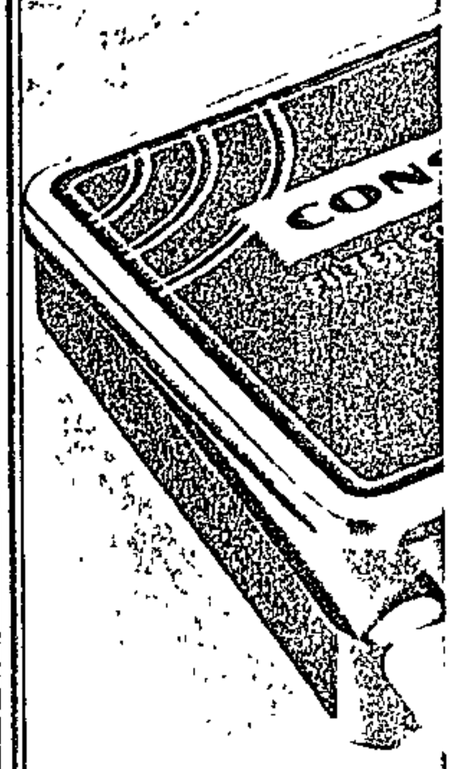

* As sold in London.

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MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE DIRE

Post-apartheid SA is already being created

304A

S/Times 17/12/89



by John Kane-Berman

executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations

AT THE Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur in October the new secretary-general of that organisation said the structures of apartheid remained intact.

True enough, the 1983 constitution which excludes blacks from Parliament is still in force; the Group Areas Act lingers on the statute book; white schools are half empty or closing down while black classrooms overflow.

But is it the whole truth to say apartheid remains intact? Is it not nearer the truth that apartheid structures are crumbling wherever you look?

The Group Areas Act, for example, has been so eroded by blacks who have moved into supposedly white areas that the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand has said it is logistically impossible to enforce it.

University campuses, once segregated by law, may now admit students irrespective of race.

They committed themselves to that battle 30 years ago when the colour bar was imposed on them, and they won it.

In the '70s, black workers threw themselves into a battle for trade union rights and they also triumphed. So-called squatters in Cape Town helped to destroy the pass laws when they resisted deportation to the homelands.

The authorities left no stone unturned to sweep the people of Crossroads and other settlements out of the Peninsula.

Shanties were torn down or set on fire. Men would come home from work to find their families missing, herded on to trains to the Transkei and Ciskei. Dogs and armed demolition squads would arrive in the middle of the night in midwinter.

Sometimes the victims of this reign of official terror fled into the bush. At other times they were rounded up and deported by bus. But the squatters returned to the city.

They left the buses or trains at the first stop and rebuilt their shelters. Unable to vote against the pass laws with ballot papers, they voted them out with their feet. And so did millions of others.

Eventually the Government capitulated. Mr P W Botha spoke the plain truth in 1986 as the pass laws were repealed when he said they had failed utterly.

Losers

When the Commonwealth man said apartheid remained intact, he thought he was knocking the Government.

In fact, he was denying the achievements of black South Africans who had long since set in motion the unstoppable disintegration of apartheid. He was telling them they were losers.

It is fashionable these days to hold conferences about post-apartheid South Africa. In one sense, we hardly need them.

Post-apartheid South Africa is not something that is going to be legislated into existence by some future government.

It is already being created on the ground everywhere you look. Our economy will by the year 2000 be one of the most racially integrated on this planet.

Beneath the trauma of the last few years this country has been undergoing a process of socio-economic transformation so profound that it amounts to a silent revolution.

Intolerance

One of the main causes of the conflict in South Africa from 1984 to 1986 was that at the very moment when social and economic integration had become irreversible, the Government imposed a straitjacket of political apartheid upon the country in the form of the 1983 constitution. The game is now up.

Even if we cannot yet say when negotiations will begin, we can start thinking about what kind of political system should replace the present one.

The popular term these days is "nonracial democracy". This rightly underlines the need to transcend a race-based system, but it ignores an equally important issue: Are those who urge a nonracial democracy thinking of a multi-party system or a one-party state?

The question is not easy to answer, since few people committed to one-party systems are likely to say before they get into power that they will ban all their opponents when and if they do.

We would therefore do well to scrutinise their behaviour while they are still in opposition.

The worrying thing here is the intolerance which seems so prevalent in leftwing politics. Of course, the left does not have a monopoly of intolerance — the right has always been intolerant.

What is new in the last five years is the growing intolerance on the left.

More than half the fatalities in political violence in this period are accounted for by conflict within the black community in various parts of the country. Unlike in the '70s, violent coercion is now all too common in strikes.

Nor has intolerance been confined to black areas. It has marred the reputation of some famous South African institutions, among them the English-language universities.

False

The striking thing about all this intolerance is not its opposition to apartheid, but its intolerance of other opponents of apartheid.

Some political organisations portray themselves as the only true representatives of black opinion in South Africa. Such claims need to be treated with scepticism.

Swapo made precisely such a claim with regard to the people of Namibia. The recent election there showed how false it was. It proved that Swapo spoke for the majority of people, and nobody can quarrel with that, but speaking for most people is radically different from speaking for all of them.

The election showed that Namibians wanted a multi-party system.

Had there been elections in Angola when colonial rule ended there, it too would have become a multi-party state. But elections were denied, and power was assumed by one party without giving others a chance. The result was civil war — which third countries have been quick to exploit.

Ironic

Of the so-called Frontline states ony two — Botswana and Zimbabwe — have multi-party systems, and the present government of the latter is even now trying to put an end to that.

How ironic that it should be doing so just when political monopolies are on the way out in central and eastern Europe, where the totalitarian authority of communist parties is crumbling with astonishing speed.

Unlike this part of Europe, South Africa already has a multiplicity of political groups.

This is a bull point for us. We need to give them all access to Parliament. This means, obviously, removing the colour bar from the constitution.

It also means lifting banning orders to allow all parties equal democratic opportunities. Let us hope Mr De Klerk will do this early next year.

At the same time, all political parties and movements need to demonstrate that although they may contest one another's viewpoints fiercely, they each acknowledge the right of all the others to compete for political power.

Commitment

Commitment to work for the eradication of apartheid is no longer sufficient.

Hand-in-hand with it must go an equally strong commitment to work for and uphold a multi-party parliamentary democracy under the rule of law.

This commitment needs to be made explicitly and without ambiguity. And it needs to be more than mere words about the future — it must be demonstrated by much greater tolerance in the present.

● *From an address to a graduation ceremony at UCT this week.*

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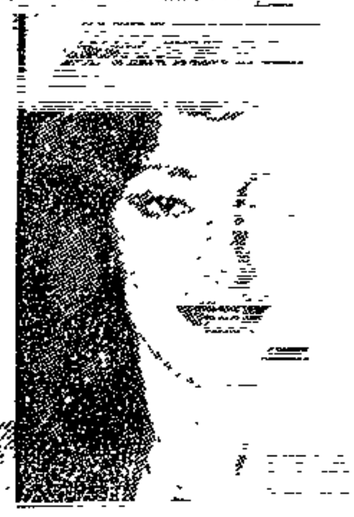

Potjiekos politician

Sunday Times 17/12/89 304A

DURING the Irangate scandal, Reagan (remember him?) was christened the Teflon President — someone to whom no muck stuck.

Thatcher will forever be the Iron Lady — so ballsy that, as writer Martin Amis remarked, one almost expects her to head for the men's room.

What, I wondered, as Pik Botha strode forward to grasp my hand, would the equivalent here be? The platinum public servant? The golden handshaker?

After a three-hour lunch in Pretoria's state guest house, I arrived at a semi-metallurgical equivalent.

Pik Botha is the potjiekos politician.

Tough, homely, thoroughly indigenous, able to withstand massive heat. And bubbling with curious and sometimes contradictory elements.

Chief ingredient in the Pik potjie is political savvy. Then there's tenacity, vigour, ambition.

But most striking of all is the sense of natural showmanship. In terms of presentation and public image, there are few government officials capable of turning the world into a stage quite the way Pik Botha does.

Throughout the meal, I was constantly reminded of a recent Pieter-Dirk Uys sketch in which Pik (played by Uys) triumphs at an imaginary political summit with the aid of two props: Koeksisters and mampoer. No sooner has he infuriated his audience than his secretary (also played by Uys) leaps about distributing said refreshments. Eventually, between the jaw-locking koeksisters and the booze, no one's vaguely capable of uttering a word of protest.

Admittedly, neither koeksisters nor mampoer featured on the guest house menu. But Pik Botha posseses two weapons more lethal than even golden syrup and alcohol: Charm and charisma.

"I've brought something to show you," he announces conspiratorially.

LORD preserve us — could it be the underpants requested at an NP fund-raising auction after he'd donated a shirt and tie? Alas no. The object in question is a book.

"Worlds within worlds", he declares reverently. "Here's a magnified mosquito's head, a leaf, the earth. All things interconnected — the pattern of life ..."

It takes considerable charisma to convince most of us that a mosquito is appealing. "Beautiful," says Pik enthusiastically. Given his infectious enthusiasm, one can only agree.

As a child, Mr Botha contracted meningitis. His mother pledged him to the church if he survived. And although he later reinterpreted the pledge, the preacher's spirit lingers.

It goes beyond saying grace before meals. (Crayfish today — "but I love fresh fruit and vegetables".)

There's preacher's reverence in discussions of everything from black holes to Van Gogh. There's preacher's zeal in his description of modern times — "a renaissance". There's preacher's indignation in references to whatever he regards as South Africa's enemies — "internally and externally" from the ANC to the Weekly Mail.

But, of course, Pik isn't a preacher. He's a politician. And purely in terms of survival he's consummate. A few years after he joined the Foreign Service at 20, Nelson Mandela was imprisoned. Decades later, rumours of Mandela's release flourish like Christmas snow. And Pik's still around.

His greatest triumphs are probably the Nkomati Accord and the Namibian independence plan — a 26-year slog. But it's minor crises that indicate his political ease — or, according to detractors, opportunism.

Take, for example, the Pope's arrival last year. Although John Paul II had forsworn South African soil, stormy weather forced him on to it. Did Pik sulk, smirk, demand apologies? He did not.

Within an hour, he'd arranged catering and police escorts, supplied his personal limousine, briefed the holy man on regional peace initiatives. He also, apparently, seized the chance to inform His Holiness that the whole business was clearly "God's will".

"Cicero, Socrates and Einstein inspire me most," he says. "They epitomise an ideal I strive for — to thine own self be true."

But perhaps his political equivalent is more like Talleyrand. Talleyrand, too, was a great survivor — maintaining political balance from Louis XVI to Napoleon.

PIK once announced that he'd gladly serve a black president. But, like Talleyrand, he's served several masters — including Mr Vorster and Mr P W Botha. And loyalty to the party which masterminded separate development doesn't gel with talk of universal interconnectedness Not, however, according to Pik.

"Can you achieve more by breaking away?" he asks. "My feeling's always been to change principles within the system. I did that. History will judge to what extent."

Sometimes it seems that this survivor would be dishing out political koeksisters, negotiating and meeting misplaced Popes no matter who was in power.

"I like to see myself as a man for all seasons. And now the season of violence and white domination is over."

The paradox, though, is that Pik's popular support is frequently counteracted by resistance within his own ranks. He claims he was offered but declined the role of Transvaal NP leader. Yet in a caucus ballot for PW's successor he won a mere 16 out of 120 votes.

Why? According to one Pik fan, because "rejection is the price to be paid for prophetic prediction and conviction".

"I told the United Nations Assembly I couldn't defend discrimination," declares Pik. "During the Westdene by-election I refused to go to war over apartheid signs. My wife says no one in Acacia Park talked to her for two years after I'd said South Africa should subscribe to the UN Charter on Human Rights."

But perhaps it's not only the contents of what he says but the dramatic delivery that antagonises colleagues. Pik clearly knows how to play to a crowd — not always an endearing quality.

One moment he's wry: "I'll discuss my faults alone with you one day — not for publication. I don't bite my nails. I just keep them short."

NEXT he's gazing skyward: "The local Communist Party is to Gorbachev what Terre Blanche has become to the National Party."

Pik is a romantic. He writes poetry ("around fireplaces"). He adores Westerns ("Cary Grant, Clint Eastwood").

His musical tastes range from Beethoven to ballads (Kinders van Die Wind and Lady Can I Sleep In Your Arms Tonight). Like Gene

SUNDAY TIMES

No koeksisters or mampoer featured on the Guest House menu

Kelly, he has a penchant for walking in the rain.

"Am I sentimental?" He fixes luxurious brows and hooded eyes on the audience. (This comprises two aides, a journalist and four silent, beautifully starched waiters.) "My friends would probably say so. Do I cry? No ... cowboys don't cry."

As for epitaphs:

"In summer, flowers on a grave last a day. In winter maybe two. And when it's very cold, perhaps three. I don't need eulogies or speeches. As I tell my friends — all I want is a single red rose."

And despite his enemies (Eschel Rhoodie for one is damning), Pik's grave will probably be heaped with roses from friends His choice of friends, however, is somewhat controversial

The same man who pitted his wits against Kissinger and Thatcher is drawn to curiously varied companions: Boxing whizz Stan Christodoulou, traffic cop John Pearce, David Owen and so on...

"Dealing with everyone from kings to beggars" is the general idea. And after recent talks in Vienna, it seems Muscovites may well be next on the list

Pik's rumoured predilection for good times hasn't enchanted his critics

WHAT, for example, would Muscovites (or anyone else for that matter) make of a Foreign Minister who not only briefs journalists diligently but entertains them as well? On a plane en route from Brazzaville (and apparently on several other occasions) Pik took a break from advising writers on diplomatic developements to commandeer the pilot's microphone. "Extinguish all seatbelts, fasten cigarettes, do not breathe until landing," he proclaimed

"The thing about this lighter," says Pik brandishing an acid-green Bic, "is that you can drop it in a glass of wine and half an hour later it still works

Like his lighter, Pik flickers, flares, is flung into strange circumstances. Incisive negotiator one day, dramatic showman next. Whatever happens, though, half an hour or a decade from now, Pik Botha, like his acid-green lighter, will still be working.



PICTURE: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

Pik Botha: He's tough, homely, thoroughly indigenous, able to withstand massive heat and bubbling with contradictory elements

'Talks about talks' on!

S/Times, 17/12/89

Mandela meeting with FW could spark a serious indaba with ANC

By DRIES van HEERDEN and DAVID JACKSON

TALKS about talks between the Government and the ANC have — to all intents and purposes — already started, political observers say.

They see them as a preliminary to serious negotiations about a new political dispensation.

This week's unexpected meeting between President F W de Klerk and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela is the clearest indication yet that the Government regards ANC participation in future negotiations as vitally important.

The meeting follows close on the heels of a series of talks between Mr Mandela and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee which preceded the encounter between the ANC leader and former President P W Botha.

Both Mr Coetsee and Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen attended Wednesday's talks in Tuynhuys.

Senior ANC sources in Lusaka this week denied speculation that a rift was opening up between the exiled leadership and Mr Mandela. They admitted the timing of the meeting took them by surprise, but said they knew such an encounter was on the cards.

Struggle

According to the ANC, there can be no question of Mr Mandela "negotiating on his own" with the Government".

"He explained ANC policy to both Mr Botha and Mr De Klerk. He told them about the history of the ANC and why we decided to embark on the armed struggle," said a spokesman.

Yesterday, MDM spokesman Cyril Ramaphosa said reports about a rift were "incorrect and misleading".

"We in the MDM reaffirm our unwavering confidence in his political leadership. Our support in this regard is unqualified," he said.

The ANC said Mr Mandela was kept fully briefed on developments within the exiled movement and the MDM operating inside South Africa.

Mr Mandela's former prison colleague, Mr Walter Sisulu, who visited him on Tuesday, gave him a detailed account of what transpired at last weekend's Conference on a Democratic Future.

On Friday Mr Sisulu held extensive talks with senior MDM leaders, including the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Murphy Morobe and the Rev Frank Chikane.

Visitors to Victor Verster Prison in Paarl also report back regularly on Mr Mandela's views to both the internal and external leaderships.

This week two delegations comprising senior officials in the trade union movement — including Mr Ramaphosa — will meet Mr Mandela, while veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph has been granted a visit on Thursday.

Government sources said the De Klerk-Mandela meeting was an indication of how serious the Government is to engage all groups "committed to a peaceful future" in negotiatons.

"These are early days ... but at least the various actors on the scene are now starting to sort themselves out," one source said.

The major question still facing the Government is when to release Mr Mandela after 25 years in jail.

The timing will be of vital importance because it will be seen — internally, in Lusaka and abroad — as a signal by the Government that it is ready to start serious negotiations.

Condition

The ANC also insists that Mr Mandela should not be freed in a vacuum — it believes his release should coincide with a lifting of the restrictions imposed on the ANC, allowing it to operate legally.

The release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC has been set down by the exiled organisation as a precondition to negotiations.

The precondition was also contained in the Harare Declaration adopted by the Organisation for African Unity, which was endorsed this week by the United Nations General Assembly.

Masses give 'boere' rally a miss

By HERMAN JANSEN

AWB LEADER Eugene Terre Blanche's attempt to stir up rightwing passions at a Day of the Vow celebration at Boksburg Lake turned out to be a big yawn.

Fewer than 350 of his followers turned up at the subdued rally and some of them started dropping off before Mr Terre Blanche's speech reached the halfway stage.

But the AWB was undaunted by the poor turnout and made a passionate call for "500 000 or a million Boere" to join the newly formed "Boere Separatiste" coalition.

They would have the honour of becoming the first citizens of "Boerstaat" — consisting of the republics of Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid (the old Boer republic in northern Natal), he promised.

"Others will have to apply for citizenship. And some will not get it," he said.

Libertas

Members of the "boere-volk" had to regard themselves as members of this "volk" only — "Afrikaners" and "Suid-Afrikaners" were terms coined by liberals to confuse true Boere, he said.

The AWB leader shared the stage with Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party and well-known Afrikaans actor Schalk Jacobsz, who recounted the Battle of Blood river from a historical document.

Each of his references to "kaffirs" elicited a cheer from the crowd.

With AWB flags — and two Nazi swastikas — abounding, no black person ventured near.

The only incident occured after the official function when a black taxi and its bewildered passengers drove unwittingly into the grounds. They were chased off amid angry threars and racist slurs.



SIDELINED . . . the heat of AWB oratory claims a victim Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN



EUGENE-SPEAK . . . but only a few came to listen

After the speeches, Karin Strydom, wife of mass murderer Barend Hendrik Strydom, and two pretty girls — one sporting an armband saying "Totdat ons oorwin het" (Until we have conquered) — sang religious songs to the strains of a guitar.

The Boere Separatiste movement was formed at Klerksdorp on December 2 and is made up of the Boerestaat Party of Mr Robert van Tonder, the Transvaal Separatiste of Dr Piet Cloete, and the AWB.

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(304A)



Harald Pakendorf

Writing on wall for CP

IN HIS heart of hearts Andries Treurnicht knows he will never live in Libertas and will see the Union Buildings only as a visitor.

Because he knows it is unlikely the circumstances for CP success will ever be as good as they were in this year's general election.

There was the P W Botha overhang, real concern about the economy, and the Democratic Party was drawing off support to the left.

That has gone.

FW is growing in popularity, the NP will see to it that the economy is set on a growth path well before the next election and the DP's support is wavering as it almost looks as if FW means what he says.

If the next election is held at the last possible moment, there are just over four-and-a-half years to go. By then very little formal apartheid will remain and the homelands will have changed their relationship with Pretoria, finally saying goodbye to the possible dream of real independence.

In fact, very little will remain of what Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd toiled for.

The foundations of CP policy will have been eroded. As it is, CP policy was formulated in 1982 and already bears little resemblance to the real South Africa. Come the next election, it will be completely anachronistic.

Blacks may be partially or even completely enfranchised by then. As the CP drew only three percent of the total population behind it in this year's election, it is clear it is going nowhere fast.

[redacted]

What it needs to do, and is doing, is to reassess policy.

If you know you are not going to get into power, it will have a very real impact on your approach. For one, you will never be in a position to tell other people what they must do.

Thus worrying about where the homeland for Indians and coloureds is going to be and how the black homelands are to be led to independence is just a waste of time.

Better then to turn inward and decide what you want for yourself and work for that.

The CP leadership is not so unrealistic as not to know that its appeals to racial prejudices and fears are its one chance of retaining support — certainly in the short term — but in the long term they are not a viable policy. The last election made that abundantly clear.

Yet its policy cornerstones remain: It will not accept a non-racial state and wants a state which is run by whites, preferably Afrikaners.

The only logical path for it to follow is to turn to the volkstaat, a homeland for whites/Afrikaners. It would be logical and morally defensible but most probably impractical.

Such a state could be to Afrikaners what Israel is to Jews worldwide. It will be based on the same sentiments which drive the Estonians to say to the Russians: Get out.

There is another way for those who perceive that getting their political way along the parliamentary route is impossible — use the extra-parliamentary way; in its extreme form, violence.

Not that that is what the CP is considering, although Treurnicht has been sailing very close to the wind recently. In Boksburg this week he warned: Do not underestimate our ability to resist.

