

S. A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1990

OCT.

ANC 'insisting' on urgent summit

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

The African National Congress (ANC) insisted today that it wanted an urgent full summit with the Government before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour next Monday.

The Government has told the ANC it is not in favour of such a summit, as it does not believe it could achieve much now.

Although the Government is reluctant to hold a summit, it seems prepared to do so if the ANC remains adamant.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation's top leadership had decided at its recent three-day national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg that it would ask for an urgent summit with the Government to discuss a number of important

issues, notably the status of talks between the two parties.

"Our position on the meeting is clear," Miss Marcus said. "We want a full five-a-side summit as was held in Pretoria on August 6, constituting the same team of delegates."

"It is not just a third summit, but is an essential meeting to review the situation and where we go from here. It also has nothing to do with the working of the joint working groups."

'Cavalier'

"It is a special summit which the ANC wants, and if the Government is going to be cavalier about it, then that's a problem."

Miss Marcus said the ANC would push for this summit to be held this week before Mr Mandela

leaves on a three-week seven-nation tour of Asia and France.

Though the Government does not favour a summit with the ANC at present, it is optimistic that the stalled peace process is starting to move again.

Senior Government sources said at the weekend that with the slump in township violence and the resolution of the "Hani affair", they now believed the six-week-old impasse in negotiations could be over.

The return to South Africa at the weekend of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani has raised the hopes of both the Government and the ANC. Mr Hani returned from Umtata after the Government restored the temporary immunity against arrest which it revoked in August after he had uttered militant statements.

Hidden forces claims to be discussed

Peace process enters delicate phase

THE peace process enters a delicate phase this week as the Government and the ANC make tentative moves to get delayed negotiations going again.

On the cards is a summit between the ANC and the Government on negotiations and ways of ending township violence.

Although the Government is reluctant to hold such a summit - believing it will achieve little - it seems to be prepared to do so if the ANC insists.

Senior sources said at the weekend that the Government was reluctant to accede to the ANC's request last week for a third summit meeting this week.

Sowetan 11/10/90
They said there was little point in a summit as the joint Government/ANC working groups involved in the nitty-gritty of negotiations had little progress to report.

Government believed in particular that before another summit takes place, there must be progress in the working group discussing the practical implications of the ANC's suspension of armed activities.

This group has met three times but has done little more than set an agenda. Its work has been hampered by the controversy over Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani, the ANC's chief rep-

resentative on the group who has so far been unable to attend because the Government withdrew his immunity against arrest.

Government sources said now that Hani's immunity against arrest had been restored and he would be attending the meetings, they expected progress to be made.

Negotiation

The group would meet this week and thereafter weekly. The sources expressed confidence that these meetings would give new momentum to the stalled negotiation process.

These views had been con-

veyed to the ANC and the Government was now awaiting its reply.

But the sources indicated that if the ANC insisted on a summit, the Government would agree to it.

ANC sources insist the organisation is very serious about the need for a summit, mainly to discuss the Government's "Iron Fist" security measures aimed at snuffing out township violence.

Privately and publicly, ANC leaders have been saying that the iron fist measures are intended to thwart their efforts to mobilise support, rather than to smother violence. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

ANC plans to enter white political arena

B/Dm 11/10/90

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would challenge political parties which regarded the white community as their sole preserve and fight to win the allegiance of their members, Western Cape ANC leader Reg September said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 500 delegates at one of the ANC's first regional congresses since it was banned almost 30 years ago, he said one of the movement's most important challenges in the Western Cape was to build unity between people across colour lines.

He had recently addressed ANC branch meetings with white memberships as large as the entire regional membership of the former Congress of Democrats.

"This is clearly important, but surely only the beginning. We will need to make it clear that the white population is not only the preserve of the existing political parties — the Nats, DP and CP. We shall also have to challenge these parties and win the allegiance of people in the white community."

However, the Western Cape ANC's primary responsibility was to draw the growing African population into its ranks and to counteract any racialism which its enemies would like to foster.

LESLEY LAMBERT

"We have had enough of racial clashes," he said.

Earlier, ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi accused government of having a double agenda: to negotiate with the ANC in response to international pressure, but at the same time to weaken the ANC by promoting violence.

Government was placing obstacles in the path of the ANC by keeping national executive committee member Mac Maharaj and other activists in detention.

Rivalry

The ANC had launched about 315 branches which had attracted a wide cross-section of South Africans.

The Western Cape congress seemed set to start off on a bad footing as rumours emerged on Friday of rivalry between the Bonteheuvel supporters of two ANC heavyweights, Cheryl Carolus — a member of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks — and politically active Johnny Issel.

But leaders moved swiftly to defuse the situation and there was no sign of rivalry at the conference.

PRESIDENT de Klerk's acceptance of the loaded phrase "one man, one vote" marks the completion of a grand manoeuvre begun by the Afrikaner elite in the early seventies when the Broederbond embarked on a search for an alternative to Verwoerdian apartheid.

The salient facts were published in the Sunday Times in 1978 as part of the flood of leaked documents that enabled the newspaper to identify most of the Broederbond membership. Those documents — I still have many of them mouldering in a box — became the basis of the famous book by Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom titled *The Super-Afrikaners*.

That book set out, in convincing detail, the conspiratorial methods by which the Broederbond had placed itself astride every facet of South African life, but in setting out to expose the secret society's past sins, the authors overlooked, or misinterpreted, some of what was happening within Afrikaner ranks at the time.

I put it briefly, the Broederbond under successive *verligte* chairmen, Wimpie de Klerk, brother of the State President, and Gerrit Viljoen, who now steers the government's constitutional course, had recognised the inevitability of apartheid's failure, and had embarked on a reconsideration of Afrikaner destiny that laid the basis — disastrously, as it turned out — for the tricameral parliament.

The history remains to be written. Afrikaners commentators naturally ignored the whole process (under the tribal rule which pretends the Broederbond is a jolly band of *volksies* singers) and English commentators ignored the published evidence, partly because the intellectuals didn't like the Sunday Times, and partly because it didn't suit them to ascribe to Afrikaners the ability to change course.

I commend the subject to one of those historians, rare in modern South Africa, who still recognise a duty of objectivity. Such a history

The Afrikaner elite has turned; now to turn the ANC elite

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In his final column for Business Day, KEN OWEN looks back — and forward

would shatter the shallow and subjective devil theories that have lately dominated the study of history in this country.

The point I am making, however, is a lesser one: it took nearly two decades of painful introspection, endless internal feuding, a major split in party, church and academy, and ultimately the destruction of an entire generation of Afrikaners leaders of whom Botha the Awful was the last.

The turnaround was so complete, and so relatively quick, that it left a major figure like Piet Cillie, the domineering editor of *Die Burger* during the time when it helped shape apartheid, with nothing to hide his nakedness but the lame excuse — it topped anything ever said by a Jesuit — that apartheid had to be tried in order to prove it would fail.

In other words, it was nothing so trivial as a Darnassene conversion, or a blinding light in the sky, that led to President de Klerk's revolutionary speech on February 2.

That speech must, rather, be attributed to a sustained communal struggle against inherited race prejudice — a transformation of Afri-

kanerdom similar to the personal transformation that occurred in the lives of moral giants like Beyers Naude or extraordinarily sensitive artists like Breyten Breytenbach.

Nothing less than a moral rebirth would have sufficed to bring Afrikanerdom around from Verwoerdian apartheid, in whose name it committed so many atrocities, to the acceptance of black people as fellow citizens — "one man, one vote".

The National Party, ironically, now extols all the values and principles which liberals, in the main, have urged on the country for so many years: the franchise, a federal system, strong local government and limited central government, the rule of law, an independent judiciary and a justiciable bill of rights; the right to own property which distinguishes the free man from slave; protection for the weak against the strong, a humane concern for the poor, maximum liberty for the individual to fulfil his own potential, alone or in association with others.

It is true, as Thabo Mbeki says, that the process may be reversed (if, for example, so many Nat backbenchers were to defect as to force an early election) but it is unlikely, and if it happens, both Afrikanerdom and South Africa will be annihilated. The end of the Cold War heralds an era in which international law will gradually assume sovereignty and the use of Chapter VII of the UN Charter against Iraq serves a warning.

I suppose it is human nature that liberals, having at last acquired a government that supports, and is trying to implement, liberal precepts, should feel put out. For some of us — and I am among them — the scars of the past 40 years are indeed so deep that we can never identify with the National Party.

Nevertheless, realism demands that we recognise victory when we have achieved it: the National Party has adopted mainstream Western liberal values and become part of the South African solution, rather than the fountain of our sorrows. It has been a mighty victory for reason, moderation, and decency.

The problems that remain to be dealt with are those which fate has imposed on us, and which often lie in the human heart: racism, clashing identities, a multiplicity of languages, maldistribution of wealth and opportunities, rival symbols and competing religions — all the characteristics that make the South African tapestry so rich and complex.

It has become fashionable to say that no unity can be found in such complexity — and the "Zulus" and "Xhosas", or whoever they are, do their best to prove the point — but in fact the Austro-Hungarian empire did nurture, for many generations, an inclusive sense of "European-ness" that encompassed at least as great a diversity. A new "South African-ness" is in the making.

Now that we have arrived at this point, I am grateful to Alan Paton that I managed not to lapse into an undifferentiating hatred of Afrikaners, as so many of my generation of English speakers did. Hatred did at times seem a tempting emotional refuge, but Paton's ability to surmount the insult and rejection at the Voortrekker Monument in 1938 served as a moral guideline.

Most of the time, I trust, I have managed to criticise from within a common devotion to the country which I share with Afrikaners. In the same spirit, I think, it is now necessary to criticise the ANC (which tolerates criticism even less well than the Afrikaners) and to try to bring its elite around to the principles of a liberal society.

That the ANC remains, only months after February 2, both confused and faction-ridden — a liberty myth rather than a political party — is not surprising. It is better to encounter confusion than the deadly, self-righteous conviction that, until recently, characterised both the socialist Left and the apartheid Right. If we shifted the Nats, we can surely shift the ANC.

As I conclude this series of weekly commentaries in *Business Day*, I look forward to the future with hope, and with growing confidence.

Shaping the future at the long table

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations that will set the mould for the way politics is conducted in the future South Africa have begun, if informally, and tentatively, but the more difficult challenge lies ahead.

TALKS

The larger, formal project is still some way off — those who will work on it have to agree on how to start, who they are prepared to work with and where they are going to sit.

The next big fight will centre on the demands from the ANC — and the government's rejection of them — for a constituent assembly. What the ANC wants, and the government doesn't, is an open election of parties to determine who may sit in conclave to write the new constitution.

The ANC argues this is the obvious and only way to justly determine the support of contending parties and, therefore, to work out who is eligible to enter negotiations.

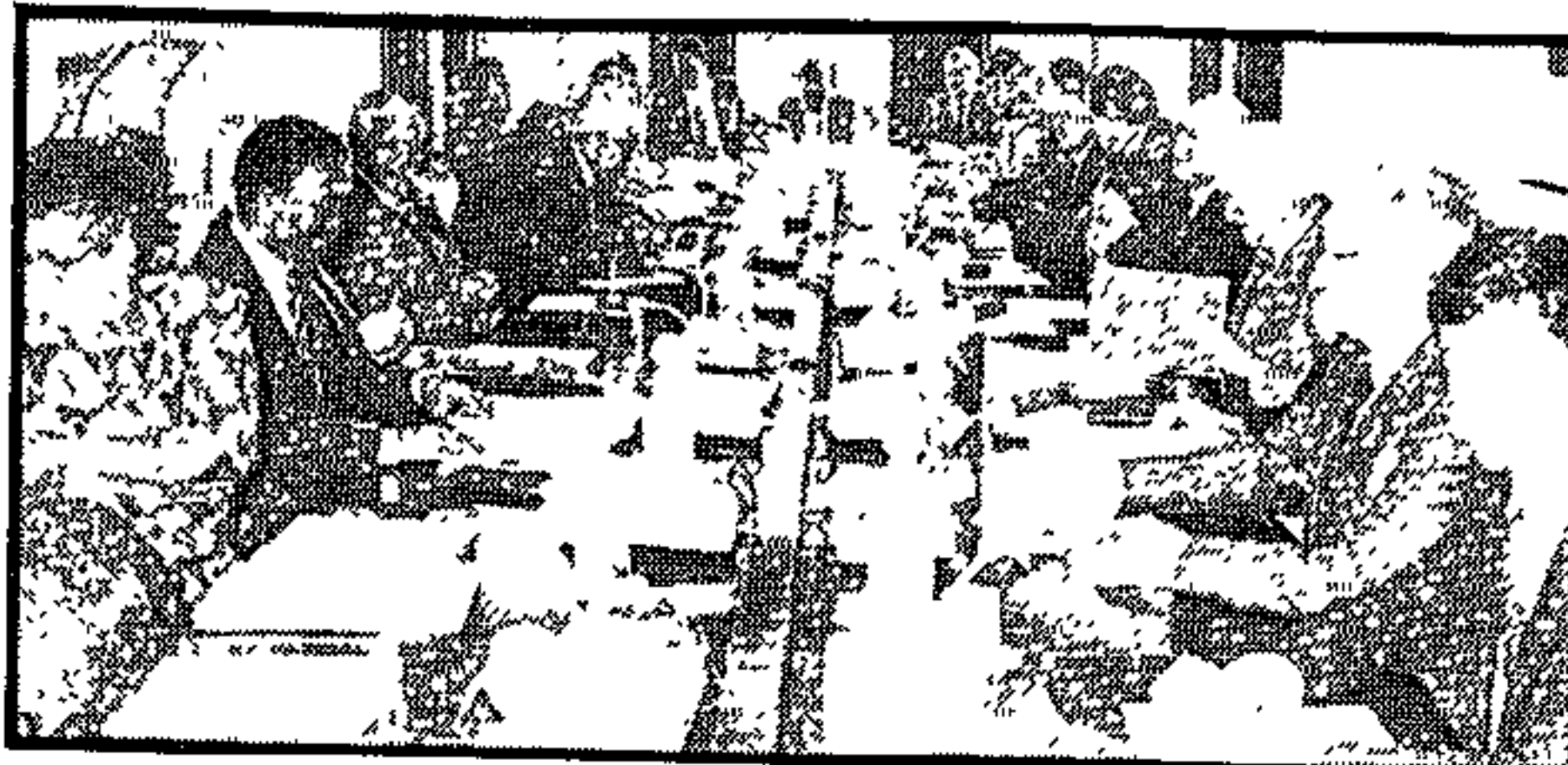
Shape of table

On the other hand, the government argues that this runs counter to the very notion of a negotiated settlement. A constituent assembly would obviate talks... whoever won the most support would simply claim a justifiable right to implement its policy. Far from resolving political dissent, this would merely perpetuate it, government negotiators say.

So it is apparent that a critical feature will be shape of the table, and the means of determining it.

Abstractly at least, one view points to a long table, a table of many thinkers and talkers, of ideas and arguments from more rather than fewer political pigeon-holes.

Another is that there is bound to be a political coalescence before the talks start and that the wide diversity of political groups and parties will realign themselves into just a few big aggregate formations before the negotiations begin.



The long table at the Groote Schuur talks.

However it turns out, the long table theme goes right to the heart of the process that the two key figures in it — President De Klerk and the man he freed to help get it going, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela — have outlined since February.

Many times have the president and his chief negotiator Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen assured the country that the negotiation forum will not be an exclusive cabal of government and ANC leaders intent on forging a bipartite deal.

"Inclusive" is the keyword in both men's varied references to negotiations over the past months.

In a most recent address President De Klerk said negotiations did not mean a deal would be struck between the government and the ANC and that other parties would then simply be presented with a finished product.

Many players

The "negotiations net will be cast as widely as possible", he said.

Mr Mandela too — as well as the ANC as an organisation — has repeatedly committed himself to an inclusive process, one in which he and his movement perceive themselves as one of many players.

Mr Mandela has spoken often of the need to ensure "real, effective and broad participation by all South Africans in the unfolding negotiation process".

Quite recently, the ANC's director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki went further by saying rival organisations who had not yet been drawn into talks must have "equal

weight" in the constitutional debate.

He singled out the Boerestaart Party — whose leader, Professor Carel Boshoff, has indicated a keenness to negotiate — adding: "Though we may not agree with their views about a Boerestaart, we are convinced that they, like other political formations, have a right and a duty to present their views in any such negotiation forums as will be agreed."

These sentiments all underpin the concept of a long table, a comprehensive meeting — and, doubtless, clashing — of minds.

Not everybody is ready to pull up a chair, though. Fundamental ideological differences are the primary obstruction.

Among the most important potential absentees are the Conservative Party on the right and the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation on the left and much political jostling can be expected in the months to come as the agents of negotiations seek to entice them nearer to the table.

The CP rejects the process as an illegitimate exercise that amounts to capitulation in the face of treasonous threats from communist-inspired, black-run organisations.

This party's view is that the only likely result of the negotiations envisaged by the NP and the ANC is black domination.

At the other end of the spectrum, the PAC is deeply suspicious of President De Klerk's olive branch, though the organisation has been less dismissive lately.

Until recently, the PAC rejected negotiations outright as a process that would inevitably involve unacceptable compromises, but it responded more flexibly to an invitation to join the talks from Dr Viljoen, saying it would consult its formations.

That consultation continues. Some expected — and, within the organisation, hoped for — a firm decision at the PAC's recent conference in Harare on whether or not to enter negotiations, but the question was merely postponed. A clear answer, spokesmen said, would be given at the PAC's national conference next month.

Significantly, Zimbabwe's largely government-owned newspaper, The Herald, says the PAC has no choice but to join the talks with President De Klerk.

It warned in an editorial that if it failed to do so, it could be sidelined and totally ignored.

"In an armed liberation struggle there comes a time when the warring parties have to sit down and talk. The De Klerk regime does now want to talk, notwithstanding whether this is the opportune moment to do so.

Bottom line

"The blacks have only to make the best of it, getting the best deal for themselves. The bottom line is an end to apartheid and the granting of one man, one vote," said the paper.

Azapo, for its part, argues that the negotiation process so far has served only to "delay the struggle" and "water down the solutions" to the country's problems.

Undeniably, the more inclusive the long table the better. The more people represented there, the more representative the exchanges are likely to be, and the more legitimate the product to emerge once the talking is over.

The last thing the new South Africa could afford is a new-fashioned, righteous "extra-parliamentary" bloc that could be seen to have been jilted in this crucial political courtship.

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Too soon for a summit with ANC ~~govt~~ govt

B/Dam 2/10/90

GOVERNMENT members last night remained adamant it was premature to hold a summit with the ANC, despite the organisation's insistence that such a meeting take place before deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour next Monday.

The Cabinet committee on negotiations met yesterday afternoon and is understood to have discussed the ANC request for a "five-a-side summit" this week.

A senior government member said after the meeting it was still government's view that it was too early to hold a summit.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Government, he said, believed the working groups appointed on August 6 had not made sufficient progress to warrant a third summit.

"We are not ruling out a meeting. It's a question of when. Why make it so urgent when the working groups have not completed their work? We are prepared to meet, if necessary. All we are saying is that at this stage it will not be worthwhile."

At the time of going to press, ANC mem-

bers said the organisation was still awaiting a response from government.

Earlier, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was reported to have said the organisation believed a fullscale meeting was necessary to "review the situation and where we go from here. It has nothing to do with the working of the joint working groups."

Government members insisted, however, that a third summit be linked to progress achieved by the working groups, and success in implementing other aspects of the Pretoria Minute.

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ANC and CP to attend conference

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and CP MP Koos van der Merwe will share a platform at a conference for emerging business leaders to be hosted by Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert later this month.

The conference — Young Management Challenge — will enable interaction between young business people, security analysts and labour and economic experts. It

will provide an opportunity for young decision makers to voice their hopes, ambitions and fears for SA's future.

The keynote speaker will be Rossing Uranium chairman and Namibian National Planning Commission director-general Zedekia Ngavirue, who will discuss the problems of transition in Namibia, and prospects for reconstruction.

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ANC, Govt pledge a secure economy

The Star's
Foreign News Service

GENEVA — The South African Government and the ANC have moved strongly to reassure potential foreign investors that they had little to fear.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emerged from the historic World Economic Forum meeting on Southern Africa to give a confident prediction that the peace process was on track and negotiations would start early next year.

"We will have hiccups, tension and growth pains but I believe we will be successful," he said.

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki gave a fresh indication — the strongest yet — that investments will not be hit by nationalisation.

At a press conference Mr du Plessis stressed that if the peace process were to be supported by economic growth, it was essential to lift sanctions.

Mr Mbeki gave a clear indication that the ANC was softening its rhetoric on nationalisation to placate the fears of potential investors.

He said: "We can't say: 'Please invest but we are going to nationalise you tomorrow.'"

Answering a question on whether foreign investment in the mines would be threatened by his party's economic policy, Mr Mbeki said that an open economy meant links to world economies.

The ANC was very aware that foreign investors had to

have confidence in the security of their investment.

He added: "I don't think nationalisation is particularly high on our agenda."

Earlier, however, he had indicated there were basic needs within the community which needed to be addressed, and interventions which needed to be made in the economy to ensure those needs were addressed.

It was clear that Mr du Plessis and Mr Mbeki have established a warm rapport. As the ANC official arrived at the press conference to replace Mr du Plessis, the Finance Minister said: "Sock it to them."

However, the delegates said the atmosphere of reconciliation had been dented by an address by Inkatha Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Backlash

Chief Buthelezi said if any political party attempted to establish a one-party state "there would be an awesome backlash which would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance".

According to sources at the conference, Chief Buthelezi's comments were not well received, particularly by non-South Africans who felt they went against the conference's reconciliatory mood.

An Inkatha official also handed out a 69-page legal document entitled "Statement and reports in respect of the violence in the Transvaal". The main thrust of the 21 affidavits contained in the report was

that the ANC had initiated much of the trouble.

In his press conference Chief Buthelezi said the document was not intended as an attack on the ANC: "That is just the facts of the violence," he said.

Mr du Plessis also touched on a subject that was frequently aired in the conference: An economic union of all southern African states, including South Africa.

"There was a general recognition that South Africa's open and visible involvement in the development of southern Africa is necessary." However, he stressed that this should not injure existing structures which promote trade in the region.

There was, however, no indication that there would be a softening on sanctions.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe said the conference had shown that what South Africa had done so far was "definitely not enough to lift sanctions".

Mr Mbeki said future political stability was of far greater significance to the businessmen present than the short-term issue of sanctions.

Perhaps the most significant benefit of the conference was, however, that it brought together Mr du Plessis and counterparts from the Frontline states for the first time.

Mr du Plessis responded with a political version of "we can't go on meeting like this", saying that, in future, Ministers — "and not only Ministers of Finance" — should get together in the region.

Students' 'no' to PAC-Govt talks

1/16/83 Political Staff

The Witwatersrand region of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) has rejected the Government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks, saying the invitation was an attempt to co-opt liberation movements into the system.

At Paso's first annual Witwatersrand regional congress in Soweto at the weekend, it turned down the invitation and called for the intensification of the armed struggle.

Paso Witwatersrand organiser Mandla Matiko said negotiations would not bring about the total emancipation of "the disposed African masses". The land issue, he said, remained not negotiable.

Everything is different — but still so much the same

"THE disturbing unfamiliarity of familiar things" — the phrase keeps tumbling round in my brain as, after a 14-year absence — six spent in prison, the rest in exile — I wander once more through the streets, the avenues, the gardens, the bookshops of the city of my birth.

Much has altered, but much is as it was. It is often difficult, moreover, to distinguish continuity from change; to detect in customs, faces, accents and attitudes subtle shadings of sameness and difference that tantalise by reason of their sheer ineffability. It is more difficult still, perhaps impossible, to determine in reflecting on these things whether it is they or I who have undergone the strange humiliation of change.

I last saw Table Mountain from the back of a car in which the Security Police were, driving me to Pretoria for further interrogation. That was in 1976, year of the student revolt in the townships. Then, as now, the spirits of radical change were abroad in the Beloved Country. Then, as now, violence and rumours of violence yet to come swept over South Africa. But now the demands for change sound much more urgently and the violence has been far more terrible and more difficult to check. Then the battle-lines were sharply etched in Black and White and the source of the terror was clearly visible. Now the boundaries between friend and foe are less

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY, a former political journalist who worked on the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times. He was arrested in 1976 on charges under the Terrorism Act and spent six years in jail, where he gained an honours degree in philosophy. On his release in 1982 he went to Britain for further study and now has a D Phil from Oxford. He is now back in South Africa to stay ...

definite, the culprits silent and (almost) invisible; there is talk of a sinister "third force".

Transmutations

On the flight from Johannesburg to Cape Town, Nelson Mandela is a few seats away from me. The symbol of the new democratic order, I feel, is travelling with me to that most changeless of unchanging cities. But on the same flight is the bearded bulk of Craig Williamson, once a police agent hunting me and my comrades, now an adviser to the State President himself. Mandela, of course, neither knows nor notices me. But, at DF Malan Airport, as we wait for our baggage, Williamson gives a friendly nod in my direction as if, like that fictive archetype of all spy-heroes, Kipling's Kim, he wishes now to be called the "little friend of all the world".

For how long, one has to ask oneself, can these tokens of an old order and a new one struggling to be born co-exist in such unstable equilibrium? Can oppressors and oppressed, hunters and their former prey, continue living side by side while their common nation goes through such

rapid, such startling and unforeseeable transmutations unless one or both of them alters beyond recognition? These and other questions flicker through the mind as the taxi carries me from the airport to the University of Cape Town.

How much, for instance, do ordinary South Africans, black and white, understand of the immensity of what is happening to them? Are they at all able to situate the dynamisms transforming their own individual political and economic lives in the context of that global revolution, inaugurated by a little man in the Kremlin with a map-like birthmark on his bald pate — a revolution which has ended the "cold war" and the mythologies of "deterrence", "balances of terror", "total onslaughts" and "total strategies" to defeat them?

Parochialism

What is the South African media doing to help our people grasp these things? From what I have seen so far, the answer to this last question is probably that they are not doing enough. The same parochialism, the same (entirely understandable) preoccupation with the local and the national, the same lack of global perspectives which characterised newspapers and news broadcasts when I worked here as a political journalist 14 years ago, still seem all-pervasive.

The journalists who question me — many of them highly talented — seem as confused as I myself often feel, but they also seem to expect that I have the answers and the overview that they lack. Meeting a member of the ANC or the Communist Party is still a novelty to some of them. How will they cope with the task of explaining the theories, principles, policies and strategies of these organisations to a public which has been trained to hate and fear their very names?

And the universities? How, I wondered, were they shaping up, to the task of educating a new generation in the dialectics of transformation? How close were the educators themselves to being re-educated? What forces, what change of values was remodelling the lives of teachers and what was taught?

At UCT that first morn-



BACK HOME ... Ex-Cape Times journalist Anthony Holiday is back and living in the city of his birth, Cape Town.

ing, my impression was that much was as it had been. There were more black students on the campus, but fewer than I had expected to see. The place had the same dreamy, old-world feel about it I remembered so well. It seemed still to hover magnificently above the city like a castle-in-the-air.

One colleague and former prison companion put it more sharply: "Look around you," he said, gesturing at the comfortable intimacy of the staff dining room. "This is white academia. It is tired, depressed and despondent. You will find that things look very different at UWC. It's alive and it's exciting."

I hope he was wrong about UCT, but he was right enough about the University of the Western Cape. Talking to the philosophers there and to the rector, Jakes Gerwel, there was no escaping the sense that the university had gone through one set of dramatic changes and was determinedly gearing itself for another. It had made the transition, as one philosopher put it to me, from being a "bush college" to becoming a "people's university".

Common voice

The task it has now set itself is to become a centre of academic excellence, capable of turning out top-flight black intellectuals, scientists, scholars and philosophers who will, in their turn, give their compatriots the scientific understanding and, above all, the individual and social self-knowledge they so desperately need.

It is a brave vision. The obstacles to its

realisation are daunting indeed. Not least among these are the viciously damaged educational backgrounds of so many of Gerwel's students. With this goes the poverty of the students. They can't, for instance, afford to buy books. I was horrified by the cost of academic texts.

Would it be the poets, I wondered, rather than the journalists or the academics, who will bring South Africa through the storms of her revolution by teaching us to ask the right questions and to notice the things that really matter? Will they teach our people to find a common voice, even if they speak in many different tongues? If they do, I hope we have the ears to hear them and the consciences to pay them heed.

One last image: I wandered through the Gardens, trying to drown in the radiant blueness of the sky, the smell of the shrubs and flowers, the sweet warmth of the air, until I came upon a group of coloured schoolchildren playing on the lawns near the museum. They were playing a version of tag which I remembered from my own childhood. They had divided into two teams — boys versus girls. The boys were trying to capture all the girls and put them in "gaol". The girls were trying to slip through the boys' ranks and liberate their comrades. One little girl, thus set free, was leaping about and calling excitedly: "Ek is Vry! Ek is vry!" No my love, I answered silently. You are not yet free. But your time is coming and if all of us do our work well from now on, it will soon be here.



BACKGROUND

Randburg poll letdown still all about FW

The Democratic Party's decision not to defend its Randburg seat must be rated as one of the clearest indications yet of how dramatically things have changed in South Africa — at least in white politics.

And it has paved the way for the National Party's Martinus van Schalkwyk to become one of the youngest politicians ever to occupy the green benches of Parliament.

Not that the DP's participation in the November 7 House of Assembly by-election was expected to have stopped the 30-year-old "new Nat". Some people, not all of them Conservatives, even expected the DP to come third after the CP's Leonie Steele.

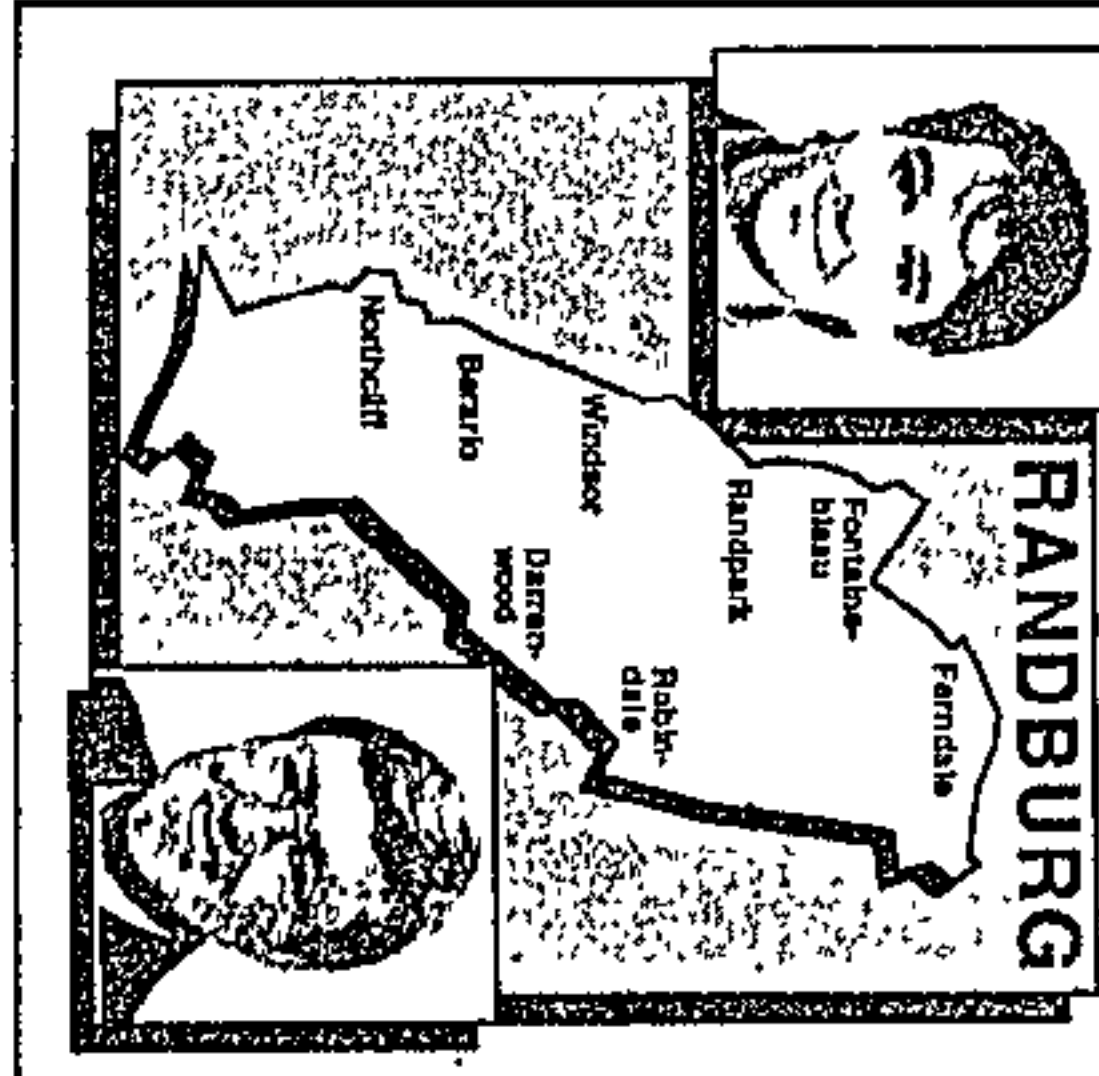
DP candidate Alan Dawson's withdrawal has taken the spark out of the election, and will deny political parties the opportunity to determine how their support has been affected by developments since the general election of September last year and particularly since February 2.

Nevertheless, victory will be sweet for the Nats, who took a huge knock when one of their golden boys, Wynand Malan, quit the party in 1987 and won the seat as an independent.

Mr Malan's resignation contributed hugely to the independent movement of the 1987 general election which ultimately resulted in the formation of the DP last year.

In a mere three years, the NP has advanced so far that it has left the DP virtually without a power base. Not even in Randburg, which has become a symbol of NP dissent, can it

Victory will be sweet for the Nationalists when they regain Randburg on November 7. But the withdrawal of the Democratic Party has turned the parliamentary by-election into a rather dull affair, writes Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE.



fight — and win — an election any more.

The election does not come at an easy time for the NP.

Township violence, the intended scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the "threat" of open schools, squatting and a soaring crime rate have exacerbated strong feelings of insecurity among the 22 000-odd voters in the middle-to-upper-class constituency.

Mileage

This could benefit the CP, which will certainly also try to gain some mileage from the DP's withdrawal.

The fiery Mrs Steele said last week: "The NP has been exposed for what it is: a bunch of spineless liberals who were too devoted to tell the electorate in 1989 what their true policy was."

The CP believes a straight

fight against the Nats could benefit the party.

However, a Market and Media Research Survey, conducted for the Randburg Sun shortly after Mr Malan's resignation in July, indicated that 88 percent of those who had voted DP last year would now vote NP in a straight contest while 90 percent of those who had voted Nat would not switch.

Other possibilities are that some die-hard Democrats could bring out a protest vote for the CP or could simply stay away from the polls.

Last year the CP lost its deposit in the general election by polling a mere 755 votes. This time around, Mrs Steele, a former Warmbaths mayor, is expected to push up CP support significantly, confirming the trends in recent elections in Umhlanga and Hout Bay.

The scene has changed dramatically since last year's general election, when Mr Malan — who resigned as DP co-leader and from Parliament earlier this year — witnessed a vicious onslaught from the NP's Glen Babb. Mr Malan, popular Randburg MP since 1977, eventually won comfortably by 1 714 votes.

Since then, the F W de Klerk factor has come into play. One commentator noted recently: "This election is about FW. It doesn't matter who the Nat candidate is."

The NP's election agent, Johann Lutz, said the new climate created by the President had opened up new opportunities for the NP in Randburg, but was also working against the party to some extent.

Report by Esmare van der Merwe, at Silver Street, Johannesburg



For the children's sake... A United Nations guard patrols the perimeter of the UN headquarters in New York near the famous peace monument during the weekend UN Children's Summit attended by more than 70 kings, presidents and prime ministers. The meeting was aimed at forging a strategy to give every child a better future. South Africa was barred from attending the summit, while even internationally despised Iraq was invited. Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, co-chairman of the conference, removed President de Klerk's name from a list of invited heads of state, officials said.

Picture by Reuters

Further salute to initiatives

FW to see Thatcher again

Site 1/10/90
(304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk's international initiative has received a further boost with confirmation that he is to meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on October 14.

This will be Mr de Klerk's third overseas trip this year and will be followed within days by an official visit to the Netherlands, Luxembourg and probably one or two other European countries. Diplomatic sources said the Thatcher meeting would be separate from the European trip.

Mr de Klerk's visit to London to see Mrs Thatcher is being described as private. Government sources said it would be carried out without fanfare.

Mr de Klerk had a successful meeting with Mrs Thatcher at Chequers in May this year. However, with events moving so fast in South Africa, it is understood that Mrs Thatcher wishes to be kept up to date on developments. It is also possible he will address industrialists while in London.

Mr de Klerk will return to South Africa from the Thatcher meeting and then return to Europe from October 23 for official visits to the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Sanctions are expected to loom large in the British and European discussions. Although Mr de Klerk will probably follow his now-famil-

iar strategy of not going "cap in hand" to beg for sanctions to be lifted, the subject will certainly be raised, as in all his other meetings.

The chances of European Community sanctions being lifted when the EC ministers meet to discuss the issue in December are looking good. Mr Bush gave the anti-sanctions effort a large boost after meeting Mr de Klerk when he declared that reform in South Africa was "irreversible".

Key condition

This is the key condition for lifting EC sanctions and Mr Bush's acknowledgement is being seen by the South African Government as evidence that he will use his influence on the EC for them to lift sanctions.

Mr Bush's own hands are tied when it comes to American sanctions as they are bound by legislation and can only be lifted when certain specific reform moves have been made.

SA diplomatic sources said today the visits to the Netherlands and Luxembourg would complete SA's drive to persuade the EC that reform was irreversible.

The invitation from the Netherlands is especially valued because of that country's conspicuous position at the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement over the years. This has now changed to the extent that it is actually in the vanguard of EC efforts to lift sanctions in a step-by-step process following Mr de Klerk's reform moves.

Most 'elite' black men support FW

CAM-
T-12B
1/10/90
3044

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN overwhelming majority of "elite" black men, 86%, believe President F W de Klerk is doing a good job but 51% said Mr Nelson Mandela was their first choice for leader of South Africa, according to a new public opinion survey.

However, a significant segment of the elite, 33%, said they would support Mr De Klerk as their first choice as leader.

Among "elite" white men, Mr Mandela received negligible support — only one out of the 395 men wanted him as leader — but 68% backed Mr De Klerk and 14% supported the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The black elite was also more confident, with 62% saying they were more optimistic than six months ago and 16% expressing less optimism, while 43% of the white elite said they were more optimistic and 26% said they were less optimistic than six months ago.

The results of the polls, which were conducted on a door-to-door basis, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

The "elite" were defined for the purposes of the polls as middle to senior management and people living in elite suburbs.

Two other surveys, also released yesterday, among 800 white and 800 black women showed that they held less confidence about the future than the elite did.

While 79% of black women thought President De Klerk was doing a good job and 8% did not think so, 56% of white women thought he was doing a good job and 26% did not think so.

CHECK all scripts and to ensure that all the questions have been marked and all marks allocated or transferred correctly and the mark sheets properly completed.

'Piet Skiet' in call over illegal arms

Sowetan 11-10-90

THE deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, has called on his followers to return all illegal arms caches, ammunition and explosives in their possession to police stations prior to the State President's prosecution indemnity deadline of October 31.

Rudolph made the call in a signed letter from detention released by the police at the weekend.

His letter read in part:

"Upon my request, the SAP has allowed me to hold discussions with the executive council of the Orde Boerevolk about the question of arms, ammunition and explosives.

"This was done in light of the State President's offer of indemnity from prosecution for the unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives if these items were turned in prior to October 31 at a police station."

Sapa.*****

DET warns of fake study aids and exam papers

Sowetan 11/10/90 By MONK NKOMO

THE Department of Education and Training has warned matric students to beware of bogus organisations or people selling fake examination papers or study aids.

Addressing a Press conference in Pretoria on Friday, the DET's acting director-general, Mr Dirk Scholtz, said his department would be neglecting its duty if it failed to warn candidates against "possible exploitation by organisations whose sole aim is to make a quick profit out of the situation".

Scholtz announced major changes in the marking of scripts this year.

For the first time in its history, the DET has secured the services of the Human Sciences Research Council to mark one of the subjects with a scanner and to prepare Mathematics and Physical Science marks using the same procedure.

The move follows last year's public outcry over reports of irregularities at the DET's marking centres. Some of the new changes include:

Official hours

- * Marking would be done during official hours only;
- * Unauthorised people would not be allowed at the marking centres;
- * No marking will be done at the Pretoria Showgrounds - the venue infiltrated by newspaper reporters to expose the irregularities last year;
- * Strict security measures would apply during the whole marking session at all centres;
- * Examiners would not be allowed to mark scripts at home or anywhere else away from the marking centres;
- * Only qualified teachers or lecturers with teaching experience in a specific subject would be appointed as sub-examiners for that subject.

Scholtz said additional staff would be appointed to check all scripts and to ensure that all the questions had been marked and all marks allocated or transferred correctly and the mark sheets properly completed.

'Piet Skiet' in call over illegal arms

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Monday, October 1 1990

Govt reviewing small business development

B/Dam 11/10/90 (120) 304/1 (120) (120)

GOVERNMENT was taking a new look at the financing of small business development in order to utilise limited resources more effectively, Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr said at the launch of Small Business Week at the weekend.

Discussions were under way to merge the activities of small business support organisations — both private and public — to obtain better cost-effectiveness in the application of state and private funds.

Role

He said government was committed to supporting the Free Enterprise Ethic. It intended to further private initiative with emphasis on support for small businessmen. Government support was given through the Trade and Industry Department to organisations such as the Small Business Development Corporation and the

ACHMED KARIEM

Small Business Advisory Bureau.

In the new SA, small business would play a major role and would act as a vehicle for job creation.

President F W de Klerk's recent US trip had included a message of hope for support from the US for a market economy in SA.

"This was a call, not for support of a broad economic theory as such but rather for the protection and encouragement of every person's right to share in economic endeavour in whatever way he wishes within an equal opportunity society, according to his talents."

Durr said government would encourage people to exercise this right and was pursuing deregulation of the legal environment within which business operated.

SBDC senior manager Dawie Crous said the Small Business Week was a national promotion aimed at furthering the interests of the small business sector.

"The purpose is to create an

awareness of the importance of the small business sector and to give recognition to entrepreneurs operating in a competitive environment," he said.

Crous said more than 85% of business enterprise in SA could be considered small — with total assets of less than R2m — while 75% of new jobs in SA were generated by the small business sector at a fraction of the cost incurred by big business.

Events

The conference was organised by key players such as the SBDC, Wits Centre for Developing Business, the Urban Foundation, First National Bank and Get-Ahead. It was directed at entrepreneurs, big business and local and national authorities, he said.

"The events included activities such as breakfast seminars, fun runs, flea markets, fast food competitions and many more," Crous said.

Whites won't hand in arms - Boere Party

THE saying "an unarmed white man is a dead white man" remained true throughout South Africa and it could therefore not be expected of whites to hand over their arms, the leader of the Boerestaat Party said yesterday.

Mr Robert van Tonder was commenting in a statement on a call by the police and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, his deputy, for people in unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives to hand these in at their nearest police station.

"I understand Piet's action. He has ended his hunger strike in order to convey this appeal to his men in the Orde

Boerevolk. His aim is to prevent further arrests of his men. (304A) (204)

"He has asked nothing for himself and has not asked the Government for amnesty or privileges. His action is sincere and honourable and characteristic of him as a Boer leader." (204)

Van Tonder said the call by the Government (to hand over illegal weapons) was not successful, however, because it was one-sided.

To expect them to give these up is unreasonable because nobody can live without weapons in the "anarchy" created by President FW de Klerk's "reform", Van Tonder said. - Sapa

Sowetan 2/10/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would pay a number of short visits to Europe this month, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Botha confirmed in a statement that a meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was envisaged.

The Foreign Minister would not confirm a date but diplomatic sources said that the meeting would take place on October 14.

The sources said Thatcher had invited De Klerk to lunch with her at her Chequers residence when the President stopped over in London on his way to the Netherlands.

However, the Netherlands visit was later put back by a week. But neither the

Lunch date for FW, Maggie at Chequers

British nor South Africans wanted to break the earlier arrangement and the President will now make at least two visits to Europe.

The visit to Britain is being classed as a private one.

On his second trip, De Klerk will travel to Luxembourg after meeting members of the Dutch cabinet and being received by Queen Beatrix.

After their last meeting Thatcher accepted that change in SA was irreversible.

● Comment: Page 6

13/10/90

Govt 'unlikely' to meet ANC's request for a summit

Star 2/10/90
By Peter Fabricius and
Kaizer Nyatumba

354A
The Government is unlikely to agree to the ANC's request for a full-scale summit this week, a senior Government source has disclosed.

But the possibility of small delegations meeting each other has not been ruled out.

"This would have to be a nor-

mal appointment rather than a summit," the source said. This could be a one-to-one meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, or else one or two others could be involved on each side as well.

The ANC today objected to the Government responding to the organisation's request for a

full five-a-side summit "through the press".

Contacted for comment today, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not say whether, in the event of the Government formally turning down a request for a summit, the ANC would settle for small delegations meeting each other as suggested by the source.

No decision yet on ANC talks request

Sowetan 21/10/90

THE Government was yesterday still "considering" a request from the ANC for a top-level meeting this week before Mr Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas visit at the weekend.

A Government spokesman in Pretoria would not comment beyond saying that "the matter is under consideration".

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the

organisation had requested the meeting in order to "look at the present situation and the way forward".

"The ANC has grave misgivings about the measures adopted in response to the violence.

"It is only in South Africa where efforts to restore calm could lead to a policy called Iron Fist."

The situation warranted a meeting at the highest level, she said.

The meeting would have to be held before October 6 when Mandela leaves for Natal from where he was going abroad on October 7. - Sapa.

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's visit to Washington last week was indeed a watershed event. It would be well, however, to guard against euphoria and to consider what De Klerk did not — perhaps could not — achieve, as much as what he did.

By no stretch of the imagination has SA retaken its place in the community of "civilised nations", to use that odious term. Apartheid may be heaving its last sighs, and is demonstrably a terminal case, but it is not dead.

Institutionally, it still kicks. Psychologically, whites as well as blacks have yet to uncouple their political and economic interests from the colour of their skins.

De Klerk was entirely right to use the language of Madison to describe his constitutional objectives. And yet, when he spoke of "checks and balances" to defend the rights of a minority against the overbearing power of a majority, the words sounded strangely tiny in American ears.

This was not only because the outside world has long grown accustomed to seeing deceit and manipulation in every utterance by Pretoria's spokesmen.

More specifically, it had to do with De Klerk's failure to describe what he meant by the word "minority".

By so failing, he made it seem that he proposed to usurp Madison and, more broadly, the American constitutional values he so frequently hailed, purely to entrench the rights and privileges of whites against black "tyranny". Such an interpretation did him a disservice.

Americans needed to have it explained to them that in the "new South Africa", interests and political combinations will, must, transcend racial lines and that therefore "minority" and "majority" should no longer be mistaken for "white" and "black".

The distinction is critical. Unless

What De Klerk omitted to say will count against him

B/DG 2/10/90 (3047)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

it is understood, De Klerk's motivations throughout the negotiations that lie ahead will be suspect and the assistance he receives from the outside world niggarly. He will continue to be "rewarded" less for the future he has in mind than for the fact that he has broken with the past.

The warm welcome he received here, it should be remembered, was based more on the grateful recognition that he is not John Vorster or P W Botha than on the conviction that he is truly SA's equivalent of Mikhail Gorbachev — a leader now accepted as willing to smash the existing *normalisatist* aristocracy in favour of an entirely new and open society.

Of course, to be fair, Gorbachev was initially embraced for what he was not in much the same way — out of relief rather than genuine respect. It has taken time and the overwhelming pressure of communism's disintegration to make him into the truly revolutionary figure he has since become, and thus fully trusted in the West.

The trouble is that he may have made believers of his former adversaries too late for them to be able to help him prevent the Soviet Union's

transition from sliding into chaotic upheaval. De Klerk potentially faces very much the same prospect unless he can convince the world of what he is really about rather more swiftly than his Soviet counterpart.

This will be difficult while the "us" and "them", white and black, psychology continues to dog SA's political thinking, the opening of the National Party's membership notwithstanding.

De Klerk is beset by exclusivist opponents, and not just to his right. For all its talk of multiracialism, the ANC conglomerate also, as the would-be majority, has a vested interest in exclusivism.

The NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa and the ANC's Patrick "Terror" Lekota were both in town last week accusing De Klerk of trying to "weaken" or otherwise undermine the ANC by promoting — or failing to quell — black on black violence with the principal purpose of legitimising Inkatha's claim to be represented in negotiations.

Their concerns over the strengthening of Inkatha as a rival voice

were symbolic of a broader fear about what Ramaphosa called "the government's strategy aimed at broadening its own support base" — in which context he specifically mentioned the deracialisation of the NP. "A racist Nationalist party which is unracist," he said, now had "great hopes of co-opting the forces of the democratic movement and making them partners in apartheid structures".

In other words — words, needless to say, that Americans did not hear — the ANC was starting to worry not only about competition from Inkatha and other black parties whose conflict with the ANC has been less publicised, but from the white government itself as it shed its racial exclusivity.

What has happened is this: After generations of dealing with white power as a fortress to be stormed and occupied, the ANC suddenly sees the portcullis starting to transform itself into the portal of an ecumenical cathedral. Since this threatens the very glue that has bound the movement together all these years, the prospect is understandably alarming.

The ANC's natural response is to

try to persuade both its own constituency and the world at large that the transformation is a mirage and to deter, by one means or another, those who might think otherwise. Look, it says, the army and police are still in the townships, the detentions continue, the political trials grind on, divide and rule lives.

In a curious way, the ANC has recognised the logic of the government's actions rather more clearly than the government itself, and is therefore moving to stem the potential tide of defection before government has itself decided how properly to accommodate defectors.

Though De Klerk candidly told his American audience that SA had seen its last all-white election, the Washington he left behind him has yet to be convinced that the fortress-turned-cathedral will not contain a reserved pew for the white minority. Thus, though his listeners from President George Bush on down were undoubtedly impressed, they will, in the afterglow, remain ambivalent.

This is not to deny De Klerk's achievement. He is now part of the club of world leaders with whom Bush has established his famous personal rapport and for whom he will be willing to go to bat at political risk to himself. He has also convinced a significant array of Americans that he needs "help".

What he did not do was inspire agreement on what might constitute "help" beyond emanations of warm, fuzzy rhetoric. There was hardly an editorial in a major US newspaper after his departure which did not conclude that he was a swell guy but sanctions should stay.

Why? Because at the end of day he did not, could not, portray himself as the true revolutionary erasing the lines between "us" and "them". When he referred to "my people" he was still referring to whites and not the full panoply of his countrymen for whom his heart sincerely bled. For this, the ANC must have heaved a huge sigh of relief.

LETTERS

HIV survey to use antenatal clinics

TANIA LEVY

THE National Health and Population Development Department is to launch a survey of HIV-infection by analysing data from randomly selected antenatal clinics throughout the country. *By Day 2/10/90*

The study will be the first designed to obtain a national picture of HIV-infection and will be conducted on an anonymous basis.

Department epidemiology director Horst Küstner said yesterday analysis would hopefully begin in the next three months so that results could be available early in the new year.

Statistics obtained would show the degree of HIV infection among various communities in SA, age and geographic distribution, urban and rural distribution and general trends over time.

Küstner said pregnant women were a representative sample of SA's entire sexually active population — those most at risk of becoming infected with HIV. At least half the one million women who gave birth every year attended antenatal clinics.

The spectre of AIDS demanded that baseline data on the extent of HIV-infection be obtained on a continuous basis, he said. The survey would be repeated either every year or every six months.

FW's reforms will be main issue in Randburg

304A
By Day 2/10/90
SUPPORT for President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives would be the main issue facing Randburg's voters in the November by-election, NP candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk said after the two candidates were officially sworn in yesterday.

The election will be a straight fight between Van Schalkwyk and the CP's Leonie Steele after the DP's withdrawal from the contest.

The seat became vacant after the resignation of former DP co-leader Wynand Malan.

Steele, after being sworn in at the nomination court in the Ferndale Recreation Centre, said Randburg voters were furious that the NP government had "lied" to them. It had received no mandate for its actions.

Van Schalkwyk, former political lecturer and Jeugkrug chairman, said the DP's withdrawal was an indication of the political restructuring taking place in the white community and in SA generally.

He said the NP's chances in the November 7 election had been strong before the DP withdrew, but that the move would mean even more votes for the NP.

The NP's platform would be pro-reform and supportive of President

TANIA LEVY

F W de Klerk's initiatives.

He would stand for a just and democratic SA with international acceptance, and a growing economy, in contrast to the CP which wanted apartheid with all its conflict and international isolation, and a siege economy.

Steele, a former Warmbaths mayor and journalist, said the CP's victory would shock the NP.

In the previous election the NP had warned voters that the DP would urban communist organisations, talk to the ANC and release Nelson Mandela. Now it had done the same.

The DP had pulled out of the Randburg by-election because canvassing had shown there was little support for its policies, which were now identical to those of the NP.

Steele said she would fight for "Christian survival against communism" and the maintenance of First World order and standards.

The NP attacked the CP as if it did not have a workable policy, but one had only to look at the economy and the ethnic violence to see what the NP had achieved after 40 years in power, she said.

Azapo replies to Govt today

3/10/76 Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will today announce its response to the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks, Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala would speak to press in Cape Town today to announce Azapo's response to the invitation.

He would not com-

ment yesterday on the meeting Azapo held with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Harare at the weekend.

Professor Mosala, who two weeks ago received a letter from Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer urging him to persuade his organisation to engage in talks with the Government, will also speak today about the weekend meeting with the BCMA.

Barend and Thabo spring a surprise

From CHRIS WHITFIELD of The Argus Foreign Service in Geneva

THE South African government and the African National Congress have moved strongly here to reassure potential foreign business that it has little to fear in planning investments.

ECONOMICS

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emerged from the historic World Economic Forum meeting on Southern Africa to give a confident prediction that the peace process was on track and negotiations would start early next year. He said chances of it going wrong were "very slim".

And ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki gave a fresh indication — the strongest yet — that investments will not be hit by nationalisation.

Mr du Plessis told a press conference that he expected the "negotiating process to be under way in the first quarter of next year". He also stressed that "if the peace process is to be supported by economic growth, it is essential to lift sanctions".

He said trade sanctions had a "minimal effect", but financial sanctions "inhibit growth". And while South Africa could survive "virtually indefinitely" it was in the interests of its people that there was growth in the economy.

Mr Mbeki, returning to the theme he had first aired on Monday, gave a clear indication that the ANC was softening its rhetoric on nationalisation to placate the fears of potential investors.

He said: "We can't say 'please come and invest but we are going to nationalise you tomorrow.'" Answering a question on whether foreign investment in South Africa's

mines would be threatened by his party's economic policy, Mr Mbeki said that an open South African economy meant links to world economies.

The ANC was "very aware" that foreign investors have "got to have confidence in the security of their



Barend du Plessis

investment". He added: "I don't think nationalisation is particularly high on our agenda."

The policy of the ANC for decades has never been to nationalise everything."

Earlier, however, he had indicated that there were "very basic needs" of parts of the community which needed to be addressed, and "interventions must be made to make sure the economy does address those questions".

Rapport

It was clear that Mr du Plessis and Mr Mbeki have established a warm rapport. As the ANC official arrived at the press conference to replace Mr du Plessis, the Finance Minister said: "Suck it to them."

Delegates told how the two had joked about their "roadshow".

However, the delegates said the atmosphere of reconciliation had been dented by an address on Tuesday by Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi said in the speech — a copy was given to the press — that if any political party attempted to establish a one-party state "there would be an awesome backlash which would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance".

He added that: "Threats



Thabo Mbeki

now of a resumption of the armed struggle are not threats of anything significant from a military point of view.

They are only threats of heated political exchanges and a reduction in the degree of co-operation that can be expected between the ANC-SACP and the rest of South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi explained that "there never was any meaningful armed struggle" and "black South Africans voted with their feet against the armed struggle".

According to sources in the conference, which was closed to the press, Chief Buthelezi's comments were not well received, particularly by those present who were not South African.

They felt they went against the reconciliatory atmosphere that the conference appeared to be generating.

An Inkatha official also handed out a 69-page legal document titled: "Statement and reports in respect of the violence in the Transvaal."

The main thrust of the 21 affidavits contained in the report was that the ANC had initiated much of the trouble.

In his press conference Chief Buthelezi said the document was not intended as an attack on the ANC: "That is just the facts of the violence," he said.

He was, however, warmly supportive of President de Klerk's peace initiatives, describing him in the speech as "an astute, hard-bitten politician resting on his laurels and employing existing powerful tendencies. I believe he will be successful," said Chief Buthelezi.

Hiccups

Mr du Plessis was also confident that a peaceful settlement would be achieved. Asked if the process could go wrong, he said the chances were "very slim".

"We will have hiccups, tension and growth pains but I believe we will be successful."

The Finance Minister also touched on a subject that was frequently aired in the conference: an economic union of all Southern African states including the Republic.

"There was a general recognition that South Africa's open and visible involvement in the development of Southern Africa is necessary."

Sanctions

However, he stressed that this should not injure existing structures which promote trade in the region.

There was, however, no indication that there would be a softening on sanctions.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe said the conference had shown that what South Africa had done so far was "definitely not enough to lift sanctions".

Stability

This showed that the world did not trust the National Party, he said.