There have been similar pronouncements previously but it can be accepted that the CP itself will not turn to violence. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for some people to the right of the party. The CP in fact has a duty to help control them by making it clear that violence is unacceptable.

The near-scrapping of separate amenities and fiddling with group areas through free settlement might give the CP a short-term hold on political life. But in the medium and certainly the long term, its chance for survival other than as a fringe configuration is minimal.

Its best chance for growth lies in a severe, lasting and real economic downturn combined with lasting, visible and vicious violence.

Yet all indicators are pointing in a different direction. For the CP this must say: Goodbye Libertas, hello political wilderness. Unless it adapts its policy — which will not bring it to power, but might make it a more meaningful political player.

FW urges a local solution for SA's problems

By PIETER VENTER

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday called on all South Africans to work towards a "locally produced solution for this country and its people".

Speaking to about 1 200 people at a Day of the Vow ceremony in Bloemfontein, he said significant changes would have to be made to ensure a safe future.

"The next 10 years will be a crucial period in which real adaptations will have to be made.

"All black and white South African leaders agree that something new has to be created."

Mr De Klerk said creative thinking and deeds were needed if South Africa wanted to regain its rightful place in the international community.

"We owe it to our children to break out of international isolation, but we will only achieve this if we take the initiative."

A breakthrough for peace would not come about by itself but "an understanding between representative leaders would have to be worked out".

Afrikaners had to accept that they would always share their country with other groups. (30 4A)

"We have never been alone here," said Mr De Klerk.

Despite all the Afrikaner's faults, the will to be free and to strive to live together within the bounds of his religion had always been his greatest strengths, he said.

Afrikaners had to hold on to God's word and build their future on fairness towards all South Africans.

"Our future does not lie in oppression but with the 'golden thread' of freedom, belief and fairness," he said.

Fairness required that everyone in South Africa should attain freedom in such a manner that it did not destroy the existing freedoms.

For this a formula had to be found along the path of talks and negotiations, he said.



President F W De Klerk ... Afrikaners will have to accept that they will always share their country

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GOODBYE 435 . . HELLO HARARE

REMEMBER the name: The Harare Declaration. It will become part and parcel of South African political life in months and years to come.

As the figure 435 was written large over the '80s, this document is likely to become part of our lives in the '90s.

This week, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Harare Declaration, with minor adjustments, as an official resolution. The United States, Britain and West Germany endorsed it.

The immediate reaction would be to dismiss it out of hand as yet another attempt by a meddlesome UN to stick its nose into South Africa's business.

And in a sense that is true. But the Harare Declaration is more than that. It also has some home-grown qualities — originally drafted by the ANC and the MDM, it subsequently obtained the internal endorsement from last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future.

Exactly two decades ago the then-independent African states adopted the Lusaka Manifesto as the basis of their efforts to bring political freedom to those states, especially in southern Africa, where most countries were still under the heel of colonial rule.

Very few governments took seriously the rhetoric of fledgling states still reeling from the economic ravages of their own uhurus. None less so than the last white redoubt on the continent's southern tip.

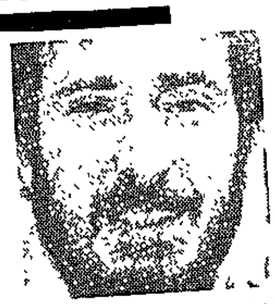
Adopted

The Portuguese were still firmly entrenched in Mozambique and Angola, enforcing their authority by often brutal military means. Mr Ian Smith survived the Tiger and Fearless attempts to extract even the most moderate political concessions for the majority.

"Not in my lifetime," he said about the possibility of black rule — and even the black optimists agreed he was not too far off the mark.

South West Africa was a legal and political labyrinth where even the world's best brains got

Dries van Heerden



considers the feasibility of the Harare Declaration as a basis for negotiations in South Africa

tion for African Unity, welcomed by the Non-Aligned Movement and, now, given the UN stamp of approval.

All these endorsements are sure to create a Pavlovian reaction from most white South Africans tired of the interminable invective that has emanated from these sources over the past decades. It would be a pity, because in spite of its origins, it is a remarkably sober document.

Which immediately puts it in a different league from the often unsubtle and rhetorical hot-air generated by last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future.

At a time when southern Africa watchers across the world — including those housed just off



too, picks up on the new spirit coming from Pretoria. In its very first principle it states: "We believe that a conjecture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations."

Rights

It then goes on to reject the option of reforming or amending the apartheid system before stating its belief that a new constitutional order should be based on the following principles: South

suddenly does not seem so unattainable any more — the Harare Declaration lays down certain steps the Government should take to create the climate for negotiation. The ANC still refers to it as "preconditions" while the Government euphemises it to "obstacles". But both sides are painfully aware of their importance.

These are: the unconditional release of all political detainees; the lifting of the ban on all restricted organisations; the removal of troops from the township; the end of the state of emergency and the cessation of all political trials and executions.

If the De Klerk reform juggernaut continues at its present pace it is not inconceivable that most of these demands may be met early in the New Year.

From here the Harare Declaration proposes step-by-step guidelines on how the negotiating process should proceed:

- Discussion should take place between the liberation movement and the SA Government on the suspension of hostilities by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.
- The parties should, upon agreement to the basic principles, start negotiating the mechanism for drawing up the new constitution.
- Agreement should be reached on the role of the international community in ensuring the transition from the old to the new order.
- The parties should agree to the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of drawing up a new constitution and administering the transition phase, including the holding of elections.

Beginning

It is this last clause which was deleted from the UN resolution at the insistence of the USA and Britain. Clearly the suggestion of an interim government would be wholly unacceptable to the SA Government and would tend to side-track the major issues.

A more sensible approach now seems to be to get the negotiating process going and deal with the issues resulting from it at the appropriate time.

The first Government reaction to the UN decision was predictable in its rejection. But so was its reaction when 435 appeared in 1978. What has transpired in New York this week is just the beginning of a long process.

But one thing is certain — the Harare Declaration will not go away easily.

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hopelessly lost. And South Africa itself? Well, 2050 looked like a reasonable target date to aim at for the attainment of full political powers for the black majority.

The rest is now history.

Documents like the Harare Declaration usually promise more than they can deliver. They are often, as the great British historian Thomas Macaulay said about the American constitution, "a sail rather than an anchor".

But then, its emotional importance as a rallying point for anti-apartheid forces in the '90s should not be underestimated.

Already it has travelled the route required to attain near-mythical status. Drafted by the ANC, embraced by the Frontline States, adopted by the Organisa-

Cairo Street in Lusaka — are dissecting every statement and move by President F W de Klerk to detect subtle shifts in policy and strategy, the best the CDF could offer in its concluding statements was a blanket rejection of any attempt to get a negotiating process going.

The thought-provoking speech by veteran ANC leader and Robben Island prisoner Mr Walter Sisulu contrasted sharply with this uncompromising approach.

At least he had the wisdom to detect that "sections within the ruling bloc" were also adapting to changing circumstances and that the response of black nationalism should be to "remain tenacious to our principles but flexible in our tactics". The Harare Declaration,

Africa should be a united, democratic and non-racial state; all its people should enjoy equal citizenship; suffrage should be based on a system of one person one vote on a common voters' role; a Bill of Rights should guarantee basic individual freedoms; there should be equality before the law and an independent and non-racial judiciary; the economic order to be created shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.

The outlines are broad and vague — and deliberately so — but so is the National Party's Five Year Plan. The flesh is to be added to the skeleton once the parties get down to the nitty-gritty of negotiations.

To get to that point — which

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CHIEF BUTHELEZI ... 'there can be no justice in SA without freedom'

By CHARIS PERKINS

SA entering era where justice will triumph — chief

POLITICS in South Africa has entered an era of no return, said the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in Soweto yesterday.

Speaking as president of Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi told 3 000 people at an open-air rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre that there could be no real negotiations on the future of South Africa until black unity became a reality and Nelson Mandela was unconditionally released.

Hundreds of people were bused from Natal to be at the rally. A group of men wearing traditional impi warrior dress — many of them from Sweetwaters, Natal, where some of the fiercest Inkatha/UDF clashes have taken place — danced and sang in the amphitheatre's dusty arena.

Huge banners festooned the arena. "Sanctions equal economic terrorism," said one. "Thanks Mrs Margeret Thatcher for your stand for us," said another. A third announced: "We applaud Mr de Klerk for releasing Mr Sisulu and other prisoners."

Welcomed by Soweto's Mayor Mr Samuel Mkhawanazi, Dr Buthelezi, who last addressed a rally in the township in 1986, appealed to anti-apartheid movements to work towards unity.

"I know that politics is politics and oppression is oppression and racism is racism," he said, "and that nothing is easy and most certainly nothing is certain in South Africa.

"But above all else I know that we are now entering a new era in South African politics and that it will be an era in which justice will triumph over tyranny."

Dr Buthelezi made it clear that, while he believed all organisations opposed to the Government had something to bring to the negotiation table, any negotiations would have to be conducted in an atmosphere of justice and freedom — something that could not be achieved without black unity.

"There will be no freedom in this country for any individual, for any group, until there is freedom for all," he said.

"There can be no justice if there is no freedom, and there can be no freedom if there is no justice — the two go hand in hand." he said.

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Buthelezi discloses govt's 'Charter'

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has disclosed details of a remarkable document in which the government spells out its own "Freedom Charter" for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The document, in the form of a letter from Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to UN chief Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, sets out the government's formula for "a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

Addressing a mass rally in Soweto on Saturday, the Inkatha leader called on President F W de Klerk to convert the document into a statement of intent as a basis for discussion and amendment by black and white leaders.

He said the document "screamed out" for the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela so that he could also comment on it.

Chief Buthelezi said the document had flaws. The Group Areas Act was not mentioned, nor was the question of universal adult franchise, and there was suspicious mention of freedom of "disassociation". — Sapa

Day of Vow calls for 'boerestaat', harmony

Capt Timtis 18/12/85 304A

BOKSBURG. — Several hundred right-wingers gathered yesterday to commemorate the Day of the Vow at Boksburg lake, where AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche repeated calls for unity among the "Boerevolk" and their own separate "Boerestaat".

He said he had told President F W de Klerk: "When we sit around the table. . .and you talk about taking the land of the Boere and you don't give our land back to us, that night there will be war."

At Rietkuil on Saturday, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, said each ethnic and cultural group in South Africa had the right to govern itself and to determine its own future.

Speaking at the University of the OFS in Bloemfontein, Mr De Klerk said yesterday it was up to every South African to work towards a better future.

"In the Free State Afrikaners, other whites, Sothos and members of other groups will live in harmony as they will in Natal, the Cape and Transvaal." — Sapa

Extreme right-win introduces a new identity book

Sowetan 12/2/89 (3044)

SEVERAL hundred right-wingers gathered yesterday to commemorate the Day of the Vow at Boksburg lake, where last week a violent racial confrontation between Reiger Park residents and the AWB resulted in eight arrests.

AWB and Transvaal *vierkleur* flags were proudly displayed by men, women and children wearing khaki uniform and AWB emblems, who responded enthusiastically to the main speaker, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche.

In an emotional speech, he repeated calls for unity amongst the 'Boerevolk' and their own separate 'Boerestaat'.

Terreblanche told the gathering that several weeks ago three organisations, the Transvaal Separatiste, The Boerestaat Party, and the AWB, decided that they would divorce themselves, without compromise, from whites that no longer want to be "boere".

"We decided that we expect nothing more or less than our own 'Boere Republiek', where the Boers are 'baas' within their own area," he told the cheering crowd.

He said he had told the State President: "When we sit around the table ... and you talk about taking the land of the 'boere' and you don't give our land back to us, that night there will be war."

A new identity book has been introduced by the extreme right wing, one that they say will contain all the usual identity details and replace the existing one.

The application form, unlike most South African application forms, does not ask the applicant to specify their race, but it does ask the length of one's hair. -

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Thatcher request puzzles SA Govt

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela seems unlikely to be released before Christmas — despite a formal appeal from British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

Well-placed Government sources said this today after Mrs Thatcher's office confirmed the formal request.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said today no official notice had been received from Mrs Thatcher.

The South African Government seemed rather mystified by Mrs Thatcher's request. The British Prime Minister is known for the propriety of her diplomatic feelings and it was expected she would have sent such a message confidentially.

The Government feels there has been no pressure from any other sources for Mr Mandela to be released before Christmas and Mrs Thatcher is out of step. One possible explanation suggests it is the extreme pressure that Mrs Thatcher finds herself under at home, where her popularity ratings are failing.

After Mr Mandela's surprise meeting with Mr de Klerk last week, a statement was issued which suggested the two leaders would meet again in the New Year.

This has been widely interpreted — even in Government circles — as a hint that Mr Mandela will still be in prison at the start of 1990.

Denard for Ivory Coast?

PARIS — France and SA are applying pressure on the Ivory Coast to accept Col Bob Denard, the mercenary leader forced out of the Comores last week, diplomats said yesterday.

Meanwhile, a French television report claimed that Paris and Pretoria paid between £3m to £4m to get the 60-year-old veteran of several African and Middle East coups to quietly leave the island.

The state-owned FR3 French channel had a reporter on the plane that took Denard and about 20 of his men to SA last Friday, three weeks after the assassination of the Comores President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane.

French government officials, who were becoming increasingly embarrassed by the whole Denard affair, refused to comment on the report.

The mercenary leader, who with about 30 other French and Belgian mercenaries ran the Comores presidential guard, is currently under house arrest in Pretoria.

Own Correspondent

According to French sources, he is being "debriefed" to make sure that he does not reveal details of any of his past exploits for France or SA.

SA financed the presidential guard, while France had made varying degrees of use of the French-born mercenary.

Denard is wanted in his home country for his role in an attempted overthrow of the Benin government in 1977.

In 1975, Denard helped depose Abdallah, but then in 1978 provided the military muscle to bring him back to power.

The colonel has admitted he was present when Abdallah was assassinated on November 26, but has denied pulling the trigger himself.

Both Paris and Pretoria are anxious to get Denard out of the public mind as soon as possible and African diplomats said

☐ To Page 2

Denard

☐ From Page 1

both were urging Ivory Coast to offer him a home in exile.

It is one of the few African countries left where he has not been involved in some kind of plot.

Denard went there only a few months ago to take a message from former SA president P W Botha to Ivory Coast leader President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

SA President F W de Klerk, visited the Ivory Coast recently to forge new links with the former French colony.

Denard could leave Pretoria within the next few days, the diplomatic sources said.

SA denies formal Thatcher request

EDYTH BULBRING

THE Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday denied President F W de Klerk had received a formal request through diplomatic channels by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to release ANC leader Nelson Mandela before Christmas.

Thatcher's offical spokesman at 10 Downing Street confirmed on Monday that her request had been made through such channels.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick met yesterday to discuss a wide range of issues and the matter of the formal request had received a mention, A Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

The spokesman said it appeared there had been some confusion which had resulted following questions put to Thatcher in parliament this month.

She was asked whether the British government would try and get Mandela released before Christmas. She replied that she believed Mandela's release would help to bring about the end to violence and begin negotiations for a new SA constitution, the spokesman said.

The meeting between Botha and Renwick had been initiated by Renwick some time ago and was part of maintaining regular contact with the SA government.

Webster reward

THE R150 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderers of Wits academic Dr David Webster is valid for just two more weeks until December 31.

A member of the pledge committee of the Wits branch of the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations, Mr Derek Young, said no one had yet supplied Udusa with information which they felt could lead to them claiming the reward.

"We want people to realise this substantial amount of money is there for the taking, but only until December 31.

"It is being offered to anyone other than members of the South African Police's investigating team."

Asked whether Udusa considered those men presently detained as not being responsible for Dr Webster's murder, Young said it was impossible to respond because it was difficult to know what information the police had.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Another member of the Wits pledge committee, Mr Scott Hazelhurst said there were reasons why Udusa was still advertising the reward.

He said the men were being detained under Section 29 which meant they were being held for questioning and no one knew whether they were responsible.

"Secondly, even if they are responsible, there might still be others who have not yet been arrested and if they are the only ones responsible, then the police might not have enough evidence to convict them and the reward might entice people to come forward."

De Klerk must think again, say academics



DAVID WEBSTER

Probe death squads - Wits

Sowetan 20/12/89

THE Council of the University of the Witwatersrand has called for the State President to reconsider his decision not to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into alleged hit squad activities.

Wits University's acting vice-chancellor, Professor Mervyn Shear, said in a statement yesterday the Council was concerned that the State President had decided not to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into such allegations.

"At a meeting on Friday December 15, the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand noted with gratification that the police had made substantial progress in their investigation of the murder of Wits lecturer, Dr David Webster, and the indication by the State President that he was determined to identify alleged members of the 'hit squad' and ensure prosecution," he said.

"Nevertheless, the Council was seriously concerned that the State President had decided against the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry.

"It was of the opinion that while it is essential that prosecutions proceed expeditiously, it is of absolute importance that everyone involved in these alleged 'hit squad activities', of whatever rank or seniority, be identified and brought to justice, and that this be seen by all to have been done."

He said the Council had, therefore, written to the State President urging him to reconsider his decision and to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry without delay.

"The Council has also asked that the State President receive a delegation from the university at his earliest convenience, in order to discuss the matter." - Sapa.

FW ushers in 'jaw-jaw' not 'war-war'

'89 gave hope that South Africa has turned the corner

Star 21/12/89

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent

The year will surely be remembered as a watershed in South African politics. It was one of the most eventful in recent times and seemed to carry us, at last, to the threshold of real change.

All but the loony Right felt an exhilerating fresh breeze blowing through politics as President de Klerk seized the helm from the ailing President Botha and set a new course for South Africa.

And there was general relief that at last the country seemed to be out of the doldrums.

Perhaps the most important development was the SA Government's recognition at last that it would have to deal with the African National Congress (ANC) and other resistance movements politically and not just militarily.

Though by year's end this had not been explicitly stated in public, it was implicit in President de Klerk's actions such as the release of unrepentant ANC leaders headed by Mr Walter Sisulu, allowing mass marches, rallies and conferences, and in the meetings between Mr Nelson Mandela, first with President Botha and then with President de Klerk.

Similarly, in the courts heavy jail sentences for pursuing the aims of the ANC were drastically reduced or done away with on appeal.

Clear signal

And President de Klerk's abolition of the National Management System (NMS), the securocrat-run secret Government which conducted a counter-revolutionary strategy of harsh security action coupled with welfare measures, gave a clear signal of a new approach to the ANC.

These actions in effect unbanned the ANC and presaged the release of Mr Mandela.

The new approach had many causes:

- The ousting of the autocrat President Botha released pent-up reformist energies becoming evident inside the National Party.
- The collapse of communism reduced the threat of the ANC.
- Sanctions pressure on South Africa as well as international pressure on Pretoria and the ANC for a political solution both increased.

At a June meeting in London British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher apparently told Mr de Klerk bluntly that he would have to make real changes if he wanted her to continue fighting sanctions.

The successful Namibian experience also boosted confidence in negotiations and the South African Government probably took heart at Swapo's failure to win a two-thirds majority in the elections for a constituent assemly, preventing it from writing the constitution alone.

The ANC was rapidly stepping up the pressure for negotiations, probably because it was also under pressure from the Soviet Union.

On August 21 an OAU committee endorsed the so-called Harare Declaration, which set out the ANC's stance on negotiations.

It declared that apartheid could be ended through negotiations if the South African Government met the familiar conditions of lifting the state of emergency, unbanning political organisations, etc, etc.

And though the MDM/BCM Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg in December declared that the South African Government was not ready for negotiations, and that mass defiance action should continue, it also significantly endorsed the Harare Declaration.

The ANC moved rapidly to have the Harare Declaration approved by the world community and by year's end the UN General Assembly had endorsed it, with some excisions.

This put the pressure on the South African Government and in private it expressed fear that it might be losing the initiative to the ANC.

It also declared itself ready to meet all the usual conditions for negotiations and in several year-end special Cabinet sessions began to thrash out a constitutional package it could reasonably put on the table.

Though details were skimpy, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen made it clear Government's group-based approach was no longer non-negotiable. He accepted that right at the start of negotiations, the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act would be done away.

Already Mr de Klerk had announced the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, another great pillar of apartheid.

These developments seemed to have set the stage for the release of Mr Mandela, the lifting of the emergency, the unbanning of the ANC, and hence a dramatic political contest in the 1990s with the 77-year-old organisation emerging from 28 years underground.

President de Klerk's rapid moves in just three months from his inauguration on September 20 wholly overshadowed the events of before.

PW's stroke

But none of it would have been possible without the stroke which President Botha (remember him?) suffered on January 18.

The stroke forced him to resign the leadership of the National Party on February 2.

After Parliament adjourned earlier than usual, late in May, the NP set off to the hustings in low spirits.

The leadership of the party was unclear, the economy was rapidly sliding into recession and the brand-new Democratic Party, a merger of three anti-apartheid parties, was now up and running.



Former president P W Botha . . . bowed out ungraciously by going on television to criticise the party.

The NP unveiled an election manifesto — the Five Year Action plan — which included the usual protection of group rights though within a more flexible approach, but also stressed the NP's intentions of creating a real democracy and breaking our world isolation.