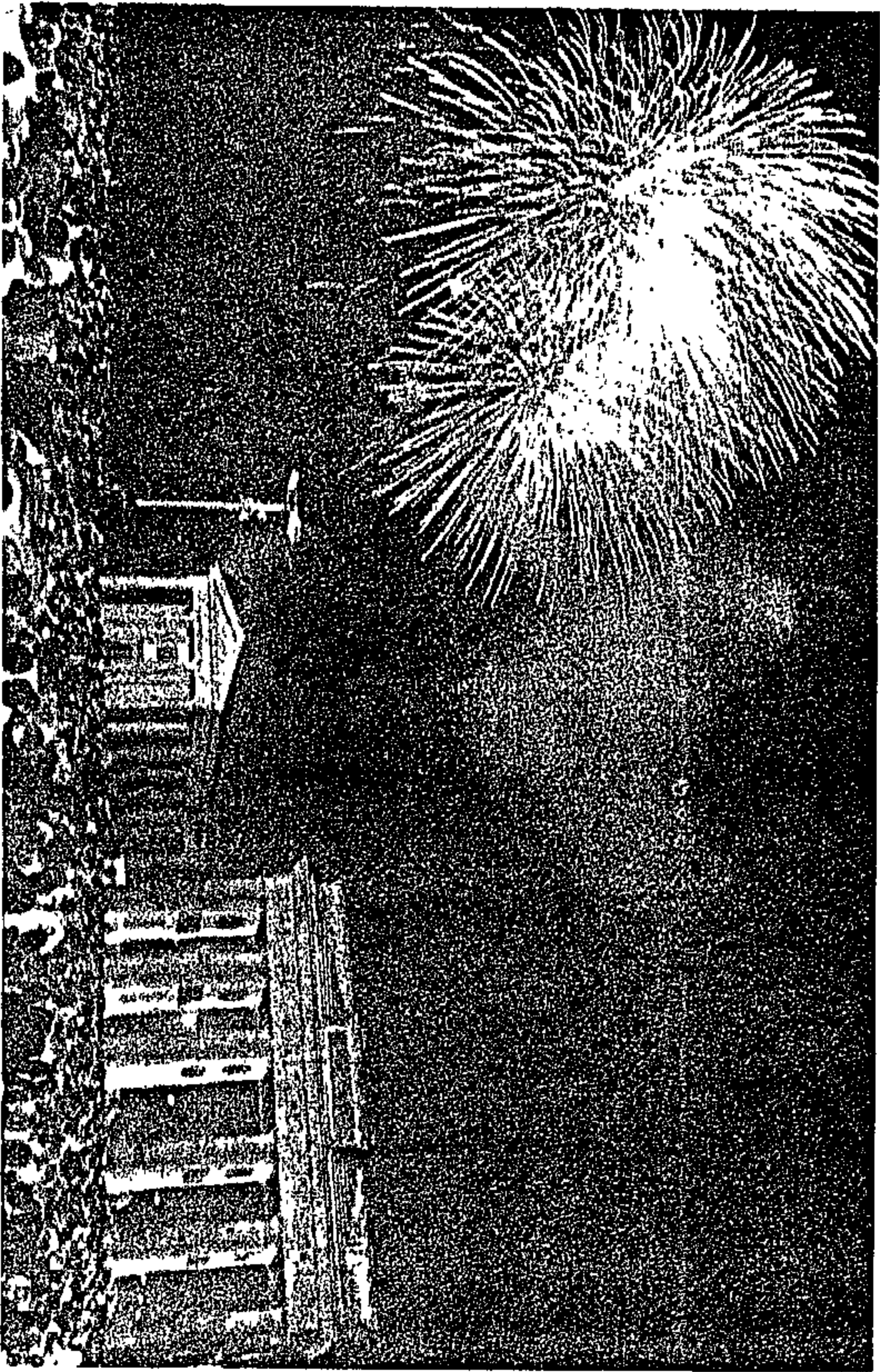
Mr Mbeki said future political stability was of far greater significance to the businessmen present than the short-term issue of sanctions.

Perhaps the most significant benefit of the conference was, however, that it brought together Mr du Plessis and his ministerial counterparts from the Frontline States for the first time.

He responded with a political version of "we can't go on meeting like this", saying that that in future Ministers — "and not only Ministers of Finance" — should get together in the region.

ARG 3/10/90 304A

'Best-man' Pol Jan



IN WITH A BANG: Fireworks explode over Berlin's Brandenburg Gate as tens of thousands gather to celebrate the unification of East and West Germany at midnight last night. ● Full report, page 17.

Machine-guns carried to guard Princess Diana

LONDON. — Police guarding the royal family are now reported to be carrying machine-guns following new Irish Republican Army terrorist attacks in Britain.

Buckingham Palace would not comment on Press reports yesterday that guards with Heckler and Koch semi-automatic weapons had been drafted to protect Princess Diana, 29-year-old wife of Prince Charles, the heir to the throne.

Police in Cumbria, northern England, said the weapons were at the ready when the princess visited in 1981.



By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

A "best-man" government not answerable to any one political party has been suggested for the future by Justice Minister Mr. Kobi Coeisee.

It would govern the country in the best interest of all the people and could be called to account in parliament without party loyalties interfering.

Mr. Coeisee was speaking at a conference yesterday organized by the SA Institute of Public Administration on "control over the functions of public institutions."

Second hint

This is the second recent hint that the government is thinking of a multi-party Cabinet.

Finance Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis suggested something similar in a recent speech. Mr. Coeisee said that parliament was the principal organ for the exercise of control over the executive in SA.

In a new dispensation the basic principles of parliament should not be meddled with or chaos would ensue.

A new dispensation would offer the opportunity to adjust a shortcoming of the present system — the danger of party loyalties hampering parliamentary control of the executive.

A "best-man government" which did not belong to any party caucus would get around this problem, he indicated. It also would enhance the status of parliament.

Mr. Coeisee said, for example, that in the present system the governing parties in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives had an advantage over the governing party in the House of Assembly because they could criticize the government "without becoming embroiled in caucus intricacies."

Mr. Coeisee identified another flaw in the mechanisms of control over the executive.

'Only good news'

He said that under the present system there was a danger that annual reports produced by various government departments might only give the good news.

"It speaks for itself that a department head will not freely

CP in last ditch stand on amenities

JOHANNESBURG. — In a last ditch effort to get around the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, many Conservative Party councils are rushing through new measures to effectively keep municipal facilities exclusively for whites.

These include the charging of exorbitant non-refundable library membership fees. In Bethal membership for non-residents will cost an astronomical R500 annually.

Others, like Sasolburg, are to restrict their swimming pools and resorts to season ticket holders. And only residents within the town's municipal jurisdiction will qualify for season tickets.

Erie's CP Member of Parliament, Mr. Moolman Menez, said any person of colour wanting to use local facilities would be referred to the provincial Administrator.

It is understood that some councils will consider closing down their swimming pools if large numbers of black people start using them.

From October 15 it will be illegal to discriminate against those wishing to use public amenities on grounds of race.

LIVELY MEETINGS

Meanwhile throughout the plateland during the past few weeks lively and often emotional public meetings have been held under the auspices of the CP to discuss the scrapping of the Act.

In most Transvaal plateland towns nearly all public amenities are still segregated.

At Erie's public meeting, according to Mr. Menez, not one person voted for the opening of the town's amenities. In Bethal a referendum was held among ratepayers. Of the 700 who voted, 60 opted for integration.

In Middelburg last Thursday only eight out of about 500 residents said they were in favour of sharing the town's public facilities.

The CP's Transvaal municipal committee chairman, Mr. Pikkie Coetzee, said the meetings had shown that white ratepayers were angry and upset with the government's decision to scrap the Act.

"The government has no mandate to open up our facilities," he said.

QUICK READ

It's neck and neck in the Round World yacht race: P 20

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Lightbody's among FPL Big Six to join major soccer league ... page 20.

tonight

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Get into the saddle with Paul Reveré and discover real smooth pleasure.

It would govern the country in the best interest of all the people and could be called to account in parliament without party loyalties interfering.

Mr Coetsee was speaking at a conference yesterday organised by the SA Institute of Public Administration on "control over the functions of public institutions."

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'Only good news'

He said that under the present system there was a danger that annual reports produced by various government departments might only give the good news.

"It speaks for itself that a department head will not freely and publicly disclose mistakes or problem areas which can embarrass him or his minister," Mr Coetsee said.

● The government will soon "deal with" ANC militarist Chris Hani's remarks on the continued recruitment of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, a senior government minister said last night.

Education and Development Aid Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe said the government was unhappy with militant statements made by Mr Hani, the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He said the government was particularly concerned about the continued training of MK soldiers after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, which announced the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Mr Hani returned to South Africa on Sunday.

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Get into the with Paul R

...and discover real smoking



FW's tour could stop off in Africa too

A VISIT to an African country might be included in the itinerary of one of President F W de Klerk's short trips abroad this month. 3/10/90

De Klerk yesterday confirmed that he would be making two visits to Europe in the next few weeks.

His office said the first trip, expected to start on October 14, would include De Klerk meeting a long-standing engagement to deliver a speech at an international conference of a business association, the

MIKE ROBERTSON

Young President's Organisation, on board the Queen Elizabeth II liner. The conference would be open only to delegates.

Brief courtesy calls would be paid on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

The second trip would involve an official visit to the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

A visit to an African state during one of the visits could not be ruled out.



Mr Barend du Plessis



Mr Thabo Mbeki



Chief Buthelezi

Barend: Negotiations at hand, lift sanctions

CM. T4B 3/10/90 (S) (304A)

From IAN HOBBS

GENEVA. — South Africa is months away from starting constitutional negotiation and financial sanctions should be lifted without delay to stimulate growth and peace, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

He said he expected negotiations to be under way in the first quarter of 1991, but warned that South Africa should not have to wait for constitutional settlement before the damaging financial sanctions were lifted. "My primary concern is that the reform process must be underpinned by economic growth, which will be to the advantage of all South Africans."

He was addressing a press conference at the conclusion of an unprecedented two-day conference in Geneva with frontline states and prominent international politicians and businessmen, sponsored by the non-partisan World Economic Forum.

There were also delegations from the PAC and Conservative Party. The World Bank, the UN and the Commonwealth were represented.

The conference exposed continuing sharp differences between the government and the ANC, notably on sanctions, and between the ANC and Inkatha.

Much attention was focused on the presence, often together, of Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman.

But delegates said that even

the sharp clashes of policy and opinion had been "realistic" and they were unanimous that there had been significant breakthroughs.

Mr Du Plessis said he felt that the conference had helped the "very delicate situation" in Southern Africa. He said he had had his first ice-breaking meetings with frontline states' finance ministers and he expected direct contact to continue.

Nationalisation

The conference chairman, former British Foreign Office Minister for Africa Mr Frank Judd, said the presence of more than 150 of the world's most prominent businessmen illustrated their keenness to invest in Southern Africa. The message from business leaders was that stability was necessary for investment and growth — and democracy was basic to stability.

He said the meeting had buried fears that the ANC sought rampant nationalisation. On the contrary, they did not have such an entrenched ideological position.

Mr Mbeki told the press conference the ANC had never had a policy of nationalisation and it had never been high on their agenda. Their priority was to achieve stability to attract foreign investment and achieve growth.

Investors had to have confidence in the security of their investments and the repatriation of their profits, he said.

In one of the sharpest speeches, Chief Buthelezi appeared to

issue stern warnings to the government and the ANC.

He said: "The stark realities in South Africa are that no political force will achieve anything other than introducing a multi-party democracy."

"If the government reneged on its undertakings and turned to resuscitate apartheid, South Africa would be torn apart."

"If any party attempted to establish a one-party stranglehold over politics and dictate to the rest of the country what shall happen, there would be an awesome backlash that would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance."

Chief Buthelezi distributed a 70-page document detailing the bloodshed in Natal and the Transvaal, which laid most blame on the ANC.

He said he had made 40 separate invitations to Mr Nelson Mandela to meet him, but a variety of excuses had been made and he still awaited the meeting.

Mr Mbeki insisted that a sinister hidden hand linked to the armed forces and police was manipulating the violence. He said committees had been established for the ANC and Inkatha jointly to tackle the crisis.

Turning Chief Buthelezi's protests into a question he said: "Why must Mr Mandela have a meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi. It is coming across like a fetish that Gatsha Buthelezi must meet Nelson Mandela."

Parcel bomb firm linked to ANC

DURBAN — Computer sales consultant Nick Cruse, whose firm does work for the ANC and several liberal organisations, was killed by a parcel bomb blast in Glenwood, Durban, yesterday.

The ANC condemned the bombing, and sources confirmed that members of the party's Durban Central branch had held meetings at the offices of P C Plus Consultants in Crart Avenue, Glenwood.

Friends of the 23-year-old victim said they believed the blast was a politically-motivated attack by right-wingers.

Police said last night neither the type of explosive used nor the motive had been established, but friends of Cruse, who recently completed his national service at Natal Command, said several ANC members worked on the premises.

Died

The owner of the premises is Tam Alexander, a computer consultant and End Conscription Campaign conscientious objector who fled to Zimbabwe in 1988 after refusing to do military service.

Cruse, a former Durban High School pupil, died instantly while opening a package which had been hand delivered by a "fast-freight" company early yesterday.

Sue Bremner-Stokes and Claudine Ketley, who were in the same room, suffered minor injuries.

Another 12 people were in other parts of the house when the bomb went off.

Own Correspondent

Cruse was nearly decapitated by the bomb, which blew out a burglar-barred bay window and damaged another window.

Alexander, also co-owner of the company, said he had shaken the package shortly before the explosion, and thought it contained a personal computer.

"It wasn't in a box as such. Layer after layer of tape and packaging paper had been bound round the computer. It was odd enough for us to remark about the packaging," he said.

But Cruse had received a call from someone in Johannesburg on Monday telling him to expect a computer shortly.

He said the bomb package was marked "Attention: Nick". Alexander's brother is also called Nick.

SA Police spokesman Lt Bala Naidoo said in a statement yesterday that a domestic servant, Maureen Reddy, took delivery of a parcel from a freight delivery company at the premises.

Alexander said the company did computer work for trade unions, educational institutions and anti-apartheid bodies.

Cruse's father, David Cruse of Howardene, said Cruse had finished the army in April and had worked briefly at Addington Hospital before joining P C Plus in August.

The ANC said P C Plus Consultants had worked closely with many MDM organisations and projects, supplying them with hardware, software, advice and training.

Urgent bid for release of detainee

SUSAN RUSSELL

AN URGENT application for the release of Internal Security Act detainee Yusuf Mahomed, who is under psychiatric care in the Johannesburg Hospital, will be brought in the Rand Supreme Court today.

Mahomed's family is asking the court for an order against the Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police declaring detention in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act unlawful and directing that he be released.

Alternatively, the family is seeking an interim interdict preventing the police from interrogating or questioning Mahomed without the prior permission of one of the senior psychiatrists treating him.

The court will also be asked, pending the return date of the application, to interdict the police from removing Mahomed from hospital without permission of the psychiatrist treating him.

The family also wants the court to order that Mahomed's wife and daughters be allowed to visit him.

'Democracy must deliver goods'

CAPE TOWN — Unless democratic governments in SA and Eastern Europe produced the economic growth necessary to satisfy heightened expectations, they would be replaced by new forms of dictatorship, Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy chairman Oscar Dhlomo warned yesterday.

Addressing delegates at a conference organised by Stellenbosch University's Business School, Dhlomo said he believed there was a direct and inexorable link between economic growth and the development and maintenance of a democratic political culture.

It would be a big enough challenge to devise an acceptable democratic constitution for the new SA, he said.

LESLEY LAMBERT

But the success of that constitution would depend largely on the development of a political culture.

This would rely on a strong and growing economy without which "SA is likely to sink into a swamp of poverty and decay in which a democratic political culture and democratic institutions are unlikely to survive".

Dhlomo said that unless democracy, in SA and Eastern Europe, produced the economic growth necessary to at least reasonably satisfy heightened expectations, political chaos would threaten and democracy would inevitably be replaced by new forms of dictatorship.

SA had an opportunity to become

the leader of a new, democratic Africa.

But, Dhlomo warned, the chances of establishing a democratic political culture in a country like SA with its undemocratic history, would be very limited, and would depend on the development of a democratic culture.

The workplace was one of the most important places to start promoting such development and people in the business community were urged to find imaginative ways of introducing democratic procedures and practices into their offices and factories.

"By doing so you can play an important part in developing the experience in democracy that will be the most important component of developing a democratic political culture."

WS



Zach de Beer... no precedent created by DP withdrawal.



F W de Klerk... looking for combined NP-DP vote.

NP seeks huge turnout in Randburg

A National Party victory in next month's Randburg by-election would be meaningful only if the party were able to attract more than the combined votes of the NP and the Democratic Party during last year's general election, according to President de Klerk.

However, NP sources yesterday expressed concern about a low poll following the DP's withdrawal from the November 7 by-election.

At a fund-raising dinner in Johannesburg on Monday night, Mr de Klerk appealed to Randburg voters to support NP candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk, and he cautioned NP supporters not to be complacent and not to erroneously accept that an NP election victory was a foregone conclusion.

● Speaking in Kimberley, DP leader Zach de Beer said his party's concession not to stand in the Randburg by-election had not create a precedent.

He referred to "considerable vagueness" in NP intentions as far as the constitution went.

"President de Klerk insists he can do something secret and special to protect minorities.

"We say you can protect minorities via a Bill of Rights and independent courts and proportional representation and the federal dispersion of power and by a requirement for special majorities in legislatures for special purposes.

"If the President has something more than this up his sleeve, the people have a right to know what it is," he said.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and Sapa.)

Azapo turns down State's offer of talks

Sowetan 4/10/90
304A

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has turned down the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory constitutional talks.

Expressing a commitment to "peace based on justice for the land and people of South Africa", Azapo president Professor Gomolemo Mosala said in Cape Town the organisation made a distinction "between constitutional discussions aimed at producing a new constitution for a new society and talks aimed at enlisting the participation of liberation movements in the removal of measures that keep black people in prison and under legal political and socio-economic conditions of suppression and exploitation".

"A government which claims to be committed to change must use its own instruments of State rule to remove those measures and conditions without drawing in those who are committed to the creation of a new and a just society for their people.

"We will not negotiate the release of our political prisoners, the removal of the Land Act and other Acts which characterise the apartheid system," he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

Azapo was committed to a constituent assembly as the starting point for constitutional negotiations.

Such an assembly should be elected on the basis of "a universal franchise, convened under circumstances of safety and freedom for all its participants and refereed by an independent party".

Azapo's position was that negotiations should take place at a neutral venue, under an independent and impartial mediator.

African state

Publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the thinking in Azapo was that this country could become an African state in the ranks of the Organisation for African Unity.

The first step towards talks should be a consultative conference of liberation movements and labour organisations "to determine the agenda for constitutional discussions".

"We have spoken to all organisations and have secured agreements in principle on the need for a consultative conference," Moodley said.

Sec 4/10/90

30407

CP criticised for 'unacceptable moves'

Political Staff,
Own Correspondent

Transvaal Acting Administrator Willie Hoods said yesterday provincial authorities would take up unacceptable moves by CP-run town councils to outflank the imminent end of the Separate Amenities Act.

"It is contrary to the whole reformation process," he said in response to a report that many CP-dominated councils were rushing through new measures aimed at keeping municipal facilities exclusively for white use.

Dr Hoods said the Transvaal's Executive Committee would discuss the matter at its next meeting, and consult central Government as well.

NP sources said applications to court were in the offing to test the validity and legality of retaining racial segregation at public amenities. One of the first may be a Supreme Court hearing involving Springs Town Council's closure of two swimming pools.

It is understood documents

are presently being drawn up to challenge the disuse of the public pools, which has apparently deprived two white primary schools of their swimming facilities.

Other moves calculated to thwart the ending of amenities discrimination on October 15 include the charging of exorbitant non-refundable library membership fees. In Bethal membership for non-residents will cost R500 annually.

Restricted

Other councils, like Sasolburg, are to restrict their swimming pools and resorts to season ticket-holders. Only residents within the town's municipal jurisdiction will qualify for season tickets.

Ermelo's MP, Moolman Mentz (CP), said any person of colour wanting to use local facilities would be referred to the Provincial Administrator.

Throughout the platteland in the past few weeks, fiery public meetings have been held under the auspices of the CP to discuss the scrapping of the Act.

In most Transvaal platteland towns, nearly all public amenities are still segregated.

At Ermelo's public meeting, according to a CP MP, not one person voted for the opening of the town's amenities. In Bethal, a referendum was held among ratepayers. Of the 700 who voted, 60 opted for integration.

In Middelburg last Thursday, only eight out of about 500 residents said they were in favour of sharing the town's public facilities. A local minister and representative of industry were repeatedly jeered and shouted down when they spoke in favour of opening the town's "public" amenities.

The CP's Transvaal municipal committee chairman Pikkie Coetzee said the meetings showed that white ratepayers were upset with the decision to scrap the Act.

"The Government has no mandate to open up our facilities. White local authorities built these resorts, pools and playing fields with ratepayers' money. They're ours." — Political Staff and Own Correspondent.

US warns on trends

WASHINGTON

4/10/90
Sowetan
Dangerous trends had the potential to undo the work done so far to create a climate conducive to negotiations and peaceful change in South Africa, the Bush Administration has warned the US Congress. (306A)

In its annual report on progress in South Africa to the Congress, the Administration said the trends included growing political extremism from the right and left, intolerance to opposition within the black community and general violence and crime.

The note of warning contrasted with the general tenor of the rest of the report, which was generally positive and optimistic about developments in South Africa in the past 12 months.
Sowetan Foreign Service

Mugabe's appeal

4/10/90
Sowetan
UNITED NATIONS - Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe said he made an unsuccessful appeal to US President George Bush to impose a ceiling on rising crude oil prices.

"The developed nations can do much more to halt this hiking of oil prices," Mugabe told reporters after addressing the U.N. General Assembly.

Reform gathers pace as Acts bite the dust

One of the country's most emotive pieces of legislation is destined for the scrap-heap, accompanied on its journey to oblivion by the angry cries of farmers, some politicians and hard-line right-wingers.

The death knell for the Black Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 — known collectively as the "Land Act" — was sounded in Pretoria this week when President FW de Klerk, leaders of the self-governing homelands and the Administrators of the country's four provinces agreed that ownership of land should be open to all and not only to whites.

They said the Acts should be repealed "as part of a comprehensive programme to remove all racially discriminatory restrictions on the acquisition of land."

It was also decided that, simultaneously, credit facilities would be opened to allow non-discriminatory access to the Land Bank and agricultural credit.

Hopping mad

It is, without doubt, one of the most far-reaching decisions yet taken by the Government in its drive to reform South Africa politically.

It means that farmers of another colour would, once the Acts have been repealed, be able to buy land anywhere.

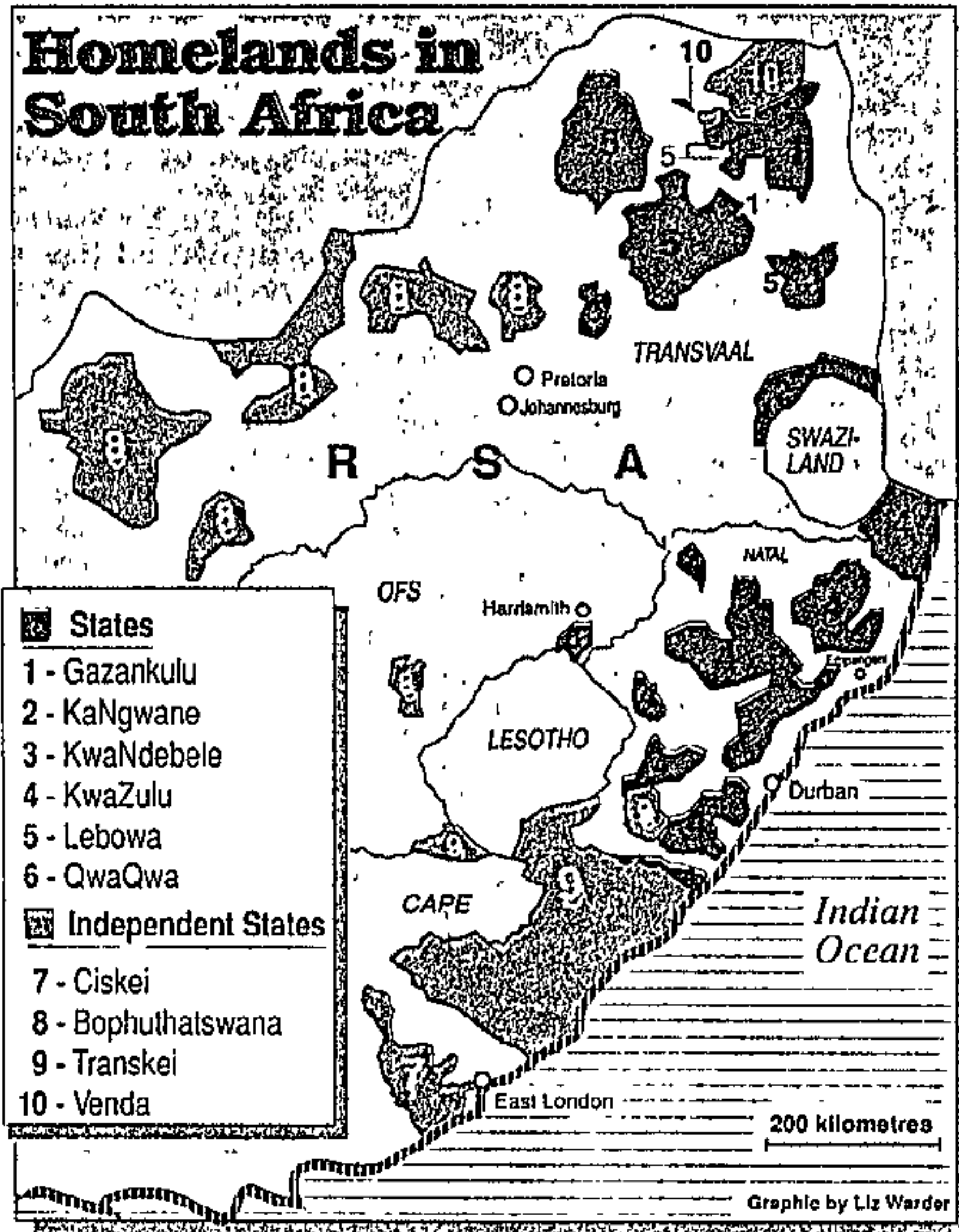
This is the one particularly emotive decision which has got farmers, particularly in conservative Transvaal, hopping mad. They see their once-powerful grip on who can and who cannot farm the land being broken once and for all.

The extent of their rage will be shown tomorrow when they hold a major protest meeting in Pretoria.

They are protesting even though the Government meeting this week also pledged to protect specific community interests in regard to land tenure. A special working group is looking into this aspect.

But farmers cannot say they were not warned.

A highly contentious piece of South African legislation is headed for the scrap-heap. **NORMAN CHANDLER** of The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports on the implications resulting from the repeal of the land Acts.



The State President paved the way at the Pretoria agricultural summit in August when he told farmers their interests would be looked after in a new South Africa but that they had to be prepared to share the land.

Then he said more or less the same thing in an American newspaper interview and to United States government officials while visiting President Bush last month.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said this year that the land issue had to be addressed by taking over unused farming lands, against compensation, for settling farmers and aiding new (that is,

black) farmers with know-how and finance to ensure adequate use of the land.

The Urban Foundation backs the viewpoints, suggesting that R3 billion be invested over a four-year period for extensive land-redistribution and farmer-education schemes.

It ran into fierce opposition from the Transvaal Agricultural Union, which said the Urban Foundation did not "apparently understand the implications this would have for the production of food for a growing population ... Organisations which had been in favour of an end to influx control now want to transfer the present chaos of squatter towns around

cities to the white platteland."

The African National Congress has made land ownership a key part of the negotiating process, saying there was extreme prejudice against black people at the time the two Acts came into being.

That blacks were prejudiced against is without question.

It took just three years after Union in 1910 for blacks to realise that whites would be deciding who could live or farm in certain areas.

The Black Land Act, No 27 of 1913, made it abundantly clear that acquisition of land by blacks was forbidden except in certain defined areas — now known as "scheduled black areas".

The Institute for Race Relations, in a 1987 paper entitled "Land and Race: South Africa's Group Areas and Land Acts", said both the Black Land Act and the Development Trust and Land Act — which to an extent modified the earlier legislation — restricted acquisition.

Fallen away

The Acts expressly prohibited the purchase, hire or other acquisition of land or interest in land — meaning no black person could even have a share in a farm (although in some areas this has largely fallen away) — outside "scheduled black areas."

And if a white person bought land in a prescribed area at a sale in execution, for instance, he had to sell it to a black person within a year.

The 1936 Act went further: no black-owned company could acquire or own land unless they owned it before that year. The restriction did not apply to "a legally recognised tribe".

Soon all of this will be history as land ownership is thrown open to all races — apparently irrespective of what white farmers in far-flung corners of the Transvaal may have to say.

The problem is that the resulting upheaval in the country's farming communities may take time to settle down.

Azapo turns down State's offer of talks

Sowetan 4/10/90

304A

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Sowetan Correspondent

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The first step towards talks should be a consultative conference of liberation movements and labour organisations "to determine the agenda for constitutional discussions".

"We have spoken to all organisations and have secured agreements in principle on the need for a consultative conference," Moodley said.

17/05/80 3007

Youths get together to talk about talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE youth wings of political organisations ranging from the National Party to the Azanian People's Organisation have been invited to attend a youth conference on negotiations at the Peninsula Technikon.

Invited to attend next Saturday's conference, where the Pretoria Minute will be explained, are the New Unity Movement, Democratic Party and religious groups.

An invitation has also been sent to the Conservative Party, said South African Youth Congress member Mr Richard Martin at a Press conference yesterday.

ACROSS IDEOLOGY

"We are trying to get the youth groupings from various organisations together and are cutting across the ideological divide," he said.

"This should be seen as part of the campaign by the ANC to take the Pretoria Minute to the people ... part of the conference is to facilitate this."

The ANC would also be given an opportunity to listen to the "youth's perspective of issues".

Mr Maxwell Moss, regional president Sayco, said the conference was not an attempt to break away from the ANC.

Sayco said in a statement it wished to dispel all distortions that "we are part of a dissident group within the ANC that is against negotiations. We want to affirm our own active support for the ANC in their efforts to create peace and justice."

Speakers at next Saturday's conference include regional ANC executive members Mr Bulelani Nqeka, Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Dullah Omar.

**Political
Correspondent**

THE government had no hidden agenda for protecting white domination in any form in a future South Africa, the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said last night.

In an address to the Institute of Bankers in SA, Mr Van Heerden said the government had made it "quite clear" that the negotiation process was open to all in SA and that no grouping should have the veto over the proceedings or the outcome.

The government was committed to the attainment of democracy as the concept was understood in the Western world.

Mr Van Heerden said the government's rejection of a "winner-takes-all" model of simple majority rule should not be equated with a refusal to accept a representative constitutional democracy.

"The realities of SA, however, suggest a system where minorities are constitutionally protected against the abuse of power by a majority."

Mr Van Heerden said SA was passing through possibly the most important transformation in its history.

"This transformation has passed a point of irreversibility.

"There can be no doubt that the government of SA is irrevocably committed to the fundamental restructuring of the country's political

Govt 'has no hidden agenda' for whites

and other institutions.

"South Africans are accepting that they must negotiate with each other, not because total victory for any cause will result, but because the alternative would mean total defeat for everyone."

Mr Van Heerden said SA could not avoid the necessity of achieving harmony both internally and with the rest of the world.

"All the world's peoples are in the same leaky boat, for better or for worse, and if we are to survive, we shall have to think beyond exclusive ideological and national frontiers."

Mr Van Heerden said that with the "stark exception" of the events in the Gulf, "the whole world would appear to be moving into a new era of real peace and economic progress".

Differing views over Land Act

A SHARP difference of opinion has emerged between the ANC and the Government on the issue of returning land to blacks in "white" South Africa when the Land Acts are repealed next year.

The ANC's latest draft economic policy document makes it clear that it believes priority should be given to "immediately

Sowetan
returning to the land those removed from black freehold land or from plots held under labour tenancy agreements".

But the Government has made it equally clear that it does not envisage a re-distribution of land when the Acts go.

The Government confirmed on Tuesday that the two laws which pre-

vent blacks owning rural land in "white" South Africa would be repealed next year. (304A)

However, Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Gerrit Viljoen made it clear that the Government was against returning land which had been owned by blacks before the Land Acts were introduced.

At a Press conference after a meeting with homeland leaders to discuss the repeal of the Land Acts, he and President de Klerk were asked if those who had lost land under the Acts would be entitled to first option in re-acquiring it when they were scrapped.

- Sowetan Correspondent.

TIME FOR A CHAT

FM 5/10/90

304H



Everyone is very impressed by the State President's performances during his American visit. He's been doing some homework.

I listened to his address at the National Press Club, broadcast live here by the SABC's TV1 and by Radio 702. What struck me about the speech was that it was indeed a speech.

We are not accustomed to speeches from our leaders. This is not surprising. We do not have much of an oratorical tradition in our politics. Even a true statesman like Jan Smuts was not a distinguished speaker. His thin, reedy voice undermined the content and his formidable intellect was best engaged in composing for the written, not the spoken word.

Of the first five National Party leaders after 1948, only Vorster seemed to have a real feel for public speaking. He understood the importance of timing, being a master of the pause for effect; he was also something of a natural on TV — something that Verwoerd, Strijdom and Malan had never had to worry about and which P W Botha never got the hang of. Vorster sensed the importance, on TV, of keeping his body almost motionless; it made him seem imperturbable and in command. He also understood the value of being filmed — even for a few seconds — with Gary Player on the golf course.

Vorster also had an instinctive understanding of the broadcasting maxim that "less is more." When answering an interviewer's questions, he would always take his time; when they came, his replies would be laconic and occasionally witty, but always in simple language and brief.

But John Vorster, to use cricket imagery, never set out to score a century or please the

crowd with dashing play. He was a stonewaller, awesomely effective but never lyrical, a Boycott rather than a Pollock. He would never do anything to lose a match, but he was not going to win one either. He gave the impression that, if given the choice, he would rather not be making a speech or answering questions.

De Klerk is in a different mould from all his predecessors. For the first time, we have a leader who is prepared to win an audience with sweet reasonableness rather than surly aggression. If he is not yet as powerful a stage performer as Vorster or P W Botha, he has a wider range — and he is reaching for the stars.

Nearly all SA politicians think a public occasion is an opportunity to read boring announcements. And read them they do, battling with jargon-ridden phrases and offering bizarre interpretations of punctuation. They produce huge pauses when a page has to be turned, often in mid-sentence. Oblivious of that miracle of technology, the microphone, they bellow throughout their speeches. Arrogant in the assumption that what they are saying is important enough to deserve rapt attention, they neglect to insert even the tiniest grains of humour.

It is not all their fault, of course, but then they should shoot the advisers and speechwriters who keep getting them into these verbal swamps. (Remember that the appearance in a presidential speech of a passing reference to the Rubicon River did not happen by coincidence: some classically minded official must have thought of it and put forward the bright idea. It must have been a novel way of handing in one's resignation.) De Klerk has not been making such mis-

takes. He and his aides evidently know that the structure, phrasing and vocabulary of a speech are as important as the basic sentiments. In this respect, as in others, he has come a long way since his February 2 speech at the opening of parliament.

Though that February speech was momentous because of its content, as a speech it was not at all impressive. It was full of legal and bureaucratic jargon, sounding more like a rendition of the *Government Gazette* than an address by a statesman to his people. The English parts were probably translated and this showed in the strained idiom. It was too long and contained nothing of the lighter touch. And De Klerk's delivery was monotonous, with few shifts in emphasis and few pauses for effect. The speech was memorable only for what it contained.

Last week, however, all that had changed. This was the De Klerk who is beginning to learn the art of the fireside chat. He offered a sprinkling of mild jokes and dashes of human warmth; he avoided jargon, using the good old liberal words that bring a tear to the American eye. At times his voice dropped to little more than a whisper and he was not afraid to employ a long pause when the weight of a particular phrase warranted it. To be sure, he still sounded awkward at times and he is still not quite comfortable in English — but it was impressive stuff.

De Klerk should now try this homely approach back in SA. His new confidence should enable him to be more direct and friendly in English as well as Afrikaans.

Is it significant that, in general, Nelson Mandela prefers the formal, pedantic and rather distant style that is now being shed by De Klerk?

David Williams

Need for massive resources

MASSIVE human and material resources would be needed to ensure improvements to present local government conditions were achieved, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said last night.

These resources would, however, have to be reorganised under new partnerships in order to succeed, he said in his opening address to an ANC convened conference in Johannesburg on local government.

"While the state is ultimately responsible, the scale and complexity of the tasks will go well beyond the resources of the state.

"We need to consider new forms of partnership — between state, private sector and for lack of a better word, community or nongovernment sector as well as international assistance in terms of both skills and experience."

This would require massive re-

sources — human and material — to be combined in innovative ways to ensure the improvements were achieved.

In SA, ready solutions did not exist and, even if they did, their applicability would be in question.

The ANC believed that in addressing issues of local government and planning, components of a formula already existed and were readily accessible.

"Firstly, we have gained invaluable experience in the course of local struggles ... across the country."

However, "this needs to be complemented with appropriate training.

"Secondly ... is the solid democratic tradition of our structures in the movement as a whole. This needs to be harnessed to new democratic structures of local government."

Thirdly, resources of private sector corporations, pension funds, finance houses and mortgage companies needed to be tapped, he said.

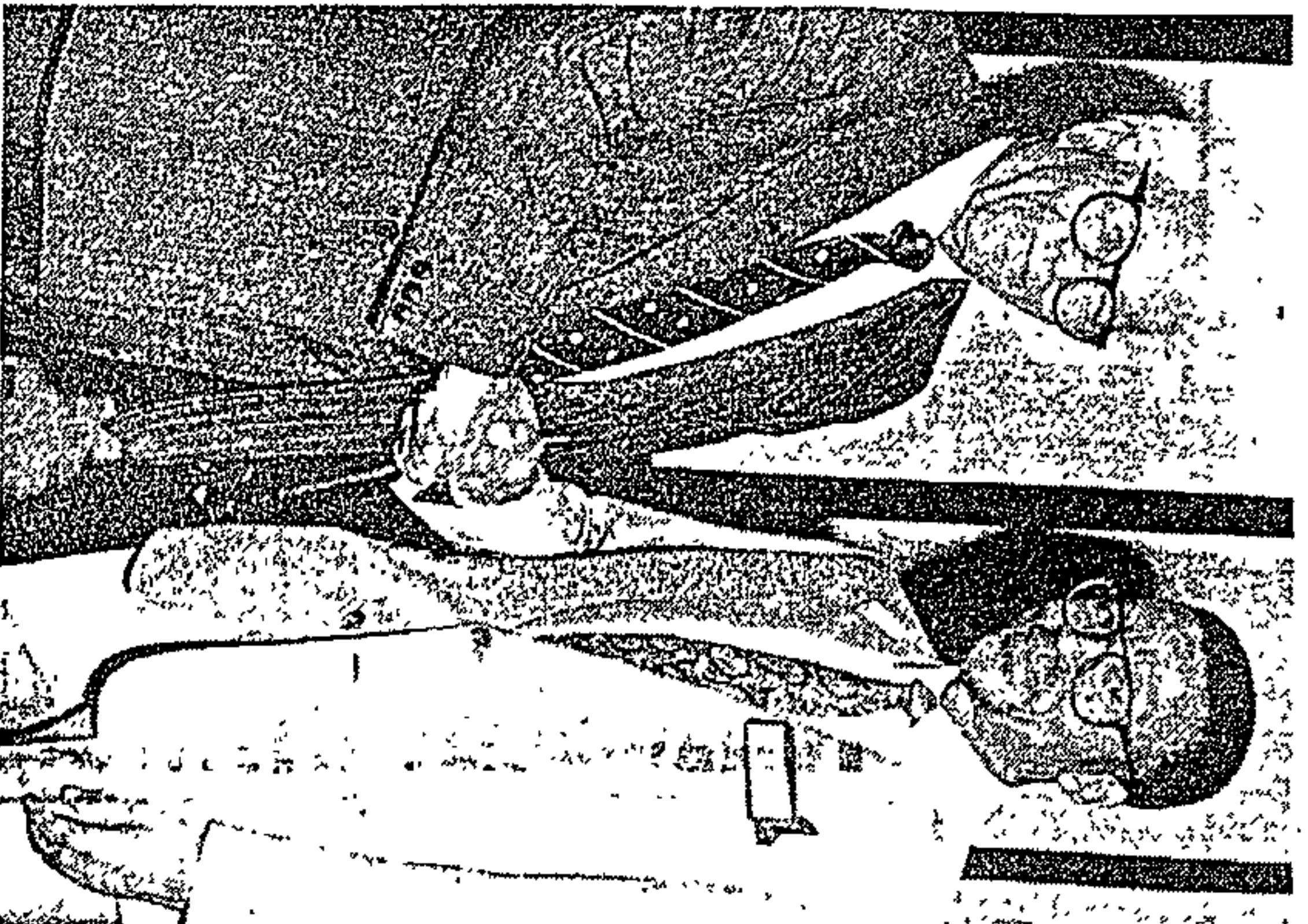
Fourthly, the state's resources — both central and local government — needed to be utilised.

Community co-operatives, self-help initiatives and nongovernment organisations also had to be encouraged.

"Sixthly, we need to urgently encourage the reorientation of centres of higher learning to the needs of our communities, institutes, universities and technicians.

"Finally, ... we need to integrate our policies and actions both horizontally as well as vertically."

He explained that to integrate horizontally was to ensure consultation and consensus was achieved at both local and regional levels. — Sapa.



Walter Sisulu greets chief ANC representative in Sweden Billy Modise at yesterday's conference. Picture: ROBYN RYAN

Mandela cancels visits to Paris and Moscow

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress has confirmed the postponement of deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to France and the Soviet Union.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the visit was cancelled because the date was "unsuitable to both parties".

"The ANC looks forward to fixing a date which is mutually acceptable," she said.

Mr Mandela will now leave six days later on October 14 and go direct to India. He is also scheduled to visit Malaysia, Brunei, Australia and Japan.

Hani will be at joint

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The joint ANC government working group dealing with the suspension of the armed struggle gets down to business today with Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani present for the first time.

The government has reinstated his temporary immunity, which had been withdrawn on August 19.

Government sources said only the agenda for the talks had been determined at the three previous meetings of the joint working group.

group meeting

The Pretoria Minute determined the target date for the group's report as September 15.

Today's meeting is expected to define terms such as the armed struggle and the parties bound by it.

The government is likely to push for the inclusion of mass recruitment and Umkhonto we Sizwe recruitment in the definition of the armed struggle.

The ANC team expected to attend today's meeting is Mr Hani, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Matlhenw Phosa and Mr Jacob Zuma.

● An ANC delegation led by Mr Nelson Mandela will have talks today with the leaders of all the non-independent national states with the exception of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



CITY

Right-wingers disrupt Kriel's report-back

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

RIGHT-WING hecklers disrupted a Parow report-back meeting by the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning, Mr Hernus Kriel.

Many of the about 70 hecklers were in Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging khaki and made up about half the audience.

A security guard used an electronic metal detector to check people entering the meeting last night. At least one pistol was confiscated.

Just before the meeting started, 20 minutes late, a stink bomb was thrown in the Parow Civic Centre lobby.

Laughter

The heckling began when laughter greeted chairman Mr Pen Kotze as he introduced Mr Kriel as someone "of whom all Parow can be proud".

Mr Kriel's speech was dominated by exchanges between him and the hecklers.

On several occasions he addressed the leader of the right-wing group, Mr Steven Jacobson, directly.

"I heard the AWB had direct orders from Eugene Terre'blanche to break up this meeting, and to use women and children to smuggle in teargas," Mr Kriel said, to derisive laughter.

Mr Kriel said he had come to Parow to tell it the National Party was firmly on the path to the new South Africa.

Boosted image

Namibia was a good example of a necessary transition that had stopped violence.

President De Klerk had boosted the country's image overseas and "African leaders are queueing up to talk to us".

Economic reforms, however painful, were paying off and soon the rand would be worth a rand again.

"I give my word as a member of the National Party the NP will not lead you into a new South Africa where whites have no security, but the condition for this is that right and left-wing radicalism must stop," Mr Kriel said.

'Must talk'

The removal of discrimina-

tion was essential.

"If we are going to negotiate, then we must talk to people who matter, so we freed Mandela and are not ashamed we did so," he said.

At the end of the meeting, the group left during the vote of thanks after a failed attempt to pass a motion of no confidence in Mr Kriel.

Outside the hall, the right-wingers sang *Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika*.

Agus 5/10/90
304A

US newspaper looks at FW

WASHINGTON - President de Klerk was one of the least likely and most significant apostles of popular rule, a major US news magazine has written in the wake of his recent visit to America.

The October 8 issue of US News & World Report featured Mr de Klerk's visit to the United States as its first article, accompanied by a large colour picture of a black woman weeping over her dead husband, slain in a recent clash between African National Congress members and Inkatha Zulus.

Under the headline "South Africa: Cry the beloved country", the article said Washington had played host to one of the least likely and most significant apostles of popular rule, F W de Klerk.

Sowetan
5/10/90 **Striking symbol**

"The first South African President invited to Washington in 45 years, he stood stern and erect in front of a black Marine guard on the White House lawn, a striking symbol of how this once loyal son of apartheid is now kicking and cajoling his country toward the goal of racial equality.

"President Bush's effusive praise, calling the process of change in South Africa 'irreversible', was a sort of laying on of hands, marking the transition of de Klerk from outlaw to insider, from despised pariah to active participant in world councils," the journal said.

It added the price of democracy, however, was dissent, and demonstrators outside the White House angrily reminded both leaders how far South Africa still had to go. - *Sowetan Foreign Service*

GOING FOR GROWTH

The "deracialisation" of the Cape National Party at its congress in Port Elizabeth next week is a formality — and the Cape NP is now poised to become the new political home for a significant slice of the largest concentration of "coloured" people in the country.

Nat organisers in the province are confident that the party will attract the overwhelming support of conservative coloureds in the Cape, most of whom have supported the Labour Party up to now.

President FW de Klerk's statesmanlike performance since February 2 and the disturbingly radical line adopted by the ANC in recent months is believed to have influenced many coloured people — who largely share language and religion with traditional Nat supporters.

In a pre-congress interview with the Cape Nat mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, this week, Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said there was already an "overwhelmingly positive" attitude towards opening the party to all races in the Cape. "Our supporters realise that the principles and values for which we stand are not exclusive, but must be made inclusive so that more people can support them."

The Cape NP is already the most dominant within the party, with 42 of the NP's 93 elected MPs. It is regarded as the only provincial wing that can show significant growth by opening membership to all races.

There is little doubt that the Nats will sap what is left of the LP's support if they make a concerted effort to recruit. Results published earlier this year of an opinion poll conducted by the Port Elizabeth-based Human Rights Trust showed a serious collapse of the LP's

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support base in its eastern Cape heartland. The poll was conducted after President De Klerk's opening of parliament speech on February 2. ■

CURRENT AFFAIRS

F/M 5/10/90 (304A)



Hani ... in from the cold

leased since September 1 even though the deadline for all of them — and estimated 3 500 — is the end of April.

The return of exiles, which in terms of the minute should have begun on Monday, with all home by the end of April, is still mired in confusion. ANC officials will meet government on Thursday to discuss the issue; apparently government has been dragging its heels on granting indemnities to exiles.

In accordance with the minute the ANC has classified an estimated 100 000 exiles into seven categories:

- ☐ Ordinary members of the liberation movements;
- ☐ Trained soldiers;
- ☐ Conscientious objectors;
- ☐ Defectors from the liberation movement;
- ☐ Prisoners held by the ANC;
- ☐ Members of non-aligned organisations; and
- ☐ Individuals who left SA for other (presumably non-political) reasons.

Under the minute indemnities have to be granted to these groups — and not to individuals — by not later than the end of this year.

However, the National Consultative Committee on repatriation, convened by SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, has still to receive its full budget of R50m from foreign donors. Chikane's council also comprises representatives of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, ANC, PAC, Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement.

While Operation Iron Fist appears to have suppressed the violence it has left the air murky between the ANC and government. At a press conference on Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said it was interesting to note that violence had flared again a day after President F W de Klerk's return from the US. He contends the lull was created to provide "space" for De Klerk's US visit. If Mandela is to be taken seriously on this — and his suggestion is absurd — it demonstrates just how much credibility still has to be built up.

The razzmatazz of overseas trips by De Klerk and Mandela has so far camouflaged the fact that the peace process has stalled, with fine words increasingly obscured by sour accusations and a lack of action on the ground.

As the FM went to press, Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was reported to have finally declined an invitation to attend the

CURRENT AFFAIRS

F/M 5/10/90 (304A) meeting between the ANC and leaders of non-independent homelands at Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. The refusal should not have come as a surprise: Buthelezi expressed reservations that he had been invited in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and not as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is not an encouraging development. ■

BUSINESS SHOWS THE WAY

30411 ~~204~~ ~~204~~
FIM 5/10/90

Natal, probably the most troubled region — economically and politically — in transitional SA at the moment, has been offered a workable vision of how it cannot only survive but even prosper in the next century.

As part of a major study commissioned by the Tongaat-Hulett group, the region has also been offered a grim warning of the alternative — a doom-and-gloom vision of stalled reform, racial and civil war and soaring poverty and unemployment.

With the co-operation and combined effort of all key players in the region the reality will probably be a middle path but, even for that to work, strategies and plans of action have to be implemented now.

That's what the giant sugar group is offering. To help hand over the initiative set in motion two years ago, it has appointed a three-man task force.

At the beginning of the year Tongaat-Hulett published a report — compiled by a multi-disciplinary forum of leading authorities commissioned by the group — which outlined the state of the Durban Functional Region (DFR). This is defined roughly as an 80 km semi-circle centred on Durban which, with Maritzburg, serves as the political centre and economic engine of Natal and KwaZulu.

The report influenced thinking on the region and has already resulted in some initiatives, like the formation of the Durban City Council's Economic Development Committee (*Current Affairs* September 7), a combined effort by the public and private sectors to stimulate development.

Last week the group published its two follow-up reports to sketch three possible directions for the future of the region, with strategies to try to steer it towards a common future.

The vision is predictable enough.

The DFR and the rest of SA remain in a limbo of ineffectual reform and polarisation; or a sort of high-road option is taken for SA and the DFR where, though nothing is easy, economic growth can overtake population

growth; and the low-road picture of endemic conflict and anarchy.

Amid the future-gazing some facts have emerged. For instance, the planning forum finds the DFR's population growth is not going to be as rampant as earlier estimations. The region's population by the year 2000 is now expected to increase by about 2m to



Saunders ... outlining a solution for Natal

5,1m, of which roughly 3,8m will be African.

This, incidentally, puts paid to the popular notion that Durban is the second-fastest-growing city in the world.

The forum also concludes that while the spread of Aids will remain a serious factor in future development, its impact might not be as devastating as feared.

The first report, formulated before the February 2 reform process, also looks less pessimistic now. With changes taking place in SA, some of the proposals to save the future of the DFR seem more feasible now than they did seven months ago.

Less pleasant factors expected still to affect the region by the turn of the century are:

- A young population with largely unfulfilled aspirations;
- Economic growth lagging behind popula-

tion growth;

- A fragmented urban distribution and a topography that hampers development;
- An enduring gap between the haves and have-nots;
- Endemic violence because the social causes which contribute to it are unlikely to have been addressed fully; and
- Shack areas making up an important component of housing.

The list of strategies and action plans is impressive and covers factors such as economic, political, social and geographic angles.

Concrete steps

Tongaath-Hulett group chairman Chris Saunders has outlined some steps that can be put into effect immediately. One is establishment of an urban development consortium to co-ordinate and initiate a wide range of projects needed in the region.

Another is establishing what is termed a "mixed-use activity corridor" to try to overcome decades of racially based planning. This has produced Durban's fragmented and distorted urban geography, which finds most residential development lying to the north of the city while most industry and jobs lie in the south.

Saunders focused on Cato Manor, a large piece of land near the city — unused for the past two decades after rezoning and forced removals — as an example of an area which can be productively used to overcome the effects of apartheid planning.

The whole project is ambitious and requires co-operation and goodwill across the spectrum. But it does offer a way of diverting the catastrophe for which the region is heading and which was clearly spelled out in the first Tongaat-Hulett report.

At least Natal and KwaZulu now have a picture of what the future could be like and how to get there.

If people still do nothing to help themselves it will not be possible to blame big business for not making a contribution.

tial agents in August last year.

The point was raised by agent Dawid Human, co-director of PWV Housing Agency, in Fairland. Manie Smith, a former director of PWV Housing, joined Taylor's Fortune Homes last year.

The meeting was attended by Human; Bartel Pieterse and Dennis Graham of Graham Pieterse cc; Ivan Dembo of Projects Air Land Sea; and Frans van Eeden, a former trust official who is now a director of the iKairos agency. According to the minutes the agents informed Khayaletu's Dirk Ackermann of their "frustrations, mistrust and fears" concerning Fortune Homes.

Taylor reacted to the *FM* on Monday. He denies his company presents any competition to the residential agents, or that there is a conflict of interest.

He says Fortune Homes acts on behalf of developers. "We do the paperwork for the contractors. When we receive an application we take it to the trust, or the commission or a building society. About 15%-20% of the financing is done through Khayaletu." He says his company gets paid a stipulated commission per house sold: "R100 per house from the commission and R500 per house from the trust. Normal commissions are paid by the building societies."

Taylor says he is now involved with the construction of the Ultra City complex near Halfway House, Transvaal, through Founders Facilitators (a subsidiary of Sege Holding, the holding company of Prestasi Makelaars, of which he is a director).

Taylor's involvement with Fortune Homes — and the subsequent meeting with Ackermann — were recently mentioned in another document which initially had been compiled to serve as a petition to Planning & Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel.

It was intended to form part of a written complaint by residential agent Ivan Dembo and fellow directors Trevor Horner and Linda O'Donovan, after their contract with Khayaletu had been cancelled.

However, Dembo tells the *FM* that legal action is being considered against the trust instead of a petition to Kriel. *Eddie Botha*

NEGOTIATIONS

FM. 5/10/90

PEACE ON HOLD

(304A)

The Pretoria Minute, which on August 6 seemed like the first positive step toward the "new SA," is being swamped in a bureaucratic quagmire created by both sides.

The joint monitoring group to track the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle has made little progress. It has still not even arrived at a definition of "armed struggle." The month-long refusal to grant indemnity to ANC chief-of-staff Chris Hani is part of the delay. Government sources, in turn, complain at the ANC's unbelievable slowness in submitting names to complement police on the agreed 96-man monitoring group.

Only 45 political prisoners have been re-



Hani ... in from the cold

leased since September 1 even though the deadline for all of them — and estimated 3 500 — is the end of April.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

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It is not an encouraging development. ■

MIKE ROBERTSON

EXISTING systems of provincial and homeland government would be scrapped in a new SA, President F W de Klerk said yesterday. *5/10/90 BIDM*

To replace them government envisaged a system of strong, autonomous regional government, De Klerk said in a speech prepared for delivery at the Administrators' Conference in Maritzburg.

Outlining details of the decentralised system of government in a new SA envisaged by the NP, he said a Committee of Inquiry into Inter-governmental Fiscal Relations had indicated local government spending as a percentage of total state spending could grow from 10% to 46%.

New regional govt plan is outlined

Regional spending could grow from 10% to 23%, while central government spending would decline dramatically from its present 67% to 31%. *(304A)*

De Klerk said expanding powers of local and regional government would militate against any group monopolising power at central government level. *(304A)*

The President said that it would have to be decided during negotiations whether a unitary or federal system would best suit the development of strong regional gov-

□ To Page 2

Govt plan

ernment.

Financial viability would be of critical importance in deciding the delimitation of regions which could not be drawn up to satisfy political ideologies and aspirations. *5/10/90 BIDM*

De Klerk said government strongly believed there would an important role for a system of autonomous regional government in a new SA. *(304A)*

Devolution of power would play an important role in protecting minorities.

Strong regional government would bring decision making closer to voters and create greater opportunities for participation.

De Klerk told the Administrators the time had arrived to implement action plans that dealt with squatting.

Urgent attention had to be given to the identification, purchase and development of land.

He announced that he had asked the

□ From Page 1

President Council to update government's strategy on urbanisation. The idea was to have broad plan which dealt with both urbanisation and housing.

It would have to be accepted that new areas with rudimentary standards of housing and services would develop.

Where local authorities were reluctant to lower standards and accept elementary housing structure, Administrators would have to intervene to remove obstacles. SA could no longer afford the application of unnecessarily high standards.

Sapa reported that De Klerk announced a R50m injection for the financially strapped health services in Natal and KwaZulu and called on those involved to meet Health Minister Rina Venter next week to discuss how best the money could be spent.

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THE NEWSPAPER

INSIDERSPORTS
Heads say Bulls, hearts say Natal
cup final special on the back page

SOUTHERN AFRICA
Remember Namibia? It's 6 months old
Independence after the euphoria: Page 9

THE MEDIA
Everything's going great for SA... just watch the TV ads
See front page of Weekend

INTERVIEW
Five years jail for being rude about this man
We give it a try anyhow: PAGE 5

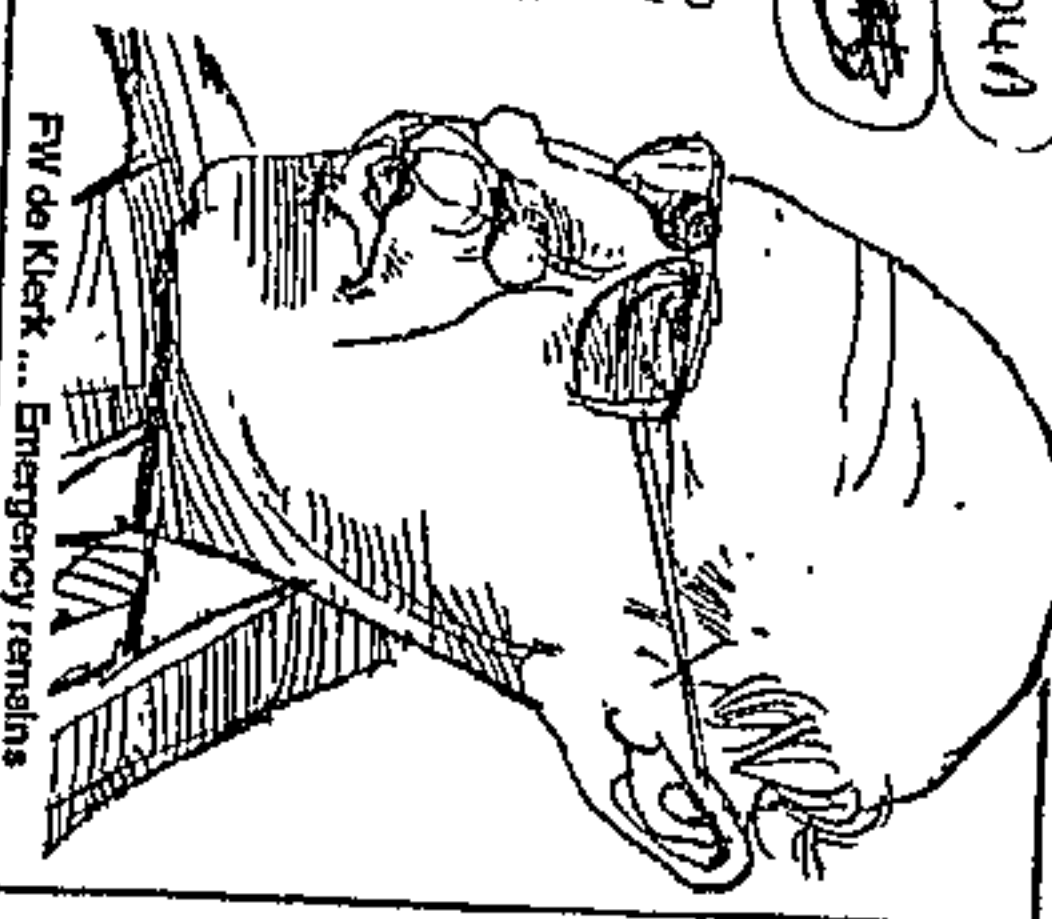
FW visits Natal at last - with a R50m gift

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban
FOR the first time since taking office, State President FW de Klerk yesterday visited, troubled Natal, where some 4 000 people have died over the past four years.
After a whistle-stop tour he announced an additional R50-million injection of funds for health services in the province, but failed to meet the hopes of many that he would lift the emergency in Natal.
He also made a strong plea for all responsible leaders to help end violence, and for the "instruments of conflict" to be put aside.

De Klerk said he felt the time was not yet right to lift the emergency, but that the government was "as anxious as the Natalians themselves" that it should be lifted.
"Almost on a weekly basis I get very full reports and the moment we feel that the security situation allows we will lift it."
De Klerk said he was "disappointed" that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe, Zulu and African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela would not be meeting today. "I have been anxious for a very long time that those two leaders should meet. I am disappointed. It is necessary that they should meet and have something to say to each other."
He said the Cabinet decided on Wednesday to make the R50-million available because of the "crisis in health services" in Natal and that the money would be allocated "according to priorities".
Reviewing what he had seen during his trip, De Klerk said: "We have seen the dark side — the terrible pressure placed on health services, destruction. In a time when there's a need for education and housing, some schools are standing empty. Good houses have been burnt

down. We must bring to an end the conflict in this province and in this country. "It is not in anybody's interests to have destruction of facilities while there is a lack of facilities."
"But we have also seen where local leaders took initiatives, peace can be made. People can differ peacefully with regard to political convictions and preferences."
"At Shongweni people from different parties are living together peacefully. This is how it should be throughout the country."
"I would like to make an appeal to all local and national leaders... that they use all their influence to bring about this normal situation where people can do their daily work, safe and secure in their homes and can practise politics in the way in which it should be practised."
"Everybody says they stand for a multi-party democracy. A multi-party democracy means that the person who does not agree with you has the right to disagree and to try and convince others of his party's view," De Klerk said.
In a strong attack on sanctions, he said the trip had made him even more aware of the need to provide facilities and basic infrastructure.

He said the country's capability to handle these problems was hampered by sanctions and violence.
"Those who still plead for sanctions must account to the people of South Africa," because in so doing they were keeping opportunities and employment away from the people.
The violence had a destabilising effect and was as important as sanctions in preventing new investment in the country. He also called for "labour peace" and for an end to "unnecessary strikes".



FW de Klerk... Emergency remains

Constituent assembly. No talks - Azapo

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE Azanian People's Organisation said this week negotiations on a future South Africa had to take place outside the country — in a constituent assembly.

The organisation said that a neutral venue "where the threat of De Klerk's security forces did not exist" had to be chosen.

In a press conference this week Azapo announced its refusal to enter talks about talks with the government, but said it was prepared to participate in constitutional negotiations in a constituent assembly.

"Such an assembly could be held in Zimbabwe, but it should rather be as far outside the country as possible," said Azapo president Jerry Mosala.

The organisation was responding to an invitation from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer to join the exploratory talks.

Its decision comes in the wake of a consultation with the external Black Consciousness Movement of Azania over the weekend in Harare.

Last week it was reported that the BCMA had advised Azapo to go to the negotiating table because it would marginalise itself by rejecting negotiations.

However, Mosala said his organisation had "been able to convince the BCMA that staying away from exploratory talks would not be detrimental. It is our absence at the constitutional talks that will marginalise us."

"Our demands at constitutional talks will be the return of the land to the landless, an economic system where people have ownership, control and full participation in the creation, distribution and sharing of wealth," Mosala added.

Azapo has set conditions for the structure of constitutional talks:

- A constituent assembly, overseen by an independent party, must be elected on the basis of one person one vote to decide on the new constitution.

- The election of the assembly should be overseen by an independent party — possibly the United Nations, the Frontline states, the Organisation for African Unity or a combination of these.

The BCMA has endorsed Azapo's position and in a joint communique the two organisations rejected State President FW de Klerk's process of negotiations as undemocratic, prescriptive and divisive — "in summoning resistance organisations separately and disparately".

In recent weeks several organisations had received letters from the government inviting them to participate in the ongoing talks.

The Pan Africanist Congress is still considering its response. Two weeks ago the PAC leadership referred the invitation back to its membership for discussion.

This week the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation rejected the government's invitation.

Yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said Azapo was "marginalising itself" from

the negotiations for a new constitution by refusing to participate in exploratory talks with the government.

"Instead of becoming part of the solution, Azapo is standing aside and merely raising further objection," he said.

The DP has a role ... but can it cope?

W/Neil 5/10/90 - 11/10/90

(cont)

3040

MANY people in this country still need a Democratic Party. Whether they need THIS Democratic Party is, of course, another matter.

It would be tempting to see the DP's drift into decline as an inevitable sign of the times. Until this year, the DP — and the Progs before it — was a strategic vehicle for anti-apartheid whites.

A DP vote increased pressure to move from apartheid. DP MPs had space which others did not enjoy to defend civil liberties, to prise information out of the government and to press officials to negotiate with the voteless.

Those reasons for its existence no longer hold. Prospects for non-racialism and democracy depend on many things: DP election results aren't one of them.

But this doesn't mean there is no longer a role for a party which stands for the values which the DP says it does.

Parties are needed if there are significant numbers of people who support what they stand for. There are enough people who support what the DP says it stands for to sustain a political party.

Those people wouldn't need the DP, or a party like it, if other, bigger, parties now represented their values. But many of them seem to feel that no other party does.

Since the days of all-white politics are nearly over, it is of some importance that most of those people may be black.

The DP's left suggests that the ANC now represents its values.

But by no means all people who reject apartheid like the ANC's mobilis-

But why should either want to be influenced by the DP now?

Bigger parties are only interested in striking deals with smaller ones if they represent a constituency which the bigger one needs.

Right now, the DP has no constituency to deliver.

Most of its white voters — including its business support — have decamped to the Nats and it has few black members. So neither the Nats nor the ANC have any reason to make concessions to the DP in exchange for an alliance.

Linking up with the Nats or ANC now would only make sense if the DP

decides that either so represents its values that it need ask for nothing in return.

But it is far too early for the DP to take either Nat or ANC commitment to its values on trust.

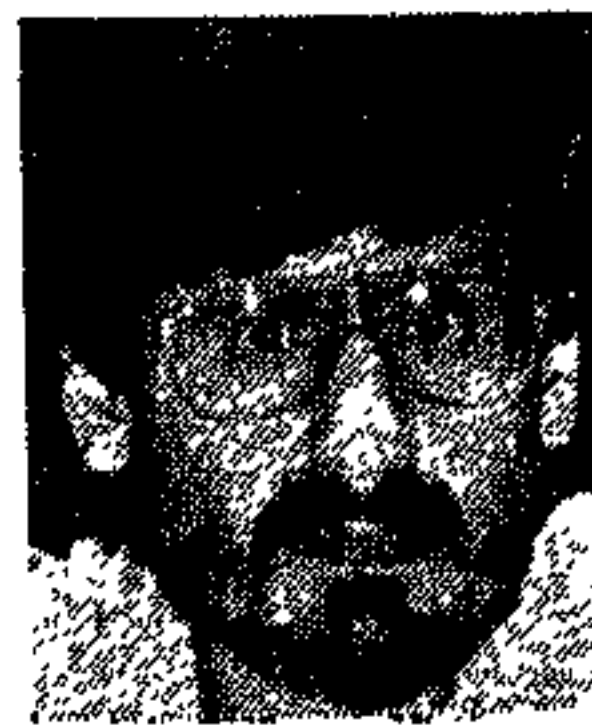
In the future, a party placed somewhere between the two may well find that it needs to make a pact with either — but it will only be able to win something in return for that deal if it has something to bring to the alliance.

A party which represented, say, 15 percent of voters, could have a key influence on a post-apartheid parliament. Since a democracy here will be the result of a compromise between parties, not a system guaranteed by any one, a small party committed to democracy could play a key role in shaping the future.

But, if the DP has a role, there is little evidence that it is either willing or able to play it.

One of its factions assumes that it can only play a role if it does not offend the ANC by recruiting black members, even if they would be happier in the DP.

This may leave many black profes-



**WORM'S
EYE**
Steven
Friedman

W/mail

5/10 - 11-16-98

ing style or rhetoric — or are sure that it is committed to democracy or represents their interests.

Some of the ANC's critics are to its left and outside the reach of a "moderate" party. But many are not and they may now lack a political vehicle.

Don't these people belong with the Nats, or an alliance led by them — as the DP's right implies?

There is evidence that De Klerk enjoys growing support among black and white "moderates".

But the Nats are still the party of Group Areas, separate education and all the other baggage of apartheid. To many people who are wary of the ANC, they always will be. Others in the DP may see Inkatha as a vehicle for their values.

But many people who are uncomfortable with the ANC don't see a party which insists that carrying weapons in public is a cultural right and whose leader brands any criticism as an attack on "the Zulu nation" as moderate, non-racial or democratic.

The DP's potential supporters aren't a majority. But, if it bothered to go out and recruit them, it might find that there are enough of them to offer it a reasonable base.

That may solve another problem about which the DP has been agonising — how to influence post-apartheid politics. Some of its leaders feel the only way to do this is to influence the Nats; others insist that it is to influence the ANC.

sionals and business people, many who reject the tricameral parties but aren't happy with the ANC, and others, without a political home. It could also force them into a Nat alliance by default, and both scenarios would deprive the DP of all influence.

Others believe the DP should play an independent role, but seem to see it as a party locked firmly in the better-heeled suburbs, out of reach of many potential recruits.

Over the past few weeks, there have been signs that there are people in the townships who reject violence, but don't support the ANC's recipe for ending it. There are also black teachers who don't want apartheid education, but don't want to join an ANC-organised teachers' union.

If the DP sought to recruit them, it might increase its base and help democracy by offering them a more democratic home than the Nats or their likely allies. But it has nothing to say to them — or to anyone else outside its usual constituency.

The DP doesn't seem able to develop either a style or a strategy which would allow it to build support among the majority. That role may be left to some other party. But there are no obvious contenders.

That means that a significant number of people will be without a political home. And that a voice which could play an important role in creating a democracy will not be heard.

Dr Zac de Beer today spelled out the reasons why he will not join the African National Congress as at least three wives of Democratic MPs have done and others consider doing.

His remarks — in a prepared speech to the DP's Free State congress in Harrismith — were clearly aimed at discouraging any further movement of DP members to the ANC.

He made it clear he is fully in favour of closer co-operation with the ANC — but that's where he draws the line. As far as he is concerned, ANC membership for DP members is OUT.

Spectacular

Dr De Beer said that with the unbanning of the ANC many DP people had met ANC members, talked with them and found "much common ground." Some DP members were saying "we should simply throw in our lot with that organisation."

"In quite a spectacular way three wives of Democratic MPs have joined the ANC and others may still do so."

Dr De Beer said he himself had been involved this week in planning close co-operation with the ANC in certain important matters.

"But if I am asked whether I propose joining the ANC, I say unequivocally I do not."

Giving his reasons for taking this stand, he said: "The ANC has not spelled out its policy. It has certain general principles about equal rights, which we fully share, but where does it stand on federalism? On proportional representation? And most important of all, what is its economic policy?"

Not the time

"Is it or is it not for nationalisation? To what extent is it socialist? This I must say to you emphatically: I am not a socialist, and the DP is not a socialist party."

Dr De Beer said it was not his intention to criticise the ANC over the fact that it had not yet explained its policy — it had hardly had the time and opportunity to do so.

"We are all looking forward to its congress to be held in December — that will give us a better indication of where it is going."

Meanwhile, the DP would continue to talk and co-operate with the ANC.

Dr De Beer also responded to those saying DP members should join the NP because the NP had taken over DP policy.

He said he would not do this because he was not convinced that the NP could be entrusted with DP ideals.

■ See page 6

Zac against DP bids to join ANC

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

Some blacks are willing to join Nats

JOVIAL RANTAO

THE National Party has received some inquiries from blacks eager to join the "new NP" — despite the fact that the Cape and Transvaal congresses have not yet formally agreed to the opening of the party.

A NP spokesman in Pretoria said, although the party had received calls — not more than 50 — from people interested in joining the party, no one has been signed up yet.

"We have not signed up anyone because the NP is not fully geared to practically accept non-white members. The decision to go multi-racial still has to be endorsed by the Cape and Transvaal congresses," the spokesman said.

After the congresses had given their support to an open NP, the party would immediately alter its constitution and policy to accommodate membership of all races.

When the decision to open NP ranks was announced, Walter Sisulu, the ANC's internal leader, said the move was a progressive trend which was welcomed.

Some blacks approached by Saturday Star said they were willing to join any party, including the NP, which would fight for equal rights for all South Africans.

They said if the NP policy was right, blacks who wanted to be members should not be intimidated or victimised. People should be allowed to exercise their democratic right to join a party of their choice.

One person who has said he would join the Nats "tomorrow" was TV personality Justus Tshungu. "I would consider joining the party because there is so much fighting among our parties," Mr Tshungu said. "I prefer to ride a horse which has proved that it has the resistance to run the distance."

Mr Tshungu said that at last the Nationalists were truly committed to building the South African nation, by ditching their segregatory policies and concentrating on broad nationhood.

He said the majority of black people would hesitate to join the Nats because of township intimidation. "Their houses may be burned down should their affiliation be known," he said.

I also spoke to people who dismissed the opening of NP ranks to blacks as cosmetic.

Said Johannes Mokoena, a teacher from Killarney in Soweto: "(President) F W de Klerk should have thought first of repealing apartheid laws such as the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts, before asking us to join the NP."

"He should also have thought of offering the black man a vote because what would the use be of belonging to a ruling party for which you cannot vote."

Mr Mokoena's sentiments were echoed by social worker Puleng Hlatwayo of Vosloorus.



Walter Sisulu . . . progressive trend.

Ms Hlatwayo said she believed the opening of NP membership to blacks was an exercise to impress the international community.

"It will not benefit any South African, black or white," she said.

A prominent Soweto civic leader, who chose to remain anonymous, said the NP move was a desperate one.

"I think supporters of the NP started to defect after the ANC and other organisation were unbanned. The Nats, seeing that they might not have a constituency during the next elections, opted for the only way available to them — enticing millions of blacks in the country," the civic leader said.

Thumbs down for FW's speech

TRADE unions have given a unanimous thumbs-down to State President F W de Klerk's inflation busting speech yesterday — when he called for curbing wage increases.

Economic woes could be addressed only when workers had a say in how the economy was to be run and had a proper stake in its growth, they said.

Cosatu's Living Wage Campaign spokesman Jane Barret said curbing wages "to push profits up" was a short-term measure, not real economic growth.

Nactu's general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana called Mr de Klerk's call "hypocrisy at its highest." Government Ministers gave themselves huge salary increases while expecting workers to accept poverty and degradation.

— Staff Reporter

IT has been a coup in reverse. One of the few cases in history where civilians have wrested power back from the military.

This is the implication of the De Klerk revolution in management style which has been one of the hallmarks of the first 400 days of the new administration.

In assessing President F W de Klerk's first year in office, most of the attention has been focused on his sweeping moves to open up the political process and get the negotiating process off the ground. And, indeed, his actions were dramatic — coming as they did after such a lengthy period of political inertia.

But, on the quiet, an equally thorough — and no less profound — shift in the day to day running of the country has taken place. The Securocrats that ruled the roost during the P W Botha era were sent back to the barracks. The men in pinstripes are back in charge.



Dries van Heerden assesses the effectiveness with which President De Klerk has reduced the influence of the Securocrats

OUT

It was not an easy task. With more than a decade of experience as Defence Minister behind him when he took over as Government leader, Mr Botha almost instinctively turned towards men in uniform with their "can do" attitude, even when tackling socio-economic problems.

The country was in the grips of the "total onslaught" theory. "The forces of evil" — as Mr Botha preferred to describe them — were intent on destroying South Africa... and this could only be countered by a "total strategy".

Zealous

This called for a two-pronged approach: strong-arm security action to suppress opposition and root

DE KLERK'S PINSTRIPE REVOLUTION

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our assiduous, and a current programme of social and economic upliftment to "win the hearts and minds" of the population.

Army chief-turned-Defence Minister Magnus Malan used Von Clausewitz's description, the "20-80" equation... 20 percent military, 80 percent hearts and minds.

But, even in the 80 percent part, the military dominated. Mostly because they were infinitely more organised than the "welfare departments" but also because of the zealotness with which they tackled the problems.

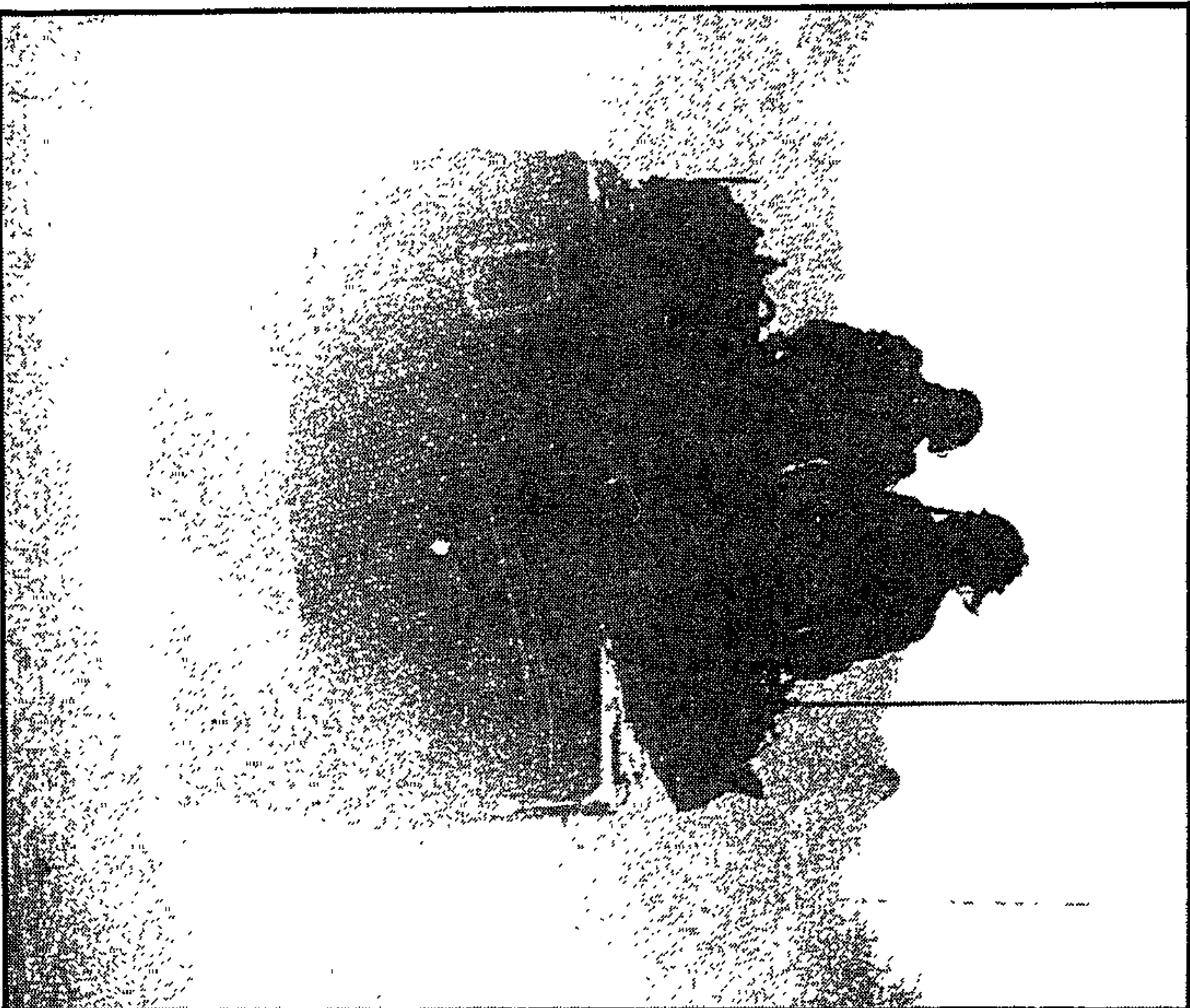
The result was a vast network of regional and local governments-within-governments led by uniformed bureaucrats. Joint Management Centres sprang up on macro and mini levels and decided on almost all the subjects that are traditionally the realm of local and regional authorities.

Solitary

It gave rise to some of those absurd phrases and acronyms that only deputy assistant secretaries can dream up: "Comm-Comms" for Communication Committees and "nodal points" to indicate where welfare departments slot into the JMC system.

At the top, it was all co-ordinated by the State Security Council — an octopus of an organisation that screened, filtered and sanitised all information that reached the upper echelons of power. Ministers were almost totally dependent on the one page "sitrep" (situation report) that passed their desks every day for information on what was happening outside their own departments.

It was often claimed —



BEATING A HASTY RETREAT... the military has now taken the back seat and not without a large measure of truth — that "what the SSC decides on Mondays, the Cabinet okays on Wednesdays".

How to prune back this rambling edifice was one of the first problems that faced Mr De Klerk when he assumed power a little more than a year ago. And the way in which he

did it is one of the success stories of his administration so far.

In his very first Cabinet shuffle he made his intentions clear. Deputy minister Leon Wessels — whose almost exclusive brief was to run the National Joint Management System — was shifted sideways from Law and Order to Foreign

Affairs. The State Security Council was dismantled from the top downwards. It was relegated to its original status — that of one of four standing Cabinet committees.

Called the Cabinet Committee for Security Affairs, it meets fortnightly under the chairmanship of Mr De

Klerk himself. The other members are the Ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Law and Order, Finance, Constitutional Development and other Cabinet members who may be co-opted for the discussion of specific topics.

Under Mr Botha, the SSC was served by a vast secretariat — headed by a military general and assisted by an array of colonels and majors, analysts and experts.

Today, this whole job is being done by a solitary senior official operating out of the Pretoria headquarters of National Intelligence.

And from a machine that both initiated and executed policies across the whole spectrum of government action, the SSC has changed into a co-ordinating body.

The Cabinet has been restored to its rightful place as the highest decision-making body and the Office of the State President was revamped and scaled down. Under Mr Botha it was almost a micro civil service with an array of officials duplicating the work done by other state departments.

Secretive

The JMCs still exist but under a new name and operating in a different context. They are now called Joint Co-ordinating Centres and are no longer headed by senior military or police officers, but rather by top local civilian bureaucrats.

The new regime makes a clear-cut division between security and development function. The lines between the security and welfare departments that became blurred in the Botha years

have been restored.

The only task of the JCCs is to co-ordinate action and prevent duplication. The execution of policy has reverted to the various state departments as part of their ordinary functions.

Already there is talk that the scope of the JCCs may be broadened further to include private sector participation in regional and local development projects. Also, downgraded were the two "situation rooms" in Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings where the state of the nation's security was plotted with multi-coloured toy blocks on a minute-by-minute basis.

Another feature of the new system is the rise in status and influence of the National Intelligence Service. Still as secretive as the days when it was known as BOSS and run by the enigmatic General "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh,

the NIS managed to keep its nose relatively clean during the latter years of the Botha era.

Its director, Neil Barnard, is a low-profile but highly capable former Koy-sie academic steeped in the philosophical jargon that only Free State university graduates — Kobie Coetsee, Roelf Meyer — and Potchefstroom — F W de Klerk — truly understand.

Dr Barnard has settled comfortably in the new environment where socio-political concerns take precedence over security matters and it can be expected that the NIS will play an increasingly important role in co-ordinating the input from the various security services.

In a hard-hitting speech to senior police officers soon after he took over, Mr De Klerk made it quite clear what he envisaged the role of his men in uniform would be.

Sensitive

He promised swift action on the abolition of racial discrimination and the extension of democratic rights in order to lower the revolutionary potential and free the police force to revert to its primary function of crime prevention. And, as a bonus, he promised the enlargement of the force with a substantial increase in salaries and benefits.

It would be foolish to suggest that Mr De Klerk would want to kick the men in uniform in a sensitive spot. No government leader — especially in a South Africa in its present febrile state — can afford to estrange himself from the firepower at his disposal.

But the style of the President-trained-as-a-lawyer is markedly different from that of his *apparatchik* predecessor. Those elected to rule, rule. And those who chose to become public servants, serve.

Now, the only question is whether the new style will survive the next transfer of power.

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Excited crowds surround State President FW de Klerk on his tour of Natal this week.

■ Pic:AP

FW sees no suffering but wins hearts of Natalians

By CHARLES MOGALE *CPress 7-10-90*

STATE President FW de Klerk might not have needed a single bodyguard when he toured Natal this week.

On the contrary, he looked much in need of a battalion of marshals to keep at bay the euphoric crowds jostling madly just to see him – or maybe even touch him.

Smiling, waving and nodding reassuredly, it was clear De Klerk had scored another public relations coup when he made a whirlwind tour of the trouble-torn province on Thursday.

But if the tour was meant to give the President a first-hand feel of the area, as his aides told the battery of international and local Pressmen in tow, it failed dismally.

Except for a tour of the overcrowded King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, De Klerk did not see any of the suffering which he later spoke about to journalists.

He acknowledged there was suffering, and announced a R50-million increase in the Natal health budget in the current financial year – but clearly did not see enough.

All he saw was:

- A badly equipped classroom in Shongweni;
- A four-roomed house on the Inkatha side of Imbho township; and
- A trading centre, modern hostel kitchen and a small library at the Indumiso College of Education in Imbho Maritzburg.

The entire tour was over in about two hours.

However, if the purpose was to win goodwill, it was great success. Within minutes of the President's arrival at King Edward Hospital, patients and staff alike were all clamouring to catch a glimpse of De Klerk and his wife Marike. It was a repeat of his surprise visit to Soweto on September 4, where he was baptised "Comrade De Klerk".

An old woman patient shed a tear as Marike picked up a newly-born baby from under a bed in a crowded ward, kissed it and returned it to its sleeping place. Some clapped, some ululated, and soon the excited mob broke into a spontaneous "hallelujah" song. This time the First Lady's eyes moistened, while the President, obviously gripped by emotion, looked ahead sternly.

A similar scenario played itself out at Shongweni, near Hammarsdale. When the presidential, police and Press helicopters landed, what looked like the entire village had assembled at the landing grounds outside the Charles Memorial Higher Primary School.

De Klerk alighted only to be mobbed by children and adults. He stopped for a quick chat with local UDF/ANC member Thulani Zulu inside a classroom, signed a police visit book in another classroom, and in no time was back in his helicopter, bound for Maritzburg.

After Maritzburg, a Durban journalist remarked: "It would be interesting to see if Buthelezi could beat De Klerk if an election were to be held here today."

If the euphoria on Thursday was anything to go by, Buthelezi would have lost his deposit.



Farmers Andries Botha and Dawie van Zyl chat with Zach de Beer

Picture: TOM EDLEY

DP starts drive to attract black members

By MANDLA TYALA

HALF the audience that turned up to listen to DP leader Zach De Beer at a house meeting on a Free State farm this week were black.

Party officials report that more than 1 000 black members have now joined the party in the province — and the Free State

Congress of the party yesterday gave notice that it intends campaigning more actively in the black community.

DP organisers are pleasantly surprised by the response they have received and are now speaking of "intriguing possibilities".

The party held its Free State and northern Cape congress in the black township of 42nd Hill, Harrismith, yesterday. A house meeting on a Viljoenskroon farm on Friday attracted an audience of 45, more than half of whom were black.

Dr De Beer, evidently impressed with the multi-racial turnout, lost no opportunity in selling the DP as a centrist alternative to the National Party on the right and the African National Congress on the left.

He said the DP was not about to throw in its lot with the NP because the Government had not done enough to move away from apartheid.

He said the DP had lost some of its supporters to the new-look National Party since February 2, but pointed out that some members were increasingly viewing the ANC as the more attractive party.

Decent

"But we have a role to play. We want to see justice. We want all South Africans to enjoy a decent style of living," said Dr De Beer.

He added that the DP was not unduly perturbed at losing a seat in the white House of Assembly or the other houses of the tricameral Parliament — structures he said were doomed to die anyway.

"What we should be doing is preparing ourselves for the democracy that lies ahead."

DP regional organiser Jabulani Molefe said blacks who had joined the DP disagreed with the ANC's economic policies such as nationalisation.

"We have seen what nationalisation has done in countries in southern Africa

and elsewhere. Ending apartheid does not mean we should bring whites down to our level of poverty. It means we should use their skills to increase our standard of living."

Mr Molefe added, however, that the future popularity of the DP lay in close co-operation with the ANC.

He said the DP had heightened its profile by taking part in joint strategies with the ANC — especially in the homeland of Qwaqwa where the regional DP draws 57 percent of its support.

But regional chairman Cas Human said he was under no illusion that once the ANC "got its act together" the majority of blacks would rush to join it.

Setback for envoy plan

STimes

7/10/90

GOVERNMENT plans to fill two key diplomatic posts with high-profile candidates received a major setback this week.

The first disappointment for the Department of Foreign Affairs came with the announcement that former Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh, widely tipped to be sent to London, cannot take up an appointment because of ill health.

Mr Myburgh will now become an ambassador at large.

The second disappointment was the rejection of an offer to Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the former secretary-general of Inkatha and head of the KwaNatal Indaba negotiations, to become ambassador to Washington.

According to diplomatic sources, Dr Dhlomo turned down the offer because it was "too soon" in the reform process in SA for him to accept a post which would link him closely to the present Government.

Dr Dhlomo was seen as an ideal candidate because of the respect he enjoys both within the establishment and

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
and LESTER VENTER

in extra-parliamentary circles, such as the ANC.

Diplomatic sources said this week that both appointments would have been a coup for the Government.

Speculation in diplomatic circles this week centred on two possible "surprise" appointments — Democratic Party finance spokesman

Harry Schwarz and former London envoy and DP MP Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall said yesterday he had heard about the rumours, but he denied he had been approached.

Mr Schwarz is said to be under consideration for the ambassadorship in Berne, where sensitive and informed liaison with Swiss bankers is considered to be a main requirement.

Mother church out in the cold

By SOPHIE TEMBA

THE white Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk will have to decide whether or not to unify with the Coloured Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (NGSK) and the black Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (NGKA).

This week's decision by the NGS and the NGKA to unite leaves the mother NGK out in the cold.

Moderator of the white NGK, Prof Johan Heyns, told *City Press* after his return from the synod this week that the mother church would decide what steps to take at its synod in Bloemfontein starting on October 16.

Heyns said, however, that unity in the four churches had existed in principle and all that remained was how to implement that principle.

The fourth church is the Indian Reformed Church of Africa. "We also have to take into account the cultures and languages of the different people in the church when working on the principle of unification," said Heyns.

"To prove that the mother church was working on such a principle, in 1986 the Churches Society opened its membership to all races and in certain congrega-

tions, so people of other race groups are in principle already members of the NGK.

"The Church of Christ is based on the unity of Christ, therefore we cannot have a church that has closed its doors to other people."

Commenting on the new move, members of the NGS and the NGKA said this could lead to a complete breakaway from the mother church if the three could not stand united.

Newly appointed moderator of the NGS, Dominee Nic Apollis, said the time when the mother NGK was in the background and pulling the strings "was dead and buried".

"We are now preparing for a new church with a different moderator and when it happens, the new church will bear little or no resemblance to its apartheid past."

"Some people are worried by different customs. We agree that there will be some customs that will be strange to us, just as some of our customs will be strange to them."

Several Ministers of the NGKA said the mother church has been "a monument of the apartheid system for many years and black ministers and their congregants were made to suffer under the yoke of separate amenities, including worship".

F W and Mandela to hold talks on violence

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow to discuss the violence in black townships.

Government sources yesterday described the meeting as "very important", but said a major summit on the scale of the Groote Schuur and Union Buildings meetings was not expected in the near future.

"Too many summits too often will demean the status of such high-level encounters," said a senior source.

It is expected that Mr Mandela will present Mr De Klerk with three ANC demands on how the Government should tackle the violence:

- All "hit squads" should be disbanded immediately;
 - Members of the SAP should only be issued with weapons used to combat ordinary crime;
 - Independent monitoring groups should be established to investigate police action.
- Speaking at the launch of the new SA Democratic

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and MARION DUNCAN

Teachers' Union, Mr Mandela yesterday again accused the Government of backing "Renamo-style" violence by Inkatha supporters.

He said Inkatha was training special "township killers" in the white suburbs of Johannesburg, as well as in Caprivi.

In a hard-hitting address to an appreciative crowd, he said: "There is something more to this — and I mean the direct cause of this violence."

"It is that some State agencies are using some well-trained death squads. It is the CCB. It is the military secur-

ity. It is the National Intelligence Service.

"They are using organisations like Koevoet, the Askaris and other organisations."

Later, at Chief Albert Luthuli's grave on the Natal North Coast, Mr Mandela issued an ultimatum to President De Klerk to stop the violence immediately.

ANC officials claimed five supporters were murdered on their way to the Mandela rally.

● Mr Mandela yesterday paid a surprise visit to Communist Party and ANC activist Mac Maharaj in a Durban hospital. Mr Maharaj was detained in July in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow the Government.

Tears of joy as churches unite

Special Correspondent

THE Rev Sam Buti had tears of joy in his eyes. The Rev Nic Apollis had a stern expression on his face — obviously unhappy.

After a day of uncertainty it was eventually decided that the NG Sendingkerk (Dutch Reformed Missionary Church) and the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa will unite immediately. The new church will be called the United Reformed Church in Southern Africa.

Apollis, Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, voted with the Rev Sakkie Mentor against the motion to become a united church.

There was an uproar in the NGSK Synod earlier in the week when a resolution was accepted that unity between the two churches should be postponed for at least a year because the NGSK was not satisfied with the manner in which the DRCA had accepted the Belhar Confession.

During an extraordinary meeting of its Synod in Mitchell's Plain, the DRCA had accepted the Belhar Confession — and then scrapped a clause in its church ordinance

Emotional address persuades both Synods to accept

which demanded that unification could only take place after two-thirds of its regional synods had approved.

The Moderator of the NGSK was dissatisfied with this, fearing the new church could possibly become involved in litigation if the procedures for unification were not adhered to. The Moderator of the NGSK has conveyed its displeasure to the Synod of the DRCA in a strongly-worded letter.

Soon after receiving the letter, the full Synod of the DRCA turned up at Belhar. Buti, Moderator of the DRCA, said the decision of the NGSK to postpone unification for a year amounted to paternalism. He said the NGSK should not prescribe to the DRCA how it should conduct its affairs and that his church is only interested in immediate unification.

Many delegates to the Synod of the NGSK were also unhappy about the resolution which was passed earlier in the week.

The Synod of the DRCA then met at Belhar and issued a statement expressing its disappointment about the NGSK decision.

The DRCA also took the unusual step of changing its name to the United Reformed Church in Southern Africa with immediate effect. This name was proposed for the new united church by the NGSK earlier this year. The DRCA said it would continue to talk to other reformed churches using the new name.

Reacting to the statement, Dr Beyers Naude of the DRCA said the church had arrived at a big moment in its history. "The decision of the

NGSK will, in my opinion, determine the direction of the reformed churches inside and outside South Africa for the next 100 years. The fundamental obstacle in the way of unification, the Belhar Confession, has been removed. What is the remaining obstacle? Everything can be summarised in one word — fear," said Dr Naude.

After a long delay, both Synods met in the Synod Hall where delegates of the NGDK insisted that the Rev Buti should address the meeting. In an emotional address Rev Buti persuaded the meeting to accept his views. He said he considered it the duty of the NGSK to enter into discussions with his church before it could say the procedures of his church were wrong.

"To think that a sister church could decide without consulting us. I think it was paternalistic. After all the years of struggle, let us co-operate. We have come a long way to reach unification. We spent time, money and energy."

"We derive from communities filled with problems. Where people kill one another. We cannot

Ches unite

CITY PRESS, October 7, 1990

PAGE 5



The Rev Sam Buti ... his emotional speech swung the decision for unity.

C/press 7-10-90

return to our people with empty hands," he told the attentive audience.

After his speech, the audience applauded him spontaneously. The Rev Stevens of Elsie's River said he had tears in his eyes because the churches had been separated again after unification. The NGSK could not "send our brothers back with empty hands", he added.

The Synod of the NGSK then took another vote and rescinded its previous decision in favour of immediate unification by a large majority.

them was this happy time at Camps Bay High

FW and Mandela set for some tough talking

ARC43
8/10/90
36471

Political Staff

TOUGH talking is expected between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela when they meet in Cape Town today to discuss causes of township violence.

Other thorny issues on negotiations will also be raised.

The talks are taking place against the background of renewed accusations by Mr Mandela that government agencies are deliberately provoking bloodshed between blacks.

These allegations have been denied by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, but the government has indicated that if they were backed by firm evidence they could be investigated.

NEW DIMENSION

Mr Mandela and other ANC speakers have made accusations about a "third force" said to be behind the violence.

Mr De Klerk has said that while there was a new dimension in the violence in the sense that gangs or small groups had organised to kill people, it was "unscientific" to deduce that that this was of necessity due to a third force.

Mr Vlok, Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, are also expected to take part in today's talks.

Mr Joe Slovo, a member of the national executive of the ANC and general secretary of the SA Communist Party, is expected to accompany Mr Mandela.

The ANC leader said at the weekend that he would try to persuade Mr De Klerk that government officials had deliberately provoked the bloodshed.

ANC calls for one man, one vote in local government — page 2.

The ANC has affidavits from a wide variety of people and he had proof that the National Intelligence Service and military intelligence were using black agents to stage attacks on black townships.

Mr Mandela has also indicated the violence issues may threaten the whole negotiation process.

While emphasising he was not implying that Mr De Klerk was working directly with the agencies, he said there were moments when he doubted whether he should continue talking to Mr De Klerk when he was unable to carry out his obligations to maintain law and order. Mr De Klerk and his ministers are bound to challenge these allegations at today's meeting.

THIRD SUMMIT

Government sources have tried to play down the importance of the meeting and a Tuynhuys spokesman would not confirm it was taking place.

The request for the meeting was made on September 20 when the ANC's executive committee said if the violence issue were not resolved the peace process would be jeopardised.

There was talk at one stage of a third summit between government and the ANC but the government did not think this was necessary at this stage.

Working committees on political prisoners, the return of exiles and suspending violence have in the meantime continued. An announcement on political prisoners is expected soon.

Ivory Coast may soon forge diplomatic links

Sowetan 8/10/90 304A

The Ivory Coast may soon become the second country in Africa, after Malawi, to establish diplomatic ties with South Africa.

The Ivory Coast's ruling Democratic Party has adopted a resolution at a conference in Yamoussoukro, calling for diplomatic links with

this country, SABC TV news has said.

It said developments such as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela were the proof of fundamental change in South Africa.

Last month the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was in the Ivory Coast along with other international dig-

nitaries attending the papal consecration of a cathedral.

Lifted

There's also been an improvement in relations between South Africa and Kenya. Two days after an announcement that South African Airways and its Kenyan counterpart were

to begin weekly flights between Nairobi and Johannesburg, the ban by Kenya on travel to South Africa has been lifted. The move is intended to help Kenya explore commercial markets in SA.

In August, economic ties between SA and Madagascar were also restored. -Sapa

Mandela, De Klerk to meet on ANC claims

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk are expected to meet soon to discuss the ANC claims that the security forces were involved in the recent violence in Reef townships.

The meeting may be today, but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

The office of the State President would not confirm the meeting, saying it was policy to disclose the President's engagements only when he desired this.

ANC official Andrew Mlangeni confirmed that Mandela was going to Cape Town today, but could not confirm he would meet De Klerk.

WILSON ZWANE

Another ANC official Gill Marcus said that at the meeting Mandela would definitely not hand over affidavits backing his allegations about a "third force" orchestrating the violence.

The ANC had submitted to government affidavits backing its allegations of involvement in township violence of certain "elements within the security forces", Marcus said.

But Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet denied that government had received any such affidavits from the ANC.

"The ANC should come up with hard-core evidence to back their allegations and then we will investigate the matter," Mellet said.

Allegations of a "third force" involved in township violence were made by Mandela again when he addressed a rally in Groutville, Natal, at the weekend, Sapa reports.

In his speech Mandela said the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the CCB and military intelligence, with Koevoet and askaris (former ANC guerrillas who had changed sides after detention by security police) were all behind the violence.

8/10/90

3041

DP asks ANC: Spell it out

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has welcomed the ANC's recognition in its latest policy document that economic growth is a vital prerequisite for addressing social and economic inequalities.

But it has questioned the African National Congress's continued reliance on State intervention in the economy, especially the mining industry, and has asked for greater clarity on its redistribution policy.

DP deputy financial spokesman Jasper Walsh was reacting to the ANC draft economic policy document, which is being circulated in ANC structures for comment before being discussed at the ANC national congress in December.

Conservative Party finance spokesman Casper Uys said the document made it clear the ANC wanted the best of both worlds.

"They ask for a policy of redistribution of income and wealth and the restructuring of the economy, but don't say how they would do it.

"They are against deficit budgeting, but at the same time ask for a massive injection of financing for social needs such as housing and education."

Mr Walsh said the DP agreed with the ANC that the wide gaps of income and wealth in South Africa required special corrective action, in education, training and in land resettlement and housing.

Cape Times 8/10/90 (304)

Dhlomo calls for all apartheid laws to go

PORT ELIZABETH. — Remaining apartheid legislation should be abolished during the next session of Parliament and should not be brought to the negotiating table, former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said at the Cape Youth Congress of the National Party here on Saturday.

Dr Dhlomo, now an independent political commentator, said no constitutional model could be successful without it having addressed the fears of both white and black South Africans.

He said that, despite the significant changes in South Africa, much still had to be done.

Although he could not prescribe to the NP, he would suggest that all the remaining apartheid legislation be abolished during the next session of Parliament, including the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act.

The benefits to be gained from abolishing these acts far outweighed the disadvantages: Sanctions would be lifted, black support for the government would increase and whites would have time to get used to changes. — Sapa

CP planning march to demand white election

THE Conservative Party is planning a march to the Union Buildings to demand a white election.

Supporters will march on November 3 from Church Square to the Union Buildings where a petition will be delivered and CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht will address the crowd.

CP chief secretary Mr. Andries Beyers said the Government did not have a mandate to represent whites at the negotiating table as a result of its capitulation policy.

"If the Government wants to represent whites at the negotiating table, it should give whites the

opportunity to decide whether the NP should represent them there in the light of its changed policy," Beyers said.

The CP was undertaking the march to warn the Government and all concerned that there could be no lasting peace in South Africa unless

the Afrikanervolk and the "Blanketdom" were not given the right to govern themselves, he said.

Beyers said the increase in CP supporters confirmed that the NP and ANC plans were not irreversible. *Sowetan Correspondent*

0 Star 4/10/90 (circled) (circled) 304A

No clemency for future crimes — FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A cut-off date of midnight yesterday has been set for political exiles involved in illegal or criminal events when the Government considers clemency and indemnity, President de Klerk has made clear.

He clarified the position of clemency and indemnity after the latest round of talks with the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) in Cape Town yesterday.

The talks ended on a conciliatory note, with a re-dedication to negotiation.

The Government is to consider ANC submissions on the detention of some of its members, Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela announced in a joint statement after the Cape Town talks.

Mr de Klerk pointed out that the process of indemnity might apply more widely than ANC-related individuals only.

This process would be activated after the ANC had accepted a report of a joint working group on indemnity.



President de Klerk . . . stipulated conditions.

Mr de Klerk stipulated the following conditions:

- That no pending or current legal process was suspended by this announcement.

- That no indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence was granted automatically.

- That application for indemnity must be made

through predetermined channels, and only those who fell within the guidelines for "political offences" would qualify for indemnity. The same applied for the release of prisoners.

"In this regard, 45 prisoners have been released since August 6, and 15 more will be released this week. This accords with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute," Mr de Klerk said.

"The Minister of Justice, H J Coetsee, will announce the relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters by Friday," he added.

The statement referred only indirectly to Mr Mandela's previous allegations about a "third force" of Government officials who he claimed were provoking bloodshed in the townships.

"A review in depth was made of the present spate of violence in South Africa. Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course, and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective."

Cape Nats opt for open party

8/20/90 9/10/90
 PORT ELIZABETH — After a short debate, the NP's Cape provincial congress yesterday decided to open the party to all races.

The congress also resolved that a committee comprising NP representatives from all four provinces make proposals about possible future alliances with other parties.

NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers pointed out "the battle for the open membership issue was won long before the congress".

The party leadership decided to put the thorny issue of a possible new name for the NP on the back burner.

Delegates were divided on whether a name change would give the party a fresh image that would be more attractive to prospective black members.

Some delegates argued that while many South Africans of all races could now identify with the NP's policies, they felt they could not bring

Political Staff

themselves to join a party which still had the name National Party.

Others said the rapid changes in NP policy over the past year made it clear that the NP was already striving for the broad national interest and that a name change was not necessary.

De Villiers steered a cautious middle path on the name change issue, arguing that "too rapid" decisions at this stage might create problems further down the road.

Support

However, he acknowledged that some people had been opposed to the NP for so long that it would be difficult for them to join a party by that name.

Earlier, during his keynote address, De Villiers noted that a party which remained exclusively directed

at its own members and was unwilling or unable to seek alliances with other groupings would have no role to play in the new SA.

"Let's be quite clear about this: A party which depends on the support of only 5% to 10% of the population in a country with 30-million people, cannot play a decisive role."

"Drastic measures" had been necessary to free SA from the cul-de-sac in which it found itself.

"SA has reached a crossroad in its history."

"It became evident that policies of the past presented no answers for the future."

"Over a period of time and more particularly during the '80s, it became apparent that the party's traditional policy of separate development was unrealistic, impractical and unjust."

"We had to change. The old order could not be sustained."

Unanimous vote opens NP to all

Cape Times 9/10/90 3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The almost 500 delegates at the National Party's Cape provincial congress here yesterday unanimously decided to open the party to all races after minimal debate.

The congress also resolved that a committee comprising NP representatives from all four provinces make proposals about possible future alliances with other parties.

However, the party leadership decided to put the thorny issue of a possible name change on hold.

The Cape leader of the NP, Dr Dawie De Villiers, told the Cape Times afterwards that "the battle for the open membership issue was won long before the congress".

Party leaders and workers had been hard at work in recent weeks convincing rank-and-file members that the NP would have to sacrifice a meaningful role in future if it clung to its all-white status.

However, delegates at yesterday's congress were divided on whether a

name-change would give the party an image that would be more attractive to prospective black members.

During his keynote address to the congress, Dr De Villiers noted that a party which remained exclusively directed at its own members and was unwilling or unable to seek alliances with other groups, would have no role to play in the new South Africa.

"Let's be quite clear about this: A party which depends on the support of only five to 10 percent of the population in a country with 30 million people, cannot play a decisive role."

He said that "drastic measures" had been necessary to free South Africa from the cul-de-sacs in which it found itself.

"Over a period of time — and more particularly during the 80s — it became apparent that the party's traditional policy of separate development was unrealistic, impractical and unjust."

The NP had now broken with the "dreams and illusions" of the past. It had broken free of the spider's web of redundant and unworkable policy, he said.

Details of talks to be made known

Handwritten notes in the top right corner include a circled '3047', the word 'Sowetan', and the date '9/10/90'. There is also a circular stamp with some illegible text inside.

DETAILS of the deliberations by the working group set up by the ANC and Government on the definition of "political" offences and the return of exiles, may be released in Pretoria this week, a Government spokesman said in Pretoria on Monday.

He said suggestions that a report of the working group would be released on Monday were "speculative".

The group was established in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute.

The African National Congress nominated as its members Jacob Zuma, Penuel Maduna, Joe Nhlanhla, Aziz Pahad, Matthews

Phosa and Sipho Ndlovu, while the Government's group is headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The group was charged with the formulation of guidelines for the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of "political offences" committed inside and outside South Africa.

Rejected

A row developed last week when the Government charged that information supplied on 3 000 ANC exiles was incomplete, while ANC officials rejected the format of a Government questionnaire exiles are required to complete in order to qualify for indemnity. - Sapa

FWV's deadline for political prisoners

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE way has now been cleared for indemnity for exiles and political prisoners — one of the major obstacles that existed between the government and the ANC.

The announcement that noon, October 8, was the cut-off date for indemnity was one of three moves made by the government yesterday which were aimed at reducing tension between it and the ANC.

● In a separate move, Justice Minister Mr. Kobie Coetsee said a judge would conduct an inquest into the deaths of 11 people shot by security forces on September 4 in Sebokeng.

This is the first time a judge has been appointed to head an inquest in South Africa.

● The government also agreed to deal "expeditiously" with ANC submissions concerning the continued detention of some of their leaders and members under security legislation.

The three steps came after President F. W. de Klerk

met a high-ranking ANC delegation, led by Mr. Nelson Mandela, in Cape Town yesterday afternoon.

The talks ended with a joint statement that negotiations between the government and the ANC are on course, despite "different current perceptions" on violence in South Africa.

Statements by Mr. Mandela that a "third force" of government officials was deliberately provoking bloodshed in South African townships had threatened to derail the talks between the government and the ANC.

But their joint statement, issued after a longer-than-expected 3½-hour meeting, clearly suggests that progress was made on the issue of violence.

Although the joint statement by Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela did not refer to the "third force", the three moves are clearly intended to diffuse tensions between the government and the ANC over security issues.

After the meeting Mr. Mandela read out the joint statement to reporters, but refused to answer any questions. "It is a very sensitive matter. I ask you to accept the statement as it is," he said.

ANC aides said difficult issues were involved in the talks, but that they had been encouraged by the discussions' length.

Mr. Mandela was expected to have handed over

sworn affidavits gathered by the ANC on the role of the "third force", but there has been no indication whether these are to be released publicly.

In a separate statement released after the talks, Mr. De Klerk said the cut-off date for indemnity, and immunity would apply only to acts committed before noon yesterday, and he stressed that "no pending or current legal process is suspended by this announcement".

He emphasised: "No indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence is granted automatically."

Applications for indemnity would have to be made through pre-determined channels, and "only those who fall within the guidelines for so-called 'political offences' will qualify for indemnity".

This also applied to the release of prisoners, 45 of whom have been freed since August 6. In accordance with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, 15 more will be released this week.

The procedures, guidelines and related matters will be announced by Mr. Coetsee by Friday, October 12.

Mr. De Klerk's statement indicates that the problems surrounding the return of exiles and the granting of indemnity for those who could be prosecuted have now been resolved.

He said that in terms of the Indemnity Act, which

was passed this year, the president was vested with the power to grant indemnity against civil and criminal proceedings to people or categories of people "with a view to peaceful solutions for the Republic of South Africa".

The process by which indemnity could be acquired was the subject of discussions between the ANC and the government.

"It is, however, a process which may apply more widely than to ANC-related individuals only."

"The government has now decided to activate the process for indemnity, after the ANC had indicated that the report of the working group on immunity and indemnity was affirmed by them."

Mr. De Klerk said this announcement should not be confused with his statement that all individuals who surrendered whatever arms illegally possessed or controlled before October 31 would be granted special indemnity.

Mr. De Klerk called on the public and all organisa-

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● Sebokeng probe 'too restricted' — Page 2

● Mandela to meet prisoners today — Page 2

P.T.O.

3rd
Trip
9/10/90
306A

From page 1

tions to help create a peaceful atmosphere and make South Africa a safe haven for everybody.

● At yesterday's talks at Tuynhuys, Mr De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The ANC delegation, apart from Mr Mandela, included its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo; a member of its national executive and secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, and its head of intelligence section, Mr Jacob Zuma.

The joint statement said: "A review in depth was made of the recent spate of violence in South Africa.

"Note was taken of the different current perceptions concerning the causes and handling of this violence.

"There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end."

The statement concluded: "Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective."

Government, ANC meet over unrest

AN ANC delegation led by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, met State President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet for three hours of "sensitive" talks at his Tuynhuys office in Cape Town yesterday.

The two delegations issued a brief joint statement after the talks, saying note had been taken of "different perceptions" of the cause and handling of current violence and that there was agreement to do their utmost to end it. *(304A)*

The State President also issued a separate statement saying the Government had decided to activate the process of indemnity provided by legislation passed this year, after the ANC had affirmed the report of the working group on immunity and indemnity. *Sowetan 9/10/90 (304A)*

Indemnity and immunity against prosecution or civil suits for "political offences" would apply only

● To Page 2

Meeting over violence

● From Page 1

to acts committed before noon yesterday, the State President said.

De Klerk emphasised, however, that no one would receive indemnity automatically and that the Government would not suspend any pending or current legal process.

He also announced that 15 more prisoners

would be released this week in terms of the Pretoria Minute. *Sowetan 9/10/90*

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobic Coetsee, would announce relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters on Friday.

De Klerk said this statement should not be confused with his call to all individuals to hand to the police whatever arms they illegally possessed or controlled.

Special indemnity applied to those who did so before October 30 while the police continued to locate and remove all illegal arms and explosives. *(304A)*

The meeting between the two parties started shortly after 11am. Mandela was accompanied by ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo and ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

Assisted

De Klerk was assisted by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

After the meeting, Mandela told reporters at Tuynhuys's gates and that there would be no questions taken as "this is a very sensitive issue".

The issue of detention of ANC leaders had been

raised, the statement said. There had been an in-depth review of the recent spate of violence.

"Note was taken of the different current perceptions concerning the causes and handling of this violence. There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end.

"The ANC delegation also made submissions concerning the detention of some of its leaders and members under security legislation.

"The Government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions."

Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the process of negotiations on course and act in such a way to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective. *Saph.*

FW, Mandela hone in on violence

Govt stops the clock for indemnity

BIDAM 9/10/90

304A

GOVERNMENT had "activated" the indemnity process and set yesterday as the cut-off date for people to qualify for clemency or immunity from prosecution, President FW de Klerk announced yesterday.

Anyone who committed a political offence after noon yesterday would not be eligible for the clemency or indemnity provided for in the Pretoria Minute, he said.

In a statement issued after his meeting in Cape Town with Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC leaders, De Klerk stressed that no pending or current legal process would be suspended because of his announcement, and that no indemnity would be granted automatically.

De Klerk and senior Cabinet members met the ANC delegation to discuss the recent wave of violence in the country.

In a separate, joint statement after their meeting, Mandela and De Klerk said they had reviewed in depth "the recent spate of violence in SA. The different perceptions of the causes and handling of the violence were noted."

There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end.

"The ANC delegation also made submissions concerning the detention of some of its leaders and members under security legislation. The government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions.

"Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust neces-

ALAN FINE and
LESLEY LAMBERT

sary to achieve this objective," they said.

De Klerk was accompanied by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Other members of the ANC delegation were Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo and Jacob Zuma.

Sapa reports that after the meeting Mandela read the joint statement aloud to a large gathering of media representatives at the gates of Tuynhuys, and said there would be no questions as "this is a very sensitive issue".

De Klerk said government had decided to "activate" the indemnity process after the ANC indicated its acceptance of the latest report of the working group on immunity and indemnity.

Details of the report are not available.

The August 6 Pretoria Minute and the earlier working committee report appended to it did not deal with the question of a "cut-off date" regarding political offences.

ANC and government sources indicated at the time that this was deliberate because, while it was accepted the ANC required time to spread word of its decision to suspend armed action, government did not wish it to appear that potential offenders would have carte blanche to commit violent political acts until a cut-off date had been set.

An ANC official said yesterday the organisation would not comment on De Klerk's statement until tomorrow, as it

□ To Page 2

Indemnity

BIDAM 9/10/90

304A

raised complex issues and needed to be considered thoroughly.

"Application for indemnity must be made through pre-determined channels, and only those who fall within the guidelines for so-called 'political offences' will qualify for indemnity," he said.

The same applied to the release of prisoners, 45 of whom had been freed since August 6. Fifteen more would be released this week.

De Klerk said Justice Minister Kobie

From Page 1

Coetsee would announce "relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters by Friday".

Dullah Omar, a prominent ANC member and lawyer in the western Cape, said last night it appeared that all exiles would have to submit individual applications for indemnity.

"According to my information, the ANC has handed in a list of the names of the 3 000 people who wish to return now. I do not think it has submitted separate applications yet."