The NP's election speeches mostly played on the reformist aspects of the manifesto and many political observers concluded that the Government was competing for the DP support and more or less ignoring the Conservative Party.

In the election it became increasingly obvious, even to the Government, that it was going to lose support to both the Left and the Right.

The NP's majority in Parliament was slashed by 60 votes to 21 as the NP won 93 seats, the CP 39 and the DP 33. So many seats became marginal that just a few thousand votes going the other way would have realised a hung parliament. But despite gaining 17 seats, the CP fell short of its expectations in an election that should have favoured it, and seemed to be peaking.

Shrewd move

In any event, Mr de Klerk made a shrewd move by taking the NP and DP combined support as a 70 percent mandate for reform, rather to the annoyance of the DP, and set off on his new course.

Many loose political ends remained untied as the year ended.

But at least President de Klerk had begun seriously to unravel the tangled knot of SA politics.

The year Mandela took shape

Star 21/12/89

304A

As the year draws to a close, one ponders on how to characterise it. Future historians may well identify 1989 as the year in which Mr Nelson Mandela emerged from the legend surrounding his name to take on a more definite shape.

The year was marked by a series of talks between the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader - who last month commemorated his 27 th year in prison — and a series of eminent South Africans .

His interlocutors included Messrs F W de Klerk and P W Botha, South Africa's present and immediate past presidents.

The stream of visitors to Mr Mandela's bungalow in the grounds of the Victor Verster prison embraced a wide range of people; they included Mr Japhta Masemola, of the rival Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Richard Maponya and Mr Sam Motsuenyane, two black business notables, and, of course, leaders of the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

The first point to emerge from these meetings is that Mr Mandela is still a loyal member of the ANC. It is an important, if self-evident, point.

Judging from comments emanating from ruling circles, starting with President de Klerk, the view persists that Mr Mandela is less committed to armed struggle and an altogether nicer and more reasonable fellow than his comrades in Lusaka or even in the MDM at home. It may be a geniune view; it may be a Machiavellian attempt to drive a wedge between Mr Mandela and the leadership corps of the ANC-MDM camp.

A careful reading of Mr Mandela's statement after his meeting with Mr Botha shows that his position is the same as that of the ANC's.

Mr Mandela stressed that his position had not deviated for the last 28 years, "namely that dialogue with the Mass Democratic Movement, and in particular with the ANC is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country".



Mr F W de Klerk ... ANC leader wants to pre-empt his plans.



Mr Sam Motsuenyane ... visited Mr Mandela in prison.

There is some anxiety in extra-parliamentary circles that Mr Mandela may have been outmanouevred by his captors into unwittingly compromising the ANC. But it seems Mr Mandela is striving to form as broad an alliance as possible between anti-apartheid forces. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

His choice of the phrase "the last 28 years" is important. It takes him back to 1961 when the ANC, despairing of a peaceful solution after it had been outlawed and its leaders denied the opportunity of organising peaceful protest, formed its underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), and, on December 16 of that year, embarked on armed resistance.

There was nothing in his statement of July 12 or in subsequent events to contradict the declaration he made throught his daughter, Ms Zinzi Mandela, on February 10 1985: "I am a member of the African National Congress," he said then in response to Mr Botha's offer to free him if he renounced armed struggle. "I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo (the ANC president) is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years ...

"It was only when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different from Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence."

Give or take a sentence or two, Mr Mandela's statement of July 12, read in conjuction with his last public declaration of February 1985, amounts to endorsement of the ANC's present position on negotiations as outlined in the Harare Declaration.

These elementary deductions are necessary because of anxieties in extra-parliamentary opposition circles — and even the MDM — that Mr Mandela may have been outmanouevred by his captors into unwittingly compromising the ANC.

There is another side to Mr Mandela, however; it may have fuelled concern that he has somehow strayed from the true path. He has increasingly emerged in the past few months as the elder statesmen of black nationalism. He is emphatically non-sectarian in outlook; his loyalty to the ANC does not preclude co-operation with anti-apartheid forces of a different ideological hue.

Extrapolating between the lines, it seems that Mr Mandela is striving to form as broad an alliance as possible between anti-apartheid forces. His strategic objective, it appears, is two-fold: to pre-empt any plan by Mr de Klerk to deploy the age old stratagem of divide and rule and to forestall a debilitating internecine struggle in black ranks.

It is in that context that his talks with Mr Masemola and black business leaders should be seen; it is against the same background that his letter to the Zulu leader and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, should be viewed.

Where Chief Buthelezi and the ANC have been involved in a public exchange of insults, Mr Mandela wrote to the Inkatha president, welcoming his role in fighting for the release of political prisoners.

He then added: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity."

Mr Mandela's quest to see whether the road to a negotiated settlement can be opened up again, and his pursuit of a united front of anti-apartheid forces, is in line with his imminent public re-entry into the political arena as the non-secetarian sage of the struggle.

Mandela 'quiet' about FW talks

ALAN FINE

TRADE unionists who visited Nelson Mandela in Paarl on Tuesday said yesterday he had not told them the contents of his talks last week with President F W de Klerk, explaining he wanted to first brief the exiled ANC executive on the matter.

They were thus unaware whether Mandela's talks with De Klerk and other cabinet ministers gave any substance to widespread rumours that De Klerk planned to make a dramatic announcement in a Christmas or New Year message.

The rumours have it that either Mandela's release or the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the lifting of the emergency would be announced.

It was reported from London yesterday that talk about the ANC's unbanning had taken hold in senior ANC circles.

Cosatu general secretary Sidney Mafumadi explained on Tuesday after his visit to Mandela that the purpose of Mandela's talks with government was so he would be able to inform the movement on what government's intentions were.

It was generally believed Mandela would be released only after other substantial steps had been taken to free political activity in SA.

This was because Mandela had made it clear to government that, even if released, he would give little credit to government if the ANC was still unable to operate freely inside the country.

It appeared government remained nervous about a new outbreak of political violence.

The Cosatu delegation did not believe Mandela's release before next year was likely.

Economic as well as political targets in FW's first 100 days

MIKE ROBERTSON

AS HE approaches 100 days into his presidency F W de Klerk has already irrecovably changed the nature of government in SA. And, while he still has a long way to go in breaking down the mistrust incurred by the NP in its 40 years of apartheid rule, the 100 days to December 28 could well become seen as the period in which the foundation of a new SA democracy was firmly put in place.

Government's twin refrains in this period have been "normalising political debate" and the "correct application of scarce capital resources".

Central to achieving these aims has been a third, and no less important, aspect of De Klerk's first 100 days — restoring the Cabinet to its rightful position as the foremost policy-making body in the country.

To achieve this De Klerk has wielded the axe to dismantle the National Security Management System (NSMS) and downgrade the State Security Council which usurped the authority of Cabinet in the final years of his predecessor.

Although steps taken to normalise political debate have dominated the headlines, in a much less publicised manner more progress has been made towards achieving the second goal of fundamentally restructuring the management of the economy.

The turning point as far as this aspect is concerned came when the Cabinet went into the Transvaal countryside at the end of October for the first of its two-day "think tank" sessions.

There, Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers delivered a series of papers which bluntly stated that, unless government slammed the brakes on spending and sorted out its priorities, the country's economic future was bleak.

Among the decisions which flowed from the two-day session were:

☐ Agreement that each department — in particular those concerned with security, health and education — would re-assess priorities.

☐ The appointment of senior businessmen as financial managers in spending departments.

☐ Restricting the Additional Appropriation — the amount by which government overspends the Budget — to only emergency measures like disaster relief, thus ensuring that departments stick to their budget estimates.

☐ The tightening of control over spending on homelands.

Defence was the first department to implement these decisions — agreeing at a follow-up meeting with De Villiers to cut its spending by R1,5bn.

This will be achieved by the cut in military service and savings flowing from the ending of SA involvement in the Angolan war and the scrapping of the NSMS.

More significantly, it will be achieved by restricting arms manufacture to only those weapons deemed necessary to defend the country in the light of the ending of the Angolan war.



DE KLERK ... wielded the axe

De Villiers is now reviewing health expenditure in conjunction with the relevant Ministers, and an investigation of education spending will follow.

In the meantime other departments have begun taking seriously De Klerk's commitment to cut expenditure to the bone. An example of the extent to which this is being carried out is that some civil servants have been told in future they will have to buy their own newspapers.

Government's second stated aim of normalising political debate was also the subject of a two day "think tank" session.

According to one Minister at the meeting, Cabinet "came to conclusions on long-outstanding matters that we needed to get to grips with".

He would not elaborate but senior officials say decisions taken included the need to remove impediments to negotiations like the state of emergency and the continued imprisonment of those people seen as leaders by opposition groups.

There was apparently also agreement that if negotiations were to get underway, the ANC and other organisations would have to be unbanned.

According to Ministers, government sees the removal of restrictive and apartheid measures as the easy part of its attempt to create a climate in which negotiations can take place.

What is more difficult is getting opposition groups to accept its bona fides.

Here, De Klerk and his Ministers missed a golden opportunity to demonstrate to the country their commitment to undoing the wrongs of the past in not appointing a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of police death squads.

Ministers need little persuasion that aspects of the security establishment have grown rotten through lack of accountability.

But, as yet, they have shown little public inclination to return the country to the rule of law. However, some are prepared to admit in private that not appointing a judicial commission was a missed opportunity to demonstrate that their stated committment to negotiating a new SA is more than just words.



MANDELA ... talks a way off

De Klerk has repeatedly called on opposition groups to accept his government is serious when it calls for a negotiated settlement. Suspicion about the police is an integral part of the mistrust felt by opposition groups towards government.

Government is still a long way off sitting down at a table with the leaders like Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthlezi, but in deciding to meet with labour, church, political and cultural groups across the entire spectrum it has embarked on a process that it hopes will eventually result in this.

If, when he returns to work in January, De Klerk can maintain the momentum built up in the first 100 days by scrapping the emergency and releasing Mandela, there will no doubt be others like Walter Sisulu who will be prepared to begin talking — at least about other preconditions to negotiations.

One aspect of any future negotiations which government has already begun to address is the fate of the homeland system.

Ministers agree that with government stating it has abandoned apartheid the homeland system must go.

But they are finding that even those homeland leaders who say they see themselves as part of a future united SA are reluctant to see any dismantling of their power bases. Even those members of government prepared to give a commitment that no future incoporations affecting people will take place find themselves being accused by homeland leaders of betraying past commitments.

Trapped by the mistakes of the past, government's thinking on homelands is veering towards seeing them as future regions, or even new provinces.

But, as yet, this thinking is far from clear and is unlikely to become so until negotiations get off the ground.

It will be a while before that happens, but if De Klerk and his team display a similar boldness towards negotiations as they have in restructuring economic management, they will improve the chances of fulfilling their wish of having the broadest possible poliical spectrum represented at the negotiating table before the end of 1990.

...ning for whites to hand over to black majority rule ... should be striving for. It could well be our last chance. ■

THE ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION

What's left?

304A Pmail 22/12/89.

A powerfully cohesive factor in the running of any company is the idea of a *mission*. This need not be formalised in a chairman's statement — though it should be as pertinent to shareholders as anything else which has a bearing on profitability — but without it a business operates in a vacuum.

So too with a government — or an opposition. The National Party under F W de Klerk has effectively made a number of mission statements: on apartheid, negotiations, and even human rights. There is no point in berating the Nats for stealing anyone else's ideas — the point about ideas is that they should be marketable.

Since the opposition divides itself into Left and Right — with an almost 19th Century rigidity — some distinctions are necessary. The Conservatives, fighting a rearguard action, are numerically the strongest anti-government bloc in parliament. They are the Official Opposition. But signals from the recent general election and at local level — where they are losing ground — suggest they may have peaked.

It is, therefore, possible for the Democrats to anticipate usurping that role within the next decade. To do so, however, they will have to present a coherent alternative to government on the real issues, or see electoral support dribble away. What then is to be done?

For one thing, they must cast light on those immense grey areas which government at this stage chooses to leave unilluminated: lingering questions over ministerial culpability in departments where corruption and incompetence have been proven; individual injustices; the structural power of lobbies and the subsidies which nourish them; the inertia of secrecy which prevails in security and military matters; and general ad hoccism in fiscal and economic reform.

The Democrats should hone their skills as parliamentarians — capable of sifting budgets for hidden costs and wasteful expenditures. This is not merely a technical facility — though greater technical awareness will stand them in good stead — but a serious shift from the traditional Prog impulse to oppose solely for the sake of opposing. It certainly means supporting certain government initiatives.

Such an approach could mean the Democrats' survival: and, after all, their divided leadership indicates that some at least would wish to follow this route. What the Nats famously term negativity in all circumstances should cease to be appropriate. And of course, if government fails and retreats, as previous administrations have, *someone* will be needed to point that out; for then it would be the Conservatives who have won the day. ■

SA AND THE EASTERN BLOC

Looking with new eyes

As the decade draws to a close, southern Africa could at last be heading for peace. Namibia is on the verge of independence; negotiations are under way to settle the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique. At the same time, events are pointing to a more relaxed relationship between Pretoria and the Eastern bloc.

President De Klerk's promise of "a new SA, free from the antagonisms of the past," has not gone unnoticed in the Soviet Union. That's according to Gennadiyh Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speaking in a BBC programme, Gerasimov said the Soviet Union would welcome steps to carry out the intentions voiced by De Klerk.



The political scene in SA has changed rapidly since De Klerk took over (see *Leaders*) and SA is being viewed by some Eastern bloc members with more than curiosity. Already, say informed sources, both Hungary and Poland, fresh from their dramatic rejection of communist rule, have been making overtures to Pretoria — if only to consider the establishment of "interest offices" in those countries.

Writing in *Soviet Review*, published by the Institute for Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch, researcher Nicholas Anderton (formerly of the University of Glasgow) says the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Budapest and Pretoria is a possibility in the medium term. The Hungarians have moved fast this year to establish ambassadorial contact with South Korea and Israel and a Chilean consulate-general was revived in Budapest.



Nel

"The level of trade between Hungary and SA does not yet justify reciprocal trade missions," says Anderton, "but recent commercial, tourist, academic and media contacts could pave the way."

The unusual business activities were underlined this week, with the visit to SA of a former deputy premier of Hungary, Joseph Marjia; he is now the chief adviser to the Hungarian PM. Marjia was the personal guest in Cape Town of Cape Gate Fence & Wire chairman Mendel Kaplan, whose company is planning to establish a branch office in Budapest. Marjia also had discussions with Johannesburg brokers and JSE officials.

Political commentators, including Anderton, will not be surprised if Foreign Minister Pik Botha visits Hungary early in the New Year. He is usually quick to pounce on such opportunities. However, no formal decision on "interest offices" can be taken without Cabinet discussion and approval.

On the media front, SA has been an attractive destination for Soviet journalists. A frequent visitor to this country is *Izvestia*'s southern and eastern Africa correspondent, Boris Piliatskine. He is based in Maputo and covered all the meetings of the joint commission which monitors the Angolan-SA situation.

In journalistic circles it has been said that the Soviets would be keen to place in SA a permanent correspondent of *Pravda*, the State-controlled newspaper. It's unlikely that Pretoria would agree to this — unless Moscow accords the same privileges to, say, a representative of Sapa.

On the diplomatic front, contact between Pretoria and Moscow still seems far off. Apartheid continues to play a decisive spoiling role and "therefore, it is still untimely to announce the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and SA," says Yuri Yukalov, the head of the newly unified African department in the Soviet foreign ministry.

But Yukalov says representatives of certain sectors of Soviet society (scientists, for instance) do maintain ties with counterparts in SA, including whites who speak out against apartheid.

"I would like to say," added Yukalov, "that we certainly have contacts with representatives of SA's foreign policy department, in the framework of the joint commission to monitor the settlement in Namibia. Such contacts are inevitable and, in my view, useful."

It is early days yet. But Philip Nel, director of the Institute of Soviet Studies, believes the USSR has a role to play in future negotiations for an internal settlement in SA. "The current Soviet leadership is ideally placed to play such a role in conjunction with other governments. To achieve this, it is not only necessary for Moscow to maintain and strengthen its good ties with Lusaka, but also to extend informal contacts with decision-makers in SA." ■

DIPLOMACY

It pays to travel

President De Klerk's quick visit to Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano last Friday has already paid dividends. The positive effects of their five-hour discussions were evident at a Cape Verde summit of the five Portuguese-speaking African States — Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. Chissano attended the summit only days after meeting De Klerk.

Chissano had told Pretoria of the importance of the imminent Cape Verde meeting and suggested that discussions with De Klerk would enable Chissano to brief the summit on plans for reform in SA. Interrupting his vacation, De Klerk grabbed the chances to talk to the Mozambican leader.

Chissano apparently also mentioned the problem of the rebel Renamo group which has been threatening the Frelimo government ever since independence. It is understood that Chissano has grave misgivings about the mediating role of Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi; he fears that Moi may be influenced by pro-Renamo factions among his close advisers.

Sources in Maputo say Chissano also promised De Klerk that he would "work on" Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who has remained the hardliner in the thawing of relations between SA and the frontline States.

He was as good as his word. A day after meeting De Klerk, he arrived in Harare for consultations with Mugabe on "bilateral, regional and international issues" (the same phrasing formed part of his request to see De Klerk). Zimbabwe Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira confirmed that the talks have centred on "bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual concern." That could only mean that SA featured strongly.

During his overnight stopover in Lusaka, Chissano met Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, another key player.

Chissano's influence surfaced strongly in Cape Verde. On Monday, the host country's leader, President Aristides Pereira, called for new methods in the struggle against apartheid. The "evolution" of the current white South African government represented a break with the past and should be encouraged, he said.

'Compromise and accommodation must be found'

Looking to Switzerland for an SA constitution

What sort of constitution will the new South Africa have? Here is one option, put forward by **DEON PINCUS**, who was a delegate and legal adviser to the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia delegation at the Lancaster House Conference. He was also a member of the Election Council established by Lord Soames, ostensibly to report on the "freeness and fairness" of the elections that followed.

Politics in South Africa is focused at present — correctly — on the procedural mechanisms necessary to bring genuine representatives of all the people to the negotiating table.

Although in its infancy, progress is being made, and both Government and opposition factions are at last exercising the restraint and conciliation required to achieve that end.

The time for the "Great Indaba" is not too far off despite minority calls at the recent Conference for a Democratic Future to scrap the idea and to "submit to a constituent assembly", whatever that might mean.

Such rhetoric is counter-productive and serves only to harden right-wing attitudes.

What is clear is that, when the "Great Indaba" takes place, the spectrum of proposals will reflect on one extreme the separatist ideologies of the Conservative Party, and on the other the Marxist philosophies of the left wing of the ANC.

In these circumstances, if broad consensus is to be achieved (and it is a prerequisite to a viable future), then a constitution reflecting compromise and accommodation between those extremes must be found.

There are dangers in pre-empting what will take place at the negotiating table; however, the lack of internal political comment and debate regarding the nature and the detail of the constitutional options available is sad.

That silence reflects perhaps an unwillingness by all parties to make commitments to the future for fear of upsetting their constituents.

Yet the options must be debated, and one such option is that offered by the Swiss Constitution, proclaimed by many as the most democratic yet devised.

Space prevents a detailed analysis but the Swiss example offers:

- True democracy upon a basis of devolved as opposed to centrist decision-making, which avoids the "tyranny of the majority" and ensures that the executive is representative of all, including minorities.
- Total equality of all citizens without special privileges in consequence of differences, and as a result inter group co-operation to a startling degree despite wide cultural diversity.
- Arguably the most efficient means of closing the "economic gap" by allowing total freedom of movement and economic mobility between "poor" and "rich" areas, which allows the laws of supply and demand to reap their acknowledged advantage.
- The ability by choice and careful planning to speed the economic equalisation by state aid and aid at local government level wherever necessary.
- Most importantly, the avoidance of the "winner takes all" syndrome that forces people to take extremist positions in an endeavour to propagate what they mistakenly perceive to be "their" rights as opposed to "the rights" of the nation as a whole.

It is a fundamental principle of good negotiating technique that the fiarness of agreements proposed should always be objectively tested by an honest and independent arbitrator.

No doubt the international community will be a self-appointed arbitrator of the proposals to be debated at the "Great Indaba".

The groundswell movement away from rigid ideologies and strong centrist government throughout Eastern Europe and elsewhere gives cause for hope that such arbitration has a good prospect of being realistic.

(304A) Fmail 22/12/89.

MAN OF THE YEAR

Catch him if you can

F W de Klerk set the pace in national affairs — breaking the reform logjam

When we chose Allan Hendrickse as 1988 Man of the Year, our reason was that he had made dramatic use of "the system" to hit at apartheid. We speculated that he might be "reform's last hope" — and that says a lot about how different prospects were then.

Hendrickse was put in contention largely by default. A year ago, Tuynhuys was ruled by an obstinate tyrant, P W Botha. The quirky State President, isolated and influenced by his network of securocrats, had for years frozen the process he initiated in the late Seventies. The constitutional future seemed to have reached impasse. Hendrickse appeared the main force for change.