New precedent for DP as black delegates are elected

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

In an unprecedented development, half the number of people elected into the Democratic Party's 12-man Free State/Northern Cape regional executive committee at the weekend were blacks, DP chairman in the region Cas Human has confirmed.

Mr Human said the DP regional congress, held in Harrismith at the weekend, was overwhelmingly attended by black delegates.

Mr Human said the congress accepted as its primary object the second and third legs of the DP's programme of action as enshrined in the party's constitution. These were:

- The extension of interaction with groups and

individuals, whether or not they shared the DP's goals, with the object of promoting negotiations, settlements, compromise and reconciliation.

- The development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation, relations, joint strategies and alliances with organisations which pursued the same objectives, both within and outside Parliament.

The congress said it was both "inevitable and necessary" that the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) agreed on the formation of an interim government or that "as the (negotiation) process unfolds the ANC will become involved in government decisions".

The DP regional congress also resolved to

urgently make representations to the Department of Education and Training on behalf of "a high number of students" in Kestell, an area where the DP enjoyed overwhelming support, who had passed their lower classes but could not further their studies because of lack of opportunities.

People elected into the regional committee are Mr Human (chairman); national council members Izak Molefe, Professor Dirk du Toit, Andries Botha and Dr Rhet Khan; additional interaction representative Robbie Schoultz, and additional members Makiti Selepe, Samuel Motaung, Joseph Tshabalala, Billy Mofokeng, Eric Mokoena, N Barnard and M Webber.

Viljoen spells out more minority rights

By Peter Fabricius
PORT ELIZABETH

Government has expanded the list of minority rights it wants protected under a new constitution to include the proper management of the security forces, the prevention of excess taxation and prevention of a communist dictatorship takeover.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen spelled out more of Government's constitutional thinking when he addressed the Cape National Party congress yesterday.

Broaching new "minority rights", he said the management of security forces in a new South Africa was of concern to the Government be-

cause it could affect the maintenance of civilised values.

Provision would have to be made to ensure the security forces were "managed and manned in an acceptable and responsible manner".

Another minority right which the Government would like to see protected was the right not to be excessively taxed.

Excessive taxation must not be used to undermine the system of free enterprise indirectly — a system which should itself be enshrined in the constitution.

He also said the rights of those who wished to live in communities and to run community schools would be protected.

Still in power

Govt says courts must have final say

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The government wants the Supreme Court to replace Parliament as the ultimate decision-making authority on constitutional matters in a new dispensation.

This emerged when the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday further lifted the veil on the type of constitution the government plans to bargain for when negotiations begin next year.

Addressing delegates to the NP Cape congress here, Dr Viljoen said the Supreme Court should have a "completely new authority" and should serve

as "the guardian and protector of the main constitution".

"In a new South Africa, to accommodate majority and minority interests, ultimate power should lie with the Supreme Court — or perhaps a special constitutional court to test decisions taken by the legislature," he said.

Dr Viljoen said another way in which checks and balances could operate in a new dispensation would be for a committee comprising the main parties to head the executive arm of government.

Up to five parties could be represented in the executive in a "collegiate" system similar to the Swiss model. Chairmanship could rotate.

A "counter-balancing" mechanism would also operate in a new dispensation that would bring an end to the "excessive" concentration of power in the hands of the State President.

Inside:

VLOKS CRIME SHOCK FOR SA

See PAGE 2

The government proposed that a prime minister serve as the head of government, while the State President would serve as head of state in a role "not purely symbolic and which has certain control, monitoring and supervisory functions over the constitution".

In this way a "counter-balance" could be achieved between the two figures.

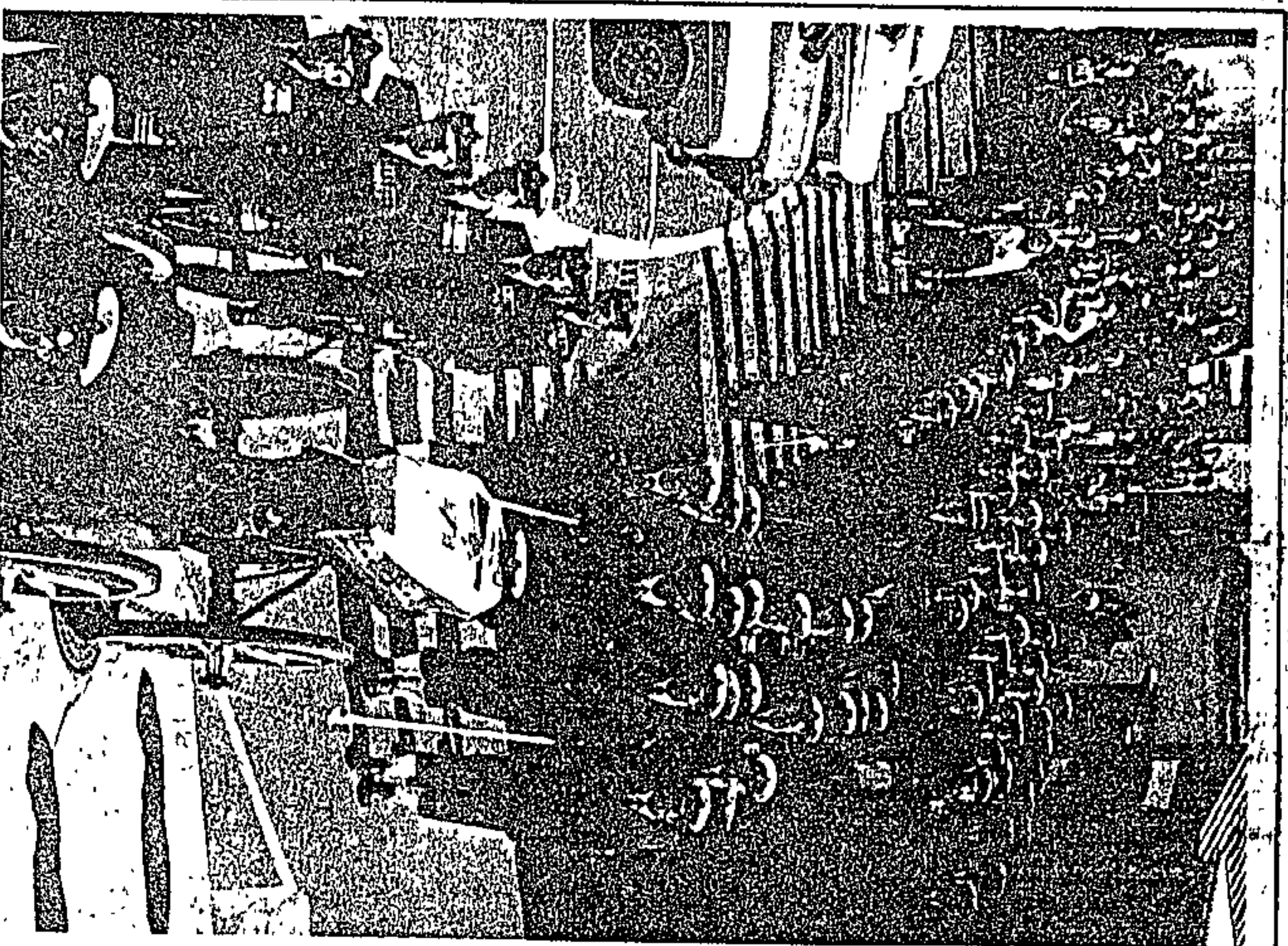
Dr Viljoen said "civilised standards", "minority rights" and "group protection" were of critical importance to the NP and the party would "jealously guard this during the negotiation process".

However, the NP believed that its definition of "groups" would be acceptable to all parties in negotiations because it would be decided on a non-racial basis.

Among the minority rights Dr Viljoen said the NP would strive to protect were a "free market system" and "a reasonable tax system".

Among the mechanisms the government hoped to use to protect minority rights were guaranteed regional representation in Parliament, vetoes and loaded majorities for "really sensitive issues".

IMMUNITY
CAPE TOWN'S
FIRST AND BIGGEST EVER
FORDATHON
EX-FACTORY
SALE
OF ONE-YEAR-OLDS 89-90



Saddam's call

BAGHDAD. — Iraqi President Saddam Hussein told Israelis yesterday that they had no choice but to leave Arab lands, and said Baghdad possessed a new long-range missile that could strike targets hundreds of kilometres away.

Responding to Monday's killing in Jerusalem, he said Iraq's new missile would strike "when the time of reckoning comes". — Sapa
● Palestinian demo — Page 3

Crack of dawn



"Sorry, 702 drunk and disorderly and assault with intent don't quite make it as political crimes."

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TODAY'S PRIZE:

R400

TODAY'S INDEX

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NP slated at congress

Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Professor Humphries du Randt, chairman of the National Party's Walmer branch, caused a stir here on Monday, at the NP's provincial congress, when he said the party had become a "rubber stamp" for preconceived proposals that originated "elsewhere".

Professor Du Randt was complaining about a "secret" draft document on the government's complete plans for a new constitution currently being circulated for comment among members of the Broederbond.

Government ministers were put on the defensive at the congress when delegates wanted to know how much

influence their input from the floor would have if the government already had the answers.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, tried to smooth ruffled feathers when he acknowledged that some members felt excluded from making decisions. He urged rank-and-file NP members not to "wait for others" but to take the lead in initiating proposals themselves at local and regional level.

However, Professor Du Randt was not satisfied with Dr Viljoen's assurance and took the unusual step of criticising him in a statement released to the press after Dr Viljoen's reply to the debate.

New constitution a hurdle for future

Sowetan 10/12/90 3041

A GROUP of wise men or the Chief Justice of South Africa should be appointed to umpire a proposed nationwide constitutional debate among all the country's political groupings.

This suggestion was made by Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, when addressing the Democratic Society at the University of Natal in Maritzburg.

De Beer said the essence of a liberal democracy would be an independent judiciary, a fixed constitution containing a human rights manifesto, universal franchise, and regular and fair elections.

The biggest hurdle South Africa had to overcome was the acceptance of any new constitution by the majority of the

people, how it should be drawn up and the way in which it could be invested with legal authority.

The big question was whether an election should first be held to choose representatives for a constituent assembly, or whether a constitution should first be hammered out before such an election was held.

Election

"I can only guess that the Government will not opt for an election first because, in the atmosphere prevailing in the country, a victory will be considered by whichever party wins as a defeat of either black or white people, and that might be a false start," he warned.

De Beer rejected the proposal by the ANC several months ago that the present Government

should not remain in power during the negotiation process, but instead should be replaced by an interim government.

"Mr FW de Klerk and his colleagues strongly objected to this, and I must support them; I truly do not believe that it would make sense to replace the present Government until the successful completion of the negotiations and a new Government has been elected under the new constitution," he said.

Before electing representatives for any constituent assembly, he said, a wide-ranging debate about the constitutional future should be engaged in among all political

groupings - to create public understanding of what was at stake.

He warned, however, that it would not do to have the present parliament ratify the new constitution. "This procedure was followed with the tricameral parliament and led to it receiving so little acceptance."

A willingness to compromise had to be shown during all constitutional talks and debates - and De Beer was strongly in favour of the appointment of an umpire or facilitator, which could be either a group of wise men or, as had been suggested by Dr Denis Worrall, the Chief Justice of South Africa. - *Sapa*

Grounds for optimism in constitutional debate

By DR DENIS
WORRALL, MP

WITH discussion focusing on the removal of obstacles to constitutional negotiations, little public attention has been given to the constitutional specifics of a new South Africa. For this reason, I certainly looked forward to participating in last week's Pretoria conference jointly sponsored by

Unisa's Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law and the Herbert Quandt Foundation of Munich.

This was also the first full-scale academic conference which I have attended since South African politics became normalised, and it was an enormously encouraging experience. South African experts were exposed to ANC heavyweights, and I can only say that the sooner many of these people come home the better. Persons like Prof Kader Asmal, presently of Trinity College, Dublin, Adv N Masekela, of the ANC's legal and constitutional committee in London, and Dr T Pekane of the same office in Brussels, can only enliven the South African academic and intellectual scene. (Incidentally, one of Professor Asmal's logistical problems is to bring back 136 volumes of *Wissen*.)

Decentralisation

Notwithstanding the widely-ranging points of view in the conference, there was an encouraging degree of consensus on the constitutional parameters of a new form of government for South Africa. Thus there was agreement on the following important principles and mechanisms:

- That the constitution should be supreme
- Universal adult franchise
- That the electoral system should be based on proportional representation
- The inclusion of a Bill of Fundamental Rights which includes religious, language and cul-

tural interests, and the right of property.

● An independent judiciary and recognition of the rule of law.

● The importance of a well-developed local government system, coupled to stronger regional government authorities. (Prof Asmal envisages the creation of 10 regions in South Africa.)

● The necessity of competitive political parties in a multi-party system.

While there was agreement on the distribution of governmental power (the general feeling quite clearly was that some decentralisation was needed), there were differences on the balance between centralisation and decentralisation of authority. Consequently, the conference was divided as to whether the new state should be unitary or federal. And while there was agreement that racially-based disparities in income, wealth and public spending need to be redressed, there was (as one would expect) strong disagreement on the role of the state in the economy. (The two opposing points of view on this issue were ably presented by Mr Keith Coleman and by Dr Conrad Strauss.)

There was also a sensitivity in discussion of the importance of cultural, linguistic and religious rights. However, minority rights, and what constitutes a minority, and how minorities should be protected, were keenly debated.

Ethnicity

Constitutional lawyers and political scientists differ in their approach to constitution-making. Constitutional lawyers tend to apply acknowledged general constitutional principles to particular situations. While they have advanced considerably since the 1950s and 1960s (the heyday of constitution-making in Africa and Asia), and now pay more attention to sociological features and political dynamics, the fact is that their approach tends to be an idealised one.

Thus the Pretoria conference, which was dominated by constitutional lawyers, started by considering how constitutions are generally written and who should write the South African constitution. If political scientists had drawn up the agenda, that question would have come right at the end. The first area of concern would have been the nature of South African society and the kind of forces which need to be accommodated in a new non-racial (apartheid-free) democratic constitution.

What is needed now is a political science conference, which would take up the general principles agreed upon at last week's meeting and apply them to South African society. It would focus in greater detail on things like:

● The authoritarianism which is so endemic to South African society. How is this to be dealt with? And how do we strengthen the democratic culture?

● The record of official deprivation, denial and oppression has left many people in our society sceptical of governmental institutions and of

"democratic" institutions in particular. For example, we have a strong parliamentary tradition, but this is a "whites only" perception.

● The social and economic problems the country faces require strong government. How is this to be structured, if the preference is also for limited government?

● South Africa is an African country. Will we escape the African experience with ethnicity? In African countries, political parties presented a united front against the colonial power up until the moment independence dates were set. Then the leadership fragmented and went back to its ethnic constituencies. There has been evidence of this in recent times in this country, and we should be looking at this particular aspect now, rather than later, and anticipating its consequences.

Models required

● Closely related to black ethnicity is a probable resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism. Only one participant at the Pretoria conference (Prof Fanie Cloete of RAU) dealt with this. The last thing we want is that a significant number of Afrikaners feel themselves to be the Palestinians of Southern Africa. Will entrenched language and cultural rights accommodate the emotions which this will generate? Or should we not be thinking in terms of an Afrikaner Israel for those Afrikaners that want it, leaving the others (no doubt the majority) to take their chance with the rest of us.

● South Africa is lamentably lacking in the recognised pre-requisites for a successful democracy: a high rate of industrialisation, highly developed voluntary organisations, overlapping and cross-cutting social affiliations, wide-spread literacy, adequate and equitably distributed personal incomes, and, most important, widely shared sense of national identity. How do we tackle this?

● The lack of a strong sense of nationhood which transcends particular nationalisms or ethnicities must be a major concern in consciously developing such a concept of nationhood, do we (as was tried elsewhere in Africa and failed) adopt a "top-down" approach or a "bottom-up" approach? What are the superordinate goals leadership should be setting?

The debate around the future economy of South Africa has progressed well. The problem areas have been identified, the main approaches highlighted and there is a shared determination to find answers. (In fact, discussion of the nationalisation/privatisation, growth/re-distribution issues has been at a world-class level.)

In getting the constitutional debate started up, our scholars should recognise that more than general principles are needed. The public will only respond to models. *Before going into public life in 1974, Denis Worrall taught political science in universities in the US, Nigeria and South Africa.*

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LETTERS

Drug-free Bokaap — thanks to youth

From M HARRIS (Kensington):

I FIND it particularly interesting that The Bokaap area and adjoining environment is showing signs of developing into a drug-free area.

This phenomenon can be ascribed to the unselfish and determined attitudes of a few young committed people who have formed the Bokaap Anti-Drug Co-ordinating Committee.

These gallant young people have, over the last 10 months, demonstrated to the community of Cape Town that they will not allow the area to be infested with unscrupulous drug merchants who stand on street corners, waiting on our youth to buy their detestable merchandise.

The Bokaap Anti-Drug Committee has held placard demonstrations and a march through Cape Town to create public awareness of the dangers and problems in our society, as well as delivering a petition to the police to clamp down on the evil-doers.

Keep up the good work, Bokaap!

ANC, Inkatha please, now's time to appease

From BRIAN MILLER (Meadowridge):

MANDELA said to Buthelezi,

"Did you start this battle?"

I do suspect, sir, that

you did, the ANC to rattle."

Said Buthelezi to Mandela,

"No, you cannot say so.

Inkatha would not do such things,

your party struck the first blow."

And so they argue, day and night.

One says the other's lying.

Their war confined to empty word,

while their followers are dying

There are no winners, only losers,

in this inter-tribal strife.

Please Gatsha, tell your impi's.

Please Nelson, tell your wife.

304A
11/10/90
**FW leaves on
3-day visit to
UK, Portugal**

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and Marike de Klerk leave tonight on a three-day private trip to Europe for meetings with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva.

In his absence, Foreign Minister Pik Botha will be Acting State President for the first time.

Mr de Klerk will meet the Portuguese leaders in Lisbon tomorrow before embarking on the British passenger liner Queen Elizabeth 2, bound for Southampton.

The QE2 is scheduled to dock on Sunday morning and Mr de Klerk will go from there to Mrs Thatcher's official residence outside London for discussions on matters of "mutual interest". He will return to Africa on Sunday.

Are Ministers running ahead of the pack?

Star 11/10/92 304A

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent

Former Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall must be thinking of suing the National Party for infringement of copyright after its Cape congress in Port Elizabeth this week.

It's bad enough that the NP has robbed the DP of most of its policies.

But surely, Dr Worrall must be saying, it's adding insult to steal my best rhetorical flourishes as well.

It was he who stomped the campaign trail a year ago, telling white voters: "If you want to be part of the majority you must join with others on the basis of shared values, not skin colour."

Demands

And that was precisely the refrain at the Cape NP congress, of both Cape leader Dawie de Villiers and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

But if the Cabinet Ministers on the podium sounded more than ever like Democrats, the delegates sounded mostly like Nats of old.

Their views on most issues raised the disturbing question: have President de Klerk and his Cabinet left the National Party behind?

These were some of the demands and concerns expressed by delegates: That police should shoot any rioter who lifted a stone to throw at them; that general curfews should be imposed in black areas; that



Dr Denis Worrall ... NP leaders using his old arguments.

squatters were being treated better than permanent residents; that the country was plunging to Third World status; that civilised values were in jeopardy.

In general, delegates demanded immediate, short-term action to solve the problems on their doorsteps, while the Cabinet Ministers on the podium pleaded for a broader understanding that the behaviour of blacks had to be seen in the context of their physical lot.

For Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, fresh from meeting ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and answering charges of police excess in the townships, it must have been strange, if not unpleasant, to hear demands that policemen should be unshackled and allowed to shoot any rioter who so much as lifted a stone against them.

For good measure, this delegate said he could not under-

stand all the fuss about rioters being shot in the back "because the back makes just as good a target as the front".

Mr Vlok politely explained that no, policemen were obliged to act in such a way that their actions could pass the test of the courts.

Dr Viljoen had to do much the same. Faced with a barrage of complaints about black conduct and demands for civilised standards to be maintained, he, like Mr Vlok, pleaded for understanding of the black lot.

Solitary note

To Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Hernus Kriel fell the task of defending the Government's squatter policy against accusations that squatters seemed to have more rights than property owners and demands that something be done about them.

He said that every rand spent on black upliftment was a premium paid on a survival insurance policy against anarchy, crime and unrest.

Verligte MP for Newton Park, Sakkie Louw, sounded a rather solitary note when he appealed to the Government for more housing money for blacks and asked delegates if any of them had any idea of the "suffering, misery and hardship" in the townships only kilometres from where they sat.

Did any of these messages get through? Perhaps one will only know at the next poll.

Nats are proposing drastically reduced powers for central

THE NP is proposing a drastically reduced role for both the legislative and executive arms of central government — with restrictions even on Cabinet powers in vital areas such as security and taxation policy.

A clearer view of the NP's constitutional proposals has emerged from recent speeches by President F. W. de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and the leaking of a Broederbond document which provides detail on the future functioning of central government.

What is proposed in the Broederbond document corresponds in almost every respect with the broad outlines of a future constitution advanced by Viljoen.

At the Cape NP Congress in Port Elizabeth earlier this week, Viljoen said the NP would argue in negotiations that ultimate power in a new SA be vested in a Supreme Court as in the US, and not in Parliament as SA was at present.

Such a Supreme Court, he said, would become a guardian and protector of the main constitution and would be empowered to test the validity of decisions taken by the legislature.

The NP would argue that in a new SA, individuals should be protected by a Bill of rights. In addition, minorities should receive protection from entrenched clauses in the constitution.

304A 11/10/90
MIKE ROBERTSON

The constitution, he said, should contain provisions that:

- ☐ Prevented SA from becoming a one-party state;
 - ☐ Prevented a majority from changing the bill of rights;
 - ☐ Stipulated government should have a set lifespan;
 - ☐ Prevented SA from becoming a communist dictatorship; and
 - ☐ Entrenched property rights.
- In addition to these provisions — which he has mentioned in the past — Viljoen

said the constitution should contain clauses stipulating how security forces should be managed and that it was the right of every SA citizen not to be excessively taxed.

The constitution should also contain provisions protecting entrepreneurs.

It was the first time the NP had suggested strategic executive functions like taxation and security policy be constrained by a constitution.

Addressing Provincial Administrators in Maritzburg last week, De Klerk indicated government favoured expanding powers of local and regional government to prevent any group from monopolising power at central government level.

Nats 304A 11/10/90

gress while the NP was prepared to accept a legislature elected on a basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' roll, its powers would be offset by a second chamber in which representation would be decided on a regional and group basis.

He said the powers of the head of state would also be reduced. It was considering a collegiate system of rotating Presidents.

Alternatively, it would argue for a counterbalancing system with a Prime Minister and a President. The latter would have responsibility for supervising the functioning of the constitution.

The Broederbond's draft constitution, which is understood to have been drawn up by officials in Viljoen's department, provides for one man, one vote elections on a common voters' roll for a 300-seat House of Representatives.

304A 11/10/90
From Page 1

All Bills would have to be passed by a two-thirds majority in a Senate.

Groups could not be based on race but had to have a common language, culture or religion and more than 500 000 voters. At least 60% of these members would have to vote in a referendum in favour of being represented as a group to enable it to come into being.

If the Senate and House disagreed on a Bill, it would be passed to an advisory council to decide which version should be submitted to the President for signature.

During the Cape Congress, Walmer branch chairman Humphries du Randt complained that ordinary members of the NP had not been consulted about the Broederbond document. He said NP congresses were becoming a mere "rubber stamp" for proposals that originated "elsewhere".

government

A committee of inquiry into inter-governmental fiscal relations had indicated that under such a system, local government spending as a percentage of total state spending could grow from 10% to 46%. Regional spending could grow from 16% to 23% while central government spending would fall from its present 67% to 31%.

Read with Viljoen's call for a constitution that prohibits excessive taxation, this would cut central government powers in economic decision making.

Viljoen also indicated at the Cape Congress
To Page 2

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Star 11/10/92

3044

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Dr Denis Worrall . . . NP leaders using his old arguments.

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FW traitor - Jaap

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk had betrayed his people and his country, HNP leader Jaap Marais claimed in a fiery Kruger's Day speech at Vereeniging in the heart of the Transvaal Boer fatherland. 304A

With the reform that De Klerk was instituting, the survival of the Afrikaner was once again threatened, as it had been by the British and the Zulu before him, said Marais. Soweto 11/10/90

But it was Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche who offered the culminative speech to this commemoration of President Paul Kruger's birthday: "You can tell your children: 'I was there - Vereeniging October 10. The beginning of the second rebellion,'" he said to a standing ovation.

About 600 people, many of them sporting handguns, gathered to hear the two leaders. - Sapa.

Rightist leaders lash out at FW

THREE right-wing leaders yesterday lashed out at President F.W. de Klerk, accusing him of "political suicide" and "betrayal".

Addressing about 1 000 people at a Kruger Day rally in a Bellville caravan park, CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk would have to clarify "some issues which were causing grave concern" before he could accept the State President's invitation to talks.

Among these were statements about accepting a black majority government, proposing a system of one-man-one-vote, decreeing the repeal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Act and claiming that the last white election had already taken place.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk had accused him of "clever political games" but he rather played such games than the stupid game of political suicide.

Meanwhile, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais claimed in a fiery speech at Vereeniging that Mr De Klerk has betrayed his people and his country.

With the reform that Mr De Klerk was instituting, the survival of the Afrikaner was once again threatened, as it had been by the British and the Zulu, he said.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche told the crowd: "You can tell your children: I was there — Vereeniging, October 10. The beginning of the second rebellion." — Sapa

FW and Forum find 'some agreement'

PRETORIA — Government is to have further talks with the National Forum on ways to achieve political co-operation, says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking after a meeting between President F W de Klerk and the forum yesterday, Viljoen said it was clear from the discussions there were areas of agreement.

Violence in the townships was also discussed, Viljoen said.

The forum is a black urban organisation which rejects violence as a road to a new SA.

16 May 12/10/90
GERALD REILLY

Forum president John Mavuso — who is also Transvaal MEC in charge of local government — said after the meeting the forum had been established to provide a political home for those urban blacks who wanted to become involved in participation politics.

(304A)
It was, he stressed, a political organisation. It had 15 branches throughout the country and a membership of 150 000.

Asked if an alliance with the NP was planned, Mavuso said the forum was open to co-operation with any political organisation which shared its democratic and free enterprise economy ideals and aims.

Intimidation and violence from certain organisations were hampering forum recruitment, "but we believe we can overcome this. The potential for increasing membership is enormous", he said.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer also attended yesterday's talks.

FWW fails again

Mr. T. A. S. 12/10/90 3044

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and the government clashed yesterday in one of the most serious rows yet over negotiations.

And shortly before leaving for Europe last night, President F W de Klerk stepped in to try to defuse the row.

A few hours before his departure on a four-day European tour, the ANC accused Mr De Klerk of a serious breach of confidentiality and took the unprecedented step of releasing details of its meeting with government earlier this week.

Releasing the ANC statement, Ms Gill Marcus and Mr Saki Macozoma said government actions this week had jeopardised the entire negotiation process and that the ANC had been forced to "call into question the integrity of F W de Klerk".

At a hastily convened media conference at Jan Smuts Airport before his departure for Portugal and Britain, Mr De Klerk stressed the importance of keeping the negotiation process on track.

"I find it a pity that after three days suddenly there is criticism... and that a negative statement is made almost the moment when I am due to meet some heads of government during my overseas visit."

Earlier in the day, the Minister of Constitutional

Development, Mr Gerri Viljoen, announced in Pretoria that full-scale negotiations would have to start early next year — despite existing problems.

Yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela authorised the ANC to release submissions he made at a meeting held with the government in Cape Town on Monday — following public statements Mr De Klerk made after the meeting.

The agreement was that both sides would confine comments to a brief, joint statement.

Last night Mr De Klerk rejected the allegations. "I find it a pity that they have breached the agreement... because they will now force us... to publicly reject the allegations contained in that statement."

Mr De Klerk said he had the impression that the ANC was under pressure and that it was starting to blame the government.

"We are not doing anything to put them under pressure."

"However unjust their statement is, we'll deal with it in a manner which can never negatively affect the negotiation process which is tender and which we are at the threshold of."

"I hope that the leadership of the ANC will also refrain from any act or statement which will unnecessarily endanger this and will make sure of their facts before they make an attack on the integrity of the government."

Yesterday's ANC statement accused Mr De Klerk of "double-talk" by telling the NP's Cape congress that the ANC had adopted positions that jeopardised negotiations. This was in "sharp conflict with the discussions earlier in the day", it said.

In his seven-page submission, Mr Mandela warned the government of growing evidence pointing to a "departure by government from the letter and spirit of certain aspects of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes".

Mr Mandela insisted that the existence of ANC arms caches did not conflict with the Pretoria Minute. The government's refusal to grant indemnity to national executive members Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Ronnie Kasrils conflicted with agreements between the ANC and the government if, as had been claimed, they had done so because of alleged possession of weapons.

The submissions also showed that Mr Mandela had given the government a personal undertaking that Mr Maharaj — currently in detention under the Internal Security Act — would stand trial if released on bail.

Meanwhile, Mr Viljoen told a press conference in Pretoria that full-scale negotiations would have to start early next year — and that the government expected the ANC to be a participant.

Mr Viljoen said the government had considered, although not seriously, proposals to hold a constituent

assembly election once basic outlines of a constitution had been agreed on by a negotiating forum. Those elected in such an election would then fill in the finer details.

A referendum for all South Africans could be held in which provision was made to identify the white result. This would enable Mr De Klerk to fulfil his election promise.

Mr Viljoen said the first task of the negotiating forum when it began work early next year would be to discuss aspects such as a bill of rights which all parties had accepted in principle.

He believed there would "a lot of benefit" in trying to come to an early accord on certain basic constitutional principles such as a multi-party state, a unitary SA and the need to hold regular elections.

He said that as an interim measure, the government was prepared to negotiate channels by which organisations outside the existing tricameral system could influence decisions taken in Parliament.

He was convinced SA would have a new negotiated constitution before 1993 when the next tricameral election has to be held.

● Mr Viljoen said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would today release details of the agreement between the ANC and government on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

Pik takes reins of power — for three days

Blom 12/10/90 304A
PIK Botha's moment of glory arrived last night. For the next three days he's our President.

He's missing out on talks with Portuguese President Mario Soares and a meeting with Britain's Iron Lady, Margaret Thatcher. He's foregoing a cruise on the QE2 in between. But the man with wide popular support, whose colleagues would not back him for leader, has made it to the top.

Pik tried for Prime Minister in 1978; he got 22 votes in the first ballot and had to leave P W Botha to defeat Connie Mulder.

MICHAEL ACOTT

He had a go at becoming NP leader when P W Botha resigned the post last year; but it was F W de Klerk who beat Barend du Plessis and went on to become President.

From the time he became Foreign Minister in 1974, Botha has always accompanied John Vorster, P W Botha and now De Klerk on foreign visits. Each time an acting prime minister, and later an acting president, was sworn in.

Since the last election and the retirement of Chris Heunis, Botha has been the

most senior member of Cabinet to whom that acting task falls. But, as Foreign Minister, he had to accompany his head of state abroad.

For once (and nobody's saying why) Pik is staying home to mind the shop. He was sworn in as Acting President last night as De Klerk flew off to Europe.

Pik now has custody of the Seal of the Republic. His "will and pleasure" shall be expressed in writing under his signature. He can hire and fire, he can make war or peace. For three days. The boss returns on Monday and wants his job back.

Young, bitter and white

Just sweet children ...
carrying a virulent
message of hate through
the streets this week
By CHARLES LEONARD

By CHARLES LEONARD (304A)
RIGHTWING militance and racism
marked this week's Kruger Day celebra-
tions.

"If the ANC wants bloodspilling,
we'll give it to them," Afrikaner Weer-
standsbeweging chief Eugene Terre-
blanche told his followers in Vereenig-
ing. "Come blood! Lots of blood! Not
my blood! Their blood! We will chase
them into the sea!"

Terreblanche chose Vereeniging,
scene of the final downfall of the Boer
republics in 1902, to honour the last
president of the Transvaal republic and
vow that the AWB was picking up the
arms laid down 88 years ago.

Four hundred AWB commando mem-
bers and 200 of their chanting children
marched through the town to hear Terre-
blanche speak on Wednesday.

The march, led by Terreblanche and
13 other horsemen, crawled from the
Vereeniging showgrounds to the Free-
dom Monument in front of the town's ci-
vic centre, where wreaths were laid.

Vereeniging's streets were lined with
curious black people and, on every street
corner along the route, armed AWB
marshals. *Wit met FW!* 12/10-18/10/90

Following traffic policemen, police-
men in uniform and the horsemen were
marching commando members — under
a red, white and black banner depicting
an eagle with spread wings and the
words "wenkommando" — sporting
brand-new maroon berets and clad in
khaki uniforms.

At their heels were children protesting
against the opening of white schools to
all races — chanting slogans like
"AWB! AWB!", "Weg met FW!"
(Away with FW) and "n Kaffer bly 'n
kaffer! Wit bly wit!" (A "kaffir" stays a
"kaffir"! White stays white!).

The children, mostly primary school
age, bore banners like "Seblief oom
FW, hou skole wit" (Please uncle FW,
keep our schools white). A boy, barely
12 years old, wore a loaded cartridge
belt around his waist and carried a plac-
ard saying "Die eerste kaffer in ons
skool skiet ek vrek" (The first "kaffir" in
our school I will kill).

A bemused black bystander shook his
head and said to a friend in Sotho: "These
people are crazy!"

Forty kilometres east of Vereeniging
the Boerestaat Party and the Boere
Weerstandsbeweging were holding a
boerekongres.

Fewer than 100 people heard an eco-
nomic expert explain that the R2-coin
was proof of the decadence of the South
African economy.

● In the Johannesburg suburb of
Westdene, a different sort of *boerefees*
was held: non-racial, with no speeches,
no praise for Kruger — and provision
made for vegetarians. It was the Afri-
kaanse Demokrate's version of *volks-
fees*.



TOP: Message of hate ... a young AWB
supporter makes his sentiments plain
during Wednesday's march through Ve-
reeniging. Judging by the spelling, his
education has not been particularly effec-
tive. RIGHT: Give us a kiss, baby ... charm
OOZES out of AWB leader Eugene Ter-
reBlanche Pictures: KEVIN CARTER

Present at this progressive group's jol
were members of the Johannesburg
northwestern branch of the African Na-
tional Congress, the Alexandra Civic,
the Transvaal Indian Congress, South
African Railway Workers Union and
their children.

"Our idea was to de-mystify Kruger's
or Heroes Day," Afrikaanse Demokrate
member Elsie Cloete said. "We have a
problem with great heroes or the father
figures who have to solve all our prob-
lems."

"The only people who made a noise
here today were the children," she said.
"You do not need to shout or scream
when you are on the winning side."



(304A)

Analysis of transfer of power from different countries New Nation 12/10-18/10/90

Transfer of power is the important stage in the revolution of different countries. Transfer of power differs from one country to another. The most important aspect on this lies on the power of revolutionary movements. The most important one is the total seizure of power where you do not need to consult the enemy. Example: in the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks destroyed the Tzarist hierarchy. That is why the Soviet Union became the first government to be controlled by workers because workers are the only people who can give direction after the seizure of power.

In France the French revolution brought the idea of democracy. Workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisies managed to overthrow the king in France. The idea of a Constituent Assembly started in France. In France the revolution was dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. The people of France managed to achieve the main goal which was to be free from feudalism. Workers were highly involved in this struggle. They tried to establish their own government, the worker commune under Louis Blanck but due to lack of how they must rule themselves it failed. The bourgeois democracy of which was preached by Montesque and other philosophers was opted but many people were not involved in decision making.

In Nicaragua the imperialist force ruled the country through the puppet Somoza. He was the one to sharpen imperialist's teeth. The people of Nicaragua organised themselves under the leadership of Sandanista, FSLN. The Sandanistas managed to overthrow the puppet Somoza by mass action and the armed struggle. This was total seizure of power. The enemy fled the country and the people's state was established. The position was that Nicaragua as part and parcel of Latin America was mostly dependent on the USA. The imperialists launched sanctions against the People's government and supported the Contras to retard the development of the state. At the last election the Sandanistas lost the elections because people were stirring under their statesmanship. The conditions differ in Mozambique where bandits are destroying everything in their disposal but people believe that Frelimo is their only political party. And that means that Sandanistas have the revolutionary task to consolidate the people's organs of power on the ground.

In Zimbabwe the transfer of power was initiated by imperialist Britain. The national liberation movement ZANU and ZAPU agreed on the Lancaster House Agreement of which all the people of Zimbabwe were allowed to vote. The question of voting is important as the vote-going will determine and uplift the standard of living. If the vote agreement does not allow you to do that why continue to fight? The most important issue about Zimbabwe is that the people have the vote but the capitalists still exploit the workers. The final analysis is that there was not total transfer of power to the people. Change must be economic and political.

In Namibia the colonialist racist regime was defeated by Swapo. The problem lies with the Resolution 435 of which the people of Namibia were not involved in drafting it. Workers and peasants were in the forefront of the battlefield but in the end of the day USA and Britain and Canada decided how the people of Namibia must engage themselves in the sharing of power. This creates problems, for example on May day, capitalists were the main guests of the celebration. Workers started questioning the government of the day. Let us hope that change is permanent and people of Namibia will decide how the government of the day must work in future elections.

In our present situation South Africa since 1910 we have been ruled by a minority and people of South Africa have rejected the minority regime. I think we must build the organs of people's power to the grassroot level before we can entertain the question of a constituent assembly by educating the masses and sharpen mass action on the ground. In our situation we are fortunate because there are no imperialist forces which dictate to our people on how to seize power for the free Constituent Assembly. It means we must eliminate all the reactionary forces otherwise we are going to have problems.

Maredi. (Soweto)

ANC must participate — Viljoen

Govt outlines strategy on negotiations

B/Dan 12/10/90

FULL-scale negotiations would have to start early next year and, despite existing problems, government expected the ANC to participate, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Starting such negotiations without the ANC would be an admission of failure, Viljoen told a Pretoria Press conference.

However, only hours later the ANC's information and publicity department issued a statement accusing government of undermining efforts to achieve a settlement and calling into question President F W de Klerk's integrity.

Viljoen said government could not wait indefinitely before beginning negotiations and organisations that were not prepared to take part from the outset would have to catch up. Azapo, by not agreeing to participate, had marginalised itself. While gov-

MIKE ROBERTSON

ernment was still waiting for a PAC response, much work would be necessary before that organisation could take part as it was "a leading expert in war talk".

Viljoen said that, because government had worked so hard with the ANC towards getting a negotiating process under way, it would be an admission of failure to start without it. This did not mean the ANC was the only important player. But, like Inkatha, the ANC was a player of such importance government would not want to begin negotiations without it.

Government had set its sights on a "Groot Beraad" including all participants who had agreed to try to negotiate a settlement, he said.

The ANC's participation in such a meet-

□ To Page 2

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, October 12 1990

Talks

ing would depend on progress achieved by the armed action working committee.

"When it comes to the real McCoy, there must be an end to violence and intimidation."

Viljoen said his upbeat prediction was based on recent speeches and statements that indicated government and the ANC could "find ourselves" on issues such as the demand for a constituent assembly election on which there had been sharp differences initially.

He believed this was mainly due to government's acceptance that there would have to be democratic approval for what was agreed to at the negotiating table.

Government believed this could be achieved by a referendum for all South Africans in which provision was made to identify the white result. This would enable De Klerk to fulfil his election promise.

Viljoen said government had considered proposals to hold constituent assembly

□ From Page 1

elections once a negotiating forum had agreed to basic outlines for a constitution.

He said government would agree to such a suggestion only if other parties accepted it should not take place in such a way that the NP's insistence on protection for minorities was "wiped off the table".

Viljoen said the first task of the negotiating forum, when it began work early next year, would be to discuss aspects such as a bill of rights, which all parties had accepted in principle.

He believed there would be "a lot of benefit" in trying to come to an early accord on basic constitutional principles such as a multi-party state, a unitary SA and the need to hold regular elections.

As an interim measure, government was prepared to negotiate channels by which organisations outside the tricameral system could influence decisions taken in Parliament. But, he stressed, government was not prepared to abdicate power.

12/10/90

ANC and FW in row over break of faith

304A

THE Government had refused to release ANC leader Mac Maharaj despite a personal guarantee by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that he would stand trial, the organisation said yesterday.

The issue on Maharaj is one of the submissions made by Mandela at a meeting between the ANC and the Government in Cape Town on Monday.

Yesterday the ANC released extracts of submissions made at the talks, claiming a serious breach of faith on the part of the Government.

But these allegations were denied last night by President FW de Klerk at a hastily convened Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before he left for Britain and Portugal.

The ANC had accused

By SY MAKARINGE

the Government of "double standards", saying rightwingers were being released on bail soon after their arrest.

In Maharaj's case, the docket had been handed to the Attorney-General. This meant investigations had been completed, but he was still in jail.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the two parties had agreed that submissions made at the meeting would be confidential.

However, the ANC had decided to reveal some of the extracts because of breach of faith by the Government.

Reacting to the allegations last night, De Klerk said: "I find it a pity that they have breached the agreement which was

reached because they will now force us to publicly react and reject the allegations.

"It is important that we keep the negotiation process on track and I find it a pity that after three days suddenly there is criticism ... and a negative statement is made almost the moment I am due to meet some heads of government during my overseas visit."

I

WITH discussions focusing on the removal of obstacles to constitutional negotiations, little public attention has been given to the constitutional specifics of a new SA. For this reason, I looked forward to participating in last week's Pretoria conference, sponsored by Unisa's Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law and the Herbert Quandt Foundation of Munich.

This was also the first full-scale academic conference I had attended since SA politics became normalised, and it was an enormously encouraging experience.

SA experts were exposed to ANC heavyweights, and I can only say that the sooner many of these people come home the better. Persons like Prof Kader Asmal, presently of Trinity College, Dublin, advocate N Masebola of the ANC's legal and constitutional committee in London, and Dr T Pekane of the same office in Brussels, can only enliven the SA academic and intellectual scene. (Incidentally, one of Prof Asmal's logistical problems is to bring back 136 volumes of Wisden!)

Notwithstanding the widely ranging points of view in the conference, there was an encouraging degree of consensus on the constitutional parameters of a new form of government for SA. Thus there was agreement on the following important principles and mechanisms:

- ☐ That the constitution should be supreme;
- ☐ Universal adult franchise;
- ☐ That the electoral system should be based on proportional representation;
- ☐ A bill of fundamental rights which includes religious, languages and cultural interests, and the right of property;
- ☐ An independent judiciary and recognition of the rule of law;
- ☐ The importance of a well-developed local government system, coupled to stronger regional government authorities. (Prof Asmal envisages

Constitution-makers are putting all the wrong issues first

12/10/90

DENIS WORRALL

the creation of 10 regions in SA; and

- ☐ The necessity of competitive political parties in a multi-party system.

While there was agreement on the distribution of governmental power (the general feeling quite clearly was that some decentralisation was needed), there were differences on the balance between centralisation and decentralisation of authority. Consequently, the conference divided as to whether the new state should be unitary or federal.

And while there was agreement that racially based disparities in income, wealth and public spending need to be redressed, there was (as one would expect) strong disagreement on the role of the state in the economy. (The two opposing points of view of this issue were ably presented by Keith Coleman and Conrad Strauss.)

There was also a sensitivity in discussion of the importance of cultural, linguistic and religious rights. However, minority rights, and what constitutes a minority, and how minorities should be protected, were keenly debated.

Constitutional lawyers and political scientists differ in their approach

to constitution-making. Constitutional lawyers tend to apply acknowledged general constitutional principles to particular situations. While they have advanced considerably since the 1950s and 1960s (the heyday of constitution-making in Africa and Asia), and now pay more attention to sociological features and political dynamics, the fact is that their approach tends to be an idealised one.

Thus the Pretoria conference, which was dominated by constitutional lawyers, started by considering how constitutions are generally written and who should write the SA constitution. If political scientists had drawn up the agenda, that question would have come right at the end. The first area of concern would have been the nature of SA society and the kind of forces which need to be accommodated in a new non-racial (apartheid-free) democratic constitution.

What is now needed is a political science conference, which would take up the general principles agreed upon at last week's meeting and apply them to SA society. It would focus in greater detail on things like:

- ☐ The authoritarianism which is endemic to SA society. How is this to be dealt with? And how do we strengthen the democratic culture;
- ☐ The record of official deprivation, denial and oppression has left many people in our society sceptical of governmental institutions and of "democratic" institutions in particular. For example, we have a strong parliamentary tradition, but this is a "whites only" perception;
- ☐ The social and economic problems the country faces require strong government. How is this to be structured, if the preference is also for limited government;
- ☐ SA is an African country. Will we escape the African experience with ethnicity? In African countries, political parties presented a united front against the colonial power up until the moment independence dates were set. Then the leadership fragmented and went back to its ethnic constituencies. There has been evidence of this in recent times in this country, and we should be looking at this particular aspect now, rather than later, and anticipating its consequences;
- ☐ Closely related to black ethnicity

is a probable resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism. One participant at the Pretoria conference (Prof Fanie Cloete of RAU) dealt with this. The last thing we want is that a significant number of Afrikaners feel themselves to be the Palestinians of southern Africa. Will entrenched language and cultural rights accommodate the emotions which this will generate? Or should we not be thinking in terms of an Afrikaner Israel for those Afrikaners who want it, leaving the others (no doubt the majority) to take their chance with the rest of us;

- ☐ SA is lamentably lacking in the recognised prerequisites for a successful democracy: a high rate of industrialisation, highly developed voluntary organisations, overlapping and cross-cutting social affiliations, widespread literacy, adequate and equitably distributed personal incomes, and, most important, a widely shared sense of national identity. How do we tackle this; and
- ☐ The lack of a strong sense of nationhood which transcends particular nationalism or ethnicities must be a major concern. In consciously developing such a concept of nationhood, do we (as was tried elsewhere in Africa and failed) adopt a "top-down" approach or a "bottom-up" approach? What are the superordinate goals leadership should be setting?

The debate around the future economy of SA has progressed well. The problem areas have been identified, the main approaches highlighted, and there is a shared determination to find answers. (In fact, discussion of the nationalisation/privatisation, growth/redistribution issues has been at a world-class level.)

In getting the constitutional debate started up, our scholars should recognise that more than general principles are needed. The public will respond only to models.

Worrall is DP MP for Berea. He previously taught political science at universities in the US, Nigeria and SA.

ANC in surprise attack on 'FW's integrity'

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress yesterday launched an unprecedented attack on the integrity of President FW de Klerk, revealing major strains in the relationship between the country's two main negotiating partners.

Accusing the government of duplicity, the ANC took the unusual step of releasing hard-hitting excerpts of the confidential submission that an ANC delegation, under the movement's deputy president Nelson Mandela, made at Monday's meeting with De Klerk.

Until now the movement has been careful to isolate De Klerk from its rhetorical attacks on the government, sticking by Mandela's line that De Klerk is a "man of integrity".

However, the attack at the press conference yesterday was made by Department of Information officials and not by any senior members of the ANC's national executive committee.

Nor was there any sign that the negotiating process was being placed in any real jeopardy.

The ANC accused the government of betraying an agreement to keep the intention to meet confidential and of diminishing the importance of Monday's talks by immediately launching a broadside on the ANC at the Cape National Party Congress.

In a hastily-called press conference last night De Klerk rejected the ANC's allegations that the government had committed a breach of faith.

He said he had heard that the ANC had made public a document with many "unfounded" allegations which he had rejected at Monday's discussions.

What the ANC revealed in its statement yesterday is real concern that it is being outmanoeuvred by the government and fears that the rank and file do not think it is standing up sufficiently to De Klerk.

The release of the document appears designed to let ANC rank and file know what transpired at Tuynhuys.

Among other things, De Klerk accused the ANC of utilising suspension of the armed struggle merely as "a temporary strategy".

In response the ANC charged that: "This concerted propaganda offensive is designed, as is the campaign of violence, to weaken the ANC and to create an image of vacillation and division so that, amongst our people, there is a loss of confidence in the movement."

Included among the ANC submissions to De Klerk were:

- That the Reef violence, carried out by a sophisticated and professional "killing machine", served the "strategy of the rightwing, some of whom undoubtedly continue to have a strong presence in the police, army and security forces". It was calculated to put the ANC in a difficult position.

- That the conflict had been linked in the media to secret training bases for Inkatha members in Caprivi, run by officers of the South African Defence Force. "A reluctance to subject such widespread allegations to impartial inquiry fuels popular perception that there are forces close to you, Mr President, with a double agenda," Mandela told De Klerk in the document.

- That the government itself was veering away from the spirit and letter of aspects of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, particularly in relation to the question of the ANC's undertaking to suspend armed struggle.

- That the law was applied in a discriminatory fashion to ANC followers. The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was allowed to run armed commandos and training camps. "How then can we be expected to advise our people that MK must cease to establish a similar network, including training in self-protection?"

In addition, detention under section 29 of the Internal Security Act was more stringently applied to ANC members than to others.

For example, while ANC and South African Communist Party allegations of torture met with blank denial, rightwing claims evoked immediate undertakings to investigate; while Inkatha leader Themba Khoza was brought to court forthwith after allegedly issuing weapons and was granted bail, ANC leader Mac Maharaj was still in detention three months after arrest.

FOCUS: Navigating the negotiations labyrinth ...

THE South African public will be pardoned for not knowing what on earth is happening in this country.

At the weekend African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela repeated charges of a conspiracy in the bosom of the state. He angrily blamed the violence in the townships on the "Third Force" whom he identified as the askaris, military intelligence, the National Intelligence Service and Koevoet.

The government, for its part, was angry with the ANC over the repeated claims and wanted to confront the organisation over this issue as well.

One would have expected — at the very least — for harsh words to be traded at Monday's meeting between Mandela and De Klerk. We don't know exactly what transpired, only the mild joint statement issued afterwards in which both parties agreed to differ on the violence.

"The different perceptions of the causes and handling of the violence were noted," it said, adding that both sides reaffirmed their support for the negotiation process and the "need to strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective".

Three days later the ANC did call a press conference and released the text of Mandela's hard-hitting submission, but the gap between the pre-talks rhetoric and the post-talks silence was puzzling to the public in general and ANC supporters in particular.

Unfortunately, it is something we are learning to live with — the contradictions and the confusion. When ought we to take what politicians say seriously?

Take the government. Interpreting what it really intend to do with the country is like trying to read the tea leaves.

Even the National Party's own members now accuse it of being under the undue secretive influence of the Broederbond.

The South African public could be forgiven for starting to feel stamped upon like the proverbial grass when the elephants start to play.

The liberation movement's supporters are asking a lot of questions themselves. Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC's national executive committee has — along with other members of the movement — been held in detention without trial for almost three months.

In the Groote Schuur Minute in May, the government committed itself to reviewing the Internal Security Act, and everyone has assumed that detention without trial is on the way out.

But it is still being used against senior ANC members, even after last week's cut-off point for political offences. The best that comes out of Monday's meeting is that the ANC makes submissions about the detentions and "the government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions".

Perhaps Maharaj is a pawn or a minor chess piece sacri-

ficed for some larger strategic game plan. Except that at times the ANC seems desperate to keep the negotiations on course.

The perception, at least, is that this leads the organisation into accepting a lot less than what its rhetoric promises or its credibility threshold allows.

On Thursday the ANC came close to reviewing its opinion of De Klerk — that he is a man of integrity. But at what stage does the ANC retaliate by pulling out of the negotiations or hitting back in some other way?

Never mind, we are told. Somewhere, the negotiations are still on course. Both the government and the ANC are optimistic and will keep us informed when there is anything new to report.

Meanwhile, the "son of God" goes on a stabbing spree through the streets of Durban chanting "We've come to take over this place," and unknown gunmen fire on a bus, randomly murdering innocent commuters.

Nobody knows for sure who did it, but everyone is prepared to guess — and more often than not, the conspiracy theories are likely to be true.

Is there
w/ H&A 12/10 - 18/10/90
anyone out
there who
knows
what's
going on in
politics?

Our politics have always defied rational explanation, but recent weeks have pushed the limits of the incomprehensible, says
PHILIP VAN NIEKERK



FW de Klerk

Readers' views on the Transfer of Power in South Africa

A while ago we ran a series on the Transfer of Power. We looked at the history of the transfer of power in various countries and asked readers to write to us telling us how power should be transferred in South Africa. Here are some of your replies.



No elections for a constituent assembly
New Nation 12/10-18/10/90 (304A)

We are writing in response to a call by New Nation (Learning Nation) of 30 August to express our views on how transfer of power should be done here in South Africa. First of all we would like to respond to a suggestion that elections for a Constituent Assembly based on one person one vote be held. We strongly condemn this suggestion because this may result in one of the major parties obtaining two thirds (75%) of the population which will entitle them to draw their own constitution which will obviously have their own interests and this will result in nationalism among the minority parties and the alliance will be conducive to a renewed struggle.

We therefore think that the best way to transfer power will be in this way: all political parties i.e. parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties including trade unions, with the "exception of bantustan leaders", must sit down (with equal representation and without elections being held) and draft a new constitution for a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa which will have the interests of all South Africans.

We cannot ignore nor can we pretend to be not seeing the problem of who will monitor the process. This is another hurdle that needs sober minded people to overcome it.

Our suggestion on resolving this deadlock is that an acceptable body or authority to the constituent

assembly must monitor the process but we would prefer that the UN monitor the process as was the case with Namibia. All the power of the state including the police force must be handed over to this interim government because it would be unacceptable to the other parties if the state powers remain in the hands of the National Party while it is at the same time engaged in talks. After the drafting of the new constitution, a referendum must be held so that the people of South Africa are given a chance to approve what their leaders shall have agreed upon. We however believe that if a political organisation agreed upon the constitution, then their followers will spontaneously support the constitution.

After the referendum it is then that we can have general elections in which power will be the name of the game and the winning party will be compelled to rule the country according to the constitution which was drawn and agreed upon by all political parties and which shall have been approved by the people of South Africa. We think that if our leaders really want to bury the hatchet in South Africa, this will be the best procedure to follow.

From: Refiloe Maredi and Khoroshi Motebele,
Malebo High School, Rebene

ANC questions De Klerk's integrity

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC yesterday accused President F W de Klerk of a breach of confidentiality and took the unprecedented step of unilaterally releasing details of its meeting with government earlier this week.

ANC spokesmen Gill Marcus and Saki Macozoma told a Press conference in Johannesburg that government actions this week had jeopardised the negotiation process and the ANC had been forced to "call into question the integrity of De Klerk".

But they said this would not derail the negotiation process.

De Klerk last night rejected the ANC allegations, Sapa reports.

Marcus and Macozoma released submissions made by deputy leader Nelson Mandela to a meeting the ANC had with government in Cape Town on Monday.

Mandela had authorised this step following public statements De Klerk made after the meeting, despite an agreement that both sides would confine comments to a brief joint statement.

Yesterday's statement accused De Klerk of "double-talk" by telling the NP's Cape congress that the ANC had adopted positions that jeopardised negotiations.

In his submission, Mandela warned of

□ To Page 2

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growing evidence pointing to a "departure" by government from the letter and spirit of certain aspects of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

He insisted that the existence of ANC arms caches did not conflict with the Pretoria Minute.

Appealing to government not to seek short-term, unfair gains at the ANC's expense, Mandela said government members

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had subjected him to a "salvo of vicious and unfair criticism".

In his response, De Klerk said the ANC could be referring to only two instances when they spoke about a "breach of faith". These were a statement on a cut-off date for political offences, and his speech in Port Elizabeth this week.

In both cases, he had fully informed the ANC beforehand, De Klerk said.

FW and Forum find 'some agreement'

13 1744 12/10/90

PRETORIA — Government is to have further talks with the National Forum on ways to achieve political co-operation, says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking after a meeting between President F W de Klerk and the forum yesterday, Viljoen said it was clear from the discussions there were areas of agreement.

Violence in the townships was also discussed, Viljoen said.

The forum is a black urban organisation which rejects violence as a road to a new SA.

GERALD REILLY

Forum president John Mavuso — who is also Transvaal MEC in charge of local government — said after the meeting the forum had been established to provide a political home for those urban blacks who wanted to become involved in participation politics.

(304A)
It was, he stressed, a political organisation. It had 15 branches throughout the country and a membership of 150 000.

Asked if an alliance with the NP was planned, Mavuso said the forum was open to co-operation with any political organisation which shared its democratic and free enterprise economy ideals and aims.

Intimidation and violence from certain organisations were hampering forum recruitment, "but we believe we can overcome this. The potential for increasing membership is enormous", he said.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer also attended yesterday's talks.

Broederbond: Top Nat slams 'cliques'

CAPE TOWN 13/10/90
Political Correspondent 3044

THE simmering row over Broederbond "power cliques" dominating National Party policy-making burst into the open yesterday when a leading Nationalist called on the NP leadership urgently to democratise internal workings of the party.

The chairman of the NP's Walmer Branch, Professor Humphries du Randt, claimed that a small minority of Broederbonders were trying to influence and direct the views of ordinary NP members.

He said it was clear to any intelligent observer that the practice of "nepotism, self-advancement, co-optation and aggressive exclusion of critical fellow South Africans" had become entrenched as a result of Broederbond "cells".

The row follows the leaking of a secret draft document on the government's plans for a new constitution being circulated for comment among members of the Broederbond.

Some delegates to this week's Cape congress asked what the point was in discussing constitutional matters if the government, in collusion with the Broederbond, had already made up its mind.

A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a group of children standing in a line. They are holding a long banner that reads "Dom F.W. Kids". The children are of various ethnicities and are dressed in casual clothing. The image is heavily stylized with high contrast, making the details appear grainy and stark.


REPORT BY MARK STEVENS/INHO

THE SIGHT of children carrying crude racist banners and mounting AWB slogans shocked bystanders at this week's Kruger Day celebrations.

Egged on by their parents, the children — some wearing the khaki clothing and insignia of the AWB — chanted prolixities at a rally in Verreuging.

More than 200 marching children brought up the rear of a procession behind their charger-mounted hero, "Dom Eugene" Terre Blanche, and his white supremacist AWB commandos.

They were openly encouraged to shout such slogans as "Haag Mandela" and "White slays White."

Slogans 

Their placards — written with childish simplicity, but obviously under adult supervision — were also messages of hate.

"The first kill! In my school I will shoot dead," said one, carried by a youngster sporting a bush hat.

Other slogans read: "White slays White" and "Om F W — keep our schools White — or else" and "We will defend our White schools with violence."

The marching children were led by a man who played the role of a cheerleader to whip up their emotions.

Youngsters with bright eyes followed Terre Blanche around like puppies. He autographed petanets and T-shirts for them to bearing greetings of "Hello Dom Eugene."

The "wenkommandos" included a platoon of women.

AWB leaders such as Kommandant-Generaal Servas de Wet, second in charge of the movement, were greeted with thunderous applause as they spoke.

He was not a man to mince his words — he urged the gathering to form a laager and from there to annihilate and sweep the blacks beyond the borders of the fatherland.

"They are rapists, communists and murderers and they bring disease and pestilence among us," he shouted amid thunderous "hoor-hoors!"

The leadership reviewed their nazist "troops" and gave Nazi-like salutes. There were baton-charge demonstrations and abusing.

Bored policemen slipped Cokes and ate crisps on street corners. They greeted many of the marchers by name.

Signed admiring women lining the streets. "They marched so beautifully."

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

GETTING to the New South Africa in nine easy steps — that's how the Government sees negotiations proceeding until agreement has been reached on a new constitution.

This week the Government's chief constitutional adviser, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, sketched the broad outline of how his side sees things going in coming months.

It centres on the concept of "multiparty talks" to seek solutions — the gathering of as broad as possible a spectrum of political opinion, rather than the two-party talks between the Government and the ANC that have been a feature of the process so far.

Step One: Get rid of the remaining obstacles.

Dominating the present agenda is the chronic violence in black townships. The Government sees the ANC's ambivalent position on its "armed struggle" as one of the root causes.

It wants action on both the suspension of violence and the curtailment of "related activities", as stipulated in the Pretoria Minute. That means an end to the recruitment and training of guerrillas, the building up of arm caches and "war talk".

The ANC still demands that the

Nine small steps — but a giant leap into the brave new world!

Government "uses the power at its disposal" to root out violence allegedly emanating from official quarters. It insists on action against "elements within the security forces" that allegedly foment violence.

The joint ANC/Government working group on violence is way behind schedule and most of the attention in the coming weeks will be focused on ironing out their differences.

Step Two: Cast the net wide.

Bilateral talks with groups other than the ANC are already in progress. The PAC is still considering the invitation to join the table. Azapo plays hard to get. Inkatha is set to join, but will probably insist on some formal court- ing from the Government.

The homeland leaders and moderate black groupings like the

National Forum are all but locked into the process already. The DP will have a few seats allocated and a few maverick Conservatives may well make a surprise showing.

Step Three: Get to know each other.

A preliminary meeting of all the would-be negotiators will be convened early next year. This group will decide on a number of practical issues, such as the venue for the negotiations, who will be the negotiators, who will be the chairman (or chairmen), the appointment of a group of "wise men" who will help to resolve conflicts and deadlocks, the salaries of participants and so on.

Step Four: Reach agreement on basic issues.

Joint working groups will be set up to formulate consensus opinion on matters on which there is

already broad agreement, such as a bill of rights, an independent judiciary and freedom of speech, movement and religion.

This will be published in the early stages of the negotiations as a Statement of Intent or a partial climate in which the talks take place.

Step Five: Get the real talks off the ground.

The formal negotiations should be well under way by the middle of next year. "We can't wait indefinitely for the train to start," says Dr Viljoen. "Those who are initially not ready will be brought in with 'helicopters' at later stages."

Step Six: Get others involved in the decision-making process.

Somebody has to run the court- try while the talks are in progress. Dr Viljoen says he doesn't envis-

age an "interim government" or the transfer of power to another body.

However, the Government is ready "to negotiate structures and channels of communication" to give those outside the system an opportunity to make their views heard on the day-to-day running of the country.

Laws to be presented to Parliament will first be negotiated with interested parties. Complaints against government actions will be investigated independently and swift action taken.

Step Seven: Draft the constitution.

The Negotiating Forum — as it's presently called — will have to draw up a new constitution clause-by-clause, including such matters as the nature of the state (unitary or federal), the legislature (one or

two chambers), voting requirements and procedures (one person, one vote?) and the structuring of regional and local government.

Dr Viljoen believes the negotiations can be completed by the end of 1993 — well before the term of the present Parliament expires.

Step Eight: Return to the people.

The completed constitution will have to be approved by the people of South Africa in a nationwide referendum. The Government has promised the white electorate that it will submit any major changes in the present system to a referendum, which means white votes will probably be counted separately.

If the constitution is rejected, it will be "back to the drawing board". However, Dr Viljoen says he is confident that a constitution can be drafted which will satisfy the vast majority.

Step Nine: Implement the new constitution.

Once the process is completed, a new government will have to take over the reins of the country. Elections will be held in terms of the constitution and one party — or an alliance of parties — will get a majority and start forming a new administration.

And *voilà* ... the New South Africa!

FW will arm Maggie for trade fight

By JEREMY BROOKS: London 30/4/90

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY sanctions will be the dominant topic today when President FW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher meet for lunch.

The informal "private" meeting at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country residence, once again highlights Mr De Klerk's growing reputation as an international statesman, unprecedented since South Africa's post-war years. *STimes 14/10/90*

Downing Street sources said discussions would centre on the imminent EC Council of Ministers meeting on October 22.

Britain believes the meeting may result in an easing of the voluntary ban against investment in South Africa.

Diplomats in London said Mrs Thatcher was likely to again press for further tangible and speedy evidence of reform to strengthen her hand.

London papers yesterday speculated about the likelihood of a visit by Mrs Thatcher to South Africa within the next 12 months. She is known to be keen on the idea, but will not risk offending black leaders by moving prematurely without their approval.

Mr De Klerk arrived in Britain aboard the cruise liner QE II, which he boarded in Lisbon. Last night he addressed a conference of international businessmen on board.



ALL ABOARD! President De Klerk boards the QE II in Lisbon, bound for London and talks at Chequers

sell 'new vision'

S/Time 14/10/90 304A

14/10/90

Nats

of SA

S/Time 15

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE National Party has embarked on a major drive to build alliances across racial boundaries to ensure it has a strong position in the new South Africa.

And there is a growing belief in Government circles that such a moderate alliance will be able to hold its own against the ANC in a one-person, one-vote election.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the Sunday Times this week that his own views on this "have changed dramatically" over the past few weeks.

"I now have a complete new vision about the future," he said. "It is possible for us to be part of the majority instead of only thinking about ourselves as a minority that needs special protection."

Two factors seem to have engendered a new spirit of self-confidence in the party:

- The realisation that the ANC is not the all-powerful juggernaut, sweeping up all political support, that it claimed to be. It is becoming clearer every day that it is struggling with the same problems of apathy, divisions and organisational headaches that are troubling other political parties.

- Recent countrywide polls that put support for President F W de Klerk among the whole population at 22 percent.

Alliance

"And we have not even started to market our visions and politics," Dr Viljoen said.

"There is no reason whatsoever why a broad alliance of South Africans will not be able to beat the ANC in an election. We may even draw ANC supporters away from them."

Dr Viljoen said he believed political divisions in a future South Africa would be based more on ideological differences than on racial and cultural divisions.

"The role of the new NP will be to become part of a broad front that can be built up into the dominant political force in the country."

However, he ruled out any alliance between the Government and the ANC.

"We differ on fundamental issues," he said. "There is a wide gap between our vision of the future and the ANC's."

Indications are that the party will embark on a four-pronged strategy to strengthen its position after its Transvaal congress this Saturday puts the final stamp, as expected, on opening up the party to all races.

- Position the NP in the middle of the political spectrum as the party standing for law and order, free enterprise and stable community life.

Campaign

"We should show ourselves to be the party for the common man — white and black. The party that cares for the poor and the aged and the homeless and which wants to protect family values such as education and respect for property," a senior Cabinet Minister said this week.

- Embark on a multimedia information campaign to project the new image of the party followed by a massive recruitment drive.

- Seek alliances with other moderate political groupings without necessarily merging with them.

- Publicly criticise the ANC's policies, especially on economics.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was confident it would be able to negotiate a new constitution that would be acceptable to the vast majority — including the white electorate.

WHY should we in South Africa be pitted against one another: black against white, white against white, black against black? Why should we be afraid of one another?

What justification is there for any black to refuse to meet a white or vice versa when, symbolically, the main so-called "culprits" in the persons of FW De Klerk and Nelson Mandela have met, and the heavens did not fall!

Has any black leader any justification for refusing to meet another black leader when he has met with the leader of the Nationalist Government?

Or has any white leader any justification for refusing to meet with another white leader when he has met with Mr Mandela?

Democratic

There are leaders who refuse to meet and negotiate. While they refuse, many hundreds, or even thousands, of people die. Only then do these leaders decide to meet!

Such leaders or groups of people must be called upon to answer for the blood of those whose lives could have been saved had negotiations taken place earlier.

No one has the right to exclude other people from negotiations. Only the voters can do that. The only person or persons who are justified are those who choose to exclude themselves. That is a perfectly democratic thing.

Painful

Even those who choose to go and live in the Karoo — poor Karoo — or in Professor Carl Boshoff's cloud cuckooland or on a ship in the middle of the ocean are perfectly entitled to do so as long as they do not coerce others or interfere with the democratic rights of others.

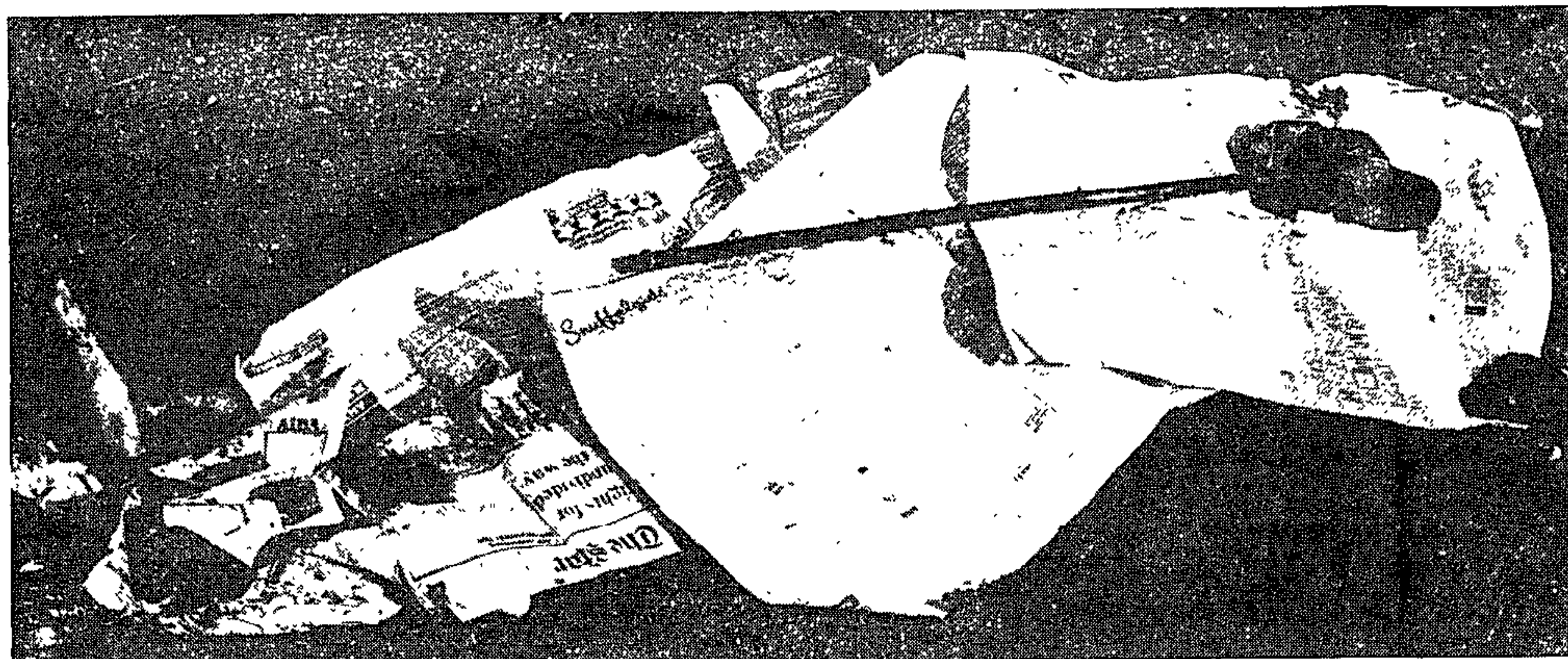
There have been the most shameful events in our country: the Natal massacres and the rivers of blood from Sebokeng, Thokoza, Soweto and Tembisa.

The blame must be put at the door of our leaders

The bloody cost of leaders who refuse to lead

SI Times 14/10/90.

304A



ULTIMATE PRICE ... One of the many victims of the recent carnage lies dead beneath a pile of old newspapers

Stanley Mogoba slams the failure of South African leaders to bring an end to the violence that has ravaged the country



who did not want to grasp the nettle and call a halt to this. It was painful to see one day pass and then another and then another before meaningful talks were held. The whole world watched as we continued to procrastinate.

The blame should go to those lieutenants of our leaders who did not

advise the leaders or who held the leaders to ransom. I know that this occurred as some of the leaders actually shared their pain with some of us church leaders.

We hope this tragic situation of paralysing leaders will not happen again. Those leaders who feel strongly against

peace initiatives should voice their views publicly so history can make its judgement in due course.

I wish to identify those ideologies that are pursuing agendas that have not been clearly stated or motivated. Some of these ideologies do not care for our interests and have no scruples about black life.

I use this "racial tag" because the great majority of those who die come from the black community. I want to know why, if it is a matter of ideological commitment, so few from other racial groups have been asked to pay the supreme price.

It is also a matter of historical record that the great majority of those who have lost their lives don't know what they are dying for. Some die because they want revenge. God forbid!

We also have the group that has used the police and the army to confuse the situation in our land.

We have had reports that there are some policemen and soldiers who are misusing their positions of trust and killing and perpetuating the conflict.

Having said that, I want to pay tribute to those members of the police force and the army who have served the country with courage and have put their lives on the line and performed heroic deeds.

The time has come when we should stop condemning all the police and soldiers. No country can exist without an effective peacekeeping force. No

ruler — black or white — can rule without them.

What we need is a new police force for a new South Africa; policemen who do not want to adapt to change should have resigned long ago. If they have not done so, I call upon them to submit their resignations forthwith. We need policemen we can trust and respect.

Our sympathies go to those policemen who have suffered and even died because they were painted with the same brush as their reactionary colleagues.

Dangerous

Then there is the "Tul. Force". These are white and black persons who are professional killers and are now mercenaries or self-employed. These faceless people have been killing people in the townships of Natal and have now come to the Rand.

These vultures are very dangerous to our country.

Some of them have been killing in Zimbabwe in Mozambique, in Namibia and now they are fighting the last-ditch battle in South Africa. Innocent, unsuspecting victims are their main target.

We need to arm our people, not with guns, but with facts and training so that they will not be evilly manipulated.

Critical

At this critical time in our land, when so many of our children's lives seem to be at risk, I am reminded of the suggestion that the Second World War may well have begun as the ink dried on the parchment of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the First World War.

This was as true for the Europe of 1914 and 1940 as it is true for the South Africa of 1990.

● The Rev Stanley Mogoba is president of the Methodist Church and the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract of a speech to the Methodist Conference in Welkom yesterday.

ANC AND GOVT IN WAR OF WORDS

3048 / 11/10/90

But both sides
insist talks are
still on the rails

By DESMOND BLOW and SENOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week released a seven-page document on which Monday's talks with the government were based - amid a war of words which erupted soon after the meeting.

The ANC accused the government of breaching an agreement after President FW de Klerk issued a separate statement on the cut-off date for indemnity. De Klerk in turn accused the ANC of breaching the agreement by issuing the document and said he found it a pity - as it would force the government to publicly reject allegations made in it.

There were however no indications that the war of words would endanger talks.

But, it seems the two parties still conflict on many points and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has temporarily suspended the negotiated release of political prisoners until "the ANC clarifies its Press statement."

Coetsee said once this was cleared up the government was ready to move on the reports of the working groups, a statement the ANC immediately welcomed, saying the "faithful" implementation of the agreements was all it had been seeking.

Before his departure to Brian and Portugal this week, De Klerk said he still believed in the integrity of most of the important leaders of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, on their commitment to peace.

However, he said some of the ANC leaders interpreted the Pretoria minute in a "restrictive" manner. The ANC was less kind. Accusing De Klerk of "a breach of faith", ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma said Nelson Mandela and the ANC had been forced to call into question the integrity of De Klerk.

The ANC released a seven page extract of their submissions made by Nelson Mandela to De Klerk at their Tuihuys meeting on Monday.

The government, they claimed, had reneged on the agreement by...

AWB men blinded me, says gardener

By ELIAS MALUKE

11/10/90

A SOWETO family man has lost sight in one eye after he was attacked by two white colleagues who are allegedly AWB members. The men work for the Soweto electricity department.

Albert Ramokgalapa, 55, a father of eight and a gardener employed by the Electricity Department in Nancefield, alleged he was attacked while he tended a garden last week Friday.

He was blinded in the right eye after he was sprayed in the face with water from a power hosepipe.

He alleged he was also called "kaffir" as the two whites grappled with him on the ground while he was still blinded by the water and could not defend himself. The attack led to more than 200 workers employed by the department downing tools this week to demand the immediate dismissal of the two whites.

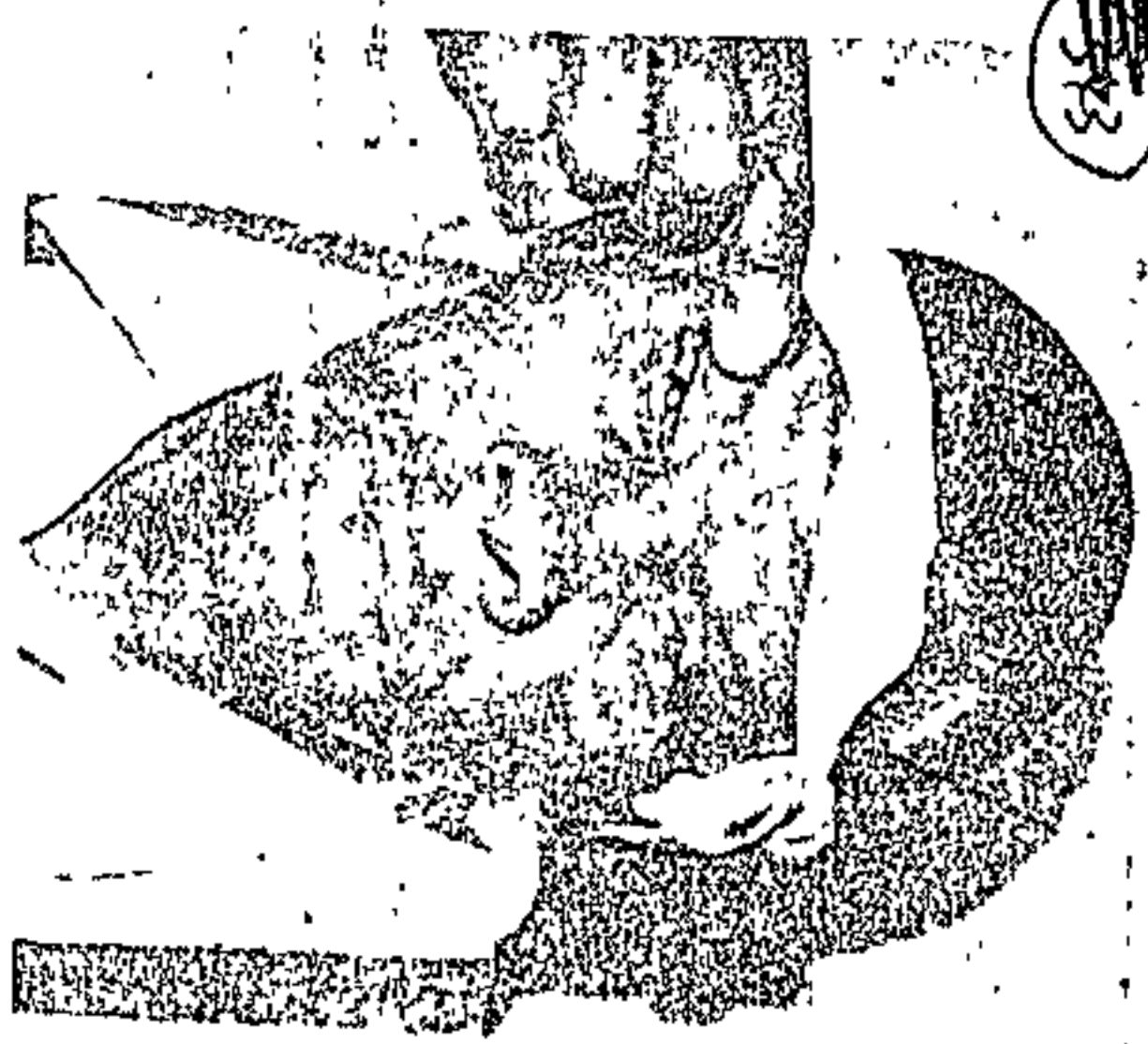
The employees also complained to management that the whites were AWB members and carried firearms at work.

They claimed the men had been seen on television in the company of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, and allegedly acted as his bodyguards.

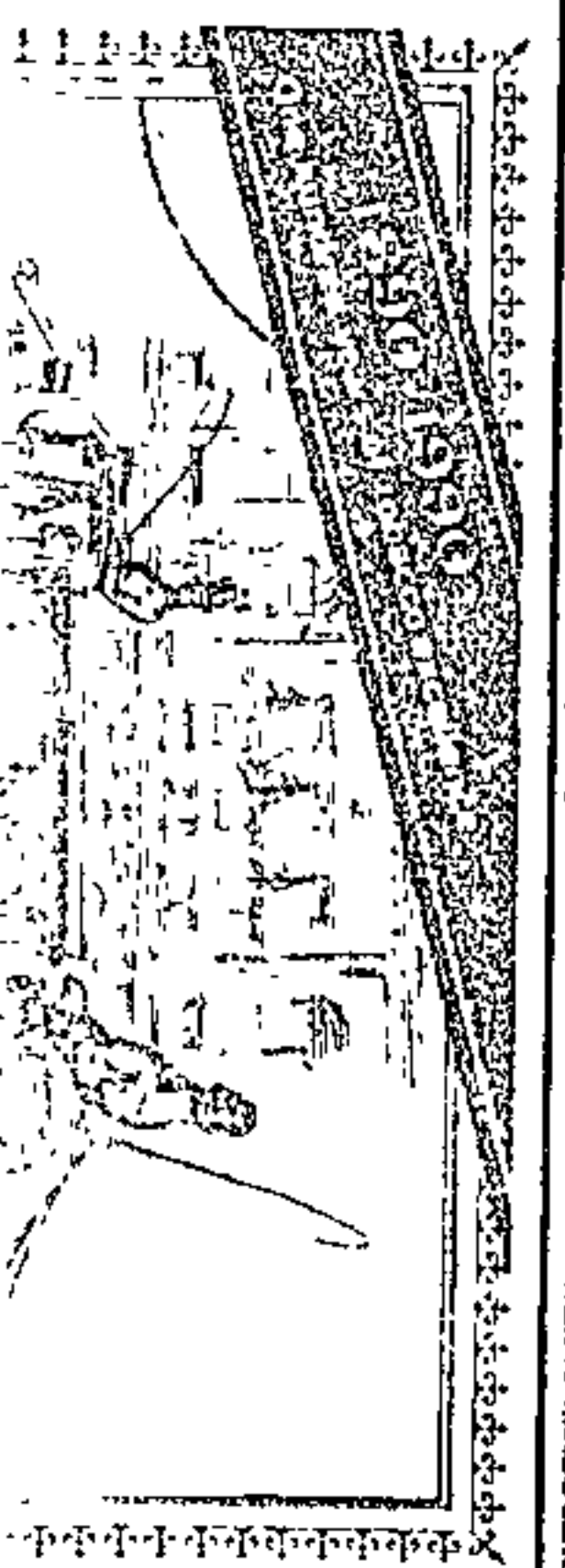
The strike ended on Friday after the workers were addressed by Soweto Council technical committee chairperson councillor Mavis Maseko and another councillor.

The two alleged assailants are technicians in the electrical engineering department and were described by workers as "racists".

One of the alleged attackers has since been suspended from duty.



Albert Ramokgalapa... allegedly blinded in his right eye by AWB members. B PIEN ELIAS MALUKE



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The ANC released a seven page extract of their submissions made by Nelson Mandela to De Klerk at their Tuynhuys meeting on Monday.

The government, they claimed, had reneged on the agreement by issuing a separate statement in which he announced October 8 as a cut-off date for indemnity, and by De Klerk's reference to the ANC at a public meeting in Port Elizabeth on Monday evening.

De Klerk contends the ANC knew about both events beforehand.

Among the submissions made by Mandela were:

- The claim that perpetrators of violence in Transvaal townships were orchestrated and instigated by elements who had twin objectives - to destabilise the peace process and to weaken the ANC.

- The ANC found it difficult to understand the government's reluctance to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the causes of the recent violence.

It fuelled the perception there were forces close to De Klerk with a double agenda, the ANC said.

- There was "vicious and unfair criticism" of Nelson Mandela by the government, including by Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

- De Klerk knew that Umkhonto weSizwe arms caches would not be regarded as an obstacle to the granting of leadership indemnities, nor the continued existence of the ANC underground.

The arrest of Mac Maharaj, and the withdrawal of indemnity for Chris Hani and others, was in direct conflict with the August 6 Minute.

- The authorities used double standards.

The AWB established a network of armed commandos, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told the AWB there was nothing wrong with self-protection. How then was the ANC expected to advise its people that MK must cease to establish a similar network?

Another example of double standards by the government was that Section 29 of the Internal Security Act was applied differently to members of the ANC and to members of rightwing organisations. ANC complaints of torture were simply denied, but when rightwingers complained, a general immediately investigated.

De Klerk denied at a Press conference before his departure that he had acted in bad faith and said he had informed the ANC during the discussions of what he intended to do and say.

"It is important that we keep the negotiation process on track," he said.

ANC man shot

MDANTSANE trade unionist shot dead during an ANC branch meeting on Friday night.

A witness said Wabena had been shot when a man wearing a stocking pulled out a handgun and fired at the chest.

He was reported dead at Makiwane Hospital.

Ciskei police could not be reached.

Wabena was chairman of the branch and an official of the SA Dockworkers Union.

It was the fourth attack on ANC members in the area, Hintsia Siwisa said.

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Power sharing — without the tears

(3048)

SITW 14/10/10

AS THE season of political negotiations approaches there is an urgent need for South African leaders to break out of the Westminster "winner-take-all" mindset.

The problem with the winner-take-all system, especially in a country of high expectations and limited resources, is that the stakes are too high.

The prize for winning is too big and the cost of losing too high.

All evidence points to the fact that South Africa must devise a system in which democracy is enhanced and power genuinely shared.

If we fail, future power struggles could destroy our country.

We must devise a democratic system in which every adult has the right to vote for the political party of his

Peter Mansfield proposes a government of national reconciliation to take the sting out of power politics

or her choice, where elections are held regularly and there is no restriction on political parties.

The second step on the road to participative power-sharing is that the system must ensure every vote counts equally — proportional representation is advisable.

The third step on the road to participative power-sharing is that the Cabinet must be chosen by all the elected Members of Parliament.

The result is a government of "national reconciliation" and a Cabinet that is representative of Parliament as a whole which, in turn, is representative of people as a whole.

There is no winner-takes-all result and the votes of all MPs count equally.

The advantages are: everybody can identify with "their government"; it reduces the naked struggle for power; it effectively establishes a government of national reconciliation and,

finally, it makes unnecessary the political marriages of convenience that currently threaten to engulf the South African political scene.

What are the disadvantages of the participatory powersharing system I am proposing?

One commonly claimed disadvantage of proportional representation is that it leads to a proliferation of small parties, no party winning a majority and endless haggling between political parties trying to form an unstable coalition.

In fact, the proposed "compulsory coalition" with the Cabinet chosen by Parliament completely does away with this problem.

Another averred disadvantage is that the Cabinet selected will not necessarily

contain the men and women best suited to verse all Cabinet portfolios.

But Cabinet members are only appointed as political overseers of the various government departments; the expertise is provided by the relevant director-general and his staff.

Besides, surely a Cabinet drawn from the whole of Parliament, rather than from the ranks of a single party, is more likely to consist of competent people?

What about the State President?

He or she could either be directly elected by "the people", as in the United States and other countries, or he or she could be elected by Parliament.

● Peter Mansfield is a political consultant and former executive director of the Indaba Foundation.

Sowetan 15/10/90

3044

Land moves may spark terror wave

A PARCEL bomb blows up in the face of a young white computer consultant involved in work for black organisations, virtually decapitating him.

Police launch a hunt for two "nice-looking" white men.

A bomb explodes outside the US ambassador's home in Pretoria, causing little damage but ringing alarm bells in South Africa's diplomatic community.

A van careers through central Johannesburg and gunmen inside, firing indiscriminately, kill two young black men and a middle-aged white woman. Before she dies, the woman says she saw a white man shooting.

Whites dedicated to the maintenance of apartheid are given little chance of defeating at the ballot box President F.W. de Klerk's plans to grant political power to blacks.

The potential of the far right to derail the reform train by bomb and bullet is real, analysts say.

This year alone, white gunmen and bombers have staged as many attacks - 47 - as black guerrillas managed in the first four years of their armed struggle against white rule, says independent

risk analyst Wim Booysse.

The leader of the white supremacist A.W.B., Eugene Terre'Blanche, makes no secret of the fact that he is prepared to use violence to protect white interests.

"If uncivilised blacks want to kill and maim white people, we will level them with the gravel," Terre'Blanche said.

Anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela accuses whites in the shadowy Government security apparatus of triggering black violence in order to divide blacks and maintain minority rule.

The violence claimed more than 750 lives in six weeks in townships around Johannesburg.

Police and army deny any involvement and the case is unproven. But some analysts say the Government must purge the security forces of white hardliners trained to enforce apartheid laws if its reform programme is to succeed.

Booyse said in an interview more violence will flow if the Government takes land from white farmers to give to blacks.

Proceeding to dis-

mantle 300 years of white supremacy, the Government will next year scrap laws dividing South Africa into white and black regions. Whites, outnumbered five to one, occupy 80 percent of the land, with blacks in the poorer parts.

If land is taken from whites to satisfy black demands, "these 47 acts of revolutionary terror will look like a kindergarten game," Booyse predicted.

Although the Government has tried to reassure white farmers that no one will be forced to sell, many are unconvinced.

Some 400 whites from the Transvaal gathered in Pretoria last week and angrily warned the Government that it would forcibly integrate the land at its peril.

At the meeting, loudly cheered by the farmers, was Andries Treurnicht,

leader of the Conservative Party.

The party, the official parliamentary opposition, claims to be picking up support daily from whites disaffected by De Klerk's reforms.

Some analysts say the

Conservative Party probably holds the hearts of white South Africans with its vision of an all-white state, but they question whether minds have followed.

"The majority wish they could live in a Conservative Party world, but recognise it's not feasible," said University of Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire.

FW faces storm over ANC issues

3048
Sowden 15/10/90

STATE President FW de Klerk returns to South Africa today after a four-day visit abroad and will land in the middle of a storm between his Government and the African National Congress over the release last week of submissions made by the ANC at a meeting in Cape Town.

One of the major issues immediately facing him is the withholding of a report of the joint working group established in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria

By SY MAKARINGE

Minutes dealing with the definition and release of political prisoners, and the granting of indemnity.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobic Coetsee said at the weekend that it was not possible to proceed with the announcement of these guidelines "until clarity is reached on certain Press statements by faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen."

Conflict

He said this appeared to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur

and Pretoria Minutes.

Coetsee said the decision to withhold the report was conveyed to the ANC. The Government was ready to proceed with the peace process once the ANC had clarified its Press statements, he said.

The ANC on Thursday released extracts of submissions made by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a meeting in Cape Town last Monday, claiming a serious breach of faith on the part of the Government.

The two parties had

agreed that the submissions made at the meeting should be confidential.

The organisation questioned De Klerk's integrity and accused the Government of applying double standards.

Process

Mandela, however, has made it clear that the ANC was still determined that the peace process it had undertaken would succeed.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for the Far East, Mandela said he was convinced De Klerk was committed to fundamental change.

CP stands ready to ditch old Verwoerdian ideals

MOVES to counter government's reform policies are expected to take centre stage at the Conservative Party's two-day national congress which starts in Illovo, Natal, tomorrow.

CP sources said motions approved by the four provincial congresses were to be presented for ratification, but the main topic — the revision of CP strategies to counter NP policy — would take place behind closed doors.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht is to officially open the congress at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall tomorrow night.

The media have been barred from the whole of Wednesday's proceedings.

The congress will consider motions which, if endorsed, will result in a shift in CP policy away from old-style Verwoerdian apartheid.

Several of the motions indicate a move away from the prescriptive bantustan policy of the 1960s and the

EDYTH BULBRING

rejection of the use of black labour in white urban areas, in contrast to the prior emphasis on the use of black labour without the granting of political rights.

The second debate would be on borders of a white fatherland and whether the CP should move away from prescribing to other population groups in the old Verwoerdian way.

Other groups

A motion from the Transvaal, in the constitutional development section, reconfirms CP policy of a separate fatherland for the Afrikaner nation and for those whites who identify with this aspiration.

However, the motion specifies that CP policy should not be prescriptive regarding the inhabiting and control of "the rest of the territory" by other population groups.

This motion contrasts sharply with the prescriptive aspects of official CP policy which, unilaterally, defines which ethnic group belongs in which homeland.

Official CP policy considers the white fatherland as that outside the existing black homelands and the proposed coloured and Indian homelands.

Another motion from the Transvaal indicates a shift away from the CP's endorsement of black labour in the white fatherland.

The motion calls for the gradual introduction of a system whereby dependence on black labour is reduced.

One of the motions also indicates the warming of relations between the CP and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It states that in terms of the CP's principles of self-determination, the congress accords due respect to the struggle of the Zulu nation in resisting the oppression of the ANC/SACP.

Sta 16/10/90

304A

NEWS

DP 'sees two obstacles to alliance with NP'

By Helen Grange

The Democratic Party — no longer feasible as a single party — saw two obstacles in the way of forming a bilateral agreement with the National Party, the party's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

Discussing the future of the DP at Benoni, Dr de Beer said it was now necessary for the party

to become part of a greater whole.

While the ideological gap between the DP and NP was now very small, the African National Congress's commitment to socialism and communism was not in line with DP values, he said.

Dr de Beer highlighted the NP's commitment to the Supreme Court as the future ultimate power, and the abandonment of minority rights as a top priority, as

steps that had significantly narrowed the gap between the two parties.

However, obstacles the DP saw in forming a coalition with the NP were that it was difficult to trust the NP, considering its "frequent somersaults", and that a "ganging-up of two substantially white parties" would achieve nothing in the new South Africa.

"If there is to be a meaningful coalition, it simply must include

very substantial numbers of brown and black people."

Dr de Beer said although the ANC, the largest political organisation in SA, was a desirable partner, it was just an organisation and a "pretty loose one at that". It was, however, a top priority to develop relationships with ANC groups as well as other political groups representing the disenfranchised people.

Oct 16/10/90 3:41

CP hecklers boo Minister, force Nat meeting to close

Lowveld Bureau
NELSPRUIT — A rowdy Conservative Party audience last night disrupted a National Party meeting at which Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Education Roelf Meyer was guest speaker.

About two-thirds of the audience at Nelspruit's Van Riebeeck Hall were CP supporters.

They booed, heckled and insulted Nelspruit National Party MP Dolf Mare as he tried to introduce Mr Meyer.

When he finally managed to speak there were loud outbursts

from the audience.

"We want Dolf! We want Dolf!" they shouted.

Only when Nelspruit's CP chairman, Douwe Steyn, intervened was Mr Meyer given a chance to speak.

"Allow me to speak for 30 minutes and then Mr Mare will answer all your questions," Mr Meyer said. But the audience refused.

"Dolf Mare cannot be trusted. Let us ask the questions first, then you can talk afterwards," the crowd demanded.

When no decision could be reached the chairman declared the meeting closed.

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SOWETAN Tuesday

Thatcher will visit SA

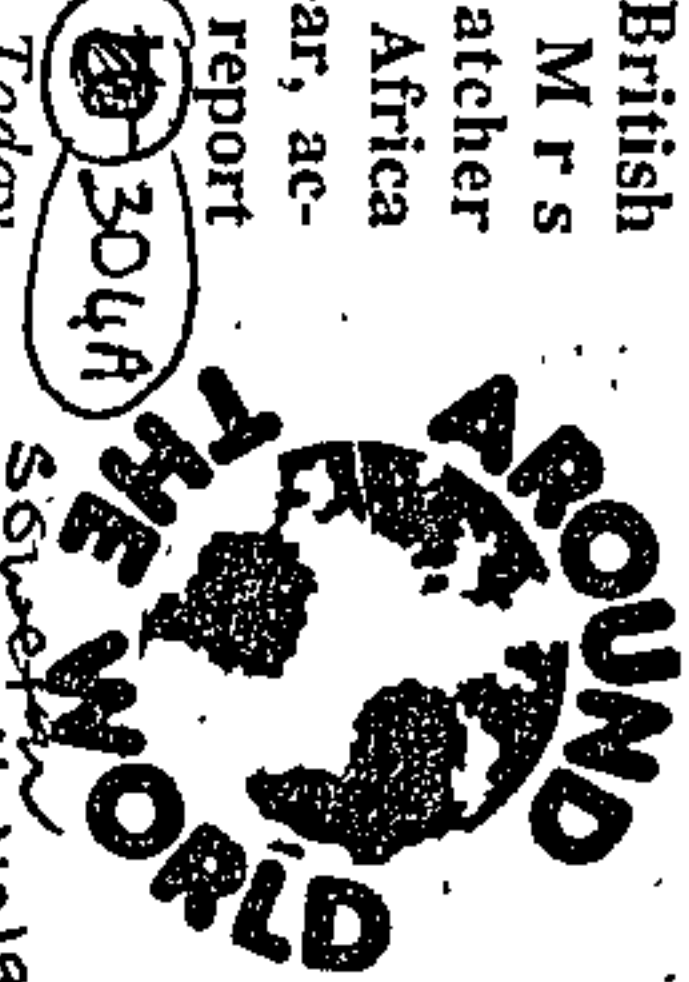
LONDON - British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit South Africa in the New Year, according to a report here yesterday.

The tabloid *Today* newspaper reports that plans for the "historic trip" were discussed during the 90 minutes of private talks she had with South African President FW de Klerk at Chequers on Sunday.

"The Premier is determined to travel to South Africa to show that apartheid is crumbling - and she played a major part in its

downfall," it says. The newspaper.

There has been intense speculation here in the past six months that a visit by Thatcher to the Republic is imminent, but all she has said publicly is that she would only go when the changes in South Africa were irreversible and if the visit could be a constructive one.



Eastern Bloc 'not a suitable model'

B/Dat 16/10/90

304A

THE state should play a strong but not overbearing role in the reconstruction of SA, ANC chief economist Tito Mboweni said yesterday at a conference on the implications of changes in eastern Europe on SA.

At the SA Institute of International Affairs conference in Johannesburg, Mboweni focused on the role of the state while responding to comments made by Central European Research Center chairman Laszlo Lang.

Lang had said one of the essential prerequisites for the transition of former communist countries to a market system was the necessity to privatise "sectors" because of their inherent inefficiency.

Mboweni questioned this, saying that while it might be useful to learn from the experiences of eastern European countries, the comparison was, to some extent, inappropriate.

It would be "dangerous" to be pessimistic to the extent that the state was given no role at all, he said.

"We (the ANC) are of the opinion that the post apartheid state has a role to play in the economic reconstruction of SA," he said, pointing out the mass democratic movement expected the state to play such a role.

But he added that the ANC saw this

TIM COHEN

reconstruction taking place in a "fairly developed capitalist society".

While taking on the tasks that it could, the state should avoid taking over the many other programmes which could be run by the private sector.

Mboweni also questioned how much influence the private sector should have in determining the direction of economic development.

He said most of SA's economic booms had left the majority of people in the country untouched.

Lang said this was preferable in some ways to having no booms at all.

In his address, Lang said another eastern European experience which might be relevant to SA was that nation-wide support for the anti-communist or revolutionary leadership had faded quickly.

Governments could point to the evil legacy of the past for three to five months, but after that they were called to task for the lack of improvements in living standards.

This had mitigated against another necessity for the success of former communist countries' transitions — the need for strong governments.

He defined this as normal government with strong nation-wide support.

CP policy shifts under discussion

SA 16/10/90 204A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party's (CP) national congress starts here today amid indications that the party may use the occasion to reconsider its strong opposition to negotiations.

Much of the two-day congress will be held behind closed doors, fuelling speculation that important policy shifts will come under discussion.

Although the party is officially opposed to negotiations involving the ANC and SA Communist Party, it has recently begun to show signs of acknowledging the pressure to enter the process.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has on several occasions stated his willingness to accept the Government's invitation to come to the negotiation table — if President De Klerk clarifies certain reform statements.

At the party's four provincial congresses over the last two months, the rank-and-file have frequently expressed uncertainty about the party's role in negotiations.

The ambivalence in the CP about negotiations is also reflected in resolutions on the party's policy of partition.

One resolution from the Cape confirms the official party line that white South Africa comprises all the land outside the independent and self-governing territories and the envisaged

coloured and Indian states.

But much greater flexibility about the boundaries of the white state is expressed in a resolution from the Transvaal which confirms the policy of a white fatherland "without being prescriptive with regard to the occupation and control of the rest of the territory by other population groups".

Scepticism about the workability of partition is clear in a resolution from the Cape Province which asks the party to give guidance to party workers to help them answer questions from the public.

It is clear that the CP is beginning to struggle in theory with the Verwoerdian policy of grand apartheid.

But most of the many resolutions consist of hostile attacks on almost every aspect of NP policy, from the unbanning of the ANC through to the Aids problem supposedly posed by mixed hospitals.

The only real item of interest during the open debate today will be when congress discusses the NP's "so-called new South Africa".

The real meat is likely to be chewed on during tomorrow's debates, all of which will be held in camera.

Dr Treurnicht will officially open the congress with a public meeting in the Durban City Hall tonight.

The congress takes place at the Natalia holiday resort in Illovo, south of Durban.

CP plans defiance campaign

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — Defiance strategies aimed at neutralising the government's bid to end petty apartheid are expected to feature high on the agenda at the Conservative Party's national congress starting in Illovo today.

However, much of the public debate at the two-day congress will be devoted to how the CP hopes to replace the government's vision of "a new SA" with old-fashioned grand apartheid.

The CP's chief PRO, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said yesterday that apart from the financial measures currently used by right-wing local authorities to keep amenities for the exclusive use of

whites, the party was also considering a number of undisclosed anti-integration measures.

This follows a government announcement that it was considering legislation to stop CP city councils from clinging to the provisions of the now defunct Separate Amenities Act.

However, the government is likely first to monitor the extent of CP intransigence, and any new tactics, before settling for additional legislation.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is expected to throw light on the planned defiance campaign when he opens the congress at a public meeting in Durban City Hall tonight.

He is also likely to deal with the

party's row with President De Klerk about whether it will take part in negotiations for a new constitution.

● Meanwhile, the Democratic Party's Mr Jan van Eck warned of possible "nationwide confrontation" during the December holidays.

He called on the Minister of Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, to take urgent steps to ensure that legislation was in place before the holiday period to prevent local authorities from retaining separate amenities.

"Unless this is done, we may see nationwide confrontation between racist local authorities and the majority of South Africans," Mr Van Eck said.

Opening the doors to Africa

FOR more than two decades, South Africans without the resources to go overseas have had to restrict their touring horizons to well within the boundaries of Southern Africa.

Even within this region, South Africa's political rigidity and the instability of some surrounding countries reduced travel to a dribble during most of the 1980s.

But as the African continent enters a new era

As South African political life begins to normalise, the first dividend - resumed tourist links - is gradually becoming a reality. Already many countries that banished South Africa from their soil and airspace 80-84, 1981-90 have opened their doors again. (304A)

of political thinking, spearheaded by a vastly reformed South African Government, links that were for many years severed are being restored.

The most recent coup was this month's announcement that air links would be resumed between South Africa and Kenya, with the first

scheduled flights to and from Nairobi planned for December 1.

While SAA has cautiously said the link would only be an extension of its regional service, there is optimism in the tourist industry that this agreement is the first step in gaining direct access to Europe instead of having to fly around the

bulge of Africa.

This would allow for cheaper package flights and save hours in journeys to European destinations.

Countries that still deny South Africa over-flying rights include war-torn Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco and the Congo.

Elis, SAA spokesman, continuing discussions are taking place between a number of African and world airlines and governments in an attempt to gain wider access to the continent.

"Ultimately, the decision over restoring air links with South Africa lies with the politicians," he said.

This year SAA announced the introduction of regular flights, after the granting of landing rights, to Zaïre, Rwanda and Madagascar, a destination

that has illicitly substantial enthusiasm from South African businessmen.

Apart from these destinations, South Africa also has strong air links with Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho and Zambia.

Flights to Mozambique, once devoid of South African tourists, have been increased to three a week.

But there are many hurdles still to overcome.

One hiccup has been the discontinuation in January of SAA flights to the Comores in the wake of the closure of two Sun International hotels.

However, South Africans have the option of flying Luxavia to this island.

Hurdle

A more difficult hurdle is the discontinued SAA flights to the Ivory Coast. This service, according to Elis, was taken over by Namib Air, which means the nearest take-off point is Windhoek or Harare.

Air links, although they are of fundamental importance in opening up the world to South African tourists, are only a

"Obviously visa requirements in some countries need to be reviewed," he said.

Another burning issue facing international tourist trade was the marketability of newly opened countries.

The Comores, for example, because of its unstable political scenario and the fact that two hotels were closed recently, had become unviable for tourists.

Tourists

"There is a lot of work to be done on creating an infrastructure able to accommodate tourists in places like the Comores, Madagascar, the Ivory Coast and various African countries.

"There is a need for hotels and a good transport network, which can only emerge from sound economies," Lawlor said.

In Mozambique's capital, the famous Polana Hotel is currently undergoing refurbishment in an attempt to attract tourists.

The small islands off the east coast of Mozambique, although they are beautiful, do not however have the facilities to entertain numbers of tourists at a time.

Real tourist trade

small part of viable tourist interaction, according to Rupert Lawlor, former president of the Association of SA Travel Agencies.

"While we might be able to fly to various African destinations, there are still countries that are inaccessible to South African passport holders.

comes via the package deal, and it is only when there is the infrastructure available that these marketing avenues are possible.

"It also takes time to put together package deals at reasonable prices and tourist operators will have a lot of work ahead

No need for alarm, says FW

THE difficulties experienced between government and the ANC in the past week were not alarming and would be overcome, President F W De Klerk said yesterday. (3044)

He was addressing a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Britain.

"We must realise that in the (negotiation) process ahead certain tensions will arise from time to time."

De Klerk was reacting to the recent deterioration in the relationship between the ANC and government after the ANC alleged De Klerk had breached a confidence. — Sapa.

ANC, govt to patch up their differences

THE ANC and government are set to patch up their recent differences and put the release of political prisoners and granting of indemnity back on track at a working group meeting today.

But ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday delays in finalising the return of exiles could force the organisation to postpone its congress due to begin on December 16 in Bloemfontein.

He said a routine working group meeting had been planned for today before the row between the parties last week.

"We assume (Justice Minister) Kobie Coetsee will seek the clarification he referred to in his statement on Friday, and expect to sort out the differences in interpretation which emerged last week."

Coetsee announced on Friday that government was unwilling to announce the guidelines and procedures "for the release of prisoners and the granting of indemnity in a phased manner" that had been agreed to by the parties, until the ANC had clarified statements that appeared to contradict the working group reports and the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes.

ALAN FINE and
PETER DELMAR

Macozoma said it appeared to the ANC that government bureaucrats had quoted aspects of the working group accord on indemnity out of context.

"We do not believe government's political leadership would see it this way."

Other top ANC sources said yesterday they were convinced the release and indemnity process would soon be back on track and that the working group report could be released today.

A Ministry of Justice spokesman said: "The matter is progressing satisfactorily." He declined to elaborate.

Macozoma said the ANC's greatest concern was the impression created by government that each ANC member in exile would have to complete a detailed form on his or her life and political history.

The ANC believed most exiles would fall into groups categorised by the working group report, and the ANC would apply for indemnity on their behalf collectively.

□ To Page 2

ANC/govt

It was only "residual" individuals — those whose entitlement to indemnity government would question — the ANC felt would have to give detailed information.

The working group report was an elaboration of the report appended to the Pretoria Minute and defined certain categories of political offences.

Macozoma would not elaborate, as the report's contents were still confidential. But he agreed that an example of such a category could be ANC members who had received military training in exile but not carried out any operations in SA.

□ From Page 1

The ANC was still concerned about confidentiality. Instances such as government "leaks" about confidential meetings and "verbal attacks" on deputy president Nelson Mandela by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok served to undermine the ANC's standing with its constituency.

The ANC's conference was likely to be discussed at a national executive meeting this week.

ANC sources said there had been pressure from members in exile for the postponement of the conference. They felt they should have a say in leadership elections.

Differences not serious - De Klerk

304A

16/10/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said on his return to South Africa yesterday that he believed the current differences between the Government and the ANC would be overcome without any real problem.

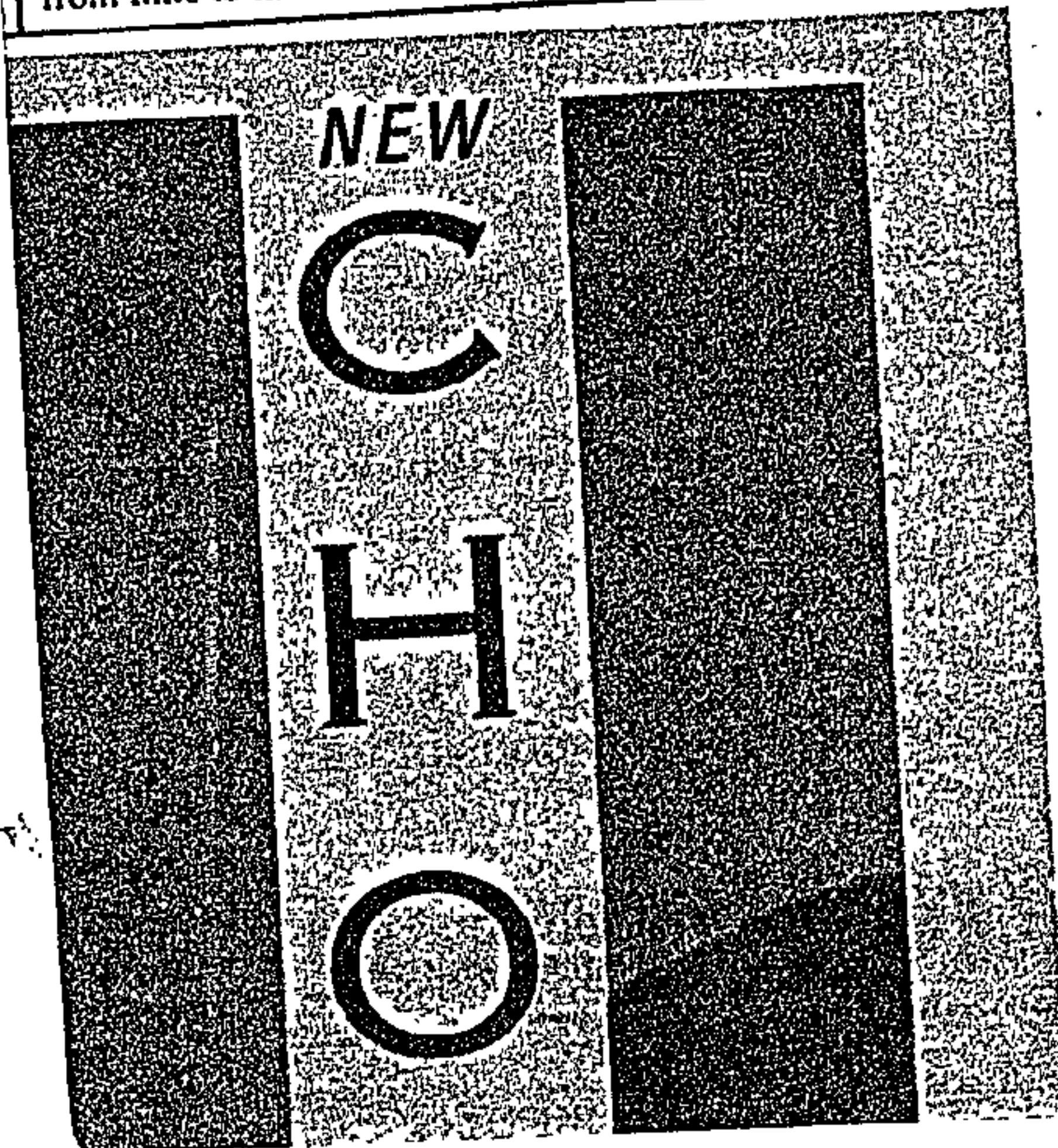
Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after a brief visit to Portugal and Britain, De Klerk said he had been kept abreast of developments between the Government and the ANC over the last few days.

"We must realise that in the process ahead certain tensions will arise from time to time.

"I don't regard the present situation as alarming and sincerely believe that any differences between the Government and the ANC would be bridged without any real problem," he said.

De Klerk disclosed that neither British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher nor Portuguese President Mario Soares would be visiting South Africa in the foreseeable future, as both were becoming involved in upcoming elections.

- Sowetan Correspondent.



We'll stop paying taxes, CP threatens

Star 17/10/90 204A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

ILLOVO (Natal) — The Conservative Party leadership is considering taking up a strategy of civil disobedience by withholding taxes and television licence fees in protest against Government reform and alleged SABC bias.

The proposals were made in Illovo yesterday by a delegate to the CP's national congress, which is wrestling with the problem of how to counter the Government's reform moves.

On the first day of the congress yesterday, cracks began to appear in the party's unity, between hardliners and "verligtes", on the issues of negotiations and the boundaries of a white state.

A verligte faction led by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe is pushing for a more flexible approach to partition, in which whites demand a white state but do not prescribe to other groups what they should do with the rest of the country.

This faction is also prepared to negotiate the boundaries of a white state, which opens up the distant possibility of the CP coming into mainstream negotiations if the chief players accept the idea of white self-termination.

Pressure

Others, including deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, made it clear yesterday that white South Africa would remain where it was at present

and the country's boundaries were not negotiable.

The congress loudly applauded a fervent appeal from Dr Hartzenberg to step up the pressure on Mr de Klerk to call a white general election.

However, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned that the Government had created the impression that there would never be another white election. If the constitutional path were closed, the CP would use "other methods" to achieve its goal.

A proposal to withhold income tax and place it in a trust for CP use was welcomed by Dr Hartzenberg.

He said the party leadership would consider implementing the proposal if the Government refused to call another white election.

Right bitter over sharing facilities

Soweto 17/10/90

THE repeal on Monday of the racially discriminatory Reservation of Separate Amenities Act - for 37 years a pillar of apartheid legislation - signalled new freedom for South African blacks.

White rightwingers, however, have expressed bitterness at being forced into sharing public facilities with black people and vowed to counter the scrapping of the law at grassroots level.

The Conservative Party in a statement said it would renew the struggle for Afrikaner freedom and the right for 'own' community life, and suggested the Government should accept responsibility for the increasing racial tension that would "necessarily arise from the repeal of the Act".

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the reformist National Party Government of State President F W de Klerk had, with the removal of the Act from the statute books,

"destroyed a considerable part of white people's own community life", while previously promising to do the opposite.

The Separate Amenities Act had for years provided for "good order" because it had prevented racial friction at public facilities.

Although Hartzenberg's statement did not say how the CP planned to maintain racial segregation at public amenities without the Act, all 102 Conservative Party-controlled town councils across the country have reportedly promised to introduce measures which would effectively restrict blacks from using public facilities.

Action

These measures include denying "non-residents" access to swimming pools, libraries, pleasure resorts and other facilities or charging them prohibitive fees to use them.

Another racially discriminating law, the Group Areas Act, prevents black people from

living in "white" areas. Black people are therefore "non-residents" by definition.

Brakpan CP mayor Willie Olivier said a card system identifying the town's ratepayers would be implemented in order to charge "non-residents" considerably more for the use of the town's amenities.

Response

Although "people of other colours" would be free to use Brakpan's facilities provided they were prepared to pay more, Olivier admitted the measure was being introduced in an attempt to keep the town white.

Government responded to these tactics on Sunday by warning that legislation could be introduced to stop the CP.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel also said the CP would find itself on the losing side of legal battles in court if it persisted with racial discrimination.

Black political or-

ganisations suggested harsher, more immediate reprisals for the CP-controlled towns.

"Our response is mass action," United Democratic Front spokesman Titus Mafolo said. "Those CP towns who refuse to allow all people to use facilities can expect mass consumer boycotts among other forms of protest."

Mafolo said the CP was creating an atmosphere of conflict by clinging to outdated policies, and the Group Areas Act was providing them with the loophole to continue doing so.

Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck warned that the CP steps to maintain separate amenities would "foul up the political climate to such an extent that the negotiation process can be set back years."

304A

CP aiming to instigate massive tax revolt

ILLOVO — The CP hopes to get at least a million South Africans to stage a tax revolt and TV licence boycott as part of a comprehensive "resistance" strategy to force government to hold another white election.