When Botha fell ill and the extraordinary events of the past year unfolded, the rules of the game changed. It is no reflection on Hendrickse's abilities that his role was marginalised; he had, after all, always made his participation in parliamentary politics contingent on a freeing-up of the system.

But Botha, when he relinquished his position as National Party leader, lost his biggest political gamble — and his eventual abdication, a sorry performance on TV watched by millions, paved the way for Frederik Willem de Klerk, who had won a nail-biting contest against Finance Minister Barend du Plessis to take over the NP reins.

What De Klerk has done since then makes him indisputably our 1989 Man of the Year.

His succession was not unexpected. On September 25 1987, we put him on our cover as prospective "crown prince" — a role he had begun to rehearse for. But he was then hardly seen as an innovator. The London *Financial Times* described him as "the perfect man to reassure nervous, politically unsophisticated middle-of-the-roaders to head off the rightwing challenge ... He looks more like an intelligent pragmatist determined to make the entrenched ideological system work better than a man with a new vision of a modern nonracial future."

It may seem premature to assess anyone after a mere 100 days in office, but in any organisation where there's a radical change in power structure, a newcomer has to stamp his authority fast or the complacency and vested interests of the old gang will reassert themselves. De Klerk's first steps, far surpassing these modest expectations, seem a genuine effort to change course and cross the Rubicon. Addressing his first federal congress of the NP in Pretoria, he promised "a new SA ... new leadership, new drive, new action ... the voice of renewal." People are beginning to believe he's serious.

When De Klerk unveiled his plan of action, sceptics remarked that it seemed stronger on style than on substance. There are still reservations. However, in style *and* substance, this Dopper law graduate from Potchefstroom University shows some resemblance to the "alternative" Afrikaans rock star — and fellow Potch graduate — Johannes Kerkorrel and his Gereformeerde Blues Band. They share a certain iconoclasm.

"New action" is what South Africans have been getting. NP policy was *never* like this. Coinciding with his first official opening of parliament, the new president allowed thousands of peace protesters to march down Adderley Street — against the advice of P W's former Security Council cronies. Now, three months later, peaceful marches have become an accepted form of protest — not the culmination of the total onslaught, as Botha's generals wanted us to believe.

The action plan aims to make at least one new announcement a week — as a senior Cabinet minister has explained to the *FM* — so as constantly to wrong-foot opposition reaction, in particular by Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party ideologues, who hate De Klerk.

For example: at a press function, De Klerk promised a surprise for Christmas. When he announced that national service would be scaled down from two years to one (*Leaders* December 15), most felt that was it. Spokesman Casper Venter told the media that his boss was beginning to take time off for Christmas. Then last week, he met jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — and went to Maputo to talk to the leaders there.



Playing golf ... stripping away the imperial presidency

Along the way, a few sacred cows were killed: Cabinet members no longer expose themselves to ridicule by wearing hombergs; and the silly pomp that greeted P W Botha when he arrived or departed at Westbrooke disappeared with the feathered uniforms of the State President's Ruritanian guard.

At constitutional level, De Klerk announced that the Separate Amenities Act — opposition to which has disrupted trade in some CP-controlled towns — will go in the next session of parliament. Boksburg has an open CBD again — and second- and third-tier authorities will not be allowed to wreck the spirit of scrapping discriminatory laws.

As important, almost contemptuously breaking the cord that linked the Botha presidency to the military and security apparatus, De Klerk chose an award ceremony at the SA Police college to announce the scrapping of the controversial National Management System with its network of joint management committees and its replacement by a "needs-orientated" system. Cabinet will be the highest policy-making and co-ordinating authority, he said. The State Security Council would fulfil its statutory functions.

This could be the beginning of the return to the rule of law.

Insiders say there is no tension between De Klerk and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.



Addressing the *FM* Investment Conference ... new allies?

(304A) 7mail 22/12/89.

Nevertheless, Niel Barnard's National Intelligence Service will feature more prominently under the new regime — displacing the primacy of military intelligence.

De Klerk has succeeded in allaying past tensions between himself and other Cabinet members. He leans heavily on Foreign Minister Pik Botha, a past adversary, who has warmed to the president's overtures. The days of an imperial presidency are gone and, among colleagues he is seen as *primus inter pares*, first among equals.

The 100 days have also seen the release of Walter Sisulu and other long-term prisoners. As for Mandela, "it is not a question of whether he will be released but rather when and how," De Klerk told journalists who accompanied him on a two-day trip to the Ivory Coast.

The surprise meeting with the ANC leader in Cape Town last week was more important than the Tuynhuys téte-a-téte between Botha and SA's Accused Number One. The Botha meeting was, in fact, an attempt by the doomed president in the dying moments of his administration to upstage De Klerk, who was neither aware of nor consulted about it. Last week's discussions, on the other hand, were talks about talks. The presence of Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, two of De Klerk's selected negotiating team, conveys this clearly.

Two years ago, talking to the *FM*, De Klerk was cool on the business community's involvement in political issues. "Whenever business becomes too directly involved in politics, it's not good for business and it's not good for the country," he warned.

But this year, delivering the keynote address at the *FM* Investment Conference, De Klerk looked remarkably relaxed in the company of captains of industry. He still acknowledged some fundamental differences, but was complimentary about the role of business: "(The) public sector can learn a lot from the business world on how to manage and reward efficient performance ... My confidence is based on the intrinsic and proven abilities of the people and resources of this country. Were it not for the strength and resilience of our business sector and the skills and tenacity of our people in general and our business leaders in particular, the future would have been bleak."

The road ahead leads through minefields. The coming parliamentary session will be marked by relentless attacks on government from Left and Right. But not only the CP has been taken aback by De Klerk's speed and resolution; the Democratic Party, for all its success at the polls, suddenly needs to find a coherent role.

In 1987, De Klerk said: "The parties on the far Right do not affect NP thinking or strategy materially. We do things because we believe they are right." It certainly seemed so towards the end of 1989.

De Klerk once seemed bland. What happened? "I am convinced that F W has made the political jump to a sort of rejuvenated verligtheid," says elder brother Willem de Klerk, a political commentator who, years ago, coined the phrases verlig and verkramp. "This is not a masquerade. He has come to the conclusion that the answer to the future lies on this road."

DP co-leaders Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan have on occasion commended the State President's actions — including his meeting with Mandela. However, in one crucial area, De Klerk will not be let off lightly: his interpretation of the "group" idea. While he and government spokesmen have been at great pains to explain that the latest NP concept of group rights rests on free association, not race, this will not satisfy the DP — let alone the Mass Democratic Movement that De Klerk wants to lure to the negotiating table.



Brother Willem

But the notion is not inflexible. According to brother Willem: "It is clear that the NP realises that its race-group idea has become a stumbling block to real negotiations and that it will have to move away from that concept. It sees the freedom of association concept replacing the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts. Whether this is acceptable will be an issue to negotiate."

Willem also says it is promising that Gerrit Viljoen has indicated that the group idea will not be a precondition for negotiations — simply a position brought to the table. "The NP has already moved a couple of degrees away from its previous stand," he notes.

As a founder of the DP, Willem de Klerk is well positioned to sum up its prospects. While it can feel satisfaction that many of its principles have been accepted by the F W government, the lines separating it from the NP have become blurred, he feels. That could yet be a problem for it. On the other hand, DP President's Council member James Selfe warns, F W has unlocked a dynamic whose consequences could be horrific if he fails to negotiate in good faith.

Internationally, the new administration's positive approach has been noticed. While familiar sanctions noises continue to be made by some Third-World countries, De Klerk's initiatives have been well received by the White House and 10 Downing Street. The latest sign of favour is a proposed visit to SA by US Secretary of State James Baker, George Bush's closest adviser.

The rand is firmer; economic reconstruction looks far more promising. Disciplines have been brought to bear on monetary policy and, if sensible fiscal policies follow, the business outlook will be materially improved — despite the need to repay foreign debt.

Human rights is an area which has also commanded attention. Here De Klerk has made what many perceive as an error: he decided not to appoint a judicial commission to investigate allegations of a "death squad" operating under police protection. Government-supporting newspapers *Beeld* and *Die Burger* both called for such an inquiry and the refusal prompted *Beeld* to open criticism — noting that it could be the only way to restore trust in the security forces.

In all fairness it must be said that De Klerk inherited the situation. Those close to him say he will not cover up the sins of the previous government. But this in the end may mean moving Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok out — a step he has apparently considered and which may be on the cards towards the middle of next year.

Meanwhile, De Klerk's promise of "new vision" and a "new SA" has been given more substance. Compare and contrast what things were like a year ago — and consider what they might be like were P W Botha still clinging to office. The difference is a measure of the spirit of renewal De Klerk has brought — and it could herald growth and prosperity just as it has already brought a measure of political optimism.

No, we really didn't have to agonise about our Man of the Year decision in 1989. ■



With Mozambique's Chissano ... enjoying foreign exposure

DIPLOMACY

It pays to travel

President De Klerk's quick visit to Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano last Friday has already paid dividends. The positive effects of their five-hour discussions were evident at a Cape Verde summit of the five Portuguese-speaking African States — Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. Chissano attended the summit only days after meeting De Klerk.

Chissano had told Pretoria of the importance of the imminent Cape Verde meeting and suggested that discussions with De Klerk would enable Chissano to brief the summit on plans for reform in SA. Interrupting his vacation, De Klerk grabbed the chances to talk to the Mozambican leader.

Chissano apparently also mentioned the problem of the rebel Renamo group which has been threatening the Frelimo government ever since independence. It is understood that Chissano has grave misgivings about the mediating role of Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi; he fears that Moi may be influenced by pro-Renamo factions among his close advisers.

Sources in Maputo say Chissano also promised De Klerk that he would "work on" Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who has remained the hardliner in the thawing of relations between SA and the frontline States.

He was as good as his word. A day after meeting De Klerk, he arrived in Harare for consultations with Mugabe on "bilateral, regional and international issues" (the same phrasing formed part of his request to see De Klerk). Zimbabwe Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira confirmed that the talks have centred on "bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual concern." That could only mean that SA featured strongly.

During his overnight stopover in Lusaka, Chissano met Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, another key player.

Chissano's influence surfaced strongly in Cape Verde. On Monday, the host country's leader, President Aristides Pereira, called for new methods in the struggle against apartheid. The "evolution" of the current white South African government represented a break with the past and should be encouraged, he said.

Pereira said it was in the interests of the whole continent that change in SA should be peaceful and, while he stressed his "militant solidarity" with the ANC, he said new methods were now needed to fight apartheid. "It is necessary," he said, "to replace the spirit of confrontation with the spirit of dialogue to preserve the country from unnecessary violence. We can say to all South Africans that the time has come to sit at the negotiating table and prepare a common future."

As a result, ministers at the summit said the meeting would back De Klerk's reforms, which they see as bringing new hope to southern Africa. "We have to recognise that the apartheid of four years ago is not the same as the apartheid of today," said Cape Verde Foreign Minister Silvino da Luz.

The Cape Verde meeting echoed sentiments voiced during last week's United Nations special session on apartheid. "For the first time in years, it is possible to be somewhat hopeful that a negotiated scenario for SA may be on the horizon," said US ambassador to the UN Thomas Pickering.

The Bush administration voted in favour of a UN resolution based on the OAU's declaration in Harare, which sets out preconditions for constitutional negotiations among all parties. The resolution has been rejected out of hand by SA and was described by Foreign Minister Pik Botha as direct interference in our internal affairs.

However, some of its extreme provisions — notably, the demand that SA be ruled by an interim government and proposals for compulsory sanctions — were removed before the resolution went to the vote. ■

Ster 23/12/89

304A

South Africa's stars for 1990

WILLIAM SMITH

THE Republic of South Africa was born on May 31 1961, under a Gemini Sun/Sagittaris Moon/Pisces Ascendant trinity. With the Luminaries, Planets, Ascendant and Midheaven occupying 10 of the 12 zodiac signs and consequently forming numerous harmonious and inharmonious angles among themselves, the Republic's astrograph is an extremely complex one.

In effect, its make-up is colourful and diverse, also restless and unsettled. The RSA's leaders are active and alert, adaptable and versatile, spirited and spiritual, but intermittently so.

Confused

They are also rather impressionable, oft-times confused and sometimes pretty gullible. They're generally helpful and hospitable on the one hand hand yet highly independent on the other.

Of particular concern is the friendship zone in RSA's nativity which contains a conjunction of Saturn in Capricorn and Jupiter in Aquarius, both in retrograde mode. Saturn is disfavoured by Venus while Jupiter is afflicted by Neptune and Mars but beneficiently linked to the Sun; consequently the State's legislature and international associations are coloured by conflict yet benefit from some powerful alliances.

Pluto forms a hard aspect with the country's Gemini Sun, posited in the domestic sector of its birth map, signifying a long drawn-out process of transformation. Although the general status of the nation in the world was destined to be unfavourable with that afflicted Saturn/Jupiter conjunction in the parliamentary and alliances sector, there is also a ray of hope in that area due to the propitious Jupiter/Sun aspect, so while we have only a few friends in the world, we do have some influential allies who can advise, guide and persuade our leaders to make wise decisions and beneficial changes.

South Africa has been labouring under Saturn's malevolent spell, however, making it hard to reap expansive Jupiter's fruits. Saturn is a difficult taskmaster when afflicted, teaches some hard lessons, and progress cannot be achieved until those lessons have been thoroughly absorbed.

Although SA has many negative inter-planetary aspects in its nativity, it is also blessed with a couple of grand trines in the fire and water signs, so it does have lots going for it in terms of courage, faith, hope and initiative.

The Sagittarius Moon near to the zenith of the country's birth map is favoured by Uranus, Mars and Venus but opposed by the Sun, so there is a drive toward self-fulfilment which is unfortunately periodically checked by bad judgment, faulty decisions or irresolute conduct.

Drama

With a Mars/Uranus conformation in Leo, there will always be drama surrounding the state. Neptune in Scorpio attracts mixed aspects from other planets, suggesting that while our leaders can be imaginative and resourceful, they are also apt to delude themselves at times and to indulge in wishful thinking.

Here is the trend in RSA's affairs for 1990, according to the influences of the higher planetary octaves on its nativity.

Transient Pluto has been active in the area of policy-making for some time and will continue its process of degeneration and regeneration throughout the next year. Many changes are in store and not without attendant difficulties, probably emphasised just after mid-1990.

Transient Neptune still occupies the sphere pertaining to parliament and international relations where it continues its pull to the left, both inside and outside the government. Neptune favours the aspirations of those opposed to the right-wingers yet they cannot afford to entertain illusions. Neptune's presence will be constant, probably niggling traditionalists a bit more than usual during January, February, June, September and December.

Transient Uranus will rule the sector relevant to the government and state of the nation until the end of May and again from mid-December, two periods which should be characterised by sudden and surprising changes in the ruling party's policies.

Many innovations are foreseen in government and opposition circles, including major resignations, reshuffles, shocks and surprises. More than a little drama is envisaged. Between June and December, Uranus will cause fresh and unusual alliances to be formed, possibly bordering on the sensational in some instances.

Transient Saturn favours those to the right of centre, encourages a strong show of authoritarianism from right-wingers in the ruling party and among the opposition.

Saturn is associated with limitation and restriction plus tradition This planet will be outweighed by Uranus and Neptune (progress and change, innovation and resourcefulness but also rebellion and trickery) The positive side of Saturn is linked to discipline and practicality.

Obviously, if the ruling party can harness the forces of these three planets and utilise their best qualities to good avail, solutions will be found to many of the nation's problems. However, Saturn cannot exist happily side by side with Uranus and Neptune. Sadly, silly actions from one quarter or the other could spark serious upheaval.

Transient Jupiter should bring about some good news concerning entertainment and sport, later in connection with employment and industry, but will also put SA through good and bad phases.

January, March, May and the last quarter of 1990 should be progressive; February, July, August and September could be tricky. Administrators in these sectors will have to weigh their decisions carefully since much will be at stake.



MR de KLERK: Astroscope suggests he has headstrong and martial traits which could manifest themselves periodically.

Star portrait of F W de Klerk

F W DE KLERK is a Sun Piscean with Moon in Capricorn. This curious combination of the Luminaries makes him far more ambitious than the average Pisces subject.

Nonetheless, he is true to the Piscean character in many ways because he was born with Mercury, Venus and Saturn in addition to the Sun in that intuitive and visionary sign. Consequently, he is quite philosophical, easy-going and even self-sacrificing in between pursuing his aspirations.

The Solar/Lunar link in his instance imbues him with a strong spiritual nature. Furthermore, it shows that he fully understands the value of playing homage to influential types who can favourably influence his own fortunes.

Mr de Klerk has Mars in Aries beneficiently aspected to Jupiter in Sagittarius so he is amply endowed with courage and vigour plus hope and humour; is opportunistic yet willingly compromises on contentious issues. Mercury conjunct Venus bestows much charm, and since this union is favoured by Uranus in Taurus, he is able to communicate in a sensitive and earthy manner.

However, there are some negative inter-planetary aspects in his nativity which unveil another side to his nature. Jupiter afflicts his Sun thereby suggesting that he is apt to gamble on achieving success and that his judgments may sometimes be lacking soundness. Mars in Aries is detrimentally angled to the Capricorn Moon and Cancer-governed Pluto, which in themselves are in mutual opposition, all of which indicate headstrong and martial traits which could manifest themselves periodically.

With the majority of planets positioned in mutable signs, Mr de Klerk is dual-natured. Neptune's opposition to Saturn may unhinge his self-discipline from time to time. While the cosmic configurations in his birth chart imbue him with magnetism, they do not suggest that he possesses particularly outstanding leadership qualities.

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December 28 1989

STAR (...) 23/12/89

Optimism for closer links with Government

Business cheered by FW talks

304K

Staff Reporter

President de Klerk's recent meetings with organised business have raised hope for a closer relationship with the Government, says the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry's latest bulletin.

Meetings with the President and Cabinet Ministers demonstrated clearly "a fresh attitude of co-operation with the private sector and a sensitivity towards the views and needs of business", the bulletin said.

It added that Mr de Klerk agreed with the view of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Assocom) for that the need for evolutionary constitutional reform linked to a sound economy, and acknowledged that South Africa's economic problems were partly because of political problems.

On the issue of the State President's Economic Advisory Council, Mr de Klerk said he was sympathetic to arguments for the inclusion of business representatives.

Privatisation, productivity, and "the inordinate size of the civil service" were the basis of talks with the business delegates and Minister for Administration and Privatisation Dr Wim de Villiers.

Dr de Villiers outlined his plans to revise the public sector's financial management system and introduce more cost-effective principles in the running of the service.

Inflation was the country's biggest problem, he said. Concerted efforts to combat inflation by both the public and private sectors would result in greater productivity.

Discussing current economic conditions and the impact of the import surcharge, Minister of Trade and Industry Mr Kent Durr said he intended co-operating as closely as possible with the private sector.

Delegates conveyed the business sector's view that the next Budget should provide for the upgrading of the police force.

Arguments for the implementation of a Bill of Rights were discussed with Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Pressing needs to reduce the high rates of personal and corporate income tax, scrap the double taxation of dividends, and address the problem of the impact of "fiscal drag" on the tax burden carried for those with moderate incomes, were also discussed.

Delegates stressed that real tax reform depended on effective cuts in Government expenditure, and welcomed indications that the issue "was now being addressed".

Other matters discussed included surviving instances of retroactive tax legislation; delays experienced with appeals to the Income Tax Special Court.

Passports for 6 freed ANC men

Funds misused, says Williams

Labour Party expels ex-MP over allegations

By Esmare van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

KIMBERLEY — The Labour Party yesterday expelled dissident former MP Mr Roy Williams who recently made shock allegations involving the handling of party funds by LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse

At a national executive committee meeting before the party's 24th annual congress here, Mr Williams, who was present, was informed that he had 14 days to lodge an objection.

Mr Williams, who lost his mid-Karoo seat in this year's general election and who is now a member of the President's Council, alleged that a donation of R250 000 to the party and payments of R10 000 each to Mr Hendrickse and the party seretary, Mr Abe Williams, might have been used irregularly.

Mr Peter Hendrickse, son of the Rev Hendrickse and a party spokesman, said the executive had reaffirmed that the discretionary fund of the leader would continue on the same basis as before in the interests of the party.

He said the leader was congratulated on the excellent manner in which he had administered and applied the fund.

In his opening address the Rev Hendrickse urged both the Government and the ANC to lay down conditions for negotiation.

"To point out to each other that one first has to renounce violence does not reduce our country's real problem. It only complicates the preparation for the negotiation table."

He called on the Government to release all leaders in detention, particularly Mr Nelson Mandela. It was important to listen to the voice of Mr Mandela and for him, just like other leaders, to be given the opportunity to make a permanent contribution to the future.

Rejected

He said the Labour Party rejected any form of people's democracy and any form of liberal democracy in which a one-man-one-vote system in a majority form was accepted.

The Labour Party rejected the concept of the "majority takes all" and was convinced that the only practical political order for South Africa was a non-racial geographical federation of South African states.

He said he was carefully optimistic that State President Mr F W de Klerk was honest in his endeavours to free South Africa of the chains of apartheid.

Beaches are open — but inaccessible

STAR 23/1/89

THE South African Tourism Board would like to see all holiday resorts and other facilities open to all races, according to the executive director of the board, Mr Campbell Smith.

Mr Smith said the board had been bombarded with questions about desegregating facilities for holiday-makers since the declaration by President de Klerk that all beaches and facilities were open to all races.

The desegregation of facilities was a natural evolutionary process, Mr Smith said.

"Pressure from the community will speed up the process," he added.

Mr Smith said more blacks were now spending their holidays at resorts, beaches and other holiday places and they were frustrated when told they could not be offered accommodation or admitted entrance because of their skin colour.

GRACE RAPHOLO

At present, blacks are being refused access to beaches at resorts administered by the Algoa Regional Services Council (ARSC) despite the declaration by the President.

Acting chief executive of the ARSC Mr Fred Baker said the ARSC was serving as an agent for the Cape Provincial Administration, which controls the resorts at Van Stadens, Beachview and Willows. He said they were administering CPA regulations.

The resorts themselves are for whites only, but the beaches are for all races. Mr Baker said: "We can't allow them to go through the resorts to get to the beach because the resorts are reserved for whites only."

Mr Smith said readers who wanted information regarding holiday accommodation should not hesitate to contact SA Tourism Board offices in their area.

'Frustrating' decade waiting for reform

Star 23/12/89 304 AA

Johannesburg Stock Exchange president Mr Tony Norton believes the 1980s were "a period of waiting — a period in which time seemed endless." **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** spoke to him.

Johannesburg Stock Exchange president Mr Tony Norton (50) is a modest man. It takes some gentle coaxing to get him to talk about himself.

"The type of work I do does not leave me much spare time. Whatever little time I have I spend with my family. I don't play golf or anything. My family is my hobby," said the father of three sons aged 19, 20 and 22.

In his broad assessment of the decade Mr Norton said: "The 1980s have been a period of waiting — a period in which time seemed endless. From my point of view it has been a period of waiting for social and economic reform in this country.

"In the early '80s we in this country became very, very aware of the need for reform. In the mid-Eighties we had the promise of reform, and towards the end of the decade we have had the denial of reform. Right at the end of the decade we had a return to sensibility.

"While the '80s were in many ways frustrating to me, I never gave up the firm belief that our society and economy are redeemable and hold promise. That belief in the future was founded in an awareness that increasingly South Africans are sharing common values and refusing to be impressed with what I call the grand abstractions."

Mr Norton said since he joined the JSE in 1985 the stock exchange had invested heavily in the future, in people and their training.

Professionally the decade was not a bad one for Mr Norton. In 1980 he was the managing director of C G Smith Sugar in Durban.

In 1981 Barlows took control of C G Smith Sugar and the following year he was moved to Johannesburg. In 1983 he was appointed chief executive of Tiger Oats, and in 1984 was recalled to Barlows's head office, where he became executive director and chairman of the Foods Division. He was still in these positions when he was appointed president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in 1985.

He said there was no "significant achievement" attained by the JSE during his tenure, but they were moving towards such an achievement. His job was to re-organise the JSE, and he felt he had succeeded in doing so.

Any major setbacks?

"Always," he said. "I think if one is optimistic one will always have setbacks. I have had my share of them and these are challenges one encounters.



Mr Tony Norton ... waiting for economic and social reform.

1980: Managing director of C G Smith Sugar, one of the big sugar companies in Durban, since 1977

1981: Barlows purchases C G Smith Sugar, but Mr Norton stays on as managing director.

1982: Barlows acquires Tiger Oats, and Mr Norton is moved to Barlows's Johannesburg office.

1983: Appointed chief executive of Tiger Oats

1984: Appointed executive director of Barlows and chairman of Foods Division at head office in Johannesburg

1985: Appointed president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE).

1985 to December 1989: President of the JSE.

Director of Safto and Shell South Africa

Member of the Economic Advisory Council of the State President.

Member of the Competitions Board.

Member of the Standing Advisory Committee on Company Law.

Member of the Securities Regulation Panel.

Member of the Financial Markets Advisory Board.

Market slide

"The most frightening thing was in 1987 during the big market slide in October when we nearly lost control of the market. Fortunately we were able to rebuild it. That was very, very touch and go."

On the economic front, Mr Norton said the decade started with a strong gold price "but that slipped away very quickly, so we have had a decade without a strong gold backing." He said given "the hangover of bad policies of the past" and economic sanctions against the country, the economy had done quite well.

He said the fact that the economy did in fact grow by between one and two percent in the decade was very encouraging, and meant that the economy had the potential of growing by between six and eight percent in the 1990s.

"I am very impressed with the new leadership of President F W de Klerk. It looks like we are going to get down to business now.

"I am very optimistic about the 1990s, and I think that any person who emigrated from South Africa now needs to have his head read. The 1990s will be a tremendously exciting time. I can see South Africa becoming a regional economic superpower, because we have the infrastructure," he said.

He said that on the political front there was not much to write home about. It was, he said, a period of "start-stop reform which has been very dislocating and has given the far right and the far left opportunities they should not have had."

Significantly, however, it was also a decade in which former State President Mr P W Botha "had the courage to split the Afrikaner volk," and the NGK declared apartheid un-Christian.

On the positive side, Mr Norton said the 1980s were also a period in which South Africans of all hues started to find each other, "irrespective of the politicians". One such evidence, he said, was the fact that industrial relations had "settled down".

He said politics in the 1990s would be very exciting but remain "potentially dangerous".

Said Mr Norton: "I believe there is enough goodwill and common interest for a negotiated settlement to be reached. People will move more and more towards each other."

STAR 27/12/89 (KWAN) 304A

FW's aim is a just South Africa

President calls on churches to hold talks with the Govt

Clergy react positively to invitation

Staff Reporters

The Catholic church is already committed to enter into discussions with "different groupings" and this includes the Government, the president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Bishop Wilfred Napier said yesterday.

Bishop Napier was responding to the call to churches to enter into discussion with the Government made by State President F W de Klerk in his Christmas message.

Other church leaders have also reacted positively to the invitation and one has indicated that he regards the invitation as very encouraging.

The Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, Dr Sam Buti, said that he appreciated Mr de Klerk's words, as well as his courage in inviting the churches to enter into a dialogue with the Government.

He said, however, words were not enough, and proof was needed that there was a real search for peace in South Africa.

Bishop Joe Bell of the Church of England in South Africa said the invitation was encouraging.

BOUNDARIES

Negotiation was a means to achieve reconcilliation, and the churches should be more active in this regard.

Speaking in his personal capacity, Bishop Napier said he was "slightly disturbed" about what is meant by the proposed discussion in the light of Mr de Klerk's statement that the church must remain within the framework of its boundaries and calling.

"No human being can put a limit on the church's boundaries. How does the Government see the boundaries? This will have to be one of the topics to be discussed. Are we going to talk about the real things which need to be done or about how to paper over the cracks in the structure?" Bishop Napier said.

"Our position is that we as pastors, want to give guidance with regard to the demands of the gospel and how these demands are to be interpretated."

Bishop Napier said despite his church's commitment to talks, the issue would have to be discussed by the SACBC before reaching a final decision.

"One or two individuals cannot decide what subjects need to be brought up," he said.

Other leading churchmen could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

Political Reporter

State President F W de Klerk has invited all churches to broad-ranging and in-depth talks with the Government on the creation of a just and Christian society.

In his Christmas message, Mr de Klerk urged church leaders to formulate points of discussion and to communicate their willingness to participate in talks to his office as early as possible in the new year. He would announce further details of the discussions after having received church leaders' initial reaction.

"The Church must continue, within the framework of its boundaries and calling, to involve itself in the creation of a Christian and just new South Africa. Current circumstances, however, require a special effort to bring about true and lasting peace in South Africa."

Mr de Klerk called on all South Africans to get to know one another better and to understand one another's fears and aspirations.

Reconciliation

"I call on those who live in fear of the future to have faith in themselves, their fellow-South Africans and above all to have faith in God Almighty. I call on those whose lives are dominated by bitterness about real or imagined injustice to rid themselves of it."

At Christmas, a time for reconciliation and goodwill, South Africans should consider those things which united them.

"The great majority of us share in the hope that our future will be peaceful and prosperous. We reject confrontation and conflict and seek reconciliation and co-operation.

"We dearly want to build a new South Africa in which all the children of our country wil be able to live together in peace and dignity, without fear and without enmity."

The challenge of the last decade of the century was to build a new South Africa and to show the world in the new century that people of different cultures could co-operate in peace, friendship and mutual respect.

Selfish power games and recklessness had no place in this peace process. It could destroy the future, a bigger injustice which he could not imagine.

Mr de Klerk said: "I am fully aware of the difficulties which await us. The Government and I do not live in a dream world and we are not naive.

"However, I am fully convinced that South Africans can tackle and overcome their problems if we do it with faith and goodwill. I am determined to promote this. Let us unite in this ideal."

The peaks of Pik's career

'Real hope lies ahead'

By ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter

For the ever-popular Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the past ten years have brought extraordinary diplomatic successes but also a fair share of personal disappointment.

In pensive mood, smoking an after-lunch cigarette at the luxurious State Guest House in Pretoria, he spoke of the past decade, revealed that he would retire in the next, and write his memoirs before "I disappear into the dark of night".

Mr Botha singled out 1984 as a highlight of his political career.

It was the year of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, the Lusaka Agreement affecting the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and the year in which he arranged former State President P W Botha's European tour which he described as a suc cessful, positive image-creating venture.



Pik Botha — the last 10 years have brought him extraordinary diplomatic success.

"We had no sanctions in 1984. The whole world was favourably impressed by the potential role South Africa could play in bringing about peace in the region and act as a stabilising force both politically and economically.

"It also was the year in which the State President started to announce in broad terms new views which implied, at the very least, moving away from discrimination.

"In October of that year, on top of it, we arranged for a contingent of government members of Mozambique together with some Renamo leaders to be here in Pretoria for a whole week, negotiating day and night, the terms of a ceasefire agreement.

"We were on the point of achieving that success when a phone call from an European capital to one of the Renamo members just turned it all around."

Then followed three lost years.

"We ended 1987 with sanctions legislation in the US, with increasingly threatening international attitudes, with a solution to the Namibian independence process further away, an escalation of the war in Angola and in Mozambique, acrimonious exchanges between us and some of our neighbouring states, a decline in our economic growth and the value of the rand."

In March 1988, he met Dr Chester Crocker in Geneva, both of them knowing that the eight-year Reagan administration had come to an end.

"Chester and I started working closely together (on Namibian independence) in the early days of President Reagan. Suddenly, in March 1988, we found ourselves in Geneva realising that that period was almost gone. And what have we achieved?

"We decided to give it a final go, not knowing who would be the next president of the US. We decided to go out of our way, strain every mental muscle, to see whether we could not bring about a solution to a problem that has plagued the whole international community since the end of the World War 2.

"We always thought we would one day attract sanctions as a result of our attitude on Namibia. It was the other way round: apartheid eventually overtook us."

The challenge of 1988 was to restore the country's international respectability.

"We needed at least one major step to start changing the terrible perception of our country, a perception that we were virtually doomed, a lost society.

"We needed a visible demonstration of the opposite to start changing the hearts and minds of the people of Europe and the US."

On 22 December 1988 South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed the tri-lateral agreement which triggered the implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia coupled with the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

Another significant development of the decade was the Soviet withdrawal from regional conflicts and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.

" This will also have an effect on organisations such as the ANC, which will find it more and more difficult to project the policies of the past realistically in this country."

Failed dismally

"You can hardly tell South Africans now that they must accept an economic policy which has failed dismally. There is no way in which the ANC can revive that one."

He spoke frankly of the Government's mistakes of the past and said international acceptance would only follow once whites and blacks reached agreement on the constitutional future.

"So many commentators have said why don't we put our case? The point is how could you sell the Immorality Act? How could you sell the Prevention of Mixed Marriages Act? Who could do that?

"It was only after we took those decisions which would start removing the obstacles in the way of finding an internal solution that this country could really achieve new hope.

"By and large, the decade is ending for me with not only new hope, but maybe real hope for the first time that we will move out of international ostracism and can start playing the role which I believe we are destined to play in southern Africa."

Did that mean the next decade would be more challenging?

He quipped: "I've learnt that there are a few crocodiles in the river. But I think I've learnt how to swim with them."

Mr Botha singled out Europe 1992 as one major event of the next decade.

"A group of states will be coming together with the capacity of consolidating their policies, possibly against us. I look at it in a posivite way because then you can deal with co-ordinated trade and economic policies; hopefully also price determination.

"Why is this important to me? Because if the 10 states of southern Africa could put their act together and come up with a joint economic reconstruction programme, the responsible governments of Europe would see this in a positive way. We could come to an agreement with the 12 European states on financing for the plan and stabilised prices of our raw materials."

Any personal challenges for the 1990s?

"Yes, to know when to go. A nd not harbour ideas of being indispensable.

Can F W save SA from further US sanctions?

Will President de Klerk's reforms prevent further sanctions in the new year? The experts warn against over-optimism, despite the world's "Give F W a chance" attitude and the shift in international attention to Eastern Europe. Political Reporter **ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE** reports.

Two "deadlines" on reform in South Africa were issued this year — one by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, the other by US congressman Mr Howard Wolpe.

Mr Cohen's deadline emerged during his testimony to the US Senate's Foreign Relations Committee when he said the South African Government should abolish all discriminatory laws by the end of the next parliamentary session (which he said would be the end of June), and enter into meaningful dialogue with representatives of the black majority to prevent stricter sanctions.

Mr Cohen later denied that he had put a deadline on reform in South Africa.

"But he is still responsible for the six months syndrome and the deadline still exists as far as the Senate is concerned," according to Professor Carl Noffke of the Rand Afrikaans University's Institute for American Studies.

Mr Wolpe this year proposed an extensive policy programme on SA, among other things calling for regular, high-level meetings between the Bush administration and anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, and the strict enforcement of existing sanctions.

He proposed "several months without congressional interference to achieve the basic preconditions for moving towards a negotiated political settlement".

Mr Wayne Mitchell, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, interprets the proposal as being a six-month deadline, expiring on February 1 — six months after Mr de Klerk became State President.

Other sanctions Bills were tabled in the US Congress this year, including the well known Dellums Bill calling for mandatory sanctions against SA.

The International Freedom Foundation commented in a recent publication: "Except for Howard Wolpe's policy proposal, which has yet to be put before committee, the various sanctions related Bills failed to be considered by Congress, owing primarily to the low profile SA has enjoyed in US politics this year.

"The various Bills will be dropped when Congress closes and will only be reinstated in 1990. The pro-sanctions lobby is, nevertheless, already laying the foundations for a concerted push for sanctions against SA in 1990."

South African analysts agree on the futility of setting deadlines for reform in South Africa. But they sketch different scenarios for increased sanctions.

Amcham's Mr Mitchell believes the US Congress will pass further sanctions legislation next year, but doubts that the Senate will pass it.

Second thoughts

"Many people who have previously been in favour of sanctions are having second thoughts. Besides, more burning issues are grabbing the attention of politicians in both Europe and America. SA is not a priority issue now."

The release of African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of politi cal prisoners could prevent the implementation of harsher sanctions.

"Some of the demands have already been met, although all won't be met by February. But progress will be encouraging to SA's friends abroad and maybe we will then be allowed to set our own timetable and agenda for negotiations.

"We hope that a sense of realism will prevail in the US so that change can take place in a cordial and genuine fashion," Mr Mitchell says.



Mr F W de Klerk . . . bold reform moves in 1990 could stave off increased international isolation.

Mr Alan Begg of the SA Institute for Internatinal Affairs does not foresee further sanctions next year — provided the Government addresses substantial problems which remain outstanding.

"We don't look all that naughty at the moment. F W de Klerk is making all the right noises and has done a few things, albeit cosmetic. Besides, Europe and the European Community will be spending vast amounts of energy, time and money on bringing people back from the communist fold."

He warned: "At the moment, the world wants the rubbish out of the way so that we have a nice clean field to play on. But once the rubbish has been removed, everyone will want to know when we are going to start playing (negotiating)."

Professor Noffke predicts a strong sanctions drive in America by June next year.

By that time, election campaigns for the November election of the House of Representatives and a third of the Senate's 100 members would be well under way.

Professor Noffke warned against the perception that SA was, at least for the moment, out of the international limelight.

"SA has become a domestic political issue in the US. A good number of congressmen will be satisfied about the reforms in SA, but the sanctions drivers will not be satisfied with anything but black majority rule."

The International Freedom Foundation believes that the activities of the pro-sanctions movement in the US have increased dramatically since the September election in SA.

"The sanctioneers have interpreted President de Klerk's efforts to break the political impasse in SA as the reactions of a government under pressure, and believe that further sanctions would effectively destabilise the 'apartheid regime'.

"However, US analysts believe that the problem facing the political left in both the US and SA is that it is the ANC's position internally which threatens to become increasingly marginalised by the Government's new political agenda."

Confirmed

"This was confirmed in a discussion between senior staff members of the UN Committee Against Apartheid in New York in September, where it was stated that the ANC had realised that their best hope of success is to strengthen the Conservative Party.

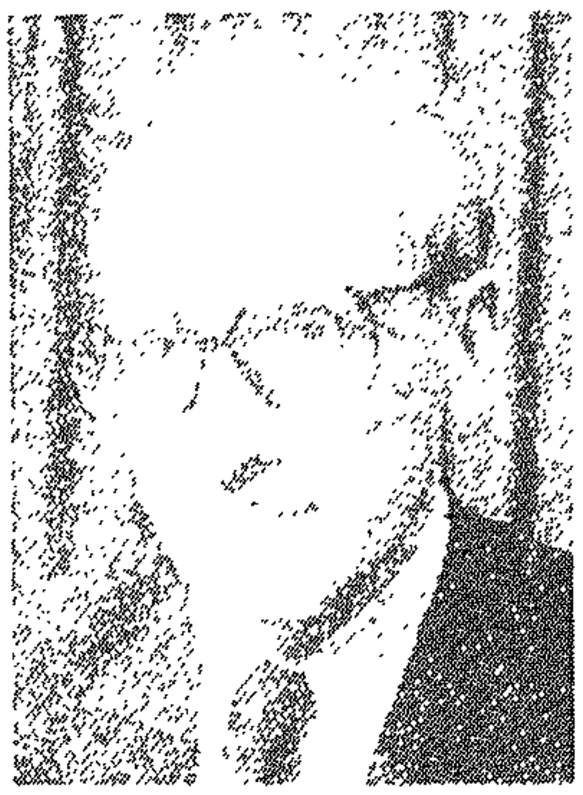
"Greater sanctions against SA, coupled with the Swapo win in Namibia and an increasingly belligerent Mass Democratic Movement, would help encourage the erosion of confidence in the SA Government.

"A CP government . . . would bring about immediate support for total sanctions, destroy the emerging middle class ground of consensus politics inside South Africa, and re-ligitimise the ANC's revolutionary agenda for the seizure of power." This new theme is receiving increasing prominence in the US, according to the International Freedom Foundation.

FOCUS



President De Klerk



Mr Herman Cohen

Will FW beat the deadline?

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Naughty

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Limelight

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CHC Trans 1/12/89 (10) 3042

FW denies govt group obsession

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The government is not ideologically obsessed with groups, President F W de Klerk said again at a press conference here yesterday.

He was speaking after two hours of discussions with a top KwaZulu delegation led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Goverment opponents were making negative propaganda of the group issue, Mr De Klerk said..

"The reality of diversity cannot be ignored." It was a powerful force, he said.

Chief Buthelezi said at the press conference that there is a need to be wary about talk of cultural groups.

He said that at the meeting the Nelson Mandela release issue had been raised and Mr De Klerk had assured him the matter was being seriously addressed.

Mr De Klerk intervened to say an announcement would be made as soon as the goverment was ready.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been encouraged by Mr De Klerk's direct style. He never tried to indulge in petty and cheap politicking, like his predecessor.

Mr De Klerk said discussions were cordial and centered on the need for negotiation.

Ivory Coast opens door to links with SA

PARIS — Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny opened the door to diplomatic relations with South Africa in an interview published yesterday.

He told the influential French daily *Le Monde* it was up to Pretoria, which is campaigning to end black Africa's diplomatic boycott, to make the first move.

"South Africa has not yet asked us, it is not up to me to do it," said Mr Houphouet-Boigny, interviewed in Abidjan on December 19.

Africa's longest-serving leader said his conservative West African country's policy was to have relations with any foreign state provided it respected the Ivorian regime.

President de Klerk said earlier this month after a meeting at Mr Houphouet-Boigny's home town of Yamoussoukro that he hoped to establish diplomatic ties.

REALITY

"I do not think that it (diplomatic ties) is a dream, it can become a reality but I do not want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny and I do not want to make specific predictions," Mr de Klerk told a news conference on his first foreign trip since taking office in September.

At that time the Ivorians had no comment to make on their relations with Pretoria.

The establishment of diplomatic links with the Ivory Coast would be a political coup for Mr de Klerk, who has vowed to end racial discrimination in South Africa.

President Houphouet-Boigny has earned criticism from most African states for his long-standing policy of dialogue with Pretoria. — Reuter.