Announcing the moves at the end of a day of fighting talk and fiery rhetoric at the CP's national congress, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said the party would soon begin a probe to assess the viability of such pressure tactics on government.

He said CP MPs would be prepared to go to jail for participation in such defiance actions, if enough people agreed to take part in a mass disobedience programme.

Earlier, CP leader Andries Treurnicht

Political Staff
told about 300 delegates that government suggestions that there would never again be a white election were placing the party's preference for constitutional means of freedom struggle "under much pressure".

He said to loud applause: "If the constitutional path is closed to the party it will still be committed to our nation's freedom struggle and will then use other methods to obtain this goal."

On a resolution censuring government for declaring its reform policy "irreversible", he said: "We will turn (President) F W de Klerk and his party upside down if

they talk about irreversibility."

Hartzenberg, speaking in a hall festooned with protest posters, said: "We want an election."

"White people are seeking a guarantee that their rights will be protected."

Turning to a proposal that CP members pay their taxes into a CP trust account until government had agreed to a white election, Hartzenberg said such a move "must be investigated to see if it is viable".

CP chief information officer and MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe received a standing ovation for demanding government's immediate resignation.

'CP is talking to black leaders'

17/10/90
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The Conservative Party is holding talks with black leaders and will announce details soon, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

And he accepted President de Klerk's invitation for talks as long as they were held in public debate so that Mr. de Klerk could clarify certain policy statements in the open.

Opening the CP national congress in the Durban City Hall, attended by about 1 400 people, he said certain black leaders and organisations — such as President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Inkatha and the independent churches — were the "natural allies" of whites who opposed the "tyranny and oppression" of the African National Congress and SA Communist Party.



Released ... 'The Government can show its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act,' says recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, pictured here with his wife Khethiwe. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Released prisoner plans to work for ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, who was reunited with his wife and two children last week, intends to work full-time for the organisation for whose activities he went to jail — the ANC.

Mr Marais (33) was one of 21 political prisoners released from prison on Wednesday last week in terms of the Pretoria Minute agreement.

Mr Marais said he fully supported the talks between the ANC and the Government.

"What the Government is trying to do is quite clear — it

wants to create a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance-type of an organisation which will get about 50 percent of the vote.

"What gives me hope, however, is the fact that there is no alternative to the talks ... and I think both sides realise this."

Mr Marais said the Government could prove its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and either releasing or charging those detained under the Act.

Mr Marais was arrested in the Transkei in March 1986. He was found guilty of terrorism and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The sentence was re-

duced to seven years on appeal.

Born in Stellenbosch, Mr Marais matriculated at the Paul Roos Gymnasium in 1974. In January 1975 he spent a week in the army before getting a six-month exemption from conscription for medical reasons. In the same year he enrolled for a BA Fine Arts at the University of Cape Town.

When he received a military call-up towards the end of his studies in 1978, Mr Marais went to live in Lesotho. On his return to the Cape two years later he got a job with the Environmental Development Agency and in 1983 he joined the ANC.

ANC, Govt keep mum on talks

Political Staff

Discussions continued yesterday between the Government/ANC working group on the thorny issue of the ANC's suspension of armed action.

Both sides remained tight-lipped after more than three hours of talks at Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's office in Pretoria.

The Government team led by Mr Vlok comprised Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and officials from the security police, Constitutional Development and Justice departments, and National Intelligence Service.

Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, led the ANC team.

Apartheid-communism link

8/10/90

By Shehnaaz Bulbuli

Conspiracy was a key feature of apartheid and socialism in Eastern Europe — both systems repressed basic civil liberties and used security elements to marginalise their opposition, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa co-founder Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Speaking at the end of a two-day conference yesterday on "Change in East/Central Europe: Implications for Southern Africa", organised by the South African Institute of International Affairs, Dr Slabbert cited several similarities between the two political systems.

He said socialism in Eastern Europe and apartheid in South Africa laboured under the tyr-

anny of the "grand idea" and moulded societies to fit their images.

In Eastern Europe, communist rule was imposed by the Soviet Union after 1945 and crumbled 45 years later, but there was no reason to use the collapse of one political ideology to vindicate it for another.

"There is a tendency, particularly on the part of some of my friends in the free-market zone, to use the word as some kind of a religious incantation.

"It is equally important that once we have shown that Eastern European communism doesn't work, that this doesn't become an easy way out and we say 'free-market' and hope for a miracle," he said.

CP calls for tax, TV licence boycott

304A
C.M. Trip 17/10/90

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

ILLOVO. — The Conservative Party hopes to get at least a million South Africans to stage a tax revolt and TV licence boycott as part of a comprehensive "resistance" strategy to force the government to hold another white election.

Announcing the moves at the CP's national congress, the party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said the party would soon begin a probe to assess the viability of such pressure tactics on the government.

He said CP MPs would be prepared to go to jail if enough people agreed to participate in a programme of mass disobedience.

Earlier, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "If the constitutional

path is closed to the party it will ... then use other methods to obtain this goal."

Responding to a resolution which censured the government for declaring its reform policy "irreversible", Dr Treurnicht told cheering delegates that "we will turn F W de Klerk and his party upside down."

Dr Hartzenberg said a demand that CP supporters refuse to pay their TV licence fees was "a constructive suggestion and must get further attention".

Turning to a proposal that CP members pay their taxes into a CP trust account until the government agreed to a white election, Dr Hartzenberg said such a move "must be investigated to see if it is viable".

CP admits it cannot force new elections

304A
Sowetan 17/10/90

There is no legal way that the Conservative Party (CP) can force the National Party (NP) to hold an election, a CP source admitted yesterday.

Unlike the American constitution which allows for impeachment of the president, the South African constitution does not have such a mechanism.

"We can only influence the electorate through public meetings and rallies," the source said.

Sowetan Reporter

The CP has said De Klerk and his Cabinet were acting "absolutely in direct contradiction with what they promised the electorate in the last election".

De Klerk last week dealt with the CP allegations in his speech in Port Elizabeth - which formed part of the Cape Congress of the National Party - when he called CP boss, Dr Andries Treurnicht

"opportunistic and cynical".

About the CP's attempts to sway the white electorate, De Klerk said Treurnicht should bring his party to the negotiating table. The CP would be awarded the same status in negotiations as every other party, he said.

And if the CP lacks the courage to involve itself in the negotiation process it should not hide behind misrepresentations of declarations by the NP.

Durban City starts local negotiations

*Sowetan
17/10/90*

A STEP towards political negotiation on a local level was taken in Durban yesterday when the city council adopted a new "statement of purpose" committing itself to fully democratic principles.

The statement followed a meeting the mayor, Mr Jan Venter, held with the African National Congress two weeks ago and will lay the foundations for further talks with local political groups.

The statement - which was adopted as a definition of the council's mission and objectives - recognises the political

and social changes that are taking place in South Africa and supports attempts to reach a negotiated settlement at a national level.

It says the council believes a democratically elected national government is a prerequisite for a properly constituted and broadly acceptable local government.

"The council therefore recognises that it is currently operating in a transitional phase between the current government structures and future negotiated forms of government," the statement says.

Past may yet bedevil the future, says Slabbert

TIM COHEN

SA's past would live on through transition and might bedevil attempts at reconstruction, Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert warned yesterday.

Speaking at the SA Institute of International Affairs Conference on the implications of changes in Eastern Europe on SA, Slabbert said both Eastern European countries and SA had lived under the tyranny of a grand idea.

But SA was going through a transformation, rather than a revolutionary collapse, which meant the country would not be starting from scratch.

The fact that apartheid had gone would not, however, remove its effects.

There was a tendency, particularly

on the part of free marketeers, to use the term "free market" like a religious incantation that would somehow ooze the benefits of growth throughout society, he said.

"What I hope we learn from the lessons of apartheid and the lessons of Eastern Europe is that we must recognise our own limitations ... then we will be able to recognise mistakes," Slabbert said.

Calm returns as ANC, govt resume talks

PETER DELMAR and ALAN FINE

A MEETING of the joint ANC/government working group on political offences yesterday effectively ended last week's slanging match between the two sides, sources said. The sources described the discussions in Pretoria as "constructive" and said it was likely the group's report would be released by government next week.

It appeared that differences in interpretation, which contributed to last week's hiccough, had been ironed out and the mechanism for further release of prisoners and return of exiles would start soon.

In the meantime, government was continuing with administrative arrangements to ensure smooth functioning of the release and indemnity process. (304A)

The differences in interpretation related largely to whether each candidate for indemnity would have to provide details or if many could be dealt with collectively.

The report is expected to be submitted to the leadership of both organisations after changes have been made.

The working group dealing with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle met in Pretoria for three hours yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani led the ANC delegation for the first time, while Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok headed the government side.

It is understood Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and ANC information chief Pallo Jordan did not attend.

No statement followed the meeting. Another meeting is expected shortly.

Hecklers

halt Viljoen

Monday 17/10/90
PRETORIA — Right-wing Pretoria University students heckled and mocked Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen as he addressed students at the university yesterday.

Viljoen, who talked about a new constitutional dispensation, was interrupted by calls for a "Volkstaat" and a general election. *(Sapa)*

At the end of his speech, six rightwing students stood at the front of the lecture hall holding the Vierkleur flag while Tukkies CP chairman Danie de Beer spoke to Viljoen. *(Sapa)*

Viljoen said afterwards he had been offended, adding he had been called a liar.

Meanwhile in Nelspruit on Monday night, hecklers prevented Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer from speaking at an NP meeting.

Earlier, local MP Dolf Mare was also shouted down when he addressed the group of 400 people. — Sapa.

Courts will take action - Minister

Sowetan 17/10/90

2049

THE Government is leaving it to private citizens and the courts to deal with local authorities which continue, under various guises, to impose the "whites only" status at public amenities.

This emerged yesterday following a warning by Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hernus Kriel that town councils who tried to dodge the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act may be taken to court.

He said private people

who were discriminated against would have to apply to the courts and resort to common law.

Kriel said the Government would watch the dissenting councils very closely and would consider legislation to prevent them practising discrimination should this be necessary.

"But I don't think it will be. There are just a few local government councils that are trying to circumvent the law. I don't think they will succeed.

"But eventually if they continue to misuse the situation, we will consider legislation."

Kriel said he thought the outcry was "just a storm in a teacup. I don't believe many councils will really try and carry on with discrimination".

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Tony Leon said that barring blacks from amenities "is, on the face of it, a deliberate flouting of the law and is probably illegal". - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

FW's reforms win new friends

Yanels says the mem- Fifteen years ago the senals are forever open to MPLA government has teeth with war."

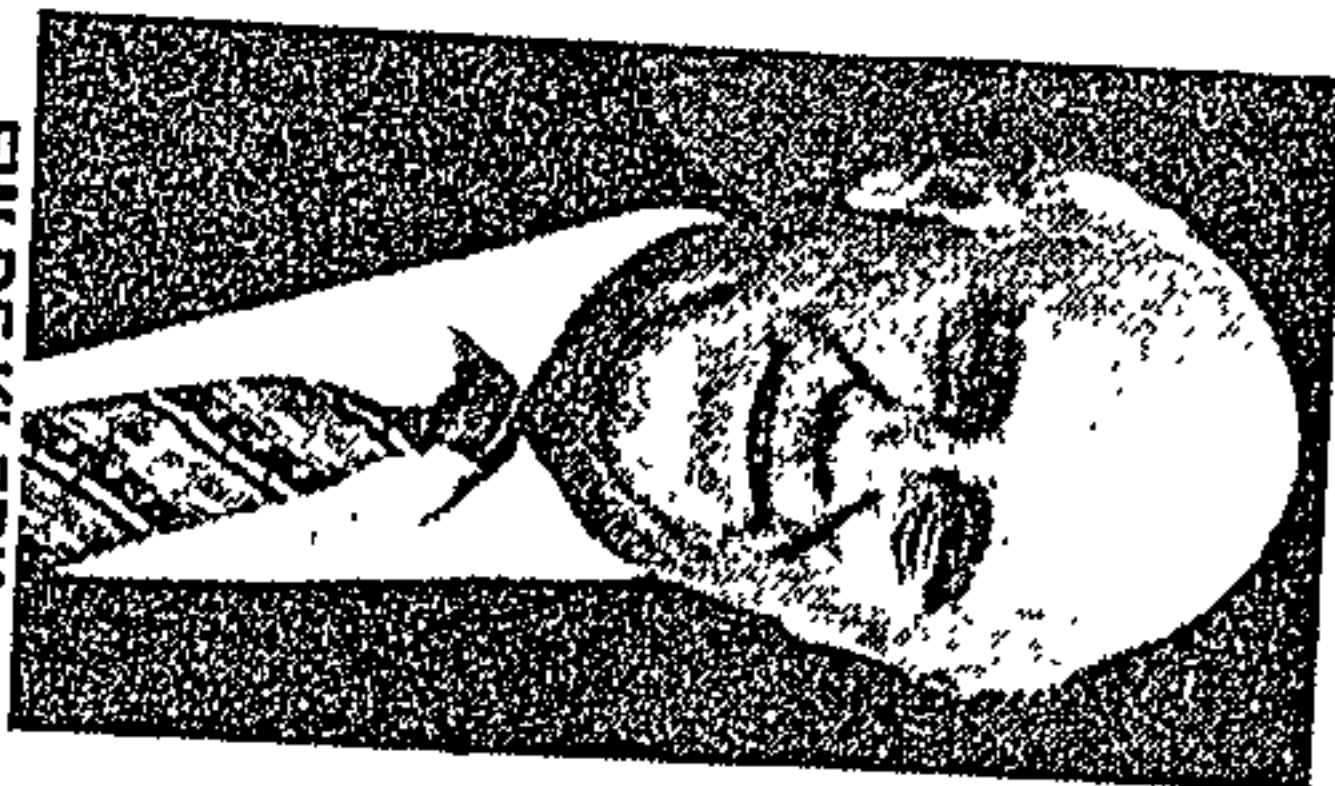
NEW YORK - A welcome decline in recent weeks of long-standing hostility towards South Africa, thanks mainly to President F W de Klerk's reforms, could open the way to formal ties with several countries that have spurned the idea in the past, say experienced UN diplomats.

The United Nations is a unique centre for contacts between representatives of states that have no other common ground, as has been proved anew during the current Gen-

eral Assembly session.

Like a number of other members, South Africa could use its membership in the world body - store relations with Hungary, the eastern European state which apart from former East Germany has moved farthest towards the political right, South Africa might well look for promising possibilities in Latin America, some Western diplomats believe.

The distinct reluctance of Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, the UN Secretary-General who is from Peru, to criticise South Africa is seen not



FW DE KLERK.

only as an indication of his official impartiality regardless of its exclusion from Assembly delibera-

tions - to the country's considerable benefit, diplomats say.

High-level talks in and around the UN have resulted in the past month in the restoration of diplomatic ties between Britain and Iran, the upgrading of Israeli relations with the Soviet Union and an agreement by the Soviets and the South Koreans to exchange ambassadors after decades of hostility.

Links

Some other agreements to open or revive diplomatic links were successfully negotiated without much fanfare. Having agreed to re-

but also as a reflection of current pragmatic South and Central American thinking. In contrast, Mr Kurt Waldheim - now the president of Austria - could hardly contain his hostility towards the republic while he was Secretary-General.

South Africa's UN representative Mr Jeremy Shearer and his staff, who include some accomplished linguists on friendly terms with delegates from countries that have no formal relations with the republic, are well placed to pursue new openings, UN officials believe. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

81-1810/90
**FW likely to ³⁰⁴⁴
face disruptions**

at NP congress

The opening of the National Party congress by President de Klerk in Pretoria tonight could be disrupted by rightwingers.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Herstigte Nasionale Party leaders Eugene Terreblanche and Jaap Marais said yesterday that if unlimited time for questions and the proposing of a motion were allowed, opposition conduct would remain within bounds.

They were asked by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok recently to stop their members from disrupting NP public meetings. They said they assured Mr Vlok this would be done if unlimited question time and the opportunity to propose a motion were given. The Minister had agreed to this, they said, but they had heard nothing more from him. Interruptions and disruptions would therefore continue. —Sapa.

'Most democratic' NP congress to open in Pretoria

18/10/90 PETER DELMAR (3068)

MORE than 1 000 delegates gather in Pretoria today for the NP's fourth provincial congress of the year and one which organisers promise will be the most democratic and open.

NP Transvaal secretary Gerhard Koornhof said yesterday the Transvaal congress, to be opened by President F W de Klerk tonight, would focus on where the NP had come from and where it was going to.

Ministers Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Magnus Malan, Adriaan Vlok and Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis will all address the congress. However, in a departure from the traditional format of NP congresses, each cabinet minister will be given only 20 minutes in which to make his opening remarks.

During their speeches they will have to address themselves to points of discussion from the various NP constituencies. These will be followed by at least 70 minutes of open discussion on each of the four main topics — international, constitutional, economic and security affairs.

The congress, Koornhof said, would give a good indication of the mood and thinking throughout the NP.

On Saturday morning the congress is also expected to discuss and endorse the proposed opening of NP membership to all races.

Passive resistance is CP way — leader

Political Correspondent

ILLOVO (Natal) — The Conservative Party was busy with a campaign of passive resistance to the Government's reforms, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

At a press conference after the CP's national congress, Dr Treurnicht said that for strategic reasons he could not divulge details, but the campaign would remain within the bounds of the law and the Constitution.

This followed strong calls from delegates for firm action to force a general election, including a call for CP members not to pay taxes or TV licence fees and to continue disrupting NP meetings.

Dr Treurnicht explained his warning earlier at the congress that the CP would resort to "other methods" if the constitutional path was closed by the

Government.

He said the CP spoke of violence only in an "extreme eventuality" and then only under the guidance of its leaders.

Informed CP sources said this statement was a tactic to placate the party's militant "young lions" and should not be taken too seriously.

Earlier yesterday, despite militant rhetoric and threats to take up arms against reform, the CP took a small step towards negotiations when the congress endorsed a proposal that the CP's policy of partition should not be imposed on other groups.

The CP's official policy was still that the white state would consist of everything outside the present black homelands. What was negotiable was the detail of boundaries, including possible land transfers.

Blacks must prepare their political machinery

BLACK people will soon, for the first time since 1652, become co-partners in governing and administering South Africa.

They must now contribute their share of office-holders on all levels of government and administration.

They have never before had the opportunities to participate in politics in the real sense of the word: that was the exclusive right of the whites.

The result - they never had the opportunities to gain experience in politics and to produce the trained politicians and administrators with the necessary know-how.

There has never been a real need to establish political parties which formed the very foundations of democratic government.

The masses of the people (the voters) were also excluded from gaining the necessary knowledge of how to participate in politics and of how to form political parties.

This extends to the recruitment of members and formation of networks of branches.

Principles

It also includes the formulation of programmes, of principles and of policies and the organising of party congresses where very often party politics are formulated.

To gain all this experience takes decades, generations.

It is now expected of the black people to gain all this knowledge and practical experience in order that within a few years they will be able to compete with whites.

For the first time in the history of South Africa since 1910, blacks will have a meaningful voice in the central system of government, in the so-called new South Africa.

Since 1910, blacks have only had limited powers. Between 1910 and 1936 limited numbers of blacks in the Cape Pro-

vince had only a qualified vote.

The ballot box method of gaining political power was never part of their system of government.

In municipal government blacks had only advisory powers and for the past 15 years they have had local government with limited powers.

They therefore have had no practical experience of and exposure to participating in modern, Western-style democratic parliamentary government; only traditional tribal forms of government in homelands with a smattering of parliamentary government.

Are there indeed among the black people these experienced parliamentarians and public servants?

Electorate

Is the black electorate ready to grasp what the significance of the vote is and how to use it in a responsible way?

Blacks have been forced to use non-parliamentary methods to make their views and needs known to government.

Many of them have grown up in political environments where they became part of violent means of making their political and economic needs heard by the authorities.

This was achieved with protest meetings, demonstrations, riots, stay-aways and strikes.

By what process are they now going to adjust themselves, after abandoning these violent means of expressing their political views, to modern democratic parliamentary political systems?

For Mandela, Buthe, Slovo, FW de Klerk, and others to speak to/appeal/beg the masses

to stop the fighting, the violence and the chaos is not going to help to create order, cohesion, political stability or rational actions.

The root cause of all the turmoil in the black towns and in the cities of South Africa should first of all be addressed and rectified - and that is going to take generations.

This is not something which can be done overnight.

The proof

Proof of this is to be found in looking at the time it took whites to participate in political life in a meaningful and orderly way.

They did not acquire the skills, expertise and political processes without proper training and active participation in politics over many years.

For 40 years it was not possible for black leaders of quality and experience to emerge.

As soon as people with leadership qualities appeared on the political scene, they were harassed, intimidated, detained, deported, driven underground, jailed, and worse.

The result was that there was always a lack of recognised leaders.

Modern

Take the case of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues.

It has been impossible for them to establish leadership or authority over people and party supporters in this time.

They have just started to establish political parties and all the machinery which is required to make a success of political participation in modern times.

Because of all this the black people in the urban areas of South Africa

remained leaderless and unorganised.

In the end they may face the white electorate over the conference table as unequals and less than fully prepared to negotiate a constitution for the so-called new South Africa.

Before black people go to the conference table they must make sure that

their political machinery is properly organised and that they have the support of hundreds of thousands of enrolled card-carrying members, organised into networks of branches countrywide.

If they go unprepared, they may find that they will be out-manoeuvred by the white political partners. - Sapa.

Veteran political scientist Willem Kleynhans (right) discusses problems which will have to be faced as South Africa moves towards full participation in politics by all its people.



CP has secret plan to resist govt reform

ILLOVO — The CP had secret plans for a passive resistance campaign against reform and the repeal of the Land Acts, party leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

But, speaking after the CP national congress at Illovo, during which several references were made to the use of "other" means if peaceful attempts to attain CP objectives failed, he avoided defining what precisely this meant.

Asked if it meant "violence", he said: "We have spoken of violence only in extreme eventualities. There was the strong

Political Staff

resistance of 1880 — this was an extreme case." (304A)

Treurnicht pointed out, however, that he did not believe every small group was entitled to take up arms. "We distinguish this from passive resistance," he said.

The party was formulating various forms of resistance but, he said, they could not be revealed because "it is strategy".

Asked what the CP would do if the party,

□ To Page 2

CP plan

which claims to have majority white support, could not force the government into an election, he said there were many facets of passive resistance.

The party would remain within the law but if the government introduced a dispensation which made white rights subordinate to a black majority "it will be destroying white democratic rights and it

must be ready to face strong resistance". (304A)

What action was to be taken would have to be decided on ethical lines.

Questioned about his threat to turn the government and its claim of irreversible reform "upside down", Treurnicht said support for the CP was growing.

● Comment: Page 10

□ From Page 1

ANC and CP will share forum platform

By SY MAKARINGE

THE African National Congress and the Conservative Party will share the same platform when two of their outspoken and prominent members address young professionals in Johannesburg next Monday.

The conference, under Communications Services, fol-

lowing numerous requests from young business-people.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC's director of international affairs, will deliver a paper on the irreversibility of the transitional process, while Mr Koos van der Merwe, of-

cial spokesman for the CP, will speak on the proposed partitioning of South Africa.

The CP has in the past refused to be involved in political debates with members of the ANC.

Earlier this year Van der Merwe walked out of a meeting hosted by ABC-TV anchorman Ted Koppel at Wits University, saying he did not want to share the same platform with the ANC.

The meeting, broadcast live on ABC televi-

sion in the United States, was attended by participants from a wide spectrum of political persuasions.

Monday's meeting, which will be closed to the Press, will also be addressed by Miss Nomavenda Mathiane, former deputy editor of *Frontline* magazine and now special writer for *The Star*.

Mathiane, who earlier this year spent six weeks on the *Guardian* newspaper in London, will talk on the future of the black youth.

Mobilise — but only if it's strategic

304A

DO the masses still need to mobilise? Do resistance movements still need to mobilise them?

The government and some liberal analysts say they don't. Since they can now raise their demands at the negotiating table, the time for mass mobilisation is over, they argue.

Some go further. They argue that actions such as boycotts and stayaways always involve violence because they are imposed on unwilling participants. Movements such as the African National Congress will not really have suspended violence until they suspend mobilisation as well.

This implies that democracy won't be born unless mobilisation ends.

Recent evidence seems to back this view. Protests have been called in support of demands which have been met in principle, such as the end of black local authorities, or which might be won by other means, such as the end of segregated education.

But, in other cases, there is strong evidence that a democracy will not be born unless there is mass mobilisation.

The prime example right now is local government.

The government has conceded that the present, segregated, system has failed and that a new one must be negotiated.

But it has not yet fully accepted democratic local governments.

It seems to want each town or city to negotiate its own system. Since white municipalities would be a key party in these talks — and negotiation cannot produce a new system unless all key parties agree — this means we would have non-racial local government only in those places whose white municipalities agree.

Few are prepared to agree. While many white municipalities now say they accept multi-racial local governments, they are against change which will allow black residents to outvote white ones.

Democratic local government — and a smooth journey to it — will only be possible if white municipalities and black township residents talk to each other now.

In scores of cities and towns around the country, this is happening. But the important point is why it is happening.

In almost every case in which a white municipality has agreed to talk to township groups, it has done so in response to mass mobilisation — a consumer or rent boycott in particular.

It's not difficult to see why.

While a few large city governments have accepted the need to include black residents in decisions, most

white municipalities have not. They have never had to take much notice of black needs or interests, and they don't like the idea of doing it.

Since they are still resisting giving up sole control over their towns, they would have continued to ignore their black neighbours unless someone forced them to listen.

In those places where negotiation has begun, black residents forced whites to listen. And the

only weapon they had to do it was mobilisation.

Even in those towns where talks have begun, it is too early to say that the time for mobilisation is over.

White local governments may still be reluctant participants — some who have agreed to the idea of a single municipality will still seek ways of retaining control.

Some may also quickly lose interest in meeting township material needs if this is going to cost them money.

So black residents may again have to mobilise if the new "consensus" between them and white municipalities turns out to be false.

Those who reject mobilisation may be interested to know that, in some towns where negotiation has begun, it is not turning out to be a process in which township groups make uncompromising demands and then mobilise again when these aren't met.



**WORM'S
EYE**

Steven
Friedman

Can't

W/Mail

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12/10 - 18/10/90

For precisely this reason, the government is unlikely to have its way. Resistance movements and local civic groups won't allow white municipalities a veto over new local government systems.

It seems likely that the new system will be partly negotiated nationally — and that agreement will only be reached if white municipalities lose their veto.

But, even if this happens, a democratic local government system won't work if it is simply imposed on white municipalities. Local white voters will have to agree not to sabotage the new system.

So a new system can only work if white local governments — and voters — accept that black residents are to play a major role in shaping and controlling local government.

The government's promise to negotiate a new system also doesn't answer a second point: What are black communities supposed to do until it is negotiated, which might take a couple of years?

These communities have been denied adequate facilities — and a say in decisions — for years. They have high expectations and they want some of them met now.

Some already been reached and more may be agreed as negotiations continue.

But the compromises would not have begun had the voteless not mobilised to bring municipalities to the negotiating table.

This does not mean that all forms of mobilisation bring us closer to a democracy. They do that only if it is used strategically and if those who mobilise are willing to stop doing it when their voice can be heard in other ways.

Mobilisation is also only a force for democracy if it is not imposed on those who mobilise.

But, far from being a threat to democracy, mobilisation is sometimes the only means people have of making their voice heard. This will still be true even if we have a democracy, since there will still be people — and interest groups — who feel that their voice isn't being heard and want to make sure it is.

Democracies don't curb mobilisation — they ensure that everyone has the right to it, provided it is not imposed by force.

Our progress to democracy may be measured by the extent to which mobilisation by all interests is allowed, not by the extent to which it is curbed.

Soviets refuse visa requests by Eglin, Soal

PETER DELMAR

DEMOCRATIC Party MPs Colin Eglin and Peter Soal were recently refused visas to the Soviet Union, despite repeated recent visits to that country by government members and officials.

Soal said yesterday he and Eglin were not told why their applications, which they made six weeks before they intended entering the Soviet Union, had been refused. (3049)

The two were extremely disappointed, he said, at not being allowed to enter the Soviet Union after attending a Liberal International conference in Helsinki, where Eglin was elected a vice-president. 15/04/18/10/90

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department had made representations on behalf of the two, but had also not been given any specific reason for the decision.

This was probably related to the fact that Soviet authorities granted visas on a reciprocal basis and that South Africans visiting the USSR far outnumbered Soviet citizens coming to SA.

Too few rich, too many poor De Beer

PIETERSBURG — The unfair distribution of wealth had to be changed, but not just by taking money from the rich and giving it to the poor, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He was speaking at the University of the North near Pietersburg in the first address by a white politician since the 1976 riots.

De Beer said the wealth needed to close the gap between rich and poor simply did not exist, because there were too few rich and too many poor. Wealth would have to be created,

he said, which could best be done by hard work in a free society in which government provided education, health services and housing — without interfering with people's freedom.

Today De Beer will be meeting officials of the Regional Services Council, the Venda government, Lebowa Cabinet and executive members of the ANC's Far Northern Transvaal region, and he will speak at a dinner at the Ranch Hotel at 7pm. — Sapa.

(304A)

06/10/81 18/01/90

Minister warns CP about tax

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday warned the Conservative Party it would be breaking the law by refusing to pay taxes.

"Any person, regardless of his party affiliation, is according to law obliged to pay tax," he said in response to an idea raised at the CP's national congress in Natal.

The suggestion from the congress floor was welcomed by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who said party members should be prepared to go to jail.



Sun International recently gave support to three schools for deaf and dumb children in the Odi region. Sister Irene Jagwer, left, received a cheque for R20 000 on behalf of St Christopher Centre and Mrs C Matseke of Runotsuel Special School and Sister AR Murphy of the Dominican School for the Deaf each received a minibuss at a presentation at the Morula Sun hotel.

Methodist Church 304 reaffiliates to WCC

THE Methodist Church of Southern Africa's annual conference has decided to resume payment of affiliation fees to the World Council of Churches from the beginning of next year. *Sowetan 18/10/90*

In an unopposed motion, delegates, meeting in Welkom, rescinded the 1971 decision to suspend such contributions. At the time the MCSA objected strongly to the WCC's support of the Programme to Combat Racism.

Subsequently, the Government passed legislation preventing South African churches making contributions to the WCC.

The issue of financial contributions to the WCC was one of the most contentious issues in the church during the 1970s.

Tuesday's resolution makes provision for fees to be accumulated in a special account until such time as they can be transferred to the WCC.



FRANK CHIKANE

Motivating the resolution, the Secretary of Ecumenical Affairs, the Rev Dr Donald Cragg, said the country had moved into a new era with the unbanning of "liberation movements" and the time was ripe to review the 1971 decision.

The cost of the recently completed official residence of the South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, was raised by a

delegate who asked that Methodist representatives request the SACC to be more careful about the image it was portraying to the people.

In response, Cragg conceded that while the residence had been paid for by overseas donations intended for that specific purpose, the cost had become a source of embarrassment to the council.

Sapa

Looking at ways to peace

3048

South
 18/10-24/10/90

SOUTH Africa will get a political settlement fairly soon, it seems. Both the main actors at this stage — still the National Party and the African National Congress — are out to achieve one.

Their relationship comes under occasional strain but is soon patched up again. And when the NP/ANC settlement train gets going early next year, it will be difficult for other political actors not to get on.

Referee

Yet there are question marks on how the process will unfold.

The questions are: Who writes the constitution? What legitimacy can the writers, and what they write, have? Can the NP be both referee and player?

The ANC has a clear answer to all those questions: There ought to be elections to establish who represents whom at the constitution writing. That is, there should be an elected constituent assembly, somewhat as the one in Namibia.

That would give immediate legitimacy to the forum and to the new constitution.

Of course, the NP cannot remain as the government of the day while it is just another party to the making of a new constitution.

But the NP has an equally clear position on these matters: It is the govern-

A constitutional change by negotiations can come about by a gradual and an organic process, writes HARALD PAKENDORF, the former editor of *Vad-erland*.

He says the National Party and the ANC are already softening their positions on a constituent assembly and moving toward each other:

ment of a sovereign state, duly elected and believes in its right to govern.

It will not give up that right and it will not allow elections for a constituent assembly: the form in which the vote is to be given is exactly what the negotiations are going to be about.

It would appear, then, that writing a constitution is going to be almost impossible, unless one looks beyond the political headlines and public position-taking.

Then one will see that both parties are already beginning to soften their positions and are moving towards each other.

Thus the ANC has begun to say it would prefer an elected constituent assembly and has added that the process



Harald Pakendorf

will be tested publicly at some stage — a significant softening of its former position.

The NP has begun to say that it accepts the process will have to be tested and has moved away from an all-white referendum to the idea of an all-race referendum.

Thus, a meeting of minds is not impossible: the assembly which writes the constitution will not be elected but it is likely that its product will be the subject of a referendum. This will give it, and in retrospect its authors, legitimacy.

The assembly will probably come into being through the organic process we already see unfolding: the NP and the ANC meet and talk, the ANC and

Inkatha talk, the NP and Inkatha talk, the DP and the ANC talk and so on — all talking to one other without calling for elections first.

Everybody knows who is what leader of which organisation.

Then gradually, instead of talking only one to another, they begin to talk all together. And this becomes the constituent assembly.

A model for who will rule while the constitution is being written may be that the assembly not only writes the constitution but also constitutes working groups on matters of immediate importance.

Consensus

These groups report back and the government — the NP in another form — is bound to take these as binding if it wishes to continue to work towards consensus on the constitution itself.

Thus, all the participants in the assembly begin to have a direct say in the day-to-day running of the government while final sovereignty remains with the NP government. But it will now be a government which has begun to admit others into the corridors of power and thus is itself changed.

Thus we may see an organic process through which the transition is gradual and not one where one flag is drawn and another is raised on a particular day.

It is a process which will include all South Africans and ought to make for a peaceful, orderly transition during which all actors remain on stage.

Eglin receives Soviet invites

By Day 19/10/90
Business Day Reporter

WITHIN a day of returning to SA after being refused a visa to enter the Soviet Union, DP MP Colin Eglin has received two invitations to Moscow — both promising visas. (304A)

Eglin thinks Soviet officials made a mistake and that attempts are being made to make amends. He and fellow MP Peter Soal had planned to visit the Soviet Union from Helsinki, where they were attending the Liberal International conference, but were told at the last minute their visas had been refused.

Eglin said yesterday the invitations were from the Soviet Liberal Democratic Party and from a Prof Davidson of Moscow University's Africa division. (304A)

He is considering both invitations.

B/day 19/10/90

Turmoil in SA

'is about rights'

THE forces at work in SA are the same as elsewhere, and they are all about human rights, dignity of the individual and freedom, Southern Life chairman Neal Chapman said this week.

In his address to the IPM convention at Sun City, Chapman said South Africans were part of a world-wide phenomenon. (304A)

"It is as though providence had declared that in country after country after country in Europe, in the Far East and here in Africa, people should have the freedom to speak, to write, to own property and to vote," he said.

Chapman said change was in the air and was always accompanied by uncertainty which could become apprehension.

"Turbulence and trauma and unrest become part of the scene and we should not be surprised that this is all part of the change process here in SA", he said.

B/Dan 19/10/90

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"Turbulence and trauma and unrest become part of the scene and we should not be surprised that this is all part of the change process here in SA", he said.

Tough choices lie ahead

3048

19/10/90



What kind of transition faces South Africa? LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits Graduate School of Business Administration, discusses the options in an article published in the latest edition of "Indicator" — the Quarterly Review of Natal University's Centre for Social and Development Studies.

The outcome of political change in all societies depends to a lesser or greater degree on two broad sets of factors. One comprises the socio-economic conditions within which a new system will take root, usually referred to as the pre-requisites. A second influence is the mode of transition; how the political system changes and the forces and constraints that arise in the strategic process of transition.

Pre-negotiations between major protagonists are obviously well advanced. Substantive constitutional and policy-directed negotiation will begin early in 1991.

Some of these salient features are assessed in the brief and selective propositions below.

● The Government is negotiating from a position of ambiguity, but not weakness. The present Government has never been in danger of losing control of the broader, overarching agencies of administration and control.

Ambiguity

● The "costs" of continued minority dominance since 1987, while serious, have been those of degree rather than categorical pressures. Social protest and instability have lowered investor confidence, internal economic sanctions have reduced the prospects of external investment but have left exports relatively unaffected.

● The major protagonist of government, the ANC, is likewise negotiating in a situation of ambiguity. Its popular legitimacy is untested although probably large (according to recent opinion polls, between 38 and 45 percent of the adult population of all races would choose the ANC above other parties).

● It has always been true, but never more clearly than in recent months, that the ANC has not only to seek a compromise with the Government, but must to some degree or another also make concessions to black homeland elites and bureaucrats.

some black local authority leaders, black religious elites who are rising above party-political divisions in the black community (especially Archbishop Tutu) and with some parties in the existing Parliament (the Labour Party and the Democratic Party, or parts of them) to avoid stark opposition from these quarters.

● The ANC and its alliance partners enjoy virtually no penetration of support into the middle and senior ranks of the relatively large and coherent bureaucracy and security establishment. Without support from the National Party, they could not assume the government of the country. The notion of an autonomous take-over by the ANC is far-fetched.

● Both the Government and the ANC (should) realise that if, in the process of settlement, they weaken or fragment each other, they will have to deal with less-reasonable and less-conciliatory alternative protagonists, among most of whom even the principle of compromise is at this stage unacceptable.

Taken together, these features illustrate a cardinal feature of the negotiating process. Both the ANC and the Government are "gatekeepers" to each other. Neither can achieve what they have set as objectives without co-operation from the other.

The Government cannot run the townships and the black schools without co-operation from the ANC, unless it uses massive force and risks heightened conflict, which will collapse economic growth. The ANC could not remotely anticipate governing the country without its participation being "sponsored" by the National Party Government.

Revolutionary take-over is impossible in South Africa. The Government and the ANC are already locked in strained interdependence, which, after all, is the fundamental reason why they are negotiating with each other at all.

An interim period of co-responsibility in government by the ANC and the National Party is virtually the only conceivable outcome. Obviously one must concede that possible outflanking of both the ANC and the NP by militant or resistant political forces could derail the present process.

Pressure

One would suggest, however, that the derailment, if it occurs, would amount to a delay. The essential stalemate in political forces will resurrect the process in due course. The prospects of conjoint rule, or a form of co-determination, at least for a while, say nothing about its likely democratic content.

It is often optimistically assumed that mass pressure or democratic participation will be too strong to resist. The sobering fact is that, if they co-operate in a pact or corporate alliance, the National Party and the ANC together may have sufficient control over political and bureaucratic intermediaries to become rather undemocratic — an authoritarian elite cartel.

In the context of constituency support, the National Party probably has fewer problems and more leeway than the ANC. If the NP appears to be en-

scoured in the ruling "alliance" and carries with it the powerful symbolic reassurance of the support of the security agencies, it will emerge with unchallenged popularity among a clear majority of whites, probably most Indians, the stable employed adult generation of coloured people and, according to some recent opinion polls, some 20 to 25 percent of blacks.

This would amount to roughly 35 to 45 percent of the total electorate, sufficient at least to deprive the ANC of an overall majority. The ANC has larger problems. At present, conflicts are occurring on the ground between black factions which could lead to the alienation from the ANC of many traditionally oriented Zulus.

Even more importantly, perhaps, is the fact that the sub-categories among the ANC's potential constituents have not only very intensely felt expectations for economic redress and policy-change but that the expectations are far from uniform. The ANC has hardly the basis for a party programme. If it is to avoid fragmentation and severe internal dissent, the ANC will have to adopt a style of what can be politely termed "imperative co-ordination". It will have to use its middle-level activists, committee personnel, shop-stewards and street gangs to impose discipline.

● One might conclude that: not going to substantially scale down claims to executive power. The compromise is unlikely to involve power for one and merely protection of rights for the other. Given the interdependence between the two parties, it also cannot involve the displacement of one or the other.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to draw at this stage, however, is that the settlement is going to involve some very tough choices and options. The expectation of the settlement will be an all-pose package of trust, democratic accountability and compromise, far-fetched.

State has 'firm' control on country — De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government had now attained a firm grip on the country after a troubling period of violence, President de Klerk said in Pretoria last night.

This had enabled it to lift the state of emergency in Natal, he told an enthusiastic capacity city hall crowd of about 2000 NP supporters at a public meeting marking the opening of the Transvaal National Party congress.

The meeting took place behind a tight security cordon, with scores of policemen keeping right-wing protesters at bay, and detector screenings of everyone in the audience on entry.

The stage management also exhibited a new style for NP meetings, with a long-haired male cabaret singer entertaining the audience before the curtain lifted on Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike and Transvaal

NP leader Barend du Plessis and wife Antoinette on the podium — instead of the usual line-up of Cabinet Ministers and party officials.

In a wide-ranging speech in which he made no new announcements, Mr de Klerk:

- Delivered a blistering attack on Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Hartzenberg for advocating "radical" strategies such as boycotts, civil disobedience and disruption and violence at political meetings.

Lashing out

He said it was "almost tragic" that while the ANC was slowly and steadily moving away from radicalism, the CP and other rightist groups — who already had the vote — were becoming more radical.

Mr de Klerk also:

- Warned CP supporters they would be co-responsible for CP actions if they remained supporters.

- Urged extra-parliamentary groups to stop lashing out at the security forces and the Government "whenever their own supporters become involved in acts of violence".

- Re-affirmed his promise to allow the white electorate to accept or reject a new constitution before it was implemented.

- Defended the NP's decision not to go into an election pact with the Democratic Party.

Mr de Klerk said the NP was on course and would not be deflected from its reform goals by threats and pressure from the CP or anyone else.

In one short year, the NP had moved from promises and hope to the threshold of real negotiation.

Mr de Klerk also said:

- Support for reconciliation through negotiation was growing by the day and the "violent ones" to the left and right were standing naked before the South African public and the international community.

- The debate was widening and deepening.

- International enmity was being replaced by interest, encouragement and even acceptance. South Africa's voice was being heard again across the world — and being believed.

Stability

- "Slowly and surely" the foundations were being laid for economic stability and growth.

- Thousands of millions of rands had been set aside to address socio-economic problems.

- "After a troubling period of violence and intimidation, a firm grip has been attained and today I could announce the lifting of the State of Emergency which still existed in the province in Natal."

The Government had done its part and would continue to do so.

"The door I spoke of at my inauguration is now fully open. Let us start fundamental dialogue."

STAR 19-10-90

WS



Just move along please sir . . . Police despatch a right-wing supporter outside Pretoria City Hall last night at the opening of the National Party's Transvaal congress. About 200 officers ensured a small group of rightwingers did not disrupt the congress. At one stage a handful tried to break through a barrier of officials at the main door but were hustled away by constables. Hecklers inside the hall were quickly dealt with and evicted.

Picture by Sean Woods.

FW Holland trip 'will unshackle Afrikaans'

Star 19/10/90 3044

Political Staff

President de Klerk's visit to Holland next week would be by far the most important overseas visit he had undertaken, as it would take the shackles of isolation off the Afrikaans language, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Mr Botha also announced that on the way to Europe, he and President de Klerk would pay a working visit to Morocco.

He said languages similar to Afrikaans were spoken by 26 million people in southern Africa and parts of Europe.

Afrikaans poets, writers and authors would find a greater audience for their work in the wake of the President's visit to Holland.

By helping Afrikaans out of its isolation, he was offering South African artists, authors and writers a chance to

move in a new environment.

The Dutch government invited President de Klerk.

Government sources said there was relief on both sides that a visit was taking place. There had been difficult relationships between the two countries over the past decades.

The cultural boycott in Holland is weakening. Several universities there have put out feelers in a move to develop contacts.

Mrs Marike de Klerk will visit Tholen, the birth place of her grandfather, and will speak in a church in the town.

King Hassan of Morocco invited President de Klerk to make the first visit by a South African head of state to Morocco.

Pretoria wants to improve its relationship with the Arab world. There is substantial trade between South Africa and Morocco.

REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA



REPUBLIEK
VAN
SUID-AFRIKA

Government Gazette Staatskoerant

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Vol. 304

PRETORIA, 19 OCTOBER 1990
OKTOBER

No. 12791

RECTIFICATION

Notice is hereby given that the **regulation number** in the preamble of *Government Gazette* No. 12790 of 5 October 1990, was incorrectly published. The correct number should read as follows:

Regulation Gazette No. 4569.

REGSTELLING

Hiermee word bekendgemaak dat die **regulasie-nommer** in die aanhef van *Staatskoerant* No. 12790 van 5 Oktober 1990 foutief gepubliseer is. Die korrekte nommer moet as volg lees:

Regulasiekoerant No. 4569.

304A

PROCLAMATION

of the
State President

of the Republic of South Africa

No. 182, 1990

PUBLICATION OF AN AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA WITH REGARD TO THE CONFERMENT OF IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES

Under section 5 of the Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges Act, 1989 (Act No. 74 of 1989), I hereby publish the Agreement in the Schedule concluded on 18 May 1990 by means of Exchange of Notes between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of the Republic of Namibia, wherein provision is made for the conferment of immunities and privileges upon Representatives, Deputy and Assistant Representatives, personnel attached to missions and family members of the said representatives.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Third day of September, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,

State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

R. F. BOTHA,

Minister of the Cabinet.

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident

van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 182, 1990

PUBLIKASIE VAN 'N OOREENKOMS AANGEGAAN TUSSEN DIE REGERING VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA EN DIE REGERING VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN NAMIBIË MET BETREKKING TOT DIE VERLENING VAN IMMUNITEITE EN VOORREGTE

Kragtens artikel 5 van die Wet op Diplomatieke Immuniteite en Voorregte, 1989 (Wet No. 74 van 1989), publiseer ek hierby in die Bylae 'n Afrikaanse vertaling van die Ooreenkoms op 18 Mei 1990 by wyse van Notawisseling aangegaan tussen die Regering van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Regering van die Republiek van Namibië, waarin voorsiening vir die verlening van immuniteite en voorregte aan Verteenwoordigers, Adjunk- en Assistent-verteenwoordigers, personeel verbonde aan missies en familieleden van die genoemde verteenwoordigers gemaak word.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Derde dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

R. F. BOTHA,

Minister van die Kabinet.

PREPARE THE WAY

Radford Jordan is a former senior lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at Wits University. In this article he anticipates the challenges that will soon face a diplomatic service accustomed to being on the defensive.

Since 1945, SA diplomats have worked on the interface between Pretoria and forces which, in a very real sense, represented the mainstream of human thought and action. From year to year the work of our missions became more difficult as the backlash against apartheid became fiercer.

Once the post-apartheid era has truly dawned the work of our diplomatic missions abroad should lend itself to greater creativity. To do so, it needs in a sense to make a fresh start. The factors making for this will be the:

- ☐ Observance of economy, with which this article is chiefly concerned;
- ☐ Integration of blacks into the diplomatic corps; and
- ☐ Maintenance in the diplomatic corps of strict professional standards.

The inputs of a foreign service have nearly all of them to be paid for in foreign exchange; it has few, if any, cash outputs that accrue to the government which it represents. However, the services of live-wire commercial diplomats can bring important benefits to the private sector of their country: for instance, by alerting businessmen to contracts to be put out for tender and generally by promoting trade.

This primarily means promoting exports but extends to the development of trade contacts in general. Hence some countries require all members of their diplomatic corps to undergo a basic business training which qualifies them for this sort of work.

It might, then, be a false economy not to give larger staffs, of the right calibre and training, to our missions in countries of prime economic importance to us. Non-commercial staff should in principle be cut, so legations will suffice in many cases. A legation also costs less than an embassy because a minister plenipotentiary — the officer in charge of it — spends (despite his high-sounding title) far less on, for example, official entertainment.

A second requirement of economy would be to take a hard look at those countries which have not hitherto opened diplomatic relations with SA, or have cut them to show opposition to apartheid. These countries should be classified in ascending order of importance as follows:

- ☐ Those which by reason of their poverty (Burma, say) or remoteness (Fiji) or general insignificance (Ruanda, Burundi) at most qualify for consular relations with SA;
- ☐ Those where our mission can normally function under a semi-permanent *chargé d'affaires*, but which have accredited to them the head-of-mission in an adjoining country; for instance, our ambassador in Kenya might visit Dar es Salaam briefly twice a year with the local rank of minister plenipotentiary. (There is a precedent for this: during the Forties our ambassador in Lisbon ranked as a minister in Madrid, which he visited from time to time. This example has an illustrative value: Spain was then, as it is now, a much more important country than Portugal — but the proximity of Angola and Mozambique made Portugal of far greater economic importance to us);
- ☐ Those countries important enough to warrant the permanent presence of a minister plenipotentiary but not of an ambassador.

Here is a comparison: until 1945, or thereabouts, the UK had ambassadors in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and Santiago; all its other missions in South America were legations. What suited the UK then may well suit SA now. The embassy in Asuncion could be downgraded to a legation when we no longer have any special need for the friendship of Paraguay; and

- ☐ Countries in which our interests genuinely require us to go to the expense of having an embassy. Another comparison: in 1939 the UK had legations in capitals such as The Hague and Copenhagen — but now we are likely to need embassies throughout Europe, except perhaps in Bulgaria, Romania, the Baltic states and other small components of the USSR which become independent.

Appointments to missions in Africa stand on a special footing. The ANC has been represented in many countries, especially in Africa, where some of their former representatives are likely to know the governmental scene better than any whites. These, if properly briefed, might prove to be real assets. They could well strengthen the cultural ties between SA and other African states — ties which are likely in the near future to be of more direct importance than boosting trade. (All the foregoing applies, more problematically, to the PAC should it choose to come in from the cold.)

For the maintenance of standards, it seems vital to break with the practice of sending to foreign missions prominent figures who need a rest or from whom a rest is needed.

If we continue this practice, all pleas for a genuinely professional diplomatic corps will surely fall on deaf black ears.

Radford Jordan

IEIR MIND

burnt in Italian power stations comes from Richards Bay and Italy is now SA's biggest market in the EC.

Confindustria, the industry umbrella organisation, has just had a delegation in SA looking at investment opportunities. Adolfo Battaglia, the Republican (liberal) Minister of Industry has visited SA and Trade, Industry & Tourism Minister Kent Durr has been to Italy, among other places.

Finally, last week, the Socialist Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis said he wanted relations with SA normalised as soon as possible.

It is not clear, however, whether Italy will use the closing weeks of its EC presidency to get there. Britain, having taken the lead, is now nudging the EC towards taking what will be a largely symbolic step in formally ending sanctions — but one which will have important repercussions on the US Congress — and overcoming the last of the hardliners, Ireland and Denmark.

SA is on the agenda for next week's meeting of heads of government in Rome but, according to the UK Foreign Office, the topic will take its place among a list of more pressing matters headed by European responses to the Gulf crisis, German reunification and British entry to the exchange rate mechanism of the European Monetary System.

There are also worries about US reaction to the failure of EC agriculture ministers to agree to reduce farm subsidies sufficiently.

Discussion about SA is likely to be a general review of events and reports from the UK, Holland and Luxembourg on De Klerk's visits. But it could produce results in the more important communiqué which will follow Italy's end of term summit in December.

John Cavill

GOVERNMENT POLICY ^{FIM 19/10/90} UNTHINKABLE VISION

When black American civil rights leader Martin Luther King said in the Sixties that he had "a dream," it marked the end of official racial discrimination in that country. Last week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen announced: "I have acquired a new vision..." (304A)

Viljoen explained this vision to a group of political journalists. It is the realisation that the NP can become part of the majority in a new dispensation. Compare it to his earlier philosophy that the future of minorities had to lie in the entrenchment of protection for those groups and Viljoen's vision illustrates the 180° turn by the De Klerk administration

FIM 19/10/90

304A

— the salvation of whites does not rest with group (that is, racially based) rights.

Both De Klerk and Viljoen had previously been the most outspoken supporters of group rights and the protection of racial minorities. The sudden change, explains DP leader Zach de Beer, is proof that the Nats are now seeking a broader membership, along with new alliances, principles and policies. Having decided to dispense with its artificial protection, the NP is simply too small in its present form to be effective in the new SA.



Viljoen ... visions of trains

present form to be effective in the new SA.

Viljoen certainly raised new and difficult questions. Discussing his new vision that minorities could retain some hold on power, the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily *Beeld* warned in an editorial that government would be behaving irresponsibly if it could not back up such claims with research.

Earlier in the year, Stellenbosch political scientist Willie Esterhuyse — regarded as a Nat insider since the exit of P W Botha — suggested to the *FM* that the NP should open its ranks, change its name and form an alliance with the ANC. Viljoen openly discarded these ideas.

This week Esterhuyse, who had just returned from overseas, told the *FM* that he had read about Viljoen's rejection of an alliance with the ANC with "some surprise." Esterhuyse says it is to be expected that certain differences still exist which would make an alliance difficult now. However, Viljoen's statement may only be strategy, says Esterhuyse.

While it is to be welcomed that the Nats want to drop the group concept, Viljoen's vision cannot be ascribed as a mere change of heart. Strengthening the belief among Nats that they could actually beat the ANC at the ballot box is an increasing feeling among political commentators that the ANC is in dire need of restructuring.

Newsweek correspondent Joseph Con-

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FIM 19/10/90 (304A) ~~SECRET~~

treras says in the magazine's latest issue that until the ANC meets in December for a special conference, it will "continue to be a chaotic organisation struggling to find its feet in a rapidly changing political environment."

He ascribes the organisation's internal crisis to Nelson Mandela's "mixed performance," and says that "the multiple challenges and obstacles confronting the ANC are probably beyond the ability of any one man to solve." The ANC's confused struggle to transform itself from an underground liberation movement to a political party leads ANC regional official Barbara Hogan to admit to *Newsweek*: "Basically the ANC will have to prove itself before it draws in a lot of whites."

While the ANC, according to *Beeld*, may be surprised by the confident steps its traditional opponents have taken, Viljoen has conceded that the negotiation train cannot depart without the ANC. In the same breath, however, he is prepared to let the train out of the station without the CP (in its whites-only carriage).

Viljoen's rejection of the ANC as an ally elicited a sharp response from Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, who challenged the government to elections. "We are prepared to challenge them in open and fair elections," said Hani.

To abandon the group concept and predict a broadening of one's political base in a future SA is undoubtedly far-sighted. Now, many divisions remain artificial because of apartheid. Says Zach de Beer: "The undue emphasis placed by the Nats on minority protection was really the continuation of their former obsession with different groups. If they are now dropping that, it is a distinct step forward."

If a NP leader feels compelled to reject an alliance with the ANC — thus implying that such an alliance is possible — then we have come a long way indeed. ■

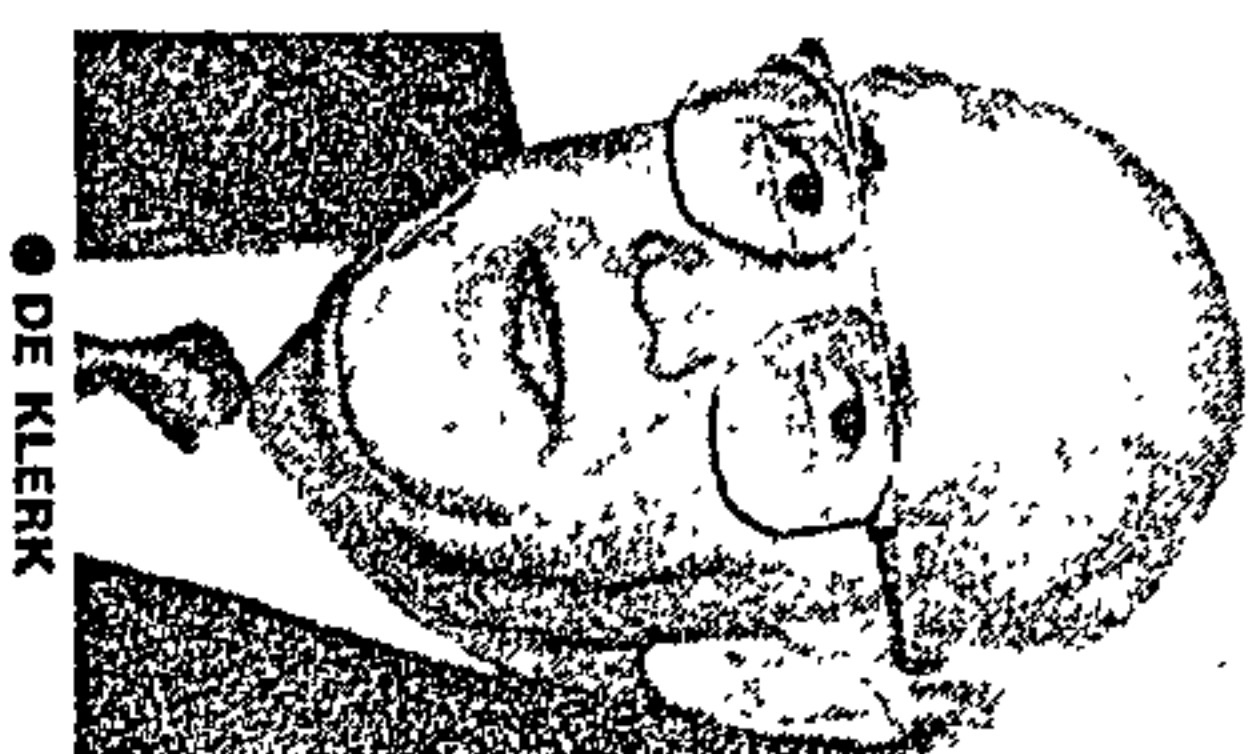
Major obstacle to talks removed

Natal is free

18/Jan 19/10/90

3044

of emergency



● DE KLERK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday lifted the four-year-old state of emergency in Natal, thus enhancing prospects for an end to sanctions and removing one of the key obstacles to constitutional negotiations named by the ANC.

De Klerk told a media conference in Pretoria that conditions in Natal had stabilised to such an extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to ensure the public's safety and to maintain order.

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk will visit Morocco for a day on Monday, where it is believed he will hold talks with King Hassan.

De Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha will pay a working visit to the north African Arab country on the way to Europe for talks in the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The President will hold talks with the Dutch minister president and foreign minister, and attend a lunch hosted by Queen Beatrix.