Only 2 800 managers are black – survey

Staff Reporter

There were only 2 860 blacks in managerial, executive and administrative positions in the country, compared to 180 000 whites, according to the recently released "Race Relations Survey".

Published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, the survey documents social, economic and political trends in 1988/9.

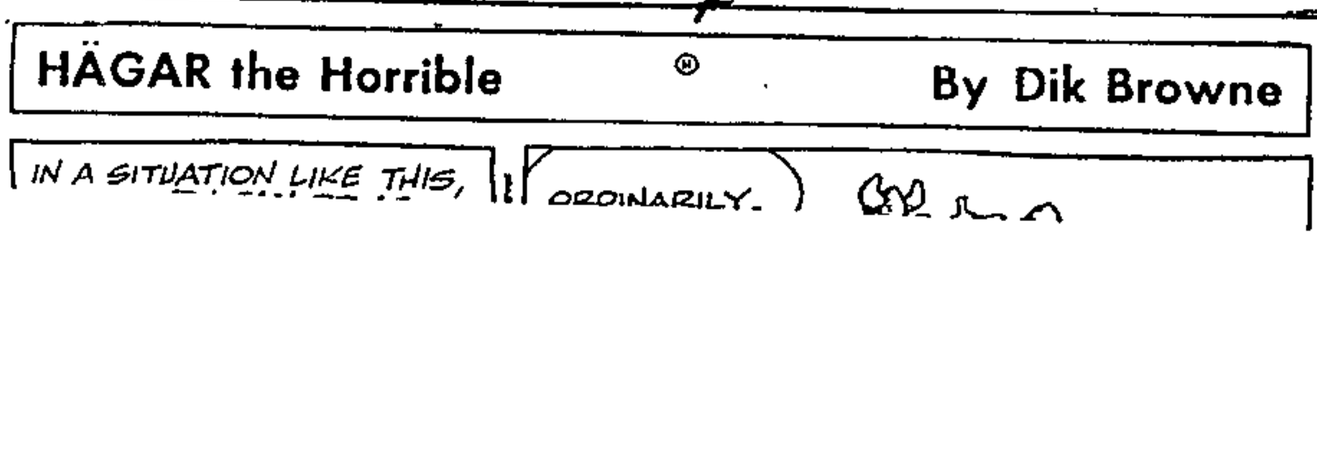
The chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Hennie Reynders, said one of the reasons for the lack of black managerial progress was the attitude of white personnel. Although they paid lip service to black advancement, they displayed an unwillingness or inability to do so in practice.

On the labour front, the number of man-days lost in strike action during 1988 was 914 388, against 5,8 million in 1987 — an 84 percent drop.

Strike action in the first six months of 1989 was up by almost 200 percent compared with the same period the previous year.

Workers' wages increased an overall average of 22,5 percent in the first five months of 1989. However, there was a downward trend in wage settlements between unions and employers. The increases averaged 16,7 percent in the first five months of 1989 — lower than the 1988 average of 17,9 percent.

There were an estimated one million registered unemployed people, but the real unemployement figure was probably closer to three million.



'Philosopher' leads the blue collar workers

Star 28/12/89
304A

Within just five years, politician, philosopher and dominee, Dr Andries Treurnicht (68), has turned the South African political scene upside down. Not only did he form a new party, but he snatched centre stage by ousting leftwingers and bringing the right-wing Conservative Party in as the country's official opposition. His ambition for the Nineties is to see his party come to power. He tells **DAWN BARKHUIZEN** why.

"I have no consuming ambition to become State President. I realise the tremendous stress and strain involved. I'd be happy for a party victory that would enable a policy to be applied that would be of benefit to all people.

"I am motivated by a love for my people and want them to survive in freedom. The present political system is certainly not moving in that direction. I am deeply worried about the future.

"Should the day come when blacks overrun the country, God forbid, there will be bloody sport."

Dr Andries Treurnicht is a cultured, dapper man who admits "philosophy is my subject": a man with apparently little in common with his largely blue collar support base.

"I interpret their gut feelings," he says of his party members. "Look, maybe we don't socialise together every day, but we do have a common bond. Take Eugene TerreBlanche for example. I might disagree with him on certain ideals and views, but we speak the same language, we have the same people, the same ideal to secure a territory for our people under our own government."

Negative connotations

His nickname "Dr No", he says has negative connotations.

"I rather see myself as a man who says yes. Yes to my own people and yes to the rights of other communities."

Dr Treurnicht is from strong Nationalist Party stock. As a young man he focused on religion rather than practical politics, but he was drawn into the political arena in 1960 when he was appointed editor of the Dutch Reformed Church publication *Die Kerkbode*.

"Until the Sixties Afrikaners felt relatively safe, but when B J Vorster came in with his pragmatic approach, the uncertainty started. At that time the United and Liberal parties were strong and they had money and world opinion behind them."

And so he made his quantum leap from the parish to the press and then into politics.

"It was not really a leap. Politics is basically an expression of volk in their struggle for survival. And I believe we have the right to survive."



Dr Andries Treurnicht . . . "Should the day come when blacks overrun the country, God forbid, there will be bloody sport."

1980 — Minister of Public Works, Statistics, Tourism for the National Party.
1981 — Holds onto his Waterberg seat despite a swing to the left and the right in a general election.
1982 — Breaks away from the NP over "power-sharing" and takes 16 rebels with him Forms the Conservative Party
1983 — The "Battle of the Berge" He takes up a challenge to resign his seat in the Waterberg and fight it on a CP ticket He wins and increases his majority. Says "vote no" in the referendum over the tri-cameral parliament.
1984, 1985, 1986 — Increasingly convinced the tri-cameral parliament is not the solution to South Africa's grave political dilemma
1987 — A momentous year for the five-year-old CP as they oust the Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition party in a general election, romping home with 22 seats and 547 000 votes.
1988 — Debate with F W de Klerk.
1989 — CP almost double their representation gaining 39 seats and 684 000 votes in a bitterly contested general election.

What has Uys up his sleeve for the 1990s?

Star 29/12/89

304A

My Decade 1980s



The 1980s was a momentous decade in world history, but how did it affect individuals? The Star asked several well-known South Africans to look back and say what this past decade has meant to them.

Uys started off the decade virtually unemployable. His shows were banned and no one wanted to put on his plays because of the risk of censorship.

His first one man show, "Adapt or Dye", happened because he could not get work.

"Honestly, I'd stumbled on to something I really didn't understand until much later. I didn't realise the potential of humour in a situation that got darker and darker. We went through a very black decade politically. (Mr P W) Botha drove us into a *cul de sac* and threw the car keys away.

"So as it got darker and darker, the light of the theatre had to get brighter and brighter. Humour was the one weapon I found I could use — I prefer the violence of laughter to the violence of death.

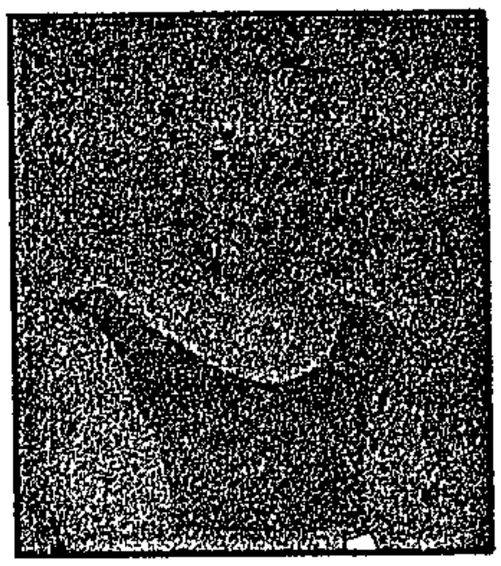
"P W Botha gave me my titles for most of my shows; 'Adapt or Dye' was one. Then in 1984 I did 'Total Onslaught' and 'Beyond the Rubicon' in 1986. In the meantime Evita Bezuidenhout was born. This creature was the big product of the Eighties in my life."

Another big change in his life came when he turned 40. He did not have to prove himself any more, only improve.

"Skating on Thin Uys", the movie with Evita and her family, came next. And "Rearranging the Deck Chairs on the SA Bothatanic" and "Cry Free Mandela" helped him prove life goes on without Mrs Bezuidenhout.

In 1985 he performed overseas for the first time.

"I did a little late night show in London, and that opened up a new era for me. Each year I now spend about four months out of South Africa, which is very good for the simple reason that I can sharpen my pencil over there.



Pieter Dirk Uys . . . enters the 90s with optimism.

For Pieter Dirk Uys the Eighties has been a learning decade. He is going into the Nineties full of optimism. He spoke to **LOUISE BURGERS**.

1980: "Uyscreams with Hot Chocolate Sauce", a review with his sister.
1981: First one man show, "Adapt or Dye".
1982: Evita Bezuidenhout shot to stardom.
1983: "Farce About Uys", a play about Evita's homeland.
1984: "Total Onslaught".
1985: Performs overseas for the first time.
1986: "Beyond the Rubicon".
1988-89: "Panarama", "Scorched Earth". "Just Like Home" goes overseas.

"The old alphabet is gone. Botha took it with him ... my bread and Botha. It was a terrible shock to come home two months ago and suddenly realise we had just broken through the membrane of the *cul de sac*.

"The old targets are not there any more. The attitudes are new. They have become the targets. It's not as simple as saying Ja and Nee and Amandla and Vrystaat. And the hypocrisy ... the incredible hypocrisy of old Nats never dies; they just adapt and say Vrystaat!

"I think the country has allowed itself to laugh. If you can't laugh at yourself then you're missing the biggest joke of the decade."

For the next decade he believes anything is possible.

"If the Berlin Wall can break down, then the apartheid fence can be rolled up and sold as a souvenir to Andries Treunicht.

"But I think the catch phrase of the Nineties is one of Evita's lines: 'Hypocrisy is the vaseline of political intercourse.' That is my favourite line from the Eighties and it's still topical.

His hope for the Nineties is a dream for everyone.

"That's why politics make me so angry. Politics is a dream killer. I want every kid to become king of the castle, to have the best education, to go swim in the biggest pool, play with the most wonderful kids he can find and not have to come face to face with barbed wire."

And what will the Nineties bring?

"There will be an element of surprise — it's the only thing left for the Nineties. There will be a surprise around every corner."

Black states 'to help find SA solution'

PARIS — Moderate African leaders are secretly planning a joint move to help find a solution in South Africa, one of them revealed here yesterday.

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, interviewed in the evening newspaper, *Le Monde*, said: "We are not inactive. But I cannot tell you what we are planning."

He did not name the other African leaders.

He said President de Klerk, whom he met recently, made a "very good impression on him".

Asked if he would open diplomatic relations with South Africa, he said: "As Pretoria has not asked me to do so, it is not for me to do it."

● Negotiations are in progress that could lead to the Ivory Coast opening full diplomatic relations with South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Malawi already has full diplomatic relations with South Africa. — Sapa-AP.

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but it is obviously alive and well at the grassroots level where it affects people

are concerned everything is now under control. We ae convinced they will be properly taken care of."

Clergy ask F W to discuss Natal

A HIGH-LEVEL delegation of church leaders has applied for an urgent meeting with President F W de Klerk, to discuss the continuing violence in Natal. Up to 88 people have died each month this year.

Methodist church Bishop Khosa Ngojo told Business Day, in an interview from Pietermaritzburg, that they would request the establishment of a commission of enquiry — with a mutually agreed upon judge and terms of reference — to attempt to find out what had started the violence, why it is continuing, how it could be stopped, and the role of the police force in the situation.

The delegation will include Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall, Methodist presiding Bishop Stanley Mogoba, SA Council of Churches secretary-general Rev Frank Chikane and three parish ministers from churches within the violence torn areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Ngoja said it was essential that all parites involved be given an opportunity to state their views. He said that although the violence had been ideologically motivated when it began almost four years ago — as conflict between Inkatha and the UDF — there was now a "tsotsi" element taking advantage and revenge had made much of the present violence self-generating.

CHARLENE SMITH

However, he questioned why the police were having no impact on stopping the violence. More than 1 119 people have died in violence in Natal since September 1987, of whom more than 500 have died so far this year. Previous estimates by church leaders have put the number of people displaced by the violence at well over 60 000.

The movement of dispossessed people into other areas has spread the conflict as space for land, housing and education become overstretched, observers said. An Edendale Landowners Association spokesman said that refugees often lived 20 to a room, when they could find accomodation.

Killed

Thousands of schoolchildren have missed up to four years schooling, according to the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness's Peter Kerchoff.

Research done at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, by John Gulig and Mike Hart, has shown that 60% of those killed were under 25 years of age.

Children interviewed by the team, estimated that up to half the previous school populations no longer attend school.

SA's roll of Aids victims passes 300 mark

A TOTAL of 305 Aids cases had been reported in SA up to December 15, and statistics indicated that 50% to 60% of HIV-infected people were black, SA Institute for Medical Research head Prof Ruben Sher said yesterday.

Sher said 171 cases had been reported in the Transvaal, 60 in the Cape, 62 in Natal and 12 in the Free State.

He said prospects for a cure for the disease were unsure and the only treatment at present was a combination of drugs that delayed the onset of Aids, but did not stop the disease. — Sapa.

End of a long, tough trail for Parliament's iron lady

Veteran politician Mrs Helen Suzman reflects on the highlights of more than 40 years on the campaign trail She spoke to **SUE VALENTINE**

The end of the decade saw the end of more than 40 years of tough campaigning, many of them single-handed, for Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

Reflecting on her career she points out matter of factly that many of the recent changes were prefigured by her during private members' motions and speeches she delivered during her more than 40 years in the House

"The shortage of housing, urbanisation, the migratory labour system, the population explosion — there has been a certain satisfaction in seeing a number of these laws repealed, but a number of these remain on the statute books still "

The two important issues of the decade she stresses were the repeal of many important apartheid laws during the P W Botha era and the increasing forces from outside.

Exhilarated

For Mrs Suzman the repeal of the pass laws and influx control and the acceptance of the inevitability of urbanisation were some of the most significant developments They meant the lifting of oppressive legislation which prevented citizens from free movement around their country

"I was exhilarated the day the pass laws and influx control were lifted. One of the things that really upset me was the sight of those police vans with those fingers through the wires. In most cases the likelihood was that 99 percent of those people were pass offenders, not people who had stolen cars or mugged someone

"The trouble is the government abolished those laws the very same week they re-introduced the State of Emergency. That somehow defused all the positive signs of the removal of the Pass Laws.

"They used to be at the top of the list of every black leader of the laws they wanted abolished. And when it went..no-one even commented. If anything the comments were derisive — 'it's just crumbs'. But it wasn't just crumbs. Nearly half a million people had been arrested in the two years before those laws were abolished."

On the more 'social' side she cites the repeal of the Improper Political Inteference Act, which prohibited mixed political parties, section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

"From the outside you've had the intensification of outside pressure — sanctions and the campaign for disin vestment so that a third only of the companies from the US remained after the passing of the various American laws, such as the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act of 1986."

Mrs Suzman is sharply critical of sanctions as a means of changing the injustices of South Africa. She cites the



Mrs Helen Suzman . . . many of the recent changes in South Africa were prefigured by her during private members' motions and speeches she delivered during her more than 40 years in the House. For Mrs Suzman, the repeal of the pass laws and influx control and the acceptance of the inevitability of urbanisation were some of the most significant developments of the past decade.

January 1980 Calls for a commission of inquiry into the Department of National Security (formerly the Bureau of State Security).
February 1980 Attacks Government attitudes to abortion in SA during the Abortion and Sterilisation Amendment Bill
February 1980 Government claims it was justified in intercepting Helen Suzman's mail in tracing a member of a "foreign intelligence service" — cites letterheads used by visiting Massachusetts professor Robert Rotberg as proof.
December 1980 Receives New York City's mayor's medal
July 1981 Calls for scrapping of the "obscene" Immorality Act.
August 1981 The Government bulldozes squatter shacks in Nyanga, Suzman slams their actions
September 1981 Suzman and Bishop Tutu nominated for Nobel Peace prize.
Mehlolo Rikhoto case — court rules to allow migrant workers to obtain urban residential rights.
February 1982 Neil Aggett dies in detention. Suzman reads letter in Parliament alleging Aggett was assaulted in detention.
August 1982 Celebrates 30th consecutive report-back in her Houghton constituency
October 1983. Nominated for Nobel Peace Prize.
September 1984 New constitution introduced.
June 1985 Mixed Marriages Act repealed
June 1986 Re-introduction of the State of Emergency
June 1986 Pass laws repealed.
June 1986 Influx Control abolished
May 1987 Retains Houghton seat.
1989 Announces decision not to stand for election again.
September 1989 Meets British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.
November 1989 Receives honorary title, Dame Commander of the British Empire — her 26th award.

bert and Dr Alex Boraine walked out at the start of the 1986 session.

"I was enormously upset. I think it was a very severe blow to the party and I think it contributed quite materi-

making the leadership non negotiable.

"Instead we have this troika business which has now been perpetuated. I personally don't think it's a good idea at all."

about excessive optimism regarding State President F W de Klerk.

"De Klerk's not here to hand over power. I think he'll go quite a long way in removing what I call the 'outward brutalities' of the system.

"I don't thing we're going to have the same spectre of forced removals with guns and dogs, those scenes have gone, and I don't think they'll come back, but I also don't think he'll hesitate. I mean if there's a concerted march on the Union Buildings, he'll bring out the troops.

"The people are silly if they think he's become a starry-eyed liberal. He's not.

"I like him as a man much more .... well, I mean there's no comparison between him and that dreadful bully (PW Botha). He was a real irritable bully.

"It got to such a stage in Parliament they stopped all interjections when he was speaking because he used to go ab-

The end of the decade saw the end of more than 40 years of tough campaigning, many of them single-handed, for Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman

Reflecting on her career she points out matter of factly that many of the recent changes were prefigured by her during private members' motions and speeches she delivered during her more than 40 years in the House

"The shortage of housing, urbanisation, the migratory labour system, the population explosion — there has been a certain satisfaction in seeing a number of these laws repealed, but a number of these remain on the statute books still."

The two important issues of the decade she stresses were the repeal of many important apartheid laws during the P W Botha era and the increasing forces from outside.

Exhilarated

For Mrs Suzman the repeal of the pass laws and influx control and the acceptance of the inevitability of urbanisation were some of the most significant developments. They meant the lifting of oppressive legislation which prevented citizens from free movement around their country.

"I was exhilarated the day the pass laws and influx control were lifted. One of the things that really upset me was the sight of those police vans with those fingers through the wires. In most cases the likelihood was that 99 percent of those people were pass offenders, not people who had stolen cars or mugged someone.

"The trouble is the government abolished those laws the very same week they re-introduced the State of Emergency. That somehow defused all the positive signs of the removal of the Pass Laws.

"They used to be at the top of the list of every black leader of the laws they wanted abolished. And when it went .. no-one even commented. If anything the comments were derisive — 'it's just crumbs'. But it wasn't just crumbs. Nearly half a million people had been arrested in the two years before those laws were abolished."

On the more 'social' side she cites the repeal of the Improper Political Inteference Act, which prohibited mixed political parties, section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

"From the outside you've had the intensification of outside pressure — sanctions and the campaign for disin vestment so that a third only of the companies from the US remained after the passing of the various American laws, such as the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act of 1986."

Mrs Suzman is sharply critical of sanctions as a means of changing the injustices of South Africa. She cites the serious effect on growth potential and the rising numbers of unemployed which have resulted in greater unrest and increased oppressive laws as the government tries to contain the situation.

"(Archbishop Desmond) Tutu does not understand, you don't turn the economy on and off like a tap. He has said that if the Government does certain things he will give the green light and the companies that have disinvested will all come back. But they're all somewhere else — they're either in Taiwan or in eastern Europe, they're not going to come back here."

She still believes strongly in the relevance of Parliament — "short of revolution, how else does one repeal laws?" — and admits she was angry when PFP leader Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine walked out at the start of the 1986 session.

"I was enormously upset. I think it was a very severe blow to the party and I think it contributed quite materially to the lack of success in the '87 elections.

"That was compounded by the radical element refusing to vote, to show solidarity with their disenfranchised black brethren and the Government's very skilful playing up of the security issue and the fact they said we were soft on security.

Mrs Suzman believes the PFP's failing in the 1987 election was a contributing factor for the PFP's decision to merge with the other two "anti-apartheid" parties to form the Democratic Party.

"I feel the leadership should have been non-negotiable. We had the seats in parliament, the others did not .. and we had the grassroots organisation. We had some financial support. All those elements should have contributed to making the leadership non negotiable.

"Instead we have this troika business which has now been perpetuated. I personally don't think it's a good idea at all."

During the decade she visited ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Nelson Mandela on several occasions and is delighted at the recent releases.

"I don't know what the final outcome of all this is to be. If they don't release Nelson Mandela soon, he's going to lose all the influence he has. As it is you can see it shifting away from him...

"I believe he's a very important factor. He's moderate, he understands the fears of minorities. He's a sensible man with his feet on the ground — they ought to have him around."

"I think I raised women's issues back when I was in the United party in the 50s. I raised the issue of separate taxation for married women then, and I raised it over and over and over again

Turning her attention to the present powers that be, Mrs Suzman warns about excessive optimism regarding State President F W de Klerk.

"De Klerk's not here to hand over power. I think he'll go quite a long way in removing what I call the 'outward brutalities' of the system.

"I don't thing we're going to have the same spectre of forced removals with guns and dogs, those scenes have gone, and I don't think they'll come back, but I also don't think he'll hesitate. I mean if there's a concerted march on the Union Buildings, he'll bring out the troops.

"The people are silly if they think he's become a starry-eyed liberal. He's not.

"I like him as a man much more .... well, I mean there's no comparison between him and that dreadful bully (PW Botha). He was a real irritable bully.

"It got to such a stage in Parliament they stopped all interjections when he was speaking because he used to go absolutely mad with rage and lose his temper and say things that were totally inadmissible from the parliamentary point of view."

What are her feelings about leaving Parliament?

"I'm sure I'll have withdrawal symptoms, but I think I got out at the right time. I've seen a lot of things happening, it's not the same old party that I've been battling for and I didn't want to commit myself for another full five-year term.

"I turned 72 in November, it's time to make way for the young people. But old habits die hard — I hear about something or read it in the paper and I think I must raise that during question time in Parliament.

"It will be an interesting five years, my only regret is I won't have a ringside seat."



Mrs Helen Suzman ... many of the recent changes in South Africa were prefigured by her during private members' motions and speeches she delivered during her more than 40 years in the House. For Mrs Suzman, the repeal of the pass laws and influx control and the acceptance of the inevitability of urbanisation were some of the most significant developments of the past decade.

January 1980: Calls for a commission of inquiry into the Department of National Security (formerly the Bureau of State Security).
February 1980: Attacks Government attitudes to abortion in SA during the Abortion and Sterilisation Amendment Bill
February 1980: Government claims it was justified in intercepting Helen Suzman's mail in tracing a member of a "foreign intelligence service" — cites letterheads used by visiting Massachusetts professor Robert Rotberg as proof
December 1980: Receives New York City's mayor's medal.
July 1981: Calls for scrapping of the "obscene" Immorality Act.
August 1981: The Government bulldozes squatter shacks in Nyanga. Suzman slams their actions.
September 1981: Suzman and Bishop Tutu nominated for Nobel Peace prize
Mehlolo Rikhoto case — court rules to allow migrant workers to obtain urban residential rights.
February 1982: Neil Aggett dies in detention. Suzman reads letter in Parliament alleging Aggett was assaulted in detention
August 1982: Celebrates 30th consecutive report-back in her Houghton constituency.
October 1983: Nominated for Nobel Peace Prize.
September 1984: New constitution introduced.
June 1985: Mixed Marriages Act repealed
June 1986: Re-introduction of the State of Emergency.
June 1986: Pass laws repealed
June 1986: Influx Control abolished.
May 1987: Retains Houghton seat.
1989: Announces decision not to stand for election again.
September 1989: Meets British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.
November 1989: Receives honorary title, Dame Commander of the British Empire — her 26th award

304A

DP lauds De Klerk's SA moves

State President Mr F W de Klerk's moves since assuming office were commended by the Democratic Party which said in a New Year's message it would have done the same.

"President de Klerk made a good start .. curbing the power of the securocrats; he has freed some important political prisoners ... reduced the period of military service and .. announced the partial repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

THREE LEADERS

"We are glad and grateful that these actions have been taken, all of which we have called for and had we been in power we would have done ourselves," said the message issued by all three leaders of the party — Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wyanand Malan.

The DP warned that Mr de Klerk's agenda was one which clung to group-based constitutional thinking which implied authoritarian rule because of the untenability of group thinking.

Short of revolution the only way there would be a goverment which would have the "credibility of the people" was through negotiation. — Sapa.

Shift to tolerance applauded

'Significant change' in 100 days

304A

Star 29/12/89

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr FW de Klerk's first 100 days in office could have ushered in one of the most significant shifts ever made by an Afrikaner Government, according to a *Financial Times* assessment published in Lon don yesterday.

South African correspondent Patti Waldmeir said the President's decision to ease up on the levers of control was the most important, and riskiest of his first 100 days in office, which ended yesterday.

"This shift from repression to tolerance — not yet complete by any means, but well under way — could prove one of the most significant ever made by an Afrikaner government."

Waldmeir recounted the steps taken by Mr de Klerk: "It was a full programme for 100 days, and one which earned praise from almost everyone to the left of the ultra-right Conservative Party. Even black activists admit — grudgingly and suspiciously — that Mr de Klerk has scarcely put a foot wrong.

"He did, none the less, make one serious false step: the decision earlier this month to reject pressure for a judicial inquiry into political assassinations by South African security officers."

She said a simple catalogue of presidential acts could not, on its own, capture the "extraordinary change in atmosphere"

"What once seemed impossible now appears likely: the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, in an atmosphere of relative calm, the beginning of negotiations which will lead to some form of franchise for blacks."

However, it would "be foolish to expect talks to enter a constructive phase" for some time.

FW did what DP would have done

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's moves since assuming office were commended yesterday by the Democratic Party which said in a new year message that it would have done the same. b1Dam 29112489

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"We are glad and grateful that these actions have been taken, all of which we have called for and, had we been in power, we would have done ourselves," said party leaders Denis Worrall, Zach de Beer and Wynand Malan.

The DP warned that De Klerk's agenda was one which clung to group-based constitutional thinking and which implied authoritarian rule because of the untenability of group thinking.

The only way there would be a government having the "credibility of the people" would be by negotiation. (30(4)A)

"We need to introduce into our society the principles of equal and equivalent franchise for all adults, the effective protection of individual and minority rights, freedom in economic, social and political matters, as well as an independent judiciary and the rule of law."

This, the DP said, would eliminate all discrimination or privilege based on race or sex. — Sapa.

Business, govt move closer

BIDay 29/12/87

BENJAMIN COCKRAM

BETTER relations between government and businessmen can be expected following a recent meeting between organised business and President F W de Klerk and several cabinet ministers, says the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry's latest bulletin.

The bulletin says the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) took the opportunity during the meeting to stress the need for evolutionary constitutional reform based on a sound economy.

De Klerk responded by saying he agreed and that SA's economic problems were partly due to its political problems. The matter was being given attention by the Economic Advisory Council (EAC).

The bulletin says De Klerk was sympathetic to the viewpoint that business should be represented on the EAC.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers told the business delegation of his plans to revise the financial management system of the public sector and to introduce more cost-effective principles into the civil service.

He said in his opinion the biggest problem facing SA was inflation, and concerted efforts by the public and private sectors to combat this would lead to a higher level of productivity.

The delegation told Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that an improvement in the pay, working conditions and equipment of the police force — and a substantial increase in the strength of the SAP — should be facilitated in next year's Budget.

On the subject of a state/provincial lottery, the bulletin says Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said money from such lotteries should go to essential social services such as hospitals and schools.

Tax reform

304A

Talks on the implementation of a Bill of Rights were discussed with Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, the bulletin says.

Attention was drawn to the need to reduce personal and corporate income tax rates, scrap the double taxation of dividends and address the effect of "fiscal drag" on tax paid at moderate income levels.

It was also stressed, says the bulletin, that real tax reform was possible only when reform of government expenditure took place, and there were welcome indications that this question was being addressed.

it's over to FW and the ANC as they take a hard look at the future

990 PEACE HOPES HIGH



PRESIDENT DE KLERK

van HEERDEN

RICA enters a and a new ith its long- roblems tanta- ser to solution.

irst weeks of 1990, future shape and xpected to become h the Government take a hard and at their agendas.

are being pinned on de Klerk when he nt on February 2 — a l be the most impor- eer.

Monday, the recently ANC leaders are t for the first time in 25 r exiled colleagues in

say discussions will overnment's response to ment moves towards

e Klerk's agenda will eep the political initia- zed over the last few



What I want for future, by TV angel Pieter

By BOETI ESHAK

SINGING in the changes for the '90s ... that's young choirboy Pieter Engelbrecht, 11, who has touched the hearts of millions of TV viewers every night this holiday season. Says the youngster with the angelic face: "I hope South w'll be able to

Carry on having a party!

BUT NOT IN NATAL

WARN KILLJOY COPS

BY CAROL KERRIGAN

NEVER on a Sunday will be kicked into touch tonight as South Africa dances its way into the new decade.

Despite antiquated anti-liquor and revelling laws governing Sundays, most of the nation has been given carte blanche to carry on celebrating.

Public-spirited policemen will be turning a cautious, but blind eye to high-spirited New Year festivities.

But Natal is definitely NOT the place to be if you want to enjoy yourself on the town tonight. The long arm of the law there says it will be out in force.

So as champagne corks pop, streamers fly and party-goers dance in downtown Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town at the stroke of midnight, Durban's new decade will be high and dry and boogie-free on the streets.

Hundreds of extra cops have been called in to patrol the Golden Mile tonight as Natal police have decided to stick to the letter of the law ... come hell or New Year.

The Liquor Act says that all bars and bottle stores must close on Sundays. Restaurants may serve alcohol until 9pm and nightclubs until 11.30pm, but only with a proper meal.

Drinking in public places is never allowed and the ancient Defamation of the Sabbath Act, introduced in the Transvaal in President Kruger's day, still means that dancing on a Sunday is illegal.

Said Durban's chief of the Narcotics and Alcohol Bureau, Major Vlaggies Roux: "My men will be out keeping a careful watch on liquor establishments and we will not hesitate to prosecute establishments contravening the Act."

Condemn

He also warned that stern action would be taken against revellers drinking in the streets or on the beaches.

Twenty people were arrested for liquor-related offences on Durban's beachfront over the Christmas weekend.

Captain Coert Marais, police spokesman for Natal, said: "Obviously we expect people to enjoy themselves but not by breaking the law."

Police in Durban will also be monitoring a rock concert on the Village Green starring Lucky Dube for signs of drinking and dancing.

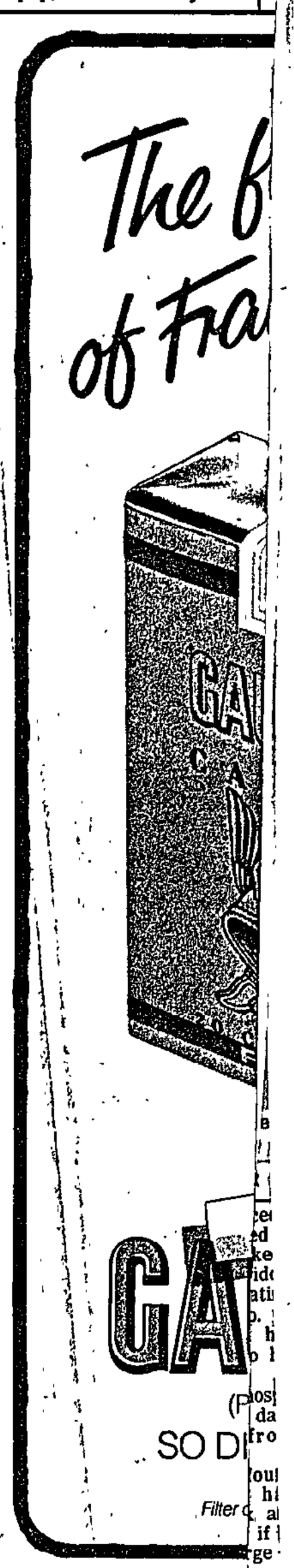
The chairman of the Federated Hotel and Liquor Association of South Africa in Durban, Mr Alan Gooderson, said: "Anyone would think we were still living in the Dark Ages here the way the police behave.

"We have been trying for years to bring in free trading and licensing laws on Sundays in line with the rest of the Western world but to no avail.

"Police must obviously act if there are complaints or

□ To Page 2

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.



1990 peace hopes high

To Page 2 (3041)

ment's reform moves since Mr De Klerk took over in September.

The first months of 1990 will be hectic for Mr De Klerk with a number of important matters requiring his urgent attention:

● The state of emergency may be on its last legs. Mr De Klerk is expected to announce the scrapping of the media regulations early in the new year as a prelude to scrapping its extraordinary powers altogether;

● The growing crisis in black education culminating in the dismal 1989 matriculation results. The Government will also come under Opposition fire for the gross irregularities in the Department of Education and Training revealed by the Van Der Heever Commission.

● The furore over police hit-squad allegations has presented Mr De Klerk with the greatest challenge of his career.

His refusal to appoint a judicial commission to investigate the allegations has drawn widespread criticism which increases the pressure on him to move swiftly to punish the guilty; Star 31/12/89

Violence

● The Government's decision to allow protest marches and meetings has drawn praise from most quarters. The challenge facing Mr De Klerk is how to continue this process without letting it get out of hand;

● The violence in Natal has assumed alarming proportions and Mr De Klerk may announce strong moves to curb it;

● He will have to deal with increasing calls to allow white government schools to enrol black pupils and to revise the hardline decision to transfer the responsibility for provincial hospitals to the white own-affairs administration;

● Overriding all decisions are the Government's efforts to bring the economy back on an even keel. This year's Budget — to be delivered in March by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — is expected to contain severe cutbacks in Government spending, especially in the Defence Department.

On the legislative front, 1990 is expected to be an exceptionally busy year. Major moves include:

● The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act and the opening up of all public facilities to all races. However, the big test for the De Klerk Government will be how to deal with intransigent rightwing municipalities which refuse to comply;

● The softening of the Illegal Squatting Bill and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill which have already resulted in strikes and protest marches across the country;

● Tackling the Group Areas Act and expanding free settlement areas to eventually include entire metropolitan areas;

● Amending the Constitution to allow the appointment of black Cabinet Ministers.

Pace

Government sources predict that Mr De Klerk may announce the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate all remaining apartheid laws and to make recommendations on how they can be scrapped. He is also expected to expand on the Government's response to the Olivier Commission's report on a Bill of Human Rights for South Africa.

The pace of the reform process will to a large degree determine the success Mr De Klerk will enjoy in his efforts to expand South Africa's foreign relations.

Nearer home, the Government will have to expand diplomatic relations with the new Swapo government in Namibia and deal with moves initiated by Transkei to scrap its independence and to return to the South African fold.

31/12/89

304A

EVITA BEZUIDENHOUT'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE:

South Africa: The future is certain. It's the past that is unpredictable

Issued by the Bapetikosweti Bureau for Information

MRS EVITA BEZUIDENHOUT, South African Ambassador to the Independent Homeland Republic of Bapetikosweti, was on her way to the Victor Verster Prison to have an Old Year brunch with Nelson Mandela.

She had just popped into Tuynhuys to feed the cat as a favour to Marike de Klerk, who is in Natal with the State President. She said:

"The cat is called Hendrik. It walked into Parliament in Dr Verwoerd's time and not even the Bothas could frighten it away.

Nelson Mandela is of course a close friend of mine, and although in the past it has been illegal to quote anything about anyone, in the new South Africa one will be able to do anything illegal as long as it's not too irritating.

That's the brilliance of F W de Klerk. He rushed in where Crocodiles feared to tread and blinded the world prejudice with his Mona Lisa smile and quick decisions.

Opening the beaches was one of the cleverest things I ever saw an Afrikaans politician do since Dr Verwoerd threw up the dove of peace at the birth of the Republic and the damn *voël*just sat on the ground.

Laugh

Of course, with the opening of the beaches to all races go the removal of all the shark nets, so let's cross our fingers.

The next decade is going to be a time of change and upheaval. Look at Europe? They are now even nostalgic about the Iron Curtain because at least that kept a lid on everything. Now, with democracy breaking out everywhere, each little ethnic group wants its own language and flag and country and opera house, so back to 1914 they go.

Here in South Africa we have always said ethnic diversity is a priority and they laughed at us. They banned us from the Olympics. They threw our Outspan oranges down the toilet. But they are now coming round to our way of thinking.

Of course there's nothing I can do about it: South Africa will always be years ahead of anyone else — when the world goes left, we go right; when the world goes right, we go wrong. And now that communism is as much of a disaster as apartheid what do we present in the new decade?

Our alternative society plans based on a socialist/marxist/communist South Africa? Over my dead body. Someone must tell them that the last comrade was executed in Rumania on Christmas Day.

But otherwise there won't be much change. The rand will be worth less and less until it goes away completely; our form of democracy will be so broadened that it will give the vote to dogs, cats and nag-apies.

There will be no revolution in South Africa in the '90s, but the struggle for peace will leave no stone unturned.

The policy of the Government towards the blacks is underlined by the opening of the beaches: Give them what they think they never had and they'll be so happy they'll forget what they wanted in the first place.

The Separate Amenities Act will be scrapped. There is no point to it. Amenities are so expensive all over the country that no other minorities can afford to go to them. (For "other minorities" read Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Venda, Sotho etc.) Maggie Thatcher will visit South Africa and be photographed arm-in-arm with Nelson Mandela when he is freed. He then will go back to Soweto where he will have to find out what it's like to live with his wife.

Pieces of the Berlin Wall have been bought by our brilliant Minister of Finance — who single-handedly changed R2 into 20c — and will be erected around Walvis Bay.

Some homelands will be re-incorporated with South Africa because we can't afford to pay them to stay away. My homeland of Bapetikosweti is an exception as Pik also has a farm there.

Smile

An extra parliament will be added to our existing tricameral system. This will accommodate democratically elected black representatives and will change the name of Parliament to the Quadriplegic System of Democratic Government.

Otherwise, as we go into the '90s we are still in a state of emergency, so I cannot tell you more. We will not remove the troops from the townships, but rather remove the townships.

The Group Areas Act will become less of a problem and more a way of life when we change the name to the unmemorable BYLAW 3348976654378/45b.

The fashion colour of the '90s is grey, the "in thing" is to smile at everything, like that charming face on the new stamps, and everyone will be happy as long as they mind their own business. Yes, South Africa, the future is certain. It's the past that is unpredictable.

And with that she placed the caviar on the cat's plate and loaded Nelson's bullybeef into the boot of her BMW.

P.T.O.



The South African Ambassador to the Republic of Bapetikosweti, the Honourable Mrs Evita Bezuidenhout, and friend.
Picture courtesy of the Bapetikosweti Bureau for Information



P W BOTHA

'History may spare a kindly word for the Groot Krokodil. After all, it was he who took his finger out of the dyke'

NOW FOR THE



David Welsh

professor of southern African studies at UCT, examines the traumatic '80s and how South Africa will fare as the reform rollercoaster gains momentum

AS the year and the decade draw to a close, South Africans of all political persuasions are conscious that history is rapidly unfolding.

For South Africa the '80s have been both traumatic and momentous. We face the '90s conscious that the real Rubicon is very close.

Alan Paton used to say that he knew of no other country in which pessimism and optimism could alternate as rapidly as in South Africa. And this year ends with a cautious sense of optimism across the land.

We are on a rollercoaster of change and, like it or not, the frantic pace is likely to be maintained.

1984 came and went, and Orwell would be pleased at the way in which totalitarian systems have crumbled.

The democratic ideal has made striking advances in much of Latin America, in the Soviet Bloc and elsewhere. With striking exceptions — such as Botswana and Mauritius — much of Africa has unhappily remained in the thrall of ineffective, authoritarian government.

The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was, arguably, the most important event of this century. The most important events of this decade have undoubtedly been those associated with the decline of Marxism-Leninism as a credible ideology.

With breathtaking speed, one domino after another has toppled in Eastern Europe, leaving only quaint relics of the original faith — like Albania — seemingly intact.

The personification of this process has, of course, been Mikhail Gorbachev, but what has happened is vastly more than the efforts of one (admittedly remarkable) man. He has been the conduit through which has flowed the recognition of traditional-style communism's bankruptcy and the massive popular desire for freedom.

Apocalyptic

In a much-debated essay published this year, an obscure American bureaucrat named Francis Fukuyama proclaimed that the events of this decade marked not only the end of the Cold War, but the end of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.

While I do not necessarily share Fukuyama's apocalyptic faith (nor, indeed, any kind of historicism) I am struck by the growing worldwide consensus that multi-party democratic systems — resting on secured human rights and the rule of law and driven by market economies — offer the best chance of achieving growth, freedom and equality. "Scientific socialism" is dead — may it be buried very deep.

It is ironic that South Africa, with its history of ferocious anti-communist legislation, should be one of the few remaining states in which the Communist Party rides high in popular esteem and the tired rhetoric of old-style socialism still evokes a response.

It is apparent, though, that the adherents of traditional Marxism-Leninism are few. Even leading lights in the South African Communist Party, after decades of silence about communism's excesses, have begun to sound like born-again democrats.

ments, the question of how to make South Africa a less unequal society shifted to near the top of the agenda in the '80s and it will become priority number one in the '90s.

Popular pressures for "redistribution" and insufficient resources to meet demands do not make a stable basis for democratic government.

Our best minds, from right across the political spectrum, will have to debate the issue. Perhaps it is a Utopian hope, but I have long believed that a charter of distributive justice might accompany a political settlement and thereby help to depoliticise what will otherwise be an issue whose potential divisiveness could wreck a fragile democratic system.

Exotic

A feature of the late '80s was the growing frequency of indabas at which crucial issues were frankly debated across wide ideological divides — on occasion including even National Party representatives.