On Thursday he will leave for Luxembourg, where he will meet the prime minister. — Sapa.

EDYTH BULBRING
and PETER DELMAR

His announcement was hailed by the ANC and Inkatha who agreed it would help pave the way to full negotiations.

White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater said the lifting of the emergency was further proof that the process of change in SA was irreversible.

"We see this as yet another landmark on the road toward full normalisation of political activity in SA. President de Klerk deserves credit for his political courage and leadership."

De Klerk said he trusted conditions would remain such that it would not become necessary to reintroduce the emergency.

He would not hesitate to do so to protect lives and property and maintain good order if circumstances required it.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told the conference that security force levels in Natal townships would remain the same in case of renewed violence.

De Klerk said clashes between Inkatha and ANC/UDF supporters had claimed more than 4 000 lives over the past four years.

Government had consulted KwaZulu

Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as its own security advisers. De Klerk said there was a broad consensus on the extent of stability in the province, he said.

He said the door to peaceful negotiation was now fully open and he appealed to all political leaders to accept the challenge of "this open door" to bring about peace and reconciliation.

By ending the emergency, De Klerk has met another of the five requirements in the US's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA). The Act says the US president can lift sanctions if four of the five requirements are met.

The others are the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties, the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts and an agreement to enter good faith negotiations.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that a US administration official confirmed yesterday that government now had to satisfy only one more of the CAAA's conditions.

De Klerk told yesterday's media conference it was impossible to determine a

NGK says apartheid a sin

Star 19/10/90

Carina le Grange

The Ned Geref Kerk general synod in Bloemfontein last night accepted a major revision of its policy document, Church and Society.

The document was first drafted and approved at the NGK's previous synod in 1986.

In the form accepted last night, Church and Society says that a system such as apartheid is, in the light of Scriptures and Christian Conscience, unacceptable and must be seen as sinful.

"Any attempt of a church to

defend such a system on the basis of the Bible must be considered to be a false teaching."

In its 1986 form Church and Society was hailed as a breakthrough in terms of the NGK policy on apartheid and current affairs in comparison with the NGK's previous policy document: Ras, Volk and Nasie.

Church and Society, however, was still rejected by anti-apartheid churches and other critics.

● Yes to women's ordination —

Page 6.

TALKS AND NEGOTIATIONS

F/M 19/10/90

THE POWER OF SPEECH

304A

19/10/90

One of the many problems we have is that the two main political groups (the NP and ANC) consist mainly of people who have to negotiate in a second language — English. The potential for misunderstanding is enormous.

An illustration of the problem emerged this week (see *Current Affairs*). Chief Nat negotiator Gerrit Viljoen talks about the “negotiation train” departing next year — but there is no clarity about its destination nor even the stations on the way. The ANC is raising concepts like “interim government” and “government of national unity,” which are apparently unacceptable to government.

Let us be quite clear about this.

If a general election is held with the purpose of voting people into a sovereign parliament, there can be no such thing as an “interim” government: it will be the next government. In fact, an interim government is a political impossibility in SA because (in contrast to Zimbabwe and Namibia)

there is no sovereign colonial power about to withdraw and, therefore, capable of acting as a disinterested referee.

If an assembly were to be elected specifically to negotiate a new constitution — but not to govern — then the present NP government would have to continue running the country until a new system is ready. A possible extension of Nat rule would be the co-option into the Cabinet of senior ANC members — unlikely, but not inconceivable.

In short, the present constitution stays until it is replaced by a new one. And until a new one has been negotiated the present government is not going to give up power.

But is this what Viljoen means when he says “the negotiation train is leaving”? Does the ANC understand that, under SA conditions, an “interim government” is a meaningless concept?

When the two sides do achieve some clarity of thought, let us hope they find the words to express it.

FIM 19/10/90 (304A) (X25)
 should rather refer to it as a government of national unity. It is part of the negotiation process and cannot be seen in isolation.

"People in that interim government will all be members of a constituent assembly, but not all can be government ministers. At the same time, someone must run the country, but without one party governing. That government will have responsibility over instruments of power (such as the army and police). What the government fears is the ghost of the ANC — a ghost they created."

He says those who feel excluded from talks should see "no sinister plan to exclude them. We have brought certain issues to the government such as the release of political prisoners and the return of our exiles; other parties have the opportunity for discussions too."

Phosa maintains the ANC cannot continue to talk about negotiations and ignore the need for elected representatives at the negotiations table. "A constituent assembly was good for Namibia and there is no reason why it should not be successful here. I don't think white people have anything to fear. They are not the minority; Vendas, Indians and Swazis may be, but not whites. They should participate in this process that will help usher in a new democratic SA."

He said the ANC would not be able to prescribe the form elections should take; this would be a product of discussion. However, any elections would have to be guided by non-racial principles which could see white candidates in black areas or vice-versa. "I foresee people like Joe Slovo being elected in black areas."

"There needs to be a delimitation of seats or constituencies and people must contest openly and sell their policies." Phosa foresees that an ultimate parliament would be far larger than the present one.

He says the amendments to the ANC constitutional guidelines are due out soon. "I prefer to say we have added flesh to bones and that it will be more of a position paper on a constitution, than guidelines." Like the ANC discussion paper on the economy, the paper would be open to debate before being submitted to the ANC's December 16 National Consultative Conference.

Phosa says the ANC has no particular constitutional preference and is drawing from various constitutions.

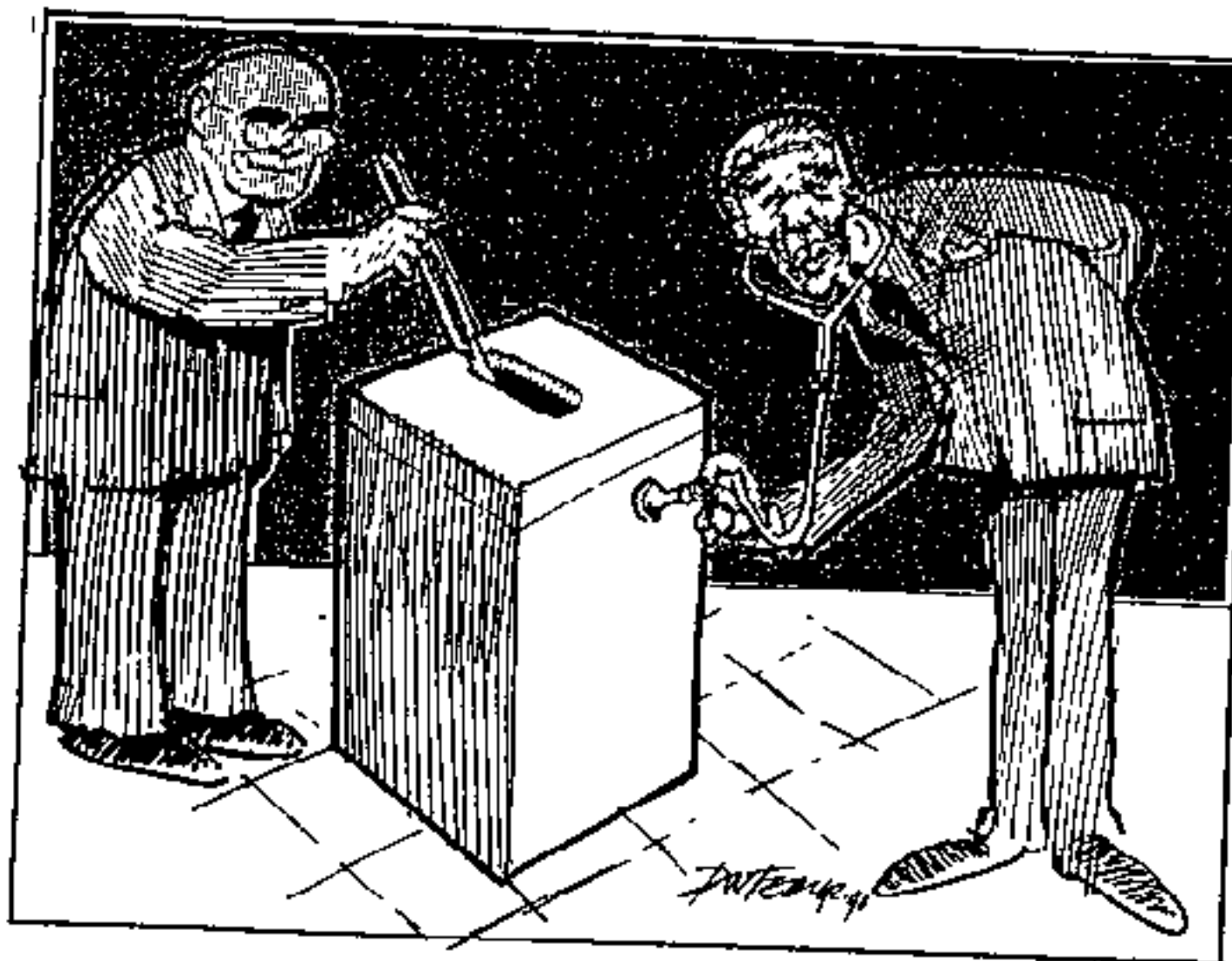
NEGOTIATIONS

MUDDLE AHEAD (304A)

FIM 19/10/90
 If the ANC has its way, next year will see elections for all, followed by an "interim government" and a "constituent assembly" leading to a new constitution (see *Leaders*).

Matthews Phosa, ANC constitutional spokesman, says elections are vital to ensure that those who negotiate have a mandate. "Anyone else is an impostor, particularly those leaders of bantustans who say they are leaders when those things are a direct product of apartheid. We need to clear the deck and get people to choose who will represent them."

He acknowledges that the NP is opposed to the concept of an interim government produced by elections. "They see it as surrender. Perhaps we



of Afrikaans writers' guild

W/le M 21 19/10 - 25/10/90 304A



literature, Antjie Krog, Njabulo Ndebele, Vernon February and Keorapetse Kgosisile

Afrikaner organisation, it was formed to make Afrikaans more open, without censorship, against apartheid.

"But it was important to attack apartheid in our own language, as Afrikaans-speakers rather than Afrikaners."

"I'm an Afrikaans writer," said Dikeni. "What is the Guild doing to enable and enhance the writing of Afrikaans? I don't expect a beautiful political programme from you... but there's no recognition that people have been denied things and no saying, 'We'll teach you' — yet you've

said.

For Mattera, guava juice "had its place". But the children of Soweto weren't interested in stories of snakes and mice any more. They wanted grenades and guns. "When will our children claim back the trees, nature, the rivers — what are our poets doing about that?" he asked.

KGOSTISILE, addressing the question of the writer and his or her language, told how he read a poem in English at the launch of the ANC in Soweto and "felt like a fool, because the majority of people couldn't relate to English".

African languages needed to be strengthened, said Kgosisile, though not necessarily at the expense of Afrikaans, which he acknowledged as "a true South African language".

Elsa Joubert, author of *Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena*, had little difficulty with the notion of English becoming South Africa's lingua franca. It did not necessarily mean that Afrikaans would dwindle and die; Afrikaans writers would enjoy less protection, but that would not be a bad thing.

But one should be wary of a wholesale mixing of languages which undermined their grammatical structure, she said.

She echoed February, exiled author and academic based in The Netherlands and a polylinguist who, in his keynote address, urged that all South Africa's languages be given equal status. He also stressed the need for their being learned with due regard for rules and syntax.

"Afrikaans," said February, "is not the problem. But Afrikanerdom is."

SO just how representative is South African literature, anyway?

One of the delegates noted the absence at the conference of "a female black creative voice". The only one heard, she said, was that of Baleka Kgosisile, in a poem read by her husband.

Ndebele, who has spent 21 years in exile in Lesotho, questioned whether there was such a thing as a South African literature. "And repre-

sentative of what?" he asked.

Internationally, white South African writing enjoyed the status of being representative: works by the Nadine Gordimers, Alan Patons and JM Coetzee, "some not even widely read in their own country".

There were South Africans writing outside the country and writers in a form of internal exile, whose works were censored and banned.

Some used English — "the language of power"; others Afrikaans — "the beneficiary of a policy which had given it privileged status". Still others wrote in African languages.

Writers were thus in search of an "elusive hegemony", said Ndebele. "Maybe it's better to look for commonalities, rather than categories."

If a mainstream literature developed, it was going to depend on literacy, awareness and availability. "We're talking about the ability of the ordinary South African to participate in literature's enjoyment as well as its production."

"My position would be that we should let the situation unfold: organisations like Cosaw are a symbol of the kind of intervention that we all have to make."

"It brings together writers from different backgrounds: something will emerge."

Perhaps, said Ndebele, the diversity itself was representative.

"We should not submit to a tyranny of representativeness," he warned. "The issue is more the need for a much deeper appreciation of the wealth of art before us."

"We should have open minds and a sensibility that's prepared to absorb the diversity of experiences, because it is that which will afford the possibility of creative growth," said Ndebele.

For Larry Pokpas, of the University of the Western Cape's Afrikaans department, one could only talk about a representative national culture once South Africa was redefined, when terms like "inside" and "outside" had lost their meaning.

"People tend to think we are already in the new South Africa, that everything has changed. We must not live under the illusion that attitudes will change overnight, that our past can be swept away by the words of one or two tricksters."

"Apartheid South Africa is still alive — our presence here underlines that. We are still invited in the paradigm of colour, invited from outside to give our views."

Minority rights come home to roost

W/Ment 19/10 - 29/10/90

3048

WELL yes, the fact that the Separate Amenities Act has been expunged from the statute books is a step away from official apartheid. But it was in any case dying well before President FW de Klerk announced his born-again South Africa package in February.

The Act was being strangled not so much by the Nats' pronouncement of the death sentence on apartheid, but more by pressure from the populace at large.

The beaches became a symbol of civil disobedience in the 1980s. The population explosion and easier travel, together with the government's Scrooge-like allocation of beaches for black-classified people, ensured pressure on white-designated beaches throughout the country.

In Durban there was little chance of the authorities being able to limit access to the beachfront paddling pools without a major racial confrontation. In the Sixties and Seventies heyday of white arrogance and *kragdadigheid*, armed security forces would have scared off many people. Not anymore.

Sports-mad white South Africans, having been largely denied the pleasures of official international contact, sought to "normalise" sport by allowing open access to hitherto whites-only fields. Following recommendations by a Human Sciences Research Council team nearly a decade ago, the Nats agreed to modify the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act to make the sporting life easier.

But international competition didn't automatically follow; and now even the most stubborn sports administrators are complying — or claim they intend to comply — with the international moratorium.

That does not mean one condones, or sympathises with, the rightwingers' actions. They were very much part of Verwoerdian apartheid which tried to force the concept of "separate but equal" down our throats. They promised that black-classified people would be given the same rights and facilities as whites in their own areas.

They never did get down to providing equal facilities in the separate areas. They never could and they never will. In the United States in 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of Brown vs the Board of Education of Topeka that separate could

never be equal. Nevertheless the Nats — and their offshoots now in the CP — were hell-bent on enforcing what everyone knew was based on a false premise.

The Nats still don't want to learn from that lesson, and in a classic case of the pot calling the kettle white, they continue to emulate the CP while condemning it.

For example, so-called white education Minister Piet Clase's class-race

policy of tortuous percentages makes it so very difficult, if not impossible, for white-designated schools to be desegregated. That is a trick to preserve educational apartheid.

Never mind nursery, primary and secondary school apartheid. Ask parents classified Indian or coloured or African how difficult it is for them to enrol their children in technikons or technical colleges.

The effect of the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act while other apartheid legislation exists is that black and white classified children may now swim together, eat together in restaurants, play sport together, study together in libraries... but they



AMEEN

AKHALWALA

Cont

W/mail 19/10-25/10/90

Cinemas and theatres were desegregated not so much by Nat willingness as by the cultural boycott, actual or threatened. Economics played a key role too. With the advent of television, white-classified people weren't exactly flocking to the "bioscopes" any longer.

Economics also played a part in the desegregation of hotels and restaurants, and it may well turn out to be the factor that eventually ends the Custer-like right-wing stand on public amenities.

What the CP is unwittingly doing is privatising these facilities — and privatisation is the National Party's catchword to off-load the problems its policies have created over the past 40 years.

But privatisation also means you have to pay, often through your nose, over and above your rates and taxes. The rightwingers may well find support and sympathy in the initial spirit of resistance. In the medium and long term, however, they'll find that especially in the rural areas, white-classified people are not so wealthy as to be able to afford exorbitant admission fees indefinitely.

The interesting reaction of course comes from the Nats, who accuse the right-wing town councils of being racist and going against the spirit of the law. The Nats are threatening dire consequences for them as a result.

But can one really blame the rightwingers?

The Conservative Party was elected to power in these councils on a racist ticket, not of its own making, but on the basis of a racist constitution pushed through by the Nats.

The rightwingers were constitutionally (though undemocratically) elected by white-classified people to protect and further their interests, not of those classified something else.

cannot attend the same schools or live next to one another.

The National Party cannot expect the right-wing councils to comply with its born-again spirit so long as separate educational systems and the Group Areas Act are alive. It cannot expect the rightwingers to become non-racists in a racist parliamentary and municipal set-up it created in the first place.

In Johannesburg for example, "coloured" and "Indian" group areas within the municipal boundaries have no direct representation in the city council. Their "management-committees" are effectively sub-committees of the council. In fact, only those classified white can vote for council candidates, who also have to be classified white. Even the most radical councillors can only represent their constituents.

Most damningly, the Nats cannot expect apartheid to start dying unless they scrap the disgraceful Population Registration Act. That is where apartheid starts.

If the Nats are really sincere, let them scrap all the remaining apartheid laws immediately and introduce legislation to outlaw racism and bigotry.

But while they accuse the rightwingers of going against the spirit of the law, they themselves are digging in their heels for protection of minorities, for minority rights. From De Klerk to Gerrit Viljoen and others in between, they are spiritedly repeating that refrain.

Well, the right-wing councils are singing along in that spirit through their ploys to preserve segregated facilities. They are giving the Nats and the rest of us a fine example of how the concept of minority rights and minority protection works — and will work.

Red carpets, protests for globe-trotting SA leaders

W/M 19/10 - 25/10/90
By GAVIN EVANS

RED carpet treatment — as well as vigorous anti-apartheid protests — awaits State President FW de Klerk during his three-day visit to the Netherlands and Luxembourg this week.

De Klerk will set foot in The Hague on Tuesday morning, a week after his return to South Africa from a successful trip to Portugal and Britain.

And as De Klerk prepared to leave, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela was receiving a tumultuous welcome in Calcutta on the first leg of his three-week Asian-Australian tour.

Mandela, who leaves Calcutta for Jakarta today, has been received like a visiting head of state by the Indian government.

When he arrived in Calcutta yesterday, most of the cabinet of Chief Minister Jyoti Basu was at the airport to receive him and the crowds in the street, which welcomed his cavalcade and attended a rally at the city's Eden Garden cricket stadium, were estimated at 100 000.

The two major purposes of Mandela's tour are to help ensure that sanctions against South Africa are maintained and to raise money for the ANC — with R13,5-million having been donated in India so far.

After a week in India, Mandela will visit Brunei on Sunday and will arrive in Australia for a four-day visit on Monday. He will spend Friday in Indonesia and will visit Japan for a week, returning to Johannesburg on November 4.

De Klerk's Dutch itinerary includes meetings with Dutch President Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Affairs Minister Hans van den Broek, lunch with Queen Beatrix on Wednesday, and a parliamentary session which he will address. He leaves for Luxembourg on Thursday and is expected to return home on Friday.

The Dutch anti-apartheid movement has announced that it will hold a series of protest actions to express its opposition to the official welcome given De Klerk.

These will include presenting a "widely supported" petition to the Dutch gov-



FW de Klerk



Nelson Mandela

ernment, a protest meeting to be addressed by Zarina Maharaj, wife of detained ANC and South African Communist Party leader Mac Maharaj, and pickets in front of the Dutch parliament.

On Monday De Klerk returned from a four-day visit to Portugal and Britain which saw him meeting Portuguese President Dr Mario Soares and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and addressing British businessmen on sanctions and related issues aboard the Queen Elizabeth II ocean liner.

De Klerk's trip was described by a Downing Street representative as "very positive and constructive". He added that "the prime minister is very much in support of Mr de Klerk".

De Klerk opened the NP's Transvaal Congress yesterday evening. The congress is expected to follow Natal, the Free State and the Cape in agreeing to open the party's ranks to all races.

BOOKS

THIRTY years ago, Sestiger Jan Rabie was part of a rebellion by Afrikaners writers against a state bid to prescribe what they could and couldn't say. Last week, Rabie's quills were rattling again.

Angered by what he saw as an attempt to drag Afrikaners into the power struggle, making it somehow guilty of apartheid's crimes, he wanted to remind people that the language belonged not to any one political party, but to all those who spoke it and loved it. And these weren't only white Afrikaners.

A new threat loomed, said Rabie: a "new censorship", by "mostly black or radical bureaucrats who, from their self-erected cultural thrones want to prescribe for us what may and what may not be". At the very least, there were people who wanted "to push us gently" in that direction — "like Idasa".

Rabie was speaking at the Afrikaners Skrywersgilde's recent three-day conference on the Cape's West Coast, which had as its theme "Inside and Outside: How Representative is South African Literature?"

Intending to continue the dialogue begun when Afrikaners writers and academics met the African National Congress at the Victoria Falls last year, Idasa had funded the presence of exiles such as Vernon February and Njabulo Ndebele, and returnees such as Albie Sachs and Kenyan "Wille" Kgositse, deputy head of the ANC's department of arts and culture.

It was, as the poet Antjie Krog pointed out, the first opportunity for Afrikaners writers to "look at our literature in a South African context and begin to work out where our voices lie".

And yet, charged Krog, it was the exiles, "the people from outside", who had come with the stories and the poems, "while we sit here cooped up and drink into the night ..."

For her, the conference's theme was no better illustrated than by what had taken place in the hall: "The inside and the outside are as clear as daylight," she said. "We don't need exiles to come and confirm it."

She said she couldn't take this "inside" and "outside" any more; nor she could she understand "this aggression towards Idasa, which has pumped in thousands of rands to bring us together".

3041
w/le Nov 14/10-25 10/90

The sparks fly at meeting

Will Afrikaners survive the transition to the 'new South Africa'? Last week the Afrikaners Writers' Guild met to discuss this and other questions at a conference on how representative South African literature is. **GAYE DAVIS** reports from Cape Town

"We are accusing people of wanting to rob us of our freedom and independence: we never had it," she said.

"The Afrikaners writer never was free, never was independent."

Writers had a duty, said Krog. No-one could tell them what to write about, but they could not forever remain in their apartheid "hokkies".

Afrikaners, she said, should be "freed from the guild", which offered no way out from those apartheid hokkies.

"It is as if the guild wants to protect something," she said. "What? What are we watching out for?"

Two voices, both from "inside". When the guild later resolved to work actively towards ending the cultural boycott, Rabie was one of 22 who voted for the motion, Krog one of four against it.

SACHS had earlier noted the "deep and conscientious differences" running through the Guild, during a plenary session which proved a touchstone for the three days' debate.

"We shouldn't allow very important interactions here to get submerged. We've all fought hard for this. We should honour this occasion with our diversity. What's important is that we do speak together, without rancour," he appealed.

Poet Don Mattera couldn't see an Afrikaners culture, "only people who have pushed themselves into a laager". In himself, he found hatred borne of banning and suffering. "I have to learn to jettison the bitterness in myself," he said.

But it was a paradox to talk about a guild of Af-



Voices from inside and from outside ... debating the representivity of South African

rikaners writers in a new South Africa: "We should be sitting and talking as fellow Africans in Africa," Mattera said.

Sachs disagreed: "You must be more Afrikaners, not less. Foster and develop your language, help lead the many who are frightened and don't know where to go in the new South Africa."

This prompted a question from Sandile Dikeni, one of the Congress of South African Writers' representatives invited to the conference and a "people's poet".

"What does that mean," he challenged Sachs, "in a country with a history of deprivation, starvation and homelessness? What does it mean?"

Those were exactly the questions the guild should ask of Afrikaners, said Sachs. "Are they to be the enemy, are we to fight them? We hope Afrikaners will help. We must get rid of this feeling of being victims — of apartheid, of history, of politics."

Guild member Charles Malan responded: "The guild is accused of dragging in politics, of being an ANC fellow-traveller. It was never an

The Broeders creep back to the centre 3048

W/Mant 19/10 - 25/10/90

In the age of good Broeder FW, the Broederbond has made a comeback to centre stage,
reports **CHARLES LEONARD**

THE Broederbond still pulls the strings behind the National Party — in fact under President FW de Klerk the organisation has made a comeback.

So say Humphries du Randt, a professor of Afrikaans and Nederlands at the University of Port Elizabeth, and journalist Hans Strydom, co-editor of the major Broederbond expose of the Seventies, *The Super-Afrikaners*.

Du Randt, who is NP chairman in the Walmer constituency and has been a member of the party for 32 years, shocked the recent Cape NP congress when he confronted prominent Broeder and Minister of Constitutional Affairs Gerrit Viljoen about the role of the Broederbond. He presented documentary proof that the organisation actually drew up the government's new constitutional proposals.

Now Du Randt has challenged Viljoen and Broederbond chairman Professor JP de Lange to a public debate about the role of the shadowy organisation.

"The National Party simply cannot be taken seriously when it says it has opened up its ranks to people of all races when it is still ruled by a power clique," Du Randt says. "It is non-democratic."

He notes that all the senior posts in government are filled by Broeders.

From De Klerk and most cabinet members through to top posts in the civil service and Afrikaner big business, most are filled by members of the powerful 72-year old organisation, he says.

And Broederbond analyst Strydom, who is working on an update to his book, says that under De Klerk the organisation has made a comeback.

"(Former State President) PW Botha was more of a securocrat and that is where his power base lay," Strydom says. "He did not attend meetings regularly, but under De Klerk the Broederbond again plays a very important role. He comes from a strong Broederbond tradition and it is clear when one looks at his closest consultants that Broeders fill the top positions in the country."

"Two good examples are the respective new heads of police and the South African Defence Force, General Johann van der Merwe and General Kat Liebenberg."

In an interview with the NP-supporting magazine *Insig*, Broederbond chairman De Lange hinted that the 17 000-strong Broederbond might have to "open up", but remained vague about membership for people of other language (other than Afrikaans-speakers) and race (other than white) groups.

The interviewer, fellow Broeder and Free State University historian Ockie Geyser, paraphrased De Lange as follows: "The interdependence of different volke has become so interwoven that if you want to promote Afrikaner interests, you will also have to promote those of other groups."

De Lange merely hinted at "liaison" with a broader Afrikaans cultural community "across the colour-line".

It is also clear from the interview that the primary objective of the Broederbond is still to further the interests of the Afrikaner. He said: "If the Broederbond does not get involved in the constitutional problematic of the day, it cannot lay claim to defending Afrikaner interests in a changing South Africa."

De Lange's personal ideal, he told Geyser, is for the Broederbond to play a role in reconciling a divided Afrikanerdom.

Unlike another Broederbond, who claimed in an interview with *The Weekly Mail* that the organisation has become merely a "think-tank" without any say in government decision-making, De Lange admitted that the Broederbond periodically has "serious discussions" with members of the government about a specific range of viewpoints.

"The discussions which take place between the Broederbond and members of the government are open, and even critical," De Lange added.

Another Broeder, who did not want to be named, said his organisation was still recruiting members in much the same way as outlined in *The Super-*



Gerrit Viljoen — challenged

Afrikaners.

In the book journalists Strydom and Ivor Wilkens tell of the protracted screening process prospective members have to survive before joining the ranks of Afrikanerdom's elite.

Membership demands specific cultural, family, moral, religious and political characteristics. Even if you come from a good Afrikaner background, but have married an English-speaking woman or perhaps do not attend one of the four major Afrikaans churches regularly, your chances are nought of becoming a Broeder.

Nowadays, the political affiliations are not that important. Prominent Democratic Party members like former leader Wynand Malan, founder member Advocate Langdavid de Villiers SC and Johannesburg city councillor Sias Reynecke are all members of the Broederbond.

Still, the secrecy of membership remains important to the organisation. For example, policy documents have to be burnt by a cell secretary after they have been discussed at a cell meeting.

De Villiers says that several members like himself would prefer the organisation to "come out of the closet" and Du Randt — who turned down an invitation in 1971 to become a member — says it is this very secrecy that makes the Broederbond dangerous.

"It is about public accountability. We do not know who the people are who

make the NP's policy. Rank and file members have no say in this process," Du Randt says.

"Viljoen is not going to convince the ordinary person that the NP is an open, democratic party when it still has a strong link with the secretive Broederbond."

"The last time the electorate makes its input is when it votes the party into power — then another machine gets into action and takes over," he says. "If the NP allows this to continue it will be building its new South Africa on sand."

"This would not only 'sing' (bedonner) the non-Broeders, but also blacks and coloureds who can now be members of the party," he says.

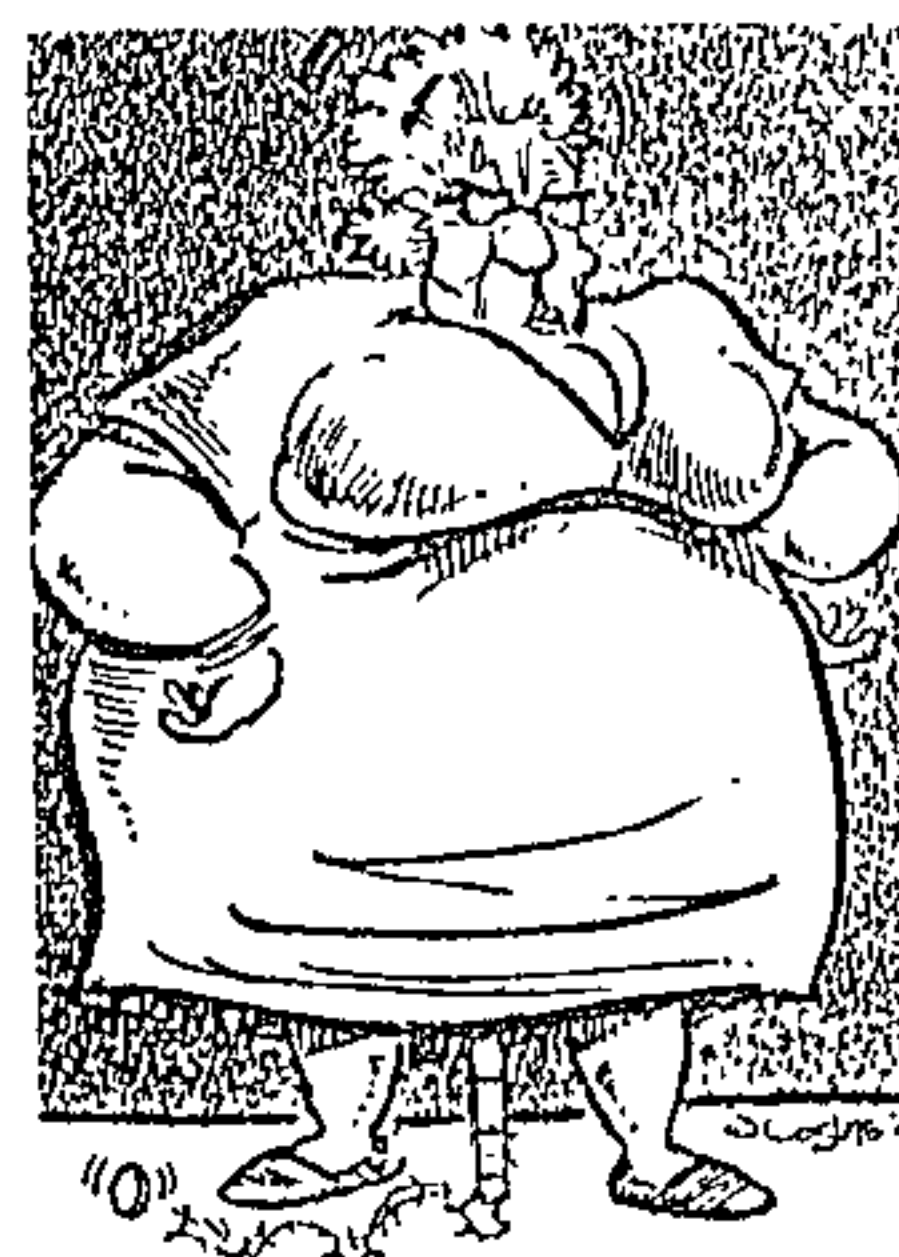
"If the NP beats Mandela in a clean match it will be fine, but not when there is a secret agenda determined by the Broederbond. They will try to chop him up."

He proposes that the NP immediately sever ties with the Broederbond.

"If they do, it will give the party credibility. If they do not, it will throw it 50 years back in time. It is time for the NP to plan its strategies visibly within the party."

Du Randt says he still sees the Broederbond operating daily.

"Here at the university, in the party and even in the church," he says.



The Nats shouldn't be the only ones who think small

W/Mant 19/10-25/10/90

304A

Not for the first time, the present government may be in danger of giving a good idea bad name.

The idea this time is limiting a majority government's power.

For a while now, some government strategists have been arguing that this is a better protection for "minority" interests than "group rights". This idea is gaining ground.

Last week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, until then the chief standard-bearer for "group rights", declared that he, too, had decided that there were better ways of protecting his values when white rule goes.

Limiting government powers is clearly part of his, and his party's, agenda. Viljoen said a new government should not be able to infringe democracy — or to raise taxes excessively or exercise too much control over the security forces.

The Nats are also now interested in devolution, in transferring powers from central government to lower levels.

The State President is one of devolution's keenest supporters.

In a recent speech, he noted that more than 60 percent of public money was spent by central government and only 10 percent by local government. A government inquiry, he added, had found that it was possible to reduce national government's share to around 30 percent and raise local government's to 46 percent.

If local government is to spend more, it must have far more power than it does now. De Klerk clearly supports this: he argued for stronger regional and local governments.

He and other Nats go further — they argue for devolving power from local government to "communities".

Neighbourhoods, they argue, should take over some of the powers of municipalities. School management committees should take over some of the power — such as that to

zens' freedom.

There are also strong practical reasons why a post-apartheid government will have to accept limits on its powers.

It will take office facing strong expectations of changes which aren't politically or economically possible.

If it tries to meet voters' expectations on its own, it will fail and so too might democratic government.

So it will need to ensure that those who hold those expectations take over some responsibility for trying to meet them. To do that they will need power — unions, civic groups and other organisations which represent

those who are now voteless will need enough independence from the government and enough muscle to devise their own solutions, for only then will they accept responsibility for them.

They will only enjoy that power if the government's is limited.

But the Nats also seem to want a system in which the government cannot take decisions its voters want it to take.

This is a sure way of discrediting limits on government. Even if resistance movements accepted it, a government which was this limited would not last long.

Unable to meet any of its voters' expectations, it would either be replaced by one which would tear up the constitution and give itself much greater power or it would do that itself.

The Nat version of devolution might face the same problem.

A post-apartheid democracy may work only if power is devolved to lower levels of government.

Its chances of lasting will depend on ensuring that people at the grassroots are involved, through their organisations, in making decisions and compromises.

This won't happen if most power rests with central government.

It is very difficult for people at the grassroots to ensure that the national government takes notice of their local



WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman

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Neighbourhoods, they argue, should take over some of the powers of municipalities. School management committees should take over some of the power — such as that to decide who attends the school — from education departments.

It's not difficult to see why these ideas have such appeal: a strong central government is an excellent idea if you are running it, but a very bad one if you're not.

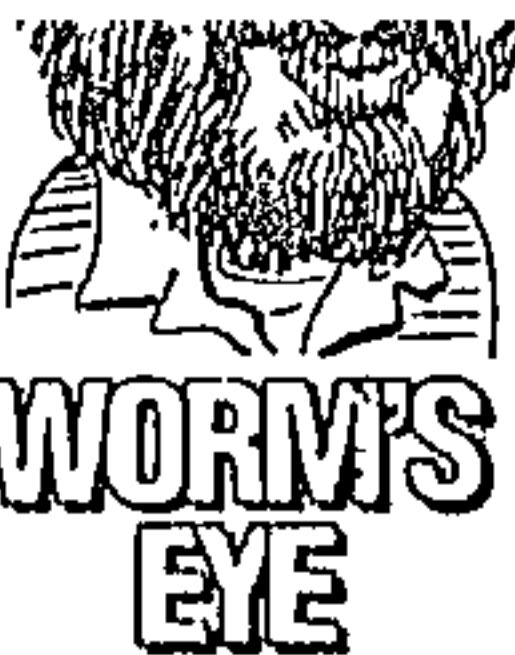
The Nats — and white voters — fear that a majority government would raise their taxes, redistribute their wealth and ban their political parties — or at least interfere with "standards" in their suburbs or schools.

The more limited that government's powers are, the less able it will be to do that. The less power it has to intervene in their lives, the less reason will whites have to care who controls it.

So the Nats may enter constitutional negotiations insisting not that the majority rule principle should be limited in a new government, but that the government itself should be limited. Is the new Nat strategy simply a way of protecting white privilege — or a way of ensuring a workable democracy?

It is a bit of both.

A government with unlimited powers would not be democratic, and a majority government will have to operate within rules which prevent it cancelling elections or infringing its citi-



Steven
Friedman

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It is very difficult for people at the grassroots to ensure that the national government takes notice of their local concerns — but they can persuade a local government to do this. So their concerns are only likely to be listened to if local government has enough power to respond.

But again the Nats seem to want more than this. A system in which mainly white neighbourhoods or schools are immune to any control by the rest of society would discredit devolution as quickly as an overly limited central government would discredit democracy.

If the fight for limits on government and devolution is left to the Nats, both may be rejected automatically by black constituencies. But it may not be left to them. Some unions, civic groups and resistance movement politicians are also beginning to argue for versions of these ideas.

They are doing this not to protect privilege but because they believe their independence from government is essential if their interests — and democracy — are to be protected.

The more they take up the fight, the more likely is it that a post-apartheid democracy will have the limits on government — and the devolution — which it will need.

PUZZLING times call for straight talking. "Let's get this right," the frowning journalist says to Alexandra Civic Organisation leader Moses Mayekiso. "Are you saying that one day, you could be mayor of Alexandra — and he (gesturing to Cassim Coovadia, Mayekiso's comrade in the civic movement) could be calling for action against your rent policy?"

The answer, in terms of the problem at hand, is "yes". Yes, the civic associations intend to continue as watchdogs and non-governmental structures in post-apartheid South Africa and to pitch themselves — where the need arises — against comrades who are elected into office.

The questions left begging by the example were: Firstly, whether Alexandra would continue to exist as a municipal entity, entrapped in ugly concentrated poverty next to constitutionally separate Sandton. Secondly, whether, under such circumstances, even the most popular, elected mayor would find his greatest problem to be civic opposition. Would his house be safe from torching by angry crowds?

Surely few have forgotten that some of the bloodiest and most bitter confrontations of the turbulent 1980s centred on issues of local government in the townships — issues such as rent for public housing; poor services; powerless and bankrupt municipal structures; unpopular and corrupt councillors; and the threat of removal from the cities.

These battles are etched brutally on our memories in the shorthand of dates and places: the Vaal rent uprising, September 1984; the Uitenhage revolt against councillors, March 1985; the Duncan Village rising of August 1985; the Crossroads vigilante bloodbath of June 1986 and the rent-related White City massacre of September 1986. The list goes on.

What they tell us is that third-tier government cannot be relegated third-rate attention in negotiations on South Africa's future constitution.

And that if the victory at the table is to those who seek to use local government structures to preserve pockets of privilege, the probable price will be conflict reminiscent of the mid-1980s.

Already there are indications that the government negotiating team stands poised to do battle precisely from this position, to protect "minority" interests through appropriate second- and third-tier governmental structures.

This much was made clear by President FW de Klerk in a speech earlier this month in Pietermaritzburg, where he listed "decentralisation of power and the devolution of authority" as two mechanisms to ensure that "the rights and wishes of minorities are effectively protected" in the process of the government's power-sharing strategy.

"The government believes that strong, autonomous regional government has an important role to play in the order that we envisage for a new South Africa. Proper devolution of authority can play an important role in the protection of minorities and in the maintenance of particular regional and community interests," said De Klerk.

Underscoring the government's serious intent in shifting functions and control from central to local level, De Klerk spoke about how government expenditure was apportioned — and how this distribution could be transformed. At present, central government spending accounted for 67 percent of the total; the second tier got about 16 percent of the pie, while local authorities accounted for only 10 percent.

He said investigations by the Committee of Inquiry into Inter-governmental

Why third-tier control needs first-tier ideas

What form local government will take in the 'new South Africa' is a question almost as problematic as that of central government.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE looks at the frameworks being mapped out



Fiscal Relationships in Southern Africa had come to preliminary conclusions that "in a decentralised state it would be possible to allocate 46 percent of government expenditure to the local level and 23 percent to the regional level. Only 31 percent of available financial sources would remain for expenditure at central level."

Earlier this year, Justice Minister Kobbie Coetsee — also a central member of the government's negotiating team — pinpointed decentralisation as a means of "satisfying the distinctive needs of different ethnic or cultural communities".

Both De Klerk and Coetsee hasten to add all the democratic properties usually associated with devolution of power. And who can fault them when they say that it is a desirable check against the possible tyranny of the central state? Who can doubt that size has something — although not everything — to do with the ability of citizens to make an impact on the structures through which they are governed?

At a time when centralism is hardly an element of the progressive creed, how can the African National Congress avoid supporting devolution? Equally, if it chooses to opt for strong decentralisation, how does it avoid reinforcing the class and race segregation apartheid has

stamped on to the map of South Africa.

Clearly the ANC is grappling with the relative virtues of decentralisation and the redistribution of resources, when it tells De Klerk the issue goes beyond the abstract notion of decentralisation. For example, how will it deal with the unevenness of resources between areas, and redistribute at the centre in order to deal with apartheid-created inequities?

Earlier this month the ANC held a three-day workshop on local government to respond to the plethora of models put forward by the government's Coordinating Council for Local Authorities in May.

The government's alternatives are:

- Separate, economically viable local authorities for various population groups, with their own areas of jurisdiction. This segregationist model would incorporate an agreed formula for sharing resources to ensure viability.

- A local service council for each city, made up of several local bodies which lack individual viability. Decision-making and joint administration would vest in the local service council.

- A joint local authority, incorporating non-racial neighbourhood management committees. The neighbourhood committees are seen as an optional way

for "local communities" to exercise "community autonomy over their own community life on a geographical basis". Power to take city-wide decisions would vest with the local authority.

- A simple majoritarian municipality, with or without protection for minorities.

In ANC circles there is a suspicion that the government's pre-negotiation inquiries into new local authority models may be an attempt to present South Africans with a *fait accompli* by the time political leaders get around the negotiating table. They liken it to the process of privatisation, which is viewed as a strategy to place crucial sectors beyond the reach of a future majority government and firmly in the grasp of business.

While government spokesmen place great emphasis on municipal autonomy in a decentralised system of government and on the exercise of local options, they are notions that find little acceptance in the ANC.

While the ANC framework has yet to set, one has the sense that it will feature:

- A very clear definition of the respective functions of regional, metropolitan and local authorities, with an emphasis on achieving redistribution of resources through the broader structures of government. Revenue collection, it may reasonably be assumed, would occur at regional or metropolitan level, while accountability for its final allocation would vest at the most immediate, localised level.

- An agreement that a degree of real power must reside at the local level, that democratic local government depends on content, not form.

ANC local affairs expert Thozamile Botha says: "We are saying that people on the ground need to be empowered, they must be involved in policy formulation, the proceedings of council meetings must be available to them"

- The notion that local authorities are essentially complementary to other tiers of government, not mini-constitutional fortresses necessarily in conflict with the central government and with each other; that democratic procedures which hold good nationally must do so locally too.

- A guarantee that local government must not seek to replace non-statutory community groups. While some commentators have read the firm "we stay out of government" position of the civic organisations as a judgment on the ANC, within the democratic movement it is seen as a bid to keep civil society and government healthily separate — to avoid the total fusion of voluntary sector-party-state which was so typical of totalitarian societies.

Botha says this does not mean that statutory town councils and residents' groups should not interact — indeed a constitution could provide for "local people's assemblies" which would compel and institutionalise such interaction.

The obvious hardly need be stated: all these paper plans are being written while much bolder patterns are being drawn in the dust-patterns of settlements, both formal and informal.

It is no accident that the second leg of De Klerk's recent address in Pietermaritzburg was an exhortation for provincial authorities to deal decisively with squatting — to keep control and to determine the location of the poor.

Nor is it an accident that ANC debate on local government is viewed in relation to the United Democratic Front's bid to influence the allocation of urban land to the homeless — and indeed in relation to the struggles of squatter communities.

These struggles, as much as the clarity of constitutional thinkers, will be telling in moving urban politics out of the dichotomy of cucumber-sandwiched mayoral receptions on the one hand, and rent boycotts to eviction or death on the other.

Referendum demand — then lights go out for CP

By CHARLES LEONARD

IT'S a good thing members of the Conservative Party are not superstitious.

"You will have to give people the choice in a referendum between a white fatherland or an Azania," delegate Ronnie van der Merwe told the party's congress in Illovo on the Natal South Coast this week. Then the lights went out.

The heavy curtains in the hall at the whites-only Natalia holiday resort had to be opened for some light to be shed on the congress and the chairman appealed for silence so the audience could hear the messages of white supremacy without the microphone's help.

During the two-day congress the CP took a leaf out of the left's book and decided to become passive resisters.

The party is already busy with a form of passive resistance, which it did not want to divulge publicly for strategic reasons, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said at a news conference later.

He said they would only use violence in extreme circumstances "like when the Boers took on the British in 1880".

"But we will stay within the limits of the law and the constitution. If the government implements a new dispensation which subjects the freedom and right of the white nation to a black majority government, it can expect serious resistance," Treurnicht said.

During Tuesday's open (to the press) session, delegates suggested a campaign to get at least a million whites to stop paying tax and their television licences to force a general election.

The tax revolt will be investigated by a committee, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzen-



Andries Treurnicht ... wooing the English

berg said in the session on "The National Party's New South Africa and the CP's Alternative".

Calling the TV licence boycott "a constructive suggestion", Hartzenberg told SABC journalist Clarence Keyter to take note and report it back to his superiors. The NP must also expect to have their meetings broken up in future, numerous delegates warned.

Delegate Jakes van Heerden from the Heilbron constituency in the Free State said everyone should stop paying rates and taxes, and the money should be put into trust to be paid only when the government promises to call an election.

Hartzenberg told journalists that CP MP's would be prepared to be jailed for passive resistance actions if there was sufficient support for the programme.

"Don't think we haven't read Che Guevara and other such revolutionary writers," MP Pieter Gouws said in an in-

terview after the session.

Resistance from white farmers to the government's decision to scrap the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 would be similar to that of farmers in Europe and the United States, he said. "Until now people have been too *ordenlik* (respectable)," Gouws said. He hinted at the withholding of products and other acts of protest.

"We are mobilising farmers and soon we will be in control of all the provincial agricultural unions," he said. At the moment the Transvaal Agricultural Union is the only one controlled by the CP.

The expected differences between delegates on the borders for a whites-only fatherland did not materialise, although possible policy changes were discussed only in closed session on the last day.

The only hint of dissent on Tuesday was when MP Koos van der Merwe tried to raise the issue of less land for the whites in a CP nirvana, and was effectively silenced by Treurnicht.

Van der Merwe proposed a motion calling for the immediate resignation of the government because "we have majority support".

Even the outside world does not support State President FW de Klerk's government, MP Tom Langley said. "When we were in London recently, a taxi-driver told my wife he did not like FW," he revealed, as proof of De Klerk's waning support in England.

The CP is clearly trying to gain support from English-speakers. At Tuesday night's public meeting in the Durban City Hall, Treurnicht's hour-long speech had a mere five minutes of Afrikaans.

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FW's visit enrages activists in Holland

THE HAGUE — Temperatures are rising here as President de Klerk's three-day visit looms.

The various Dutch anti-apartheid organisations are outraged that Mr de Klerk has been invited on an official visit, the first by a South African government leader in more than 40 years.

Leaders of three Dutch anti-apartheid groupings were invited to attend an official banquet after he arrives on Tuesday but have declined.

The state banquet will take place in the historic, centuries-old "Ridderzaal" (Hall of the Knights) which nestles between the Dutch senate and the lower house of parliament here.

On Thursday, before flying home, Mr de Klerk will address a press conference at the Government Information Service of-

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

fices in parliament.

Anti-apartheid campaigners will host their own press conference in an adjacent building immediately after he has finished speaking.

A spokesman for the Committee on South Africa (KZA), Rev Sietse Bogra, gave an indication of what journalists can expect at the conference when he said yesterday that the progress towards ending apartheid was far from irreversible in South Africa.

"The visit is very premature. For the time being we see and hear nothing but a wide range of nice intentions, but only a few of them are carried into practice."

Mr Bosgra said President de Klerk should first order the immediate release of some 3 000 political detainees still in pris-

on.

He said all white South Africans wanted to see from the visit was a picture of Mr de Klerk standing next to Dutch Queen Beatrix.

The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement are also grumbling about Mrs Marike de Klerk's plan to visit the birthplace of her grandfather at Tholen in south-west Holland. A spokesman said that the visit was "bound to put too much emphasis on the European roots of the whites of South Africa".

Mr de Klerk will meet Queen Beatrix, her husband, Prince Claus, and Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers during his visit.

Details of the crowded itinerary were released late yesterday and reveal that, besides talks with Mr Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van der Broek, President de Klerk will address the senate.

Soon after his arrival in The Hague on Tuesday the South African leader and Mrs de Klerk will be taken to the Royal Palace at Noordeinde, in the centre of The Hague. There they will meet Queen Beatrix and Prince Claus.

Later Mr de Klerk will travel to Mr Lubbers' official residence, the Catshuis, for talks. He will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

That night he will be the guest of honour at a dinner hosted by Mr Lubbers.

Wednesday will start with a breakfast at the residence of the South African ambassador, which the editors of several Dutch newspapers will attend.

That will be followed by the senate speech and then a formal lunch at the Palace with the Queen and Prince. The South African party leaves the next morning.

OPINION 2

Blood brothers with an axe to bury

S/Times 21/10/90

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STROLL through any Dutch town and you will come across streets bearing the names "Paul Kruger", "Van Riebeeck", "Botha" and "Seydlitz".

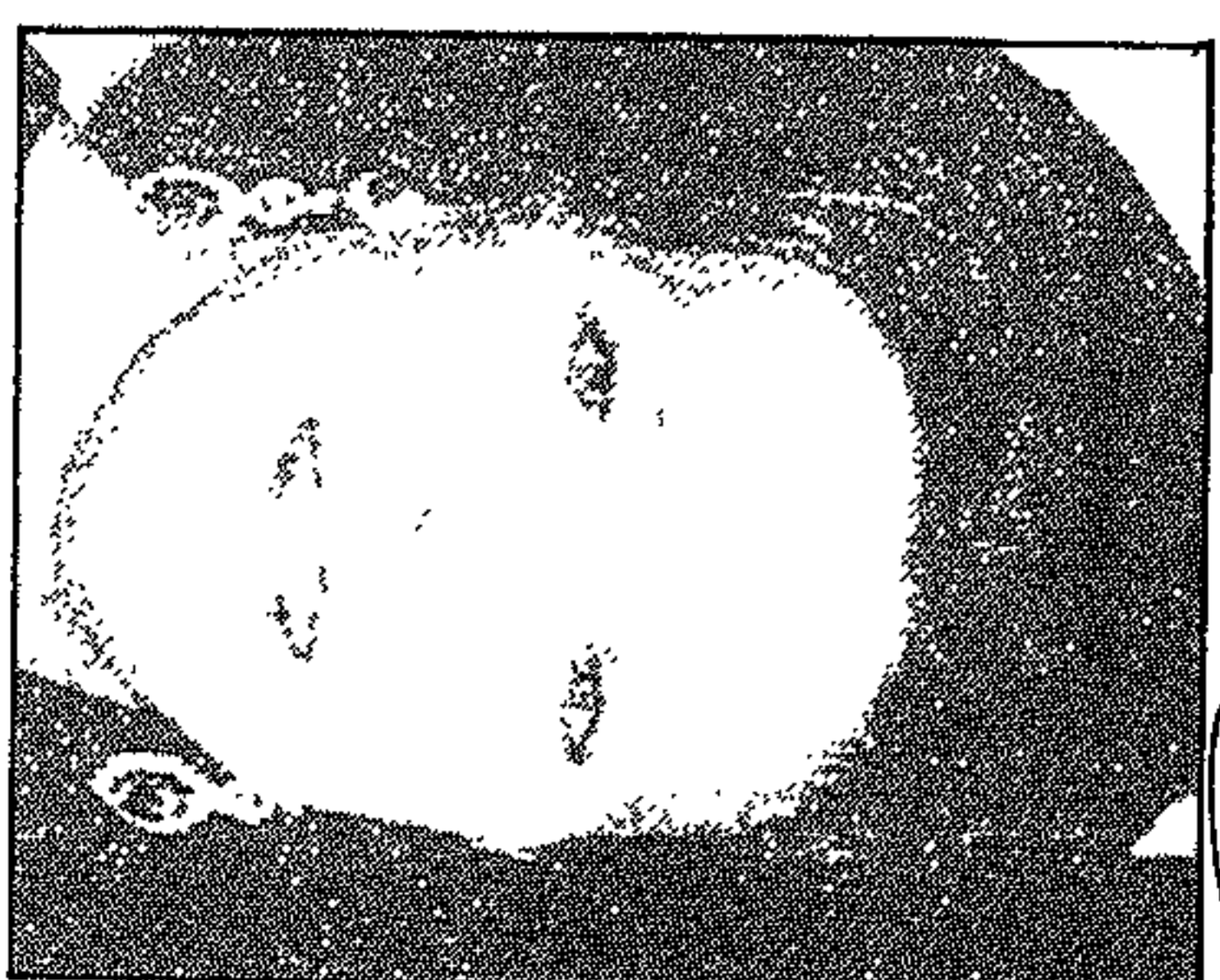
Speak to the families and you will hear of ancestors who answered the call in The Fatherland and fought in two Boer wars. And those with more recent memories will remember waving farewell to the post-war emigrants of the 50s (at least 40 000 of them) who began new lives in South Africa.

The bonds, historical and emotional, are strong. As a result, the attitude here towards South Africa has been a particularly involved and troublesome one. A cultural programme begun in 1952 and launched in Pretoria by the then Dutch socialist prime minister Drees and Prince Bernhard, was terminated because of reaction here to what happened in Soweto in 1976.

The Netherlands was the first country to actively campaign against apartheid and in the intervening years violent bombing campaigns against Shell installations and other international companies with South African links became commonplace.

Yet, there has always been a close kinship with the settlers who carried the language and stern Christianity of this tiny European country into an alien continent.

Now a moment of history is in the making with the arrival here by President F.W. de Klerk on Tuesday. During his three-day state visit by Mr De Klerk and his second-generation Dutch wife, accompanied by Foreign Minister Pim Botha, the re-opening of cultural relations will be widely dis-



RENEWING HISTORICAL BONDS... President F.W. de Klerk, Queen Beatrix and Dutch Premier Ruud Lubbers

Isabel Conway, in the Netherlands, reports on the Dutch connection on the eve of President De Klerk's visit

cussed at official, media and public level.

They are to get what one government source here describes as "full honours".

On arrival at the Dutch military airbase Valkenburg in the south of the country, the visitors will be met by Premier Ruud Lubbers and his wife and Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek.

A meeting at the official

government residence, the Catshuis, in the Hague will be followed by a press conference of Dutch and international media.

Mr De Klerk will also address the Dutch Parliament and the Hague Parliament. Mr Lubbers will also host a dinner in the state Ridderzaal on behalf of the Dutch government. Political, church, business, trade union and other representa-

tives have been invited. So, too, have the three biggest anti-apartheid groups in Holland. They will not be attending.

Says Erik Vandenbergh, spokesman for Kairros, the church-backed committee: "We think it's too early for such a visit and we want to see more changes before we sit down to dinner with Mr De Klerk, although we have no problems about his per-

sonal integrity and sincerity." Other anti-apartheid leaders were more pragmatic. Fulco van Aarts, spokesman for the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Organisation, said Holland should use the visit to highlight the need for continued change.

"Mr De Klerk's visit will get the debate going again in Dutch households as there are so many blood links and these relationships survive differences in political thinking," he said.

"I think it is possible that the cultural relationship between the two countries will be restored whereas, on the economic front, there

would seem to be no budging on sanctions." On the second day of the state visit, President and Mrs De Klerk will pose for official photographs with Queen Beatrix at her residence, Paleis Noordeinde, and they will attend an official lunch in their honour afterwards, hosted by the queen and her husband, Prince Claus.

A quick visit may be made to the province of Zeeland, the birthplace of Marjke de Klerk's grandparents.

Nearby is a showpiece usually seen by visitors to the Netherlands — the enormous Delta project system

of dykes and bridges which keeps the sea out.

There are indications, too, that President De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pim Botha may visit the industrial capital of Rotterdam and meet with important chiefs of business and industry there.

Security for the visit will be particularly tight. Over the years there have been regular bomb incidents carried out by a group code-named RaRa against companies involved in trade with South Africa or with historic links.

Three years ago the Dutch coal importers Makro suspended business with South Africa due to a spate of such attacks.

All anti-apartheid groups here condemn this radical wing, saying legal means of achieving their ends can ensure an improvement of the situation.

Rally

It is expected that during the public events surrounding the visit, such as President De Klerk's arrival at the Dutch parliament, small-scale placard demonstrations will take place with a large rally on the night before the South African head of state's arrival in Amsterdam.

"We want the changes that have begun to go on and we will be highlighting issues like the freeing of political prisoners, one person, one vote and the suspension of emergency powers legislation while Mr De Klerk is in Holland," said a spokesman.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, politicians such as Dutch parliamentarian Frans Veecklaas of the VVD party will be hoping that the visit repairs the severed cultural links.