These have usually occurred in exotic places like Bermuda, Paris, New York or Lusaka. In the '90s it is imperative that they take place inside South Africa.

This eventful decade has shown many things, but none more clearly than the fundamental interdependence of black political future is going to be shaped by huge issues like population growth, urbanisation, the control of AIDS and management of the environment.

Separately or together these issues can have a cataclysmic impact. They can be tackled effectively only by a government that enjoys broad legitimacy.

That, in my view, is the principal lesson that we should learn from the '80s: We must learn to co-operate peacefully or allow conflict to devastate our society.

The major event or process of the '80s will be a matter of debate: Afrikaner nationalism split irrevocably; the ANC enjoyed a major resurgence; more than 4 000 lives were lost in violence and the Namibian incubus was finally shaken off.

Merely itemising these processes, however, conceals a larger dynamic that is powerfully affecting South Africa. Conflicts can be terminated or regulated when the antagonists mutually recognise that they are locked into a no-win situation and that the conflict can be prolonged only at serious cost.

I may be over-optimistic but my belief is that South Africa has reached that critical stage of mutual recognition and that the principal adversaries are skirmishing around to find a negotiating formula.

The decade has witnessed the mobilisation of black political and I sense that F W de Klerk is intelligent enough to have grasped what is going on and to recognise that even the most sophisticated counter-revolutionary techniques (like the now discredited "WHAM") will fail lamentably unless demands for basic human rights are satisfied. In their different ways Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia convey the same message.

The symbolism of this year's meetings between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr P W Botha and then Mr De Klerk is profound. It represents acquiescence to the view that Mr Mandela and the ANC are major actors who will have to be party to any durable accommodation.

Spinning

In turn this development complements a decisive shift in National Party thinking — the abandonment of the "separate nation" idea and the acceptance of South Africa as "one undivided state with one citizenship for all". The question now is not whether Africans will be incorporated into government, but when and how. The late Dr H F Verwoerd must be spinning in his grave.

Mr P W Botha incurred odium for his graceless exit from the State Presidency. He made the mistake of isolating himself from his power base and paid the price when he found that support for him in the caucus was minimal.

He is associated above all with a bullying style, disastrous cross-border raids, a predisposition to listen to securocrats and the foolish doctrine of the "total onslaught". His Rubicon speech of 1985 knocked South Africa down to Third World status and made inevitable the imposition of far-reaching sanctions in 1986.

We also associate Mr Botha with whose inception was a major trigger of the violence that began in late 1984 and plunged the Government into its deepest-ever crisis of legitimacy. Constitutions are supposed to regulate political conflict — tricam simply exacerbated it.

The ferociously wagging forefinger and the bellicose visage are still too fresh in our consciousness for a proper perspective of the Botha presidency.

Yet the historian of the future may, with the wisdom of hindsight, spare a few kindly words for Die Groot Krokodil. After all it was he more than anyone else who took his finger out of the dyke by abandoning major pillars of traditional apartheid, such as the view that urban Africans were "temporary sojourners" and recognising African trade unions. Pandora's Box was irrevocably opened.

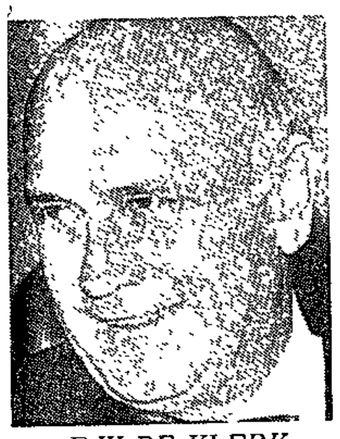
It was Mr Botha, too, who engineered the breakaway of Dr Andries Treurnicht and the Conservatives, thereby enabling the National Party at least to begin the painful process of groping towards the idea of South Africa as "one undivided state".

Irreverent

No account of politicians who retired in 1989 could omit respectful mention of Helen Suzman, who bowed out after 36 years of indomitable parliamentary opposition.

The accolades bestowed on her are deserved. As an old friend I may be permitted to add my own tribute, which focuses not on her public persona but her private self — warm, generous, irreverent and vibrant.

For me her outstanding quality



F W DE KLERK

'FW is smart enough to realise the most dangerous thing a politician can do in a tinder-dry society like ours is to arouse expectations that cannot be met'

Star 31/12/89

(304A)

DECISIVE DECADE

From opposite page

her sheer decency. She is a sprightly 71: I hope her retirement from Parliament does not mean retirement from public life.

Mr De Klerk's accession to the State Presidency has evoked optimism, even euphoria. His style is different from his predecessor's and he seems committed to political, as opposed to coercive, forms of rule.

He is affable, intelligent and rational, capable of appreciating quicker than most that the days of exclusive white control are numbered.

Dangerous

But I remain cautious about bestowing praise on him. I recall vividly how Mr John Vorster's golf-playing bonhomie and his "give-us-six-months" plea created false optimism — and how Mr Botha's famous "adapt or die" speech at Upington in 1979 aroused expectations that could not be met

Mr De Klerk is smart enough to realise that the most dangerous thing a politician can do in a tinder-dry society like ours is to emulate his predecessors in this respect. He must also realise that another cycle of countrywide violence will have even more serious consequences than that of 1984-6.

So far he has done well, although I am intensely critical of his refusal to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of officially condoned "hit squads".

His major task is to establish his bona fides and credibility across as wide a sweep of the population as possible. The refusal to appoint a judicial commission inevitably heightens suspicion among precisely those whose suspicions he most needs to allay.

We are a long way away from the initiation of formal negotiations — indeed much further than the optimistic mood in the country might suggest.

In ideological terms, the Government and its principal adversaries remain poles apart. There are, however, legitimate grounds for optimism in the commendable restraint with which both the Government and the MDM have so far behaved.

Negotiation depends on the climate in which it is conducted and the chemistry that is generated among the negotiators. It would be unwise to expect too much too soon, but beneath the posturing and rhetoric about preconditions and "non-negotiable demands" there has emerged what is almost a national mood, saying "get on with it!"

Much of the '90s will be taken up with the question of constitution-building. South Africans will watch eagerly what emerges from Namibia's Constituent Assembly and, even more, how the constitution works in practice.

Voluntary

If I am right about the growing mutual perception of deadlock and the consequent desire to break out of it, then it follows that when constitutional negotiations are ultimately started no one party will be able to impose its own blueprint on a constitutional *tabula rasa*. Compromise will be the name of the game.

It seems impossible to imagine that there could be any common ground between the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines of 1988 and the National Party's Proposed Plan of Action issued prior to the election of September 6. The former is resolutely nonracial, the latter is resolutely group-based. Is compromise in any form possible?

This will be the big question in the '90s. If the Nationalists allow voluntary group formation and the ANC/MDM recognise that minorities (however configured) have legitimate fears that are not entirely the malignant residue of racism, then a zone of negotiable compromise opens up.

We live in a society that is obsessed by gut-political issues. Yet it has become obvious that politics do not exist in a vacuum. Universally, the '80s have seen environmental issues assuming major dimensions.

A Wildlife Society survey carried out among candidates in the 1989 election showed that shamefully few politicians were concerned about environmental issues. This will have to change because South Africa faces an environmental crisis.

General Smuts is said (perhaps apocryphally) to have answered the question "What is South Africa's most pressing problem?" with the words "soil erosion".

When you consider that South Africa loses annually an estimated 300-400 million tons of soil and that it is an agriculturally poor country prone to devastating droughts with a population that doubles every 30 years, you realise that General Smuts was being deadly serious.

Difficult

At a recent conference in Cape Town there was a general consensus among environmentalists that the South African climate would become more variable and that by the middle of the next century South Africa will have warmed by an average of 3°C — meaning that the country will become even dryer.

During 1989 well-conceived environmental legislation was placed on the statute book but the indications are that it will be difficult to enforce because it encroaches on the turf of different ministries, each of which has to assent to enforcement.

It is imperative that politicians become aware of these creeping constraints because, in the final analysis, environmental protection is perhaps the crucial political issue.



SUNDAY TIMES

Perspectives

304A

Sta

Shades of the

RONALD REAGAN was fond of quoting a song by an obscure American pop group, Timbukthree: "... the future's so bright, I have to wear shades."

Now, with the advent of the third millennium a mere cockstride away, the words have taken on a whole new meaning. Suddenly, within one year, the world has become a far better place to live.

Tyranny is on the retreat across the globe. From Panama where Pineapple Face Noriega is being flushed out by American GIs armed with rock music and boom boxes to Rumania where the world's worst dictator and his high-living wife met ignominious death.

Everywhere fledgling democracies seem to be sprouting. The Philippines under Corazon Aquino are experiencing turbulent times but it is still a far cry from the bad old days of the Marcos regime.

The prospects for some relief for the wretched people of Kampuchea are good. In Eastern Europe the heel of oppression has been lifted from the necks of those who suffered so much for so long.

The flames of regional conflicts that have punctuated the globe throughout the '80s are glowing dimmer. Munition plants are closing down and shadowy arms merchants are left twiddling their thumbs.

It is almost as if the words of the prophet Isaiah are coming true: "Swords are being beaten into ploughshares."

A few tough questions remain to be resolved — but Angola, Mozambique and the Ogaden seem trivial compared to East Germany. Northern Ireland? A family squabble. Nicaragua? A regional skirmish that can be mopped up easily.

Temptation

Only two world issues seem to be intractable: The Middle East and the last white redoubt of southern Africa.

Political romantics will be tempted to predict that South Africa is the likeliest candidate to be next in line for fundamental changes. After all, they would argue, nobody believed a mere six months ago that the communist regimes of Eastern Europe would topple like skittles in a bowling alley.

Please note, they would say, that we are not talking banana republics here. East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were highly developed, industrialised countries. The regimes were protected by a sophisticated military and intelligence apparatus that quickly snuffed out the slightest semblance of unorthodoxy or opposition.

If the people have tasted change they will not be satisfied with half-measures, it is suggested. When freedom is on the march, who will stop it?

It is an alluring argument but not wholly applicable to South Africa.

What took place in Eastern Europe was less the result of internal developments than events happening outside the countries' borders — the ripples of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika.

Developments within the Soviet Union forced him to lay the Brezhnev Doctrine to rest. No longer would the Soviet Union use its military might to intervene in the internal affairs of its satellites in the Warsaw Pact countries. Moscow had enough economic, political and ethnic woes of its own to become embroiled in the politics of its neighbours.

The retreat from Afghanistan was the first real proof of the changing policy. The next evidence was the cold shoulder the Soviet Union is turning to Cuba and Nicaragua. Another facet is Russia twisting the arms of its MPLA clients in Angola, Swapo and the ANC to exchange fighting for talking.

Topple

And when the people of East Berlin, Prague and Bucharest finally realised that the Red tanks would not come rolling across their borders, they started successful popular uprisings against governments that did not enjoy any legitimacy among the masses anyway.

South Africa is a horse of a somewhat different colour. For one, there is no regional superpower in play wielding similar power. And the legitimacy of the De Klerk government, albeit rule by a rapidly diminishing minority, remains untouched in those vital areas where the security of the state is being safeguarded.

Booing Mr De Klerk on Church Square, seizing Auckland Park and holding John Bishop hostage or occupying the Johannesburg Stock Exchange — as elements of the Mass Democratic Movement have recently suggested may be the panacea — will not topple the regime. The best new decade's resolution both i and the liberat bodied by the A would be to reali all, that only a tion can bring to South Africa'

Sun

The ANC may up the armed Government

Dries van Heerden



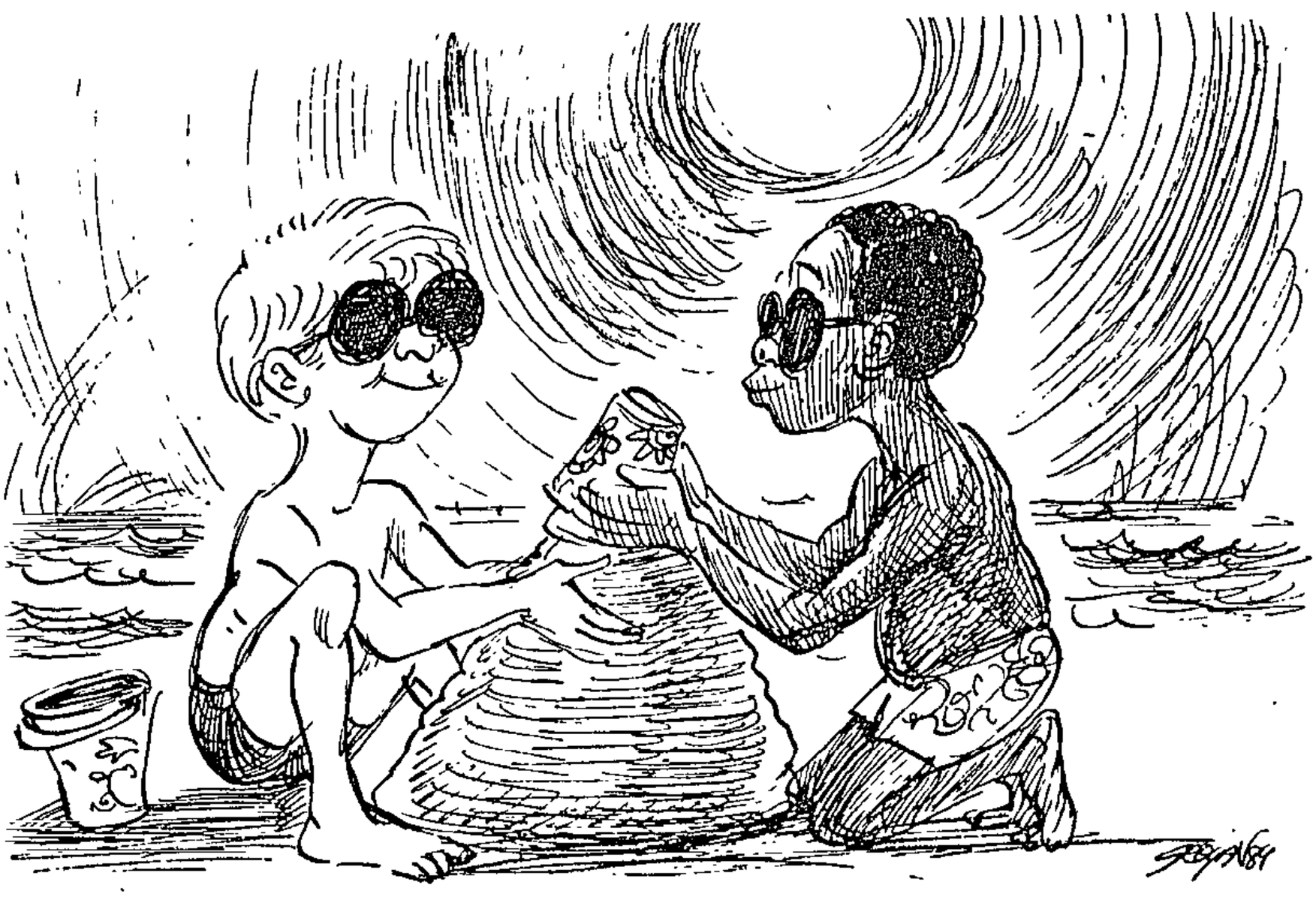
suggests that the future looks so promising we should all invest in a pair of good quality sunglasses



TJ
BEST VALUE

of the new SA

Star 31/12/89



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Booing Mr De Klerk on Church Square, seizing Auckland Park and holding John Bishop hostage or occupying the Johannesburg Stock Exchange — as elements of the Mass Democratic Movement have recently suggested may be the panacea — will not topple the regime. The best new decade's resolution both the Government and the liberation struggle (embodied by the ANC) could take would be to realise, once and for all, that only a negotiated solution can bring lasting solutions to South Africa's conundrum.

Survival

The ANC may threaten to step up the armed struggle and the Government may counter by promising tougher action, but both sides should by now have come to realise it is more a case of flexing the muscles to impress the opposition.

The real battlefield will be the round table where the real test of strength will be how much can be gained in the cut-and-thrust atmosphere of negotiations.

It is in this sense that the 80s draw to a close on an optimistic note. There are ample indications that both sides are starting to realise that those who want to preserve everything run the real risk of losing everything.

Subtle shifts in government pronouncements in recent weeks indicate that certain policy positions are not, after all, the immovable bedrock of white survival that the electorate was led to believe in the past.

The Group Areas Act is rapidly becoming a dead letter. Talk of an internal black election to determine the "real leaders" has diminished to a whisper. The group dogma itself is no longer non-negotiable.

Whipped

No one in government insists, any more, that the ANC must renounce violence before it can sit down at the negotiating table. The accepted new formula is "commitment to a peaceful solution".

Simultaneously the ANC is showing that it, too, can be flexible without selling out in the eyes of its supporters. The armed struggle has dwindled to isolated incidents. Covert — and sometimes even overt — meetings with members of the ruling establishment are taking place with increasing frequency. Radical voices that express dissenting views are quickly whipped back in line.

All of this augurs well for the future. No one should expect quick fixes or glib solutions. There may still be a few speed humps on the road to freedom and democracy for all South Africans.

But there is no denying that the future is going to be bright.

South Africans — of all shades — could do well to invest in some quality sunglasses.

TUESDAY

NEW YEAR EDITION

TUESDAY

BEST VALUE

the story of the hijacking of a Russian plane last year.

Last December five Soviet robbers seized a busload of [illegible]

Pik puts blame on East Europe

304A

Star 31/12/89

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday called on local leaders and organisations "still committed to the outdated policies of Eastern Europe" to show their willingness to change.

Reacting to a New Year's message by Organisation of African Unity secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim, Mr Botha said the South African Government had already provided ample proof of its commitment to remove obstacles in the way of negotiation.

Regimes

But he said the process was being delayed by certain organisatons which had, over the years, had close contacts with the recently deposed leaderships of certain Eastern European countries.

He said it was the political policies and economic programmes of those Eastern European regimes which made those countries poor and their people oppressed.

"These programmes are surprisingly still encouraged by some groups and parties inside South Africa.

Free

"We hope they will come to their senses and realise what consequences it will have for all South Africans.

"The essence of the message of Eastern Europe's ideological revolutions was power sharing," he said.

The Government was committed to creating a new SA based on free and just constitutional, social and economic systems and to removing obstacles.

"The aim is to get rid of all discrimination. Apartheid is no longer the policy of the SA government," he said.

LP leaders beat off challenge

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party congress this week exposed the growing rift between a conservative faction loyal to the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Young Turks bent on hijacking the party and bringing it into line with more progressive political forces.

This emerged on Friday, the last day of the 24th annual congress of the party in Kimberley, when several unsuccessful challenges to the existing leadership were made.

Meanwhile, the feud between Mr Hendrickse and the expelled party trustee, Mr Roy Williams, over the handling of a trust fund, rages on unabated.

Six days before he received his marching orders, Mr Williams wrote a letter to the manager of a large commercial bank instructing him to stop immediately a R1-million "credit line" facility of the Labour Party on the basis that it had been transacted without consulting him as trustee.

MPs and members of the PC pay R400 a month towards the fund, Deputy Ministers and Ministerial Representatives R500 and Ministers R600.

Mr Williams was the first who dared to rock the boat and strip away the veneer of general satisfaction with the "Hendrickse family" clan-like control of the party.

While Mr Hendrickse — and his deputy, Mr Miley Richards — weathered the storms successfully for the time being, another of his most trusted allies, Mr Chris April, Minister of Health and Welfare Services, was ousted as national vice-president.

He was replaced by Dr Willie Hoods, of Pretoria, a member of the Transvaal Provincial Executive.

Narrow

Mr April first challenged Minister Andrew Julies for the position of national chairman but lost out badly.

Another Hendrickse loyalist and Deputy Minister of Education, Mr Abe Williams, retained his position as national secretary with a narrow margin — 463 votes against 309.

Two other Hendrickse men were ousted from their positions: Mr Billy Ross was voted out as national treasurer and succeeded by Mr Paul Kleinsmidt, MP for Elsies River and one of the MPs identifying with the more "verligte" faction.

Another Hendrickse loyalist, Mr Kenny Lategan, MP for Hanover Park, lost out as national organiser to a nominated MP, Mr Jannie Douw, a rising star in the party.

Even Mr Hendrickse's son, Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo, was challenged for the position of national PRO by Mr Peter Marais, of the PC, but he won comfortably.

Dramatic

The new developments mean that Mr Hendrickse will enter the New Year with a new leadership team that is bound to check, balance and question his running of the party far more decisively.

The congress kicked off on a dramatic note on Wednesday when, hours before Mr Hendrickse delivered the opening address, he fired trustee, Mr Roy Williams, a member of the PC and Prieska millionaire.

Mr Williams appeared before the LP national executive for having questioned the way the leader was running the LP's "discretionary fund".

Mr Hendrickse later insisted the handling of the fund was his own indaba and nobody had the right to question it, nor was he accountable to anybody.

The charge against Mr Williams was that he had contravened the party's constitution by giving confidential information to unauthorised persons — in this case the Press.

Mr Williams said yesterday he had taken legal advice and threatened court action against Mr Hendrickse to force him to reveal details on the fund.