South African ambassador Albert Nothnagel, a close personal friend of the president and considered, according to himself, too progressive by Mr De Klerk's predecessor — hence his entry into the diplomatic arena — has been working quietly towards this objective.

He, too, is said to be optimistic that the long period of isolation is almost over.

NP will be hoist with its own petard

S (Times) 2-11/10/90

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each passing year.

THE National Party may be heading for another by-election setback in Randburg — despite exceptionally favourable election territory. The risk the NP faces is that it may not be able to pull enough of the 8 000 Democratic Party voters in the last election on to its side to win a convincing victory.

The Conservative Party will do better than the expected 2 000 votes. If it gets 3 000-4 000 votes, the NP is in trouble — especially if its election machine is out-gunned by the CP as was the case in Umlazi three months ago.

Although the NP has in Martin van Schalkwyk a candidate of liberal credentials, it is not certain that he will be able to sufficiently woo the DP supporters.

Randburg was the very worst result in South Africa for the CP in the 1991 constituencies it contested last year. But it is placing considerable faith in its candidate, half-English Leonie Steele who, at 28, was once one of the youngest South African mayors.

Donald Simpson sees the NP taking Randburg, but with a big Conservative Party presence

What can we expect in Randburg if we factor in the "Umlazi swing"?

The probable result will be an enormous swing to the CP, with most of it coming from the fickle English voters and the National Party, unable to poll its supporters through lack of organisation, outmanoeuvred in the key special votes and outgunned on the day by the CP organisation and with more than half the voters not casting their votes.

The National Party's support, in concrete terms, could go from 6 767 in 1989 to 8 000 in 1990. The Conservative Party from 755 votes to 4 000. Put another way, the NP percentage share of the vote would

go from 42,3 percent to 67 percent and the Conservative Party from 4,7 percent to 33 percent.

On present showings, the National Party will battle to gain 8 000 votes. Apathy among its own supporters and DP voters is widespread. The excitement of an election went out when the DP walked away from the match.

Hamstrung

As in Umlazi, the Nationalists do not know how to "sell" President F W de Klerk and his very real achievements to their public, whereas "swart gevaar" is like Sunlight soap: it just sells more

The Nationalists are operating their new multiracial politics in a whites-only environment. The contradictions of this are just too great for their long-time supporters. The NP also has no answer to the use of its own 1989 propaganda against itself.

Cartoons published by the NP a year ago showing the hand of the ANC leading the three blind mice with strings attached (one mouse, of course, was Wynand Malan) are now dream election ammunition for the CP. The 1989 NP election posters showed Wynand sitting next to Oliver Tambo.

In these circumstances, predictions of a result in national "swing" terms for a referendum or general election are invalid or incomprehensible — but do not bode well for the NP.

● Donald Simpson is an elections analyst at Potchefstroom University.

Delegates applaud 'new concept' at lively NP congress

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis described it best when he told National Party congress-goers in the Pretoria City Hall on Thursday night: "We are meeting under threat."

Outside, 250 white right-wingers chanted, howled and shoved against the police lines defending the portal.

Change, clearly, is a challenge to this once most conservative element of the National Party.

In an effort to move away from the slick, polished and ultimately contentless congresses of the past, the party this week introduced a new format. Ministers were allowed a few minutes to put their point and then it was over to the delegates.

They took full advantage of the time and opportunity.

Many of the delegates come from places where friendships are determined by political allegiances and where National Party ministers are routinely booed off public platforms.

It is tough out there and they meant to convey that to their leaders.

One delegate, Hardie Muller, said he and others faced the charge that the NP was reluctant to spell out its constitutional vision of a new South Africa.

"It may be baseless, but the perception is a fact," he said.

Another delegate, Oom Creswell Stanley Joynt, a 70-year-old retired sergeant-major from the CP stronghold of Delmas, said: "We need a vision to convince others — and we are starting to hear it now."

These were not idle anxieties.

It is apparent that today's NP is markedly changed from the party it used to be.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen told the congress that the NP had a "new concept". It was that of the rule of law, where the Supreme Court would supplant Parliament as the highest authority in the land.

The spontaneous applause that greeted his remark revealed a party of followers who had radically shifted emphasis in their quest for identity and survival: from simply monopoly of power to a fairer system within which power can be exercised.

Many delegates demonstrated this grasp.

Eitel Kruger, son of former Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, said from the floor: "It's not important who the players are."

Confident

"We must have confidence in the rules of the game — and we are confident we are now on our way to that situation."

Other delegates showed a willingness to move beyond whites-only politics in response to the party's decision, finalised at the Transvaal congress, to open its doors to all races.

Miss Ray Grundlingh, of Pretoria Central, urged the party to take careful note of cultural differences to ensure that all future members and alliance partners would be able to comprehend a new constitution and make intelligent judgments.

Another delegate warned that people now gaining voting rights should be prepared for their responsible usage.

Dr Viljoen said the party was planning a broad education programme.

The NP and its supporters have changed in other ways, too.

Its Afrikaner support base has visibly become economically emancipated and urbanised. In this process, increasing numbers of English supporters have been drawn in and both languages enjoy prominence.

The longest debating time was set aside for economic affairs — two hours as op-

posed to 90 minutes for other topics.

Finance Minister Du Plessis delivered an elevated discourse on inflation, the balance of payments and international trade. Speakers from the floor responded in similar vein.

One delegate, however, got down to the nuts and bolts of economic reality.

Why, he wanted to know, did Sasol fuel — extracted from coal — go up in price along with other petrol price hikes caused by international oil prices?

Mr Du Plessis said a "complicated" equilibrium mechanism ensured that Sasol did not benefit unfairly from oil price rises.

But the tough fight in the constituencies was never far from the congress's mind.

In closing Friday's debates, Mr Du Plessis said delegates who took the party's new vision into their home towns displayed a "committed nationalism" worthy of wonder.

Ross leads resignations of DP head office staff

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SEVERAL top Democratic Party members have resigned from the party's head office.

The party's most serious loss is that of Neil Ross, the national director of political organisation, who has quit to go into business. He remains a party member.

The DP "inherited" Mr Ross from the defunct Progressive Federal Party and he is acknowledged as one of the most experienced political organisers and election strategists in the country.

Another resignation is that of DP media relations officer Miss Del-Maree White.

DP information chief James Selfe said there had been other resignations of head office clerical staff but that none of the resignations were politically motivated.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

A meeting of the DP's national council on November 25 and 26 will consider a large-scale restructuring of the party organisation.

One possibility under discussion will be the appointment of a chief executive to take charge of running the party's day-to-day bureaucracy.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer has acknowledged the party is under financial strain, particularly since donors have seen the National Party moving into the DP's ideological terrain.

While the DP grapples with organisational matters it also has to resolve its continuing identity tensions.

Disputes over whether the DP should align with the African National Congress, the NP or remain independent continue in its ranks.

The ANC-inclined faction has narrowed since the resignation of the party's so-called "fourth force" of disaffected Afrikaners.

Many of this group's leaders, like Professor Wimpe de Klerk, Louis Luyt and David de Villiers — founder members of the DP — are no longer active in the party.

The figurehead of the ANC-inclined faction is now Mr David Dalling, MP for Sandton.

He said: "I believe the DP should identify with the victims of apartheid rather than its perpetrators."

Dr De Beer, however, has been holding the party on an

independent line.

He said policies and views of parties surrounding the DP still needed to be clarified.

"Until there is clarity on all these matters I am certainly not going to get into a contractual arrangement with anyone."

Some of this clarification should come in a formal meeting to be held by the DP and the ANC.

The meeting was postponed last month and is now expected to take place next week.

The two groups will discuss policy differences between their two parties.

Logically

A faction on the right flank of the DP wants to form an alliance with the NP and support President F W de Klerk; and some party members believe Dr De Beer is moving closer to this view.

Mr Selfe said: "Dr De Beer is approaching it logically. With every step the NP takes it gets closer to what the DP believes in."

But, Mr Selfe said, the dominant view was that the issues need time to "percolate".

The DP particularly wants to see the extent to which the NP's new commitment to liberal democratic values extends beyond the president and how enduring that commitment will prove to be.

Year-end target for an open NP

THE NP is expected formally to open its doors to all races before the end of the year after the party's Transvaal congress unanimously approved open membership at the weekend. *Blpaw 22/10/90*

A committee consisting of Cabinet members from all four provinces will prepare a report to the NP's federal congress, almost certainly before next year, on formally opening NP membership.

A decision on membership will pave the way to alliances between the NP and other parties — a theme stressed by President F W de Klerk in his opening speech on Thursday.

Closing the congress on Saturday, Finance Minister and Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis said the "new NP" would have to mobilise beyond its traditional areas and engage in new initiatives.

Party machinery would have to be prepared to win elections on a broad front, he

PETER DELMAR

said.

Organisers of the congress — the NP's fourth and final one of the year — got what they wanted from the 1 000 delegates: a visible display of unity in the face of growing conservative militancy, illustrated by right-wing demonstrations on the opening night.

Du Plessis said on Saturday the NP had freed itself from worn-out, unrealistic and impractical policies, and since February 2 it could fight elections on the "moral high ground".

He called for an all-out effort in next month's Randburg by-election, which he described as a "watershed election", and appealed for DP support against the CP.

The Randburg poll, he said, was more a referendum on reforms and the negotiation process than an election as such.

Coming in from

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President de Klerk — the man who is bringing South Africa in from the political cold — breaks more barriers this week. Today, he visits the influential north Afri-

can state of Morocco, tomorrow he begins a two-day visit to the Netherlands and on Thursday he will spend several hours in Luxembourg before returning home. What

Tackling the lion in his den

THE word apartheid is laden with special emotion in the Netherlands, a country with a reputation for being South Africa's fiercest critic in Europe. It comes straight from the Dutch and means separateness.

The fact that it is also universally used to describe South Africa's system of racial segregation is abhorrent to most Dutchmen, reminding them of the complicated historical, linguistic and religious ties that both bind and divide the two countries.

These ties will be highlighted on Tuesday when President de Klerk makes a two-day state visit to The Hague. It will be the first time a South African Government leader has been invited to the Netherlands in more than 40 years.

Mr de Klerk's presence in the Netherlands is a diplomatic triumph for Pretoria and a direct reward for his efforts to foster political dialogue with black South Africans. But the controversial visit will be far from easy for him, as criticism of his country is traditionally vocal in the Netherlands.

The visit is not expected to change the Dutch government's stance on economic sanctions.

The fact that the visit is taking place at all is reward enough, according to Mr Ruud Bosgraaf of the Southern African Committee, an anti-apartheid group. Anti-apartheid campaigners argue that the invitation to Mr de Klerk was premature.

The Dutch government is no more stringent in its sanctions policy than any of its European Community partners, preferring to build consensus rather

than go it alone. But, among the population at large, opposition to apartheid is strong and widespread.

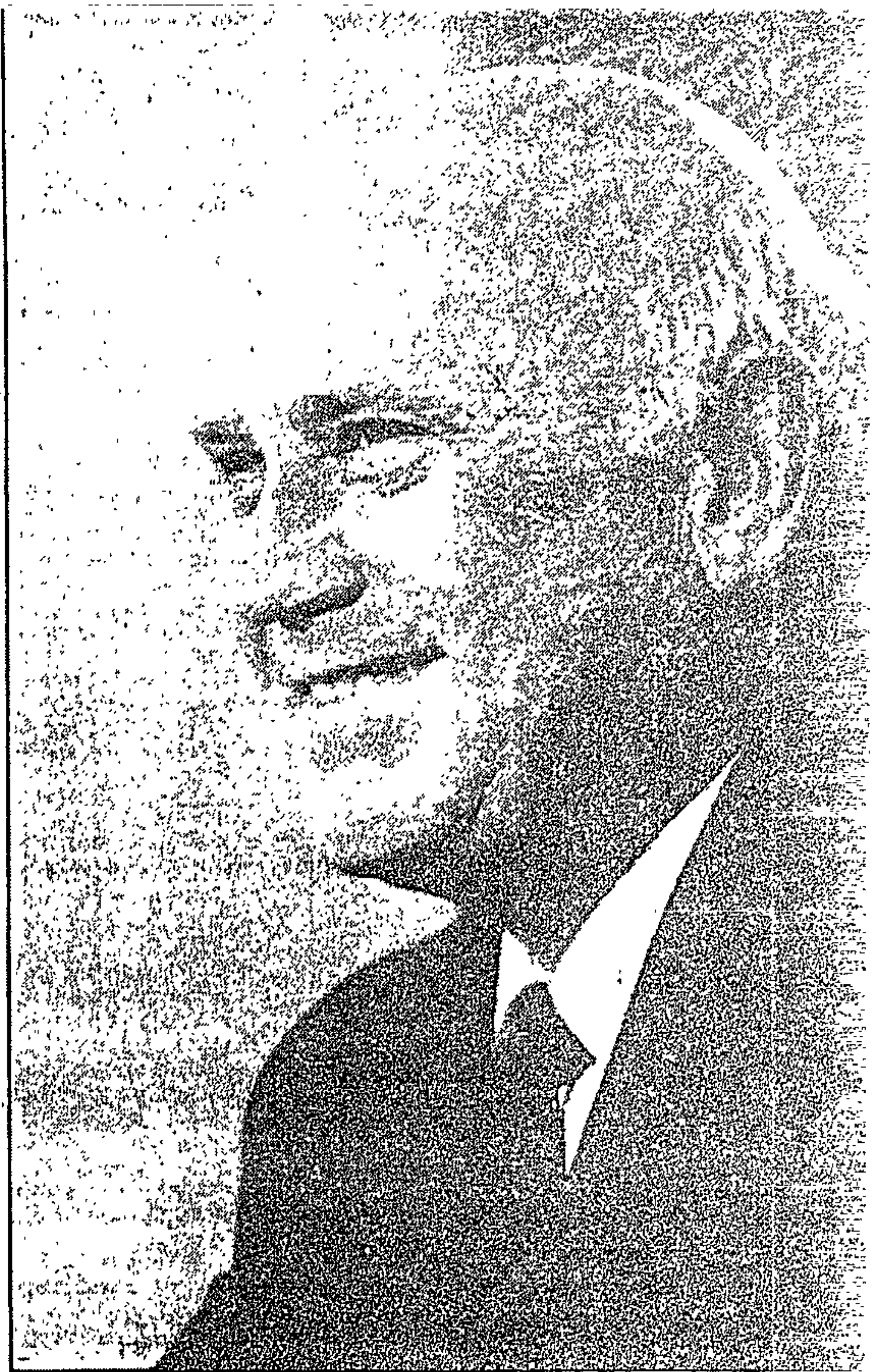
Undoubtedly the biggest factor setting the Netherlands apart from other European countries is the violence and property damage that have accompanied the Dutch anti-apartheid campaign.

These hard-hitting tactics, which include arson attacks, bomb threats and other actions aimed at Dutch companies that do business in South Africa, are the work of small, secretive groups of extremists, not of the three mainstream anti-apartheid organisations.

The often tense relations between the Netherlands and South Africa are a result of interwoven histories, languages and religions. Today's Afrikaners, who dominate South African political life, are descendants of Dutch farmers who emigrated to southern Africa in the 17th century.

Of all the links between the two countries, religion best illustrates the evolution of bilateral relations over the past few decades and the Netherlands' gradual disenchantment with the descendants of South Africa's Dutch settlers.

The two largest Dutch Protestant churches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, long maintained close ties with South Africa's Dutch Reform Churches, but until the 1960s and 1970s these links were primarily with the white branches. From the 1970s, however, the focus switched to the reform churches for black and coloured South Africans. — Financial Times News Service. □



Globe-trotter . . . Mr de Klerk has joined the presidential jet-set this

Coming in from

See 22/10/90

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THE word apartheid is laden with special emotion in the Netherlands, a country with a reputation for being South Africa's fiercest critic in Europe. It comes straight from the Dutch and means separateness.

The fact that it is also universally used to describe South Africa's system of racial segregation is abhorrent to most Dutchmen, reminding them of a complicated historical, linguistic and religious ties that both bind and divide the two countries.

These ties will be highlighted Tuesday when President de Klerk makes a two-day state visit to The Hague. It will be the first time a South African government leader has been invited to the Netherlands in more than 40 years.

Mr de Klerk's presence in the Netherlands is a diplomatic triumph for Pretoria and a direct reward for his efforts to foster political dialogue with black South Africans. But the controversial visit will be far from easy for him, as criticism of his country is traditionally vocal in the Netherlands.

The visit is not expected to change the Dutch government's stance on economic sanctions.

The fact that the visit is taking place at all is reward enough, according to Mr Ruud Bosgraaf of the Southern African Committee, an anti-apartheid group. Anti-apartheid campaigners argue that the invitation to Mr de Klerk was premature.

The Dutch government is not as stringent in its sanctions

than go it alone. But, among the population at large, opposition to apartheid is strong and widespread.

Undoubtedly the biggest factor setting the Netherlands apart from other European countries is the violence and property damage that have accompanied the Dutch anti-apartheid campaign.

These hard-hitting tactics, which include arson attacks, bomb threats and other actions aimed at Dutch companies that do business in South Africa, are the work of small, secretive groups of extremists, not of the three mainstream anti-apartheid organisations.

The often tense relations between the Netherlands and South Africa are a result of interwoven histories, languages and religions. Today's Afrikaners, who dominate South African political life, are descendants of Dutch farmers who emigrated to southern Africa in the 17th century.

Of all the links between the two countries, religion best illustrates the evolution of bilateral relations over the past few decades and the Netherlands' gradual disenchantment with the descendants of South Africa's Dutch settlers.

The two largest Dutch Protestant churches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, long maintained close ties with South Africa's Dutch Reform Churches, but until the 1960s and 1970s these links were primarily with the white branches. From the 1970s, however, the focus switched to the



NP finally opens doors to all

304A
Sowetan
22/10/90

THE two-day Transvaal National Party congress ended on Saturday afternoon on a high note and in an atmosphere of excited anticipation for the future.

The four NP congresses, which started with the Natal congress at the end of August, saw the party finally liberate itself from being an exclusive whites-only organisation through a full-house, unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance of opening party membership to all races.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was unanimously re-elected as Transvaal leader.

In his closing address, he described the atmosphere as being "electric".

Liberated

Throwing the party membership open had liberated the NP from outdated policies and now, more than ever, it had a message that could be sold because it was fundamentally right and just.

The State President, Mr FW de Klerk, said on Thursday night that seldom, if ever before, had the NP been so motivated, united and sure of what it was doing.

He once again used the phrase "there is light at the end of the tunnel", which has echoed through all four congresses.

On Friday morning he said the go-ahead to

open party membership was a historic occasion which finally prepared the National Party for the new South Africa.

An interesting aspect was the whole-hearted support given to open membership by senior members of the party who had been with the NP since its infancy.

Octogenarian Mr Koos Pofgieter, a former NP Parliamentary chief whip who has been a member since 1930, said he loved the NP now more than ever and gave open membership his full support.

Pofgieter made several contributions during the congress and, during debate on women's action, he quoted - without notes - from a speech made by President Steyn at the opening of the Vrouemonument.

Mr Bertie van Zyl, another senior member, said he "felt small at such a great moment in South Africa's history".

Another major change was in dealing with resolutions. Each subject - international affairs, constitutional affairs, security matters and economic affairs - saw the responsible ministers address congress for about 20 minutes before opening discussion from the floor.

A prominent subject of discussion was the November 7 Randburg by-election which was described as being a watershed election that could be likened to a referendum.

Du Plessis invited Democratic Party supporters in the constituency to cast their votes for the NP as the party needed a strong, clear and unequivocal message that it was doing right.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said it was of great importance that voters on the Witwatersrand should now express their appreciation to the State President for what he had done.

Gen Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said the result of the Randburg election was of crucial importance to South Africa.

Concern

The foreign affairs discussion saw a delegate from Delmas suggest the State President's job was to "get back the ears of the world which the ANC had stolen".

The constitutional affairs debate saw delegates express their concern for the continued upholding of established norms and values.

There was a suggestion for intensified voter education as it was a prerequisite that voters knew what it meant to vote and what the implications of that vote was.

"We must help those to whom we want to give the vote to understand these implications."

Dr Gerrit Vijoen said the Government was aware of the necessity of broadening public liter-

acy in connection with voting.

He said it was crucial the party kept itself in a state of preparedness for elections.

"Even if we are not going to have another white election, only a referendum, we still need to be prepared for it. We must also be prepared for an election under the new Constitution as this is the nucleus of a strong political organisation."

"We must not relax - the National Party's task is getting bigger."

Input from the youth showed there was new interest in the future and the Women's Action contribution saw Mrs Marike de Klerk make a powerful speech on the role of women.

In the security affairs debate, the Minister of Defence, Gen Malan said South Africa's future challenges lay not on the revolutionary front, but on the level of general collapse of structures, poverty and disease, hunger and other miseries which were increased by unrest.

There was also no longer a need for the SADF to maintain an aggressive posture in respect of Southern African countries.

"Faction fights and internal unrest place higher demands on the Defence Force. It is important to note that we are not fighting an enemy - the civilian population is no enemy, the enemy is intimidation, violence and unrest."

Stability was needed to counter this, he said. - *Sapa*



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME

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Viljoen's boast: Rush of blood or serious claim?

THERE are two quite different explanations for Gerrit Viljoen's boast that a National Party alliance can beat the ANC in a general election.

One is that it was uttered in a rush of blood in the heady atmosphere of a party congress. The other is that Dr Viljoen knew exactly what he said but did not spell out whether he was talking of a competitive election (which the ANC will win by a huge margin) or a heavily qualified one (in which the NP could well come off best).

Of one thing we can be certain: The NP will not take much of a risk in any future inclusive election. The story is told that Dr Helmut Schmidt urged Prime Minister Vorster in 1976 to take some major political risks in defusing the unrest which had broken out. Twice this century, he told Mr Vorster, the Germans made major "miscalculations" which had catastrophic results; nevertheless they survived to become one of the most prosperous nations in the world. Mr Vorster's reply was brief: "My people cannot afford to make a single major mistake: If we miscalculate our chances are slight."

Landslide win in real competition?

A genuinely competitive election is one in which the NP and ANC would clash head-on in an electoral showdown which would determine not only the future government but also the kind of political and economic system South Africa would have. On the one hand we would have the incumbent regime defending over-representation of minorities, property rights and the existing system of production and redistribution.

On the other hand the ANC would propose "accurate representation" (which comes down to majoritarianism), a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth and substantial affirmative action in employment.

There can be little doubt that such an election would be violent and result in a landslide win for the ANC. In his magisterial study *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* Donald Horowitz calls elections in multi-

ethnic societies which pose starkly opposite choices "polarising elections" which result in large-scale violence and bloodshed. Countries which had such elections were: Congo (1959), Zanzibar (1961), Nigeria (1964) and Sierra Leone (1967).

Such polarising elections tend to be an ethnic census: People overwhelmingly vote for the main party which represents the ethnic or the larger racial group. The main task of parties is to get a high turnout and invariably this is achieved through making blatant ethnic appeals which often ignites inter-ethnic violence.

There is little reason to believe that things will be different in South Africa with its long and tragic history of black subordination and humiliation. There is a premature excitement about the roughly 22% of blacks who in opinion polls indicate they may support the NP. The Schmitter-O'Donnell study of societies which underwent a similar transition as South Africa shows that such polls in the period up to the "founding elec-

tion" must be greeted with a very large dose of scepticism. People simply lie or give the answer they believe pollsters would want to hear. It was because General Pinochet paid undue attention to these polls that he was defeated last year in a constitutional plebiscite.

The ANC seem well placed for a landslide election win using both fair and foul means. They have the charismatic leaders, a record of sacrifice and suffering, the symbols, the dances — and the youth and the unemployed (two-thirds of the black population is 27 years and younger). One would not want to bet much more than a few depressed goldshares that the NP would win more than 25% of the vote in a competitive election.

Foundational pacts 'seem second-best'

However, rhetoric aside, there is little reason to believe that the NP will allow itself to be corralled into a competitive election with all the risks involved. What it appears to be heading for is a highly qualified election.

In South Africa's particular variant of transition, democracy is imposed from the top. The key event is not the election but what can be called foundational pacts. In these pacts leaders of all parties come to an agreement prior to the election on what the political and economic system will be like regardless of who wins. A key feature of such pacts is that the dominant class are assured that their vital interests are protected. In the striking words of a political scientist such pacts "seem second-best to all major parties involved".

Instead of being a "carnival for the oppressed", the elections are largely an anti-climax. Foundational pacts invariably restrict the policy agenda to placate the dominant classes. In the South African case one can expect the NP to insist on strategic representation both in the Upper House, and (more importantly) in Cabinet and to retain a decisive measure of control over the Defence and Finance.

Qualified vote may split the ANC

For the ANC such a qualified election may very well constitute a painful parting of the ways. There would be those who, like Mr Alan Hendrickse in 1984, would argue that the existing offer is the best available one and would pledge themselves to reform the system from within.

On the other hand there would be a faction of the ANC who would lash out against becoming part of a deal which would compromise the entire liberation struggle.

What the outcome of such an election would be is hard to predict. However, one would almost expect an absence of the fervour and the massive violence of a polarizing election. There may in fact be large-scale abstentions if the message gets through that the election will not change the fundamentals of South Africa.

Joint ticket far-fetched?

In such an election the NP, aided by SATV, Mrs Thatcher (if she is still around), Dr Buthelezi and, who knows, even some liberal stalwarts currently sitting on the sidelines, may do quite well. If the ANC is split in two by the controversial foundation pact, the NP may even win the election. As likely a possibility is the as yet far-fetched scenario of the NP fighting on a joint ticket with a faction of the ANC.

Whatever happens one should not expect peace to descend upon South Africa after the election. Political normality and rose-gardens were never promised to those who are both blessed and condemned to be South Africans.

Professor Giliomee teaches politics at UCT

Cash the Crisis Hits the DP

30 x 4
Cm Tris 22/10/90

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Senior organisers of the Democratic Party have not been paid, office rentals are outstanding and the party's national director has resigned.

These are the latest blows to hit the fund-squeezed DP, fighting to retain public interest and financial support.

In Natal, coastal region director Mr Roy Ainslie and two other full-time members of staff have not been paid for a month, say party insiders.

The chairman of the region, Mr Mike Ellis, MP for Durban North, would not confirm this but said: "I cannot deny that

there is a fairly serious financial situation."

He also admitted that one or two office rentals were outstanding.

A party source said that more than 40 top businessmen out of 50 who were to have met national leader Dr Zach de Beer at a fund-raising function to be held in Durban tonight had declined the invitations.

Mr Ellis confirmed that they cocktail party would nevertheless be held in an attempt to resell the policies of the DP to big business.

Another source revealed that the Bêrea constituency committee failed to obtain a quorum for its monthly meeting last week and that the meeting had to be abandoned. Dr De Beer said yesterday that the DP had spent considerably more money in

1989 than it was able to raise.

This had left deficits of varying degrees in a number of regions and at the head office in Cape Town.

Dr De Beer said fund-raisers had had difficulty in attracting income for the DP since the reforms announced by President F W de Klerk.

A number of former donors had come to the conclusion that the National Party had moved closer to the policies of the DP, he said, and some had switched allegiance. Others had decided not to contribute to either party, the DP leader said.

"Some regions are relatively comfortable when it comes to finance. Others are not," Dr De Beer said.

"This year we will probably be in a posi-

tion to raise as much as we spend. Where there are deficits, these may take some time to work off."

Morale is at a low ebb in the Natal coastal region following the disastrous showing of the DP candidate, Mr Trevor Copen, in the Umlazi by-election on June 6.

Mr Copen polled only 982 votes and lost his deposit. In the September general election last year the DP secured 3 314 votes and came second.

Last week DP national director and election expert Mr Neil Ross said he would be leaving his post at the end of the year. The party's media relations officer, Miss Dell-Maree White, is also leaving.

Morocco gives FW red carpet reception

RABAT — The Moroccans rolled out a red carpet for President F W de Klerk when he arrived in the north African Arab nation yesterday. (304A)

De Klerk was formally welcomed by Prime Minister Azzene Laraki at Rabat airport before leaving for an audience with King Hassam II later in the afternoon, Sapa reports.

His plane was met by cabinet ministers and representatives of the army and the government of Rabat Province.

The two states' national anthems were played, after which De Klerk inspected a guard of honour. 8/24 23/10/90

De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, was on a one-day working visit to Morocco — marking the first top level contact between SA and the Arab world since the Second World War. Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden has said weapons form a large part of "significant" trade between Morocco and SA.

He disclosed this to reporters before leaving with De Klerk on his visit to the Afro-Arab state and the Netherlands.

It was also reported that while this arms trade had long been known in diplomatic and military circles, it had not before been officially confirmed.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Pretoria that 12 family members of political prisoners handed over a letter to the Netherlands embassy in Pretoria yesterday to be forwarded to Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers before his meeting with De Klerk today.

The family members expressed their dissatisfaction with the progress of the release of political prisoners, Section 29 detainees, political trialists and the return of exiles.

And Sapa-AP reports from The Hague that anti-apartheid campaigners have announced protest rallies against De Klerk when he arrives.

Sta 23/10/90

304A

Govt to continue reform if talks fail – Viljoen

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Should negotiations break down, the South African Government would keep striving, through gradual reform, to restore a climate conducive to their resumption, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has written in an American publication.

In the Journal of Democracy

cy, released in the US this month, Dr Viljoen said normal or "real" politics could begin only after a new constitution has been implemented.

"The socio-economic inequalities and the development needs of South Africa are so great that any government faces a formidable challenge that cannot be successfully met without the active co-operation of every South African and the constructive assistance of well-disposed foreign governments," he said.

"Many foreign governments

have devoted themselves over the decades to the furtherance of what is now happening in South Africa and it would make a mockery of their endeavours should they now refrain from actively supporting the process."

Dr Viljoen said a commitment to the protection of minorities was not a ruse to continue the injustices of apartheid. What was involved in minority protection was the ability to maintain one's own identity and community life.

Warm Arab welcome for De Klerk

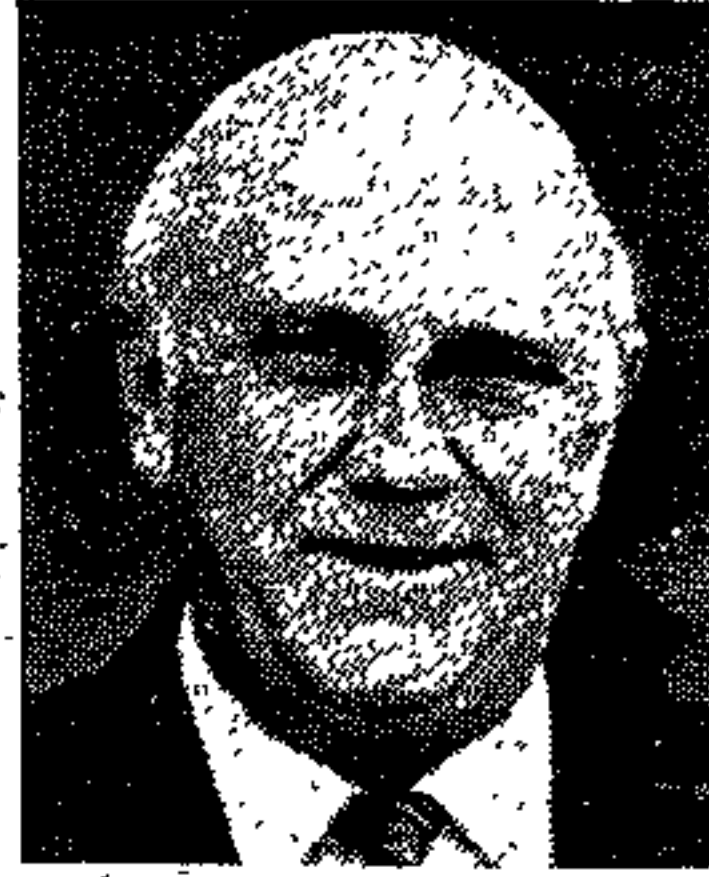
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SA Press Association

RABAT - State President Mr FW de Klerk received a glorious reception when he arrived in Morocco yesterday.

Moroccan Prime Minister Azzene Laraki welcomed De Klerk. The South African and Moroccan flags were flown alongside each

other while the two countries' national anthems were played. (304A)

De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, is on a working visit to Morocco to mark the first top-level contact between South Africa and the Arab world since World War 2.



FW DE KLERK

NP will be open by end of year

304A

Sowetan

23/10/90

BLACKS will probably be able to join the National Party before

the end of the year, Cabinet Ministers said at the weekend,

after the Transvaal NP congress at the weekend joined the party's three other provinces in voting in favour of opening the party to all races.

Although Transvaal NP officials have pointed out that technically the party could open ranks immediately - by a deci-

sion of its constitutional committee to change the constitution - in effect this will not take place until the federal council has ratified the provincial congress decisions.

Before that, the special high-level committee would report to the federal council on the implications of the decision to open ranks.

Star 24/10/90

304A

Zach blames 'third force'

Political Correspondent

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has added his voice to suspicions that a "third force" from inside the security forces is stoking township violence.

He called on the Government to take action to root out of the security forces people who had put a monkey foetus on Archbishop Tutu's stoep and perpetrated similar acts.

If not there would be reason to believe that the 'third force' was operating within the security forces, with or without the knowledge of Cabinet Ministers and senior officers.

Dr de Beer was speaking to students at the University of Natal, Durban, yesterday.

"I have seen some snatches of evidence given before the Harms Commission which strongly suggest that there are still clandestine elements operating within the security forces," he said.

He had considered the bus queue murders and the train massacre.

In both cases the murders had been cold-blooded, ruthless and efficient and in neither case could the murderers have had any inkling of the politics of their victims.

The only motive for the murders must have been simply to "raise the level of carnage in our country with a view to creating chaos and delaying or derailing the process of democratic settlement".

Dr de Beer said he suspected that only extremist elements, either from right of the Government or left of the ANC, would want to do that.

He believed the far Left lacked the military or organisational skills to execute such operations and he could not see what they had to gain.

"On the other hand it is all too clear that murderous behaviour of this kind among black people strengthens the hand of right-wing extremists whose aim is still to re-establish total political control by whites.

"The Renamo flavour of the whole thing is strong."

Dr de Beer said he had no evidence to support his view but said his reasoning was sound.

SA can learn spirit of compromise from US

WDA 24/10/70

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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's pronouncement that he was examining the US constitution as a possible model for SA was greeted by American constitutionalists as one more manifestation of SA public relations. And bad public relations at that. Especially by me.

Who told him that he could impress Americans by citing Federalist Paper Number 10 in which James Madison warned his countrymen (and women) about the danger of a tyranny of the majority?

Of what use to SA is this most ancient of all constitutions — one written more than two centuries ago for a very different people in a very different world? It is the oldest of the seven constitutions still in existence which were drafted before 1900. A fine constitutional model indeed in a world where more than two-thirds of the world's constitutions have been promulgated since 1970!

What can SA — in quest of a modern charter — learn from this archaic, old fashioned constitution? Its bill of rights has no provision on privacy or the right to travel or free choice of employment. It doesn't even pre-

scribe equality between the sexes. There is nothing about emergency powers and their limitations. Nor does it provide for an electoral commission, a public service commission, an autonomous auditor-controller or an ombudsman, all appropriate features of the modern constitution.

Some constitutionalists (and I am one of that number) even question the value of any models at all. A constitution is not something to be assembled like a prefabricated hen house. A constitution should not be compiled from a Chinese menu of choice provisions: "take two from Column A and three from Column B."

As I have so often maintained, a constitution must be autochthonous. It must spring from the soil. It must be native, indigenous. It must be bespoke, custom-made, to meet the particular needs, wants and aspirations of the people for whom it is written.

This is especially true in the SA context. There is no model or pattern or precedent which can solve SA's constitutional dilemma. If there

were, it would have been found, advocated and supported a long time ago. No, SA is a unique country and its diverse society demands an autochthonous constitution for its diverse peoples.

Is there nothing that SA constitutionalists can learn from the American constitutional experience? I didn't say that. Of course there are things to be learned. The first, to be sure, is the idea of having a constitution at all. The world's first 15 constitutions were promulgated by the 13 American states. And before there was a United States of America, no other nation had a one-document constitution.

Today, all but six of the 160-plus countries of the world (depending on how one counts) either have or are committed to having a constitution in a single document. The six include Saudi Arabia, Oman and Libya where one is told that the Holy Koran is the constitution. The other

three are the UK and its two constitutional satellites, New Zealand and Israel, where the constitution consists of a number of "organic" and "fundamental" acts.

As to a second contribution, I produce as "authority" something outside the scholarly analyses of the learned law reviews. I take as my point of departure the observations of the character Lutz in Frederick Forsythe's 1989 thriller, *The Negotiator* (at page 268): "You know that, since the war, when the Allies were kind enough to write our (German) constitution for us, everything is decentralised. So we can never have another Hitler." No law professor ever said it better.

In America we call it "home rule"; in Spain they provide for the special powers of their autonomias, their *Comunidades Autonomas*; in Italy there are five special autonomias; in Brazil sovereignty lies not only in the national government and in the states but in selected cities as well. And so it goes.

Of course these are to be studied. I have done so and so have many respected SA scholars. But none pro-

vides a model or pattern or precedent. SA must design its own power-sharing formulae, its own autochthonous scheme.

The only thing certain is that the best interests of the people — in every society, in every nation, in every era, in every generation — are best served when there is local autonomy, when there is decentralisation. The people are sovereign. And they must limit the powers and authority they give to the central, national government to those necessary to carrying out the functions which are inevitably "national" such as foreign affairs and national defence.

Probably the most important thing that SA can learn from the American constitution is the spirit of compromise. The US constitution is filled with compromises — and that is probably the reason why it has lasted so long and been so successful.

□ Blaustein teaches Constitutional Writing and Analysis at Rutgers University, New Jersey, and has participated in the drafting of 20 national constitutions.

LETTERS

Govt will buy white farmland

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is to buy out white farmers who claim they have been ruined by plundering squatters from Orange Farm near Vereeniging.

Acting Transvaal Administrator Willie Hoods said yesterday that R24 million had been earmarked to buy white land in "scheduled" black areas to prevent white farmers being surrounded by black urban areas.

He said smallholders were on land earmarked for black development under the Land Act.

The TPA would first buy properties south of the Lenasia development area, north of the old Golden Highway and west of the Johannesburg-Vereeniging railway.

Next, it would buy the land belonging to whites on the northern, western and south-western sides of the present Orange Farm.

Then it would buy out white landowners on West Rand Agricultural Holdings (Zuurbekom) whose land had not yet been sold to blacks or to developers.

● Owners welcome buyout
— Page 9.

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Vic...

Vital ANC congress postponed

Govt fear of big delay in negotiations

504A
24/10/90

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government expressed concern today that the ANC's decision to postpone its national congress for six months might delay the start of real constitutional negotiations.

The ANC confirmed today that its all-important first national congress inside South Africa — which would choose a new leadership — had been postponed from December until next June.

The main reason given was that many exiles would not have returned in time for the December conference.

The process of indemnifying exiles was not yet resolved and the ANC said it did not think the Government should be given in effect a veto right on who should attend the conference — by deciding which exiles would be allowed back.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed that under the Pretoria Minute all exiles would have been returned by April next year. This was why the congress had been pushed forward to June next year.

The December gathering would now become a "con-

sultative conference" which would decide on strategy and tactics but not on the leadership, Miss Marcus said.

The gathering would be held in Johannesburg.

She said she did not think the postponement would delay the start of negotiations. These could begin under the present leadership.

There was complete consensus within the ANC about negotiations, Miss Marcus said.

Blow

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, said he thought it was possible that the postponement of the leadership elections might delay negotiations.

"We hope not, of course. We would like to move into real constitutional negotiations as soon as possible."

Observers believe the decision to postpone the conference is a blow to some "old guard" and formerly exiled leaders, such as secretary-general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

ANC sources believe many exiles would vote against

these men because of their allegedly poor performance as leaders abroad.

Miss Marcus rejected speculation that the congress had been delayed because of fears in the ANC that a militant internal leadership might take over the organisation and take a hard line in negotiations.

She said the internal leadership was already represented in the ANC national executive committee and that reports of rivalry between hawks and doves were an invention of journalists.

She conceded there could be problems if the ANC went into negotiations with one set of leaders who were then changed "midstream" at the June conference.

But this assumed that the leadership would be changed.

Miss Marcus said delegates from around the world would attend the December consultative conference.

She expressed the hope that differences between the Government and the ANC on the procedures for indemnifying exiles had been resolved and that the report of a joint Government/ANC working group on the subject would be released this week.

The Justice Department was unable to confirm this today.

were dragging a woman state of disrepair."

Historic visit for De Klerk

THE HAGUE - President FW de Klerk arrived in the Netherlands yesterday at the start of an historic two-day visit as the first South African head of state to be officially received by the Dutch Government since World War 2. Jowetw 24/10/90

In the pipeline are substantive discussions with the Dutch Government on the approach the Netherlands will adopt within the European Community at its December summit in Rome, where Europe's sanctions package against South Africa is up for review.

It was decided at the Brussels EC Foreign Ministers' Council meeting on Monday to formulate measures to encourage De Klerk to continue reforms.

The three main anti-apartheid groups in the Netherlands have promised vigorous protests against De Klerk's visit. Sana

DP leader hits at electricity cuts

ELECTRICITY and services cuts to townships by town councils could lead to desperation that would aggravate unrest and conflict, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing University of Natal students, De Beer said boycotts of rent and service charges and the refusal to pay mortgage bonds were endangering stability and the very social contract on which society was based.

He blamed the town councils' lack of legitimacy for the problems and urged the Government to treat the situation seriously.

De Beer said there were certain sinister and frightening aspects of South African life that were threatening the



ZACH DE BEER

political settlement process.

The recent taxi and train murders on the Reef were executed with ruthless efficiency and the perpetrators had no inkling as to the politics of their victims.

The DP leader suspected extremist elements either from the right of the Government or the left of the African National Congress.

He said the left lacked the military and organisational skill to execute the operations and it was also

not clear what black nationalist extremists had to gain from exacerbated violence and killing.

"It is also too clear that murderous behaviour among black people strengthens the hand of right wing extremists.

"The Renamo flavour of the whole thing is strong," he said.

De Beer said unless the Government took effective action to root out people in the security forces who planted a monkey's foetus on the door of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, there would be reason to suspect a third force was operating in the security forces without the knowledge of the Cabinet. - Sapa.

Sowetan 24/10/90



Umkhonto chief Chris Hani.

Hani praises De Klerk for his 'courage'

MR Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said yesterday the National Party had taken "courageous steps" by unbanning the the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Speaking during a *Radio 702* talk show, Hani said State President FW de Klerk stood alone among other former leaders of the National Party.

But, he said, more would have to be done before ANC cadres could consider handing over their weapons to the Government and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC was willing to play the role of facilitator in organising the release of prisoners like Odille Harrington, jailed in Zimbabwe for spying, and was already taking steps to release Government agents being held in its own camps, Hani said.

Negotiations with Inkatha were going ahead

and a delegation headed by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would meet a delegation headed by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi soon, he said.

Hani said an Untag-style force such as that used for Namibia's independence elections would not be necessary to monitor a future election. What South Africa needed was a constituent assembly.

Germany's unification and the resultant loss of military support from East Germany had come as a blow to the ANC, although it was still receiving "humanitarian" aid from Germany, he said.

Questioned on how he could believe socialism would succeed in South Africa when it had failed in Europe, he said the country's future economy would be decided by democratic vote.

Sowetan Correspondent.

304A

Sowetan 24/10/90

Zimbabwe talks 'historic'

3041

HARARE - The meeting on Monday between South African parliamentarians and Zimbabwean MPs was an historic, ice-breaking event, the head of the South African trade mission.

But he told newsmen after the two-hour meeting that it would be premature to speculate on a rapprochement at government level between Harare and Pretoria.

Nel said Zimbabwe had shown some reluctance initially but finally the visit had received Cabinet approval.

The leader of the six-man delegation, Mr Tommy Abrahams, Labour Party Member of the House of Representatives, said the friendliness with which the South Africans had been greeted by 14 Zimbabwean Members of Parliament had been striking. *Sowetan*

No reaction

24/11/90
Newsmen were told, however, that a hoped-for meeting with Vice-President Simon Muzenda had not taken place. There had been no reaction to a request to pay a courtesy call on the Vice-President.

The Zimbabwean delegation which met the South Africans included a deputy minister.

Since independence Zimbabwe has maintained trade relations with South Africa but has barred political or diplomatic contact with Pretoria.

The parliamentary visit was part of a five nation tour undertaken by the delegation which also visited Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Malawi. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

CNA Tips 24/10/90

FW: 'I will serve under Mandela'

From BARRY STREEK

THE HAGUE. — President F W de Klerk said yesterday that he would serve under any president, including Mr Nelson Mandela, who was elected in terms of the new constitution.

He was replying to a question put to him at a press conference.

A military band played the South African anthem and Mr De Klerk inspected a guard of honour to mark the start of his two-day visit, the first of its kind by a South African head of state since World War II.

Mr De Klerk said that if the new government was to be fully representative, black, coloured, Indian and white people would be represented in the executive and blacks would probably form the majority in parliament.

However, he did not believe the new president should have as much power as he had at present, or as much power as Mrs Margaret Thatcher in Britain.

He believed there could be alliances and co-operation between different groups and there could be co-operation on specific issues.

However, he did not think there could be a full alliance between the government and the ANC because they had major differences on economic issues.

"The ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party is a very big stumbling block."

He had not come to Holland to discuss sanctions but the fact was that they were going.

"I think politicians who still support sanctions should be more realistic."

Direct dialogue

● Sapa reports that the Dutch government intends to create more opportunities for co-operation with South Africa in education and culture.

The time had come for a restoration of direct dialogue between the two countries, Dutch Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers said last night when he hosted a formal dinner for Mr De Klerk after they held official talks.

While he made it clear that relations between the two countries could be normalised only once apartheid was totally gone, he said The Netherlands would strive towards this goal as reform progressed.

In his address, Mr De Klerk, speaking in Afrikaans and Dutch, outlined progress made with reform steps away from apartheid in the past 13 months.

"I will not claim that I have succeeded (yet), but what I have undertaken to do, I have done, and what remains for us to do will be done."



Mrs Marike de Klerk

Marike says: 'One can't eat the vote'

From BARRY STREEK

THE HAGUE. — South Africa was moving irreversibly to a system of one-man-one-vote, Mrs Marike de Klerk, wife of President F W de Klerk, said on Monday.

Every citizen would have a say "in things deciding his life", she said in a speech in Tholen, The Netherlands, where her grandfather was born.

"But as a concerned woman and mother I must tell the world that one cannot eat the vote."

"One cannot subsist on a constitution alone."

"What we need is support for the fast-growing population to combat poverty, illiteracy and unemployment."

South Africa needed 300 000 new jobs every year which the country could not supply without the help of outside countries like The Netherlands.

Mrs De Klerk's grandfather, Pieter Willemse, left the town of Tholen just over 100 years ago, on June 23 1890, to settle in Warden in the Free State.

In a short speech she said South Africans were linked to Dutch people because they had the same culture and beliefs and many Dutch customs were still known and in use.

● Landing rights in Morocco could lead to South African Airways being able to fly across the continent of Africa instead of being forced to fly round the "bulge" at considerable extra cost.

President De Klerk said in Rabat in Morocco on Monday that the government was determined to do everything possible to make SAA as competitive as possible through landing and over-flying rights.

Govt study favours two-house parliament

PETER DELMAR

THE President's Council yesterday released a report proposing a two-chamber parliament, with one chamber elected on a basis of proportional representation and the other comprising ethnic and other interest groups.

The report was drawn up by the council's constitutional affairs committee at the request of President F W de Klerk a year ago.

He asked for guidelines on mechanisms for decision-making and the resolution of conflict.

The report recommends abolition of the President's Council.

In its reaction, the ANC said the report was aimed at entrenching minority rights and privileges.

ANC constitutional committee chairman Zola Skweyiya said the report appeared to go against the organisation's impression that government was moving away from the concept of entrenched group rights.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen recently sketched a new vision of minorities sharing power through alliances.

The ANC, Skweyiya said, was alarmed that the proposed second chamber would have a veto right over the lower chamber, which was elected by popular vote.

This would give it the power to veto attempts to address land distribution and

□ To Page 2

Govt study

economic imbalances, he said.

Government sources said yesterday the council investigation had been requested a year ago and that government thinking on constitutional matters was undergoing a process of re-evaluation. The report was not its final thinking.

Sapa reports that President's Council chairman Willie van Niekerk said the report was intended to be non-prescriptive.

It was hoped that it would be of value as a basis for negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

The document will be debated by the council today and tomorrow before being formally adopted.

It will then be submitted to President de

Klerk.

The report says that in a bicameral system a first chamber, elected on a countrywide proportional (rather than absolute majority) basis, would accurately reflect the countrywide support of each party and give each group "the opportunity of self-realisation".

"A second chamber will only be meaningful if it is not composed on the same basis as the first chamber."

Both chambers should be able to initiate and approve legislation and should enjoy equal powers.

The report said a holistic approach, which addressed basic human needs at grass roots level, ought to be followed.

□ From Page 1

Non-racial system outlined

Plan to give city councils more power

B1 Day 25/10/90

PRETORIA — A new non-racial system of local government based on maximum devolution of government functions and fiscal resources is expected to be accepted by a government think tank in Pretoria today.

The report drawn up by a committee investigating new local government structures also proposes the protection of minority rights and the elimination and prevention of group domination.

This system will be presented by government at the central negotiating table, but local level talks to finalise local options were expected to be initiated by provincial administrators within months.

Local initiatives have already been launched in various towns and cities or are in the pipeline.

The Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, which acts as a clearing house on local government legislation, sits today to consider recommendations drawn up by the investigating committee under the chairmanship of Planning and Provincial Affairs deputy director-general Chris Thornhill.

The committee's report proposes a new system consisting of autonomous non-racial local authorities with maximum powers and functions.

It proposes an Act of Parliament which will specify basic policy and norms based on non-racial principles to replace the existing systems based on race.

EDVTH SULBANG

Within this policy framework, divergent local needs could be accommodated through negotiations at a local level.

The proposed Act would provide for four constitutional and three institutional local options which would be negotiated locally and ratified by local charters.

Communities would be able to negotiate any other model as long as it took place within the recommended legal framework and adhered to the basic principles.

The Act would provide for the elimination of discrimination and the provision of mechanisms for control by voters. The report proposes an authoritative code of conduct for councillors and officials.

The basic principles on which the new legislation would be negotiated include recognition that the new authorities would be fully fledged government institutions with legislative and executive powers.

The report recommends that the new system must provide for democratic political participation, the elimination and prevention of group domination, the protection of minorities, a free and independent community life, the elimination of discrimination and freedom of association.

It is based on the maximum devolution of government services to local government level and minimum administrative control with devolution of fiscal resources

Local govt

and financial responsibility.

The devolution would depend on the capacity of a local authority to handle greater autonomy successfully, given its size, financial independence and the availability of administrative and functional expertise.

As fully fledged government institutions at the third level, autonomous local authorities must in principle satisfy the requirements of financial independence.

Functions proposed to be devolved to local levels include hospitals, police, prisons, primary education and welfare. Local options will have to be negotiated by all sections of a community.

The report proposes that negotiations should include businesses, community leaders and political leaders.

It recommends that provincial administrators be given the necessary powers to

facilitate local negotiation processes and they should be able to proclaim a period within which local negotiations must be completed.

If consensus cannot be reached about the areas concerned, the administrators may request a demarcation board to determine, as a final arbiter, which communities should be involved in a particular negotiating process. In the event of a deadlock, or abstention, the administrators can take steps to proclaim a model.

The negotiated local options could only be formalised when the necessary legal framework had been established after negotiations at a central level.

However, the report recommends that the local negotiations take place as soon as possible and they could be initiated by local interest groups.

From Page 1

Mandela gives FW high praise

By Adrian Dunn
Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, yesterday praised President de Klerk for his "magnificent efforts" to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa.

A crowd of more than 20 000 gathered outside the Sydney Opera House to hear Mr Mandela say that there were, however, forces seeking to derail the peace process.

Bidding

He said the ANC had evidence that the recent bloody violence in townships was not "black on black warfare", but rather the work of death squads trained in the security forces. The Government had either lost control of the security forces, or the security forces were acting at the Government's bidding.

He warned that the country would be "on fire again" if it backed away from a commitment to one person, one vote.

As Mr Mandela spoke, supporters danced and sang "Nkosi Sikelele' iAfrica."

Earlier, Mr Mandela had met Aboriginal leaders, who reject-

ed recent criticism of him by some Aboriginals.

"We want you to know that we dissociate ourselves and everyone we represent — and that is more than 99 percent of the Aborigines of Australia — from the disgraceful behaviour of one or two individuals," said Marcia Langton, a spokeswoman for the Aboriginal delegation.

"They do not represent Aboriginal Australia and we are saying on behalf of the Aboriginal people that it was the greatest pleasure of our lives to meet a real hero."

Ms Langton added: "This man is the greatest man of the 20th century in that, through his lifelong commitment to dismantling racism, he has explained clearly to the entire world what a poisonous institution racism is."

Mr Mandela yesterday went further than his earlier Canberra talks in discussing Aborigines, saying he felt an empathy with them.

"As far as I can understand, they are striving to improve their lot. Any people who are trying to improve their living conditions have our sympathy because that is what we are doing in our country," he said.

Mr Mandela expressed interest in visiting the areas where they live.

Sanctions: racist laws must go, say Dutch

Political Staff

THE HAGUE — President de Klerk leaves the Netherlands today eagerly awaiting steps by the Dutch government to ease sanctions — having convinced them that the movement towards a new South Africa is unstoppable.

The South African party will spend today in Luxembourg for top-level meetings with political leaders and the royal family.

Reshaped

Dutch government sources said that from their side, President de Klerk's visit had gone off excellently.

They have officially accepted as profound, but not yet irreversible, the steps towards a reformed South Africa.

While all levels of Dutch political leaders believe President de Klerk will honour his promises to end apartheid and negotiate a new constitution, the fact that the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act still stand is holding them back from acting

decisively.

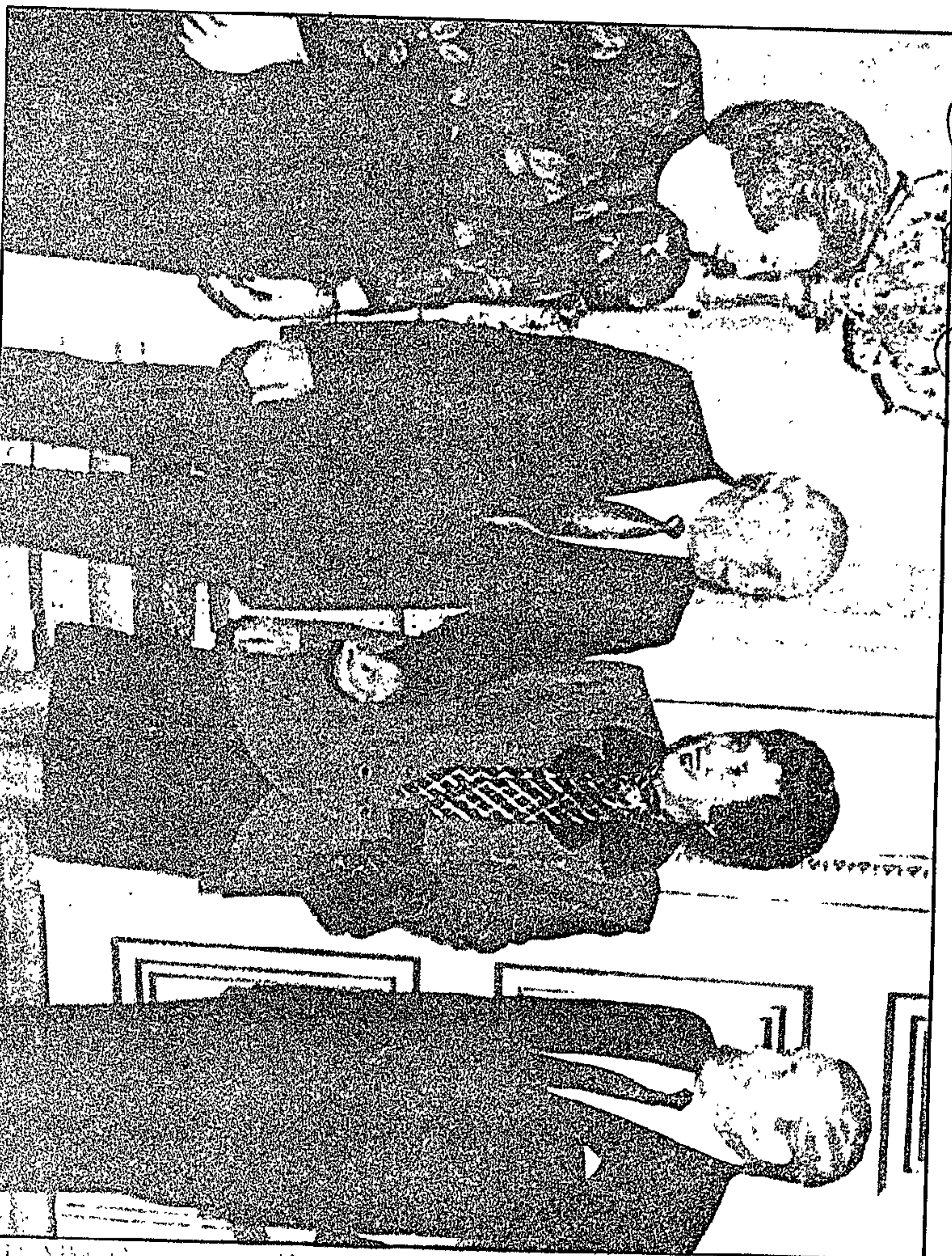
Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek will submit a paper to parliament next month on how President de Klerk's visit has reshaped Holland's policy towards Pretoria.

Dutch government sources said they were the first to impose sanctions in the European framework, so it was only fair to be the first to get rid of them.

Dutch political leaders welcomed the personal effort put in by President de Klerk in the short time available to prepare for the tour. They are likening him to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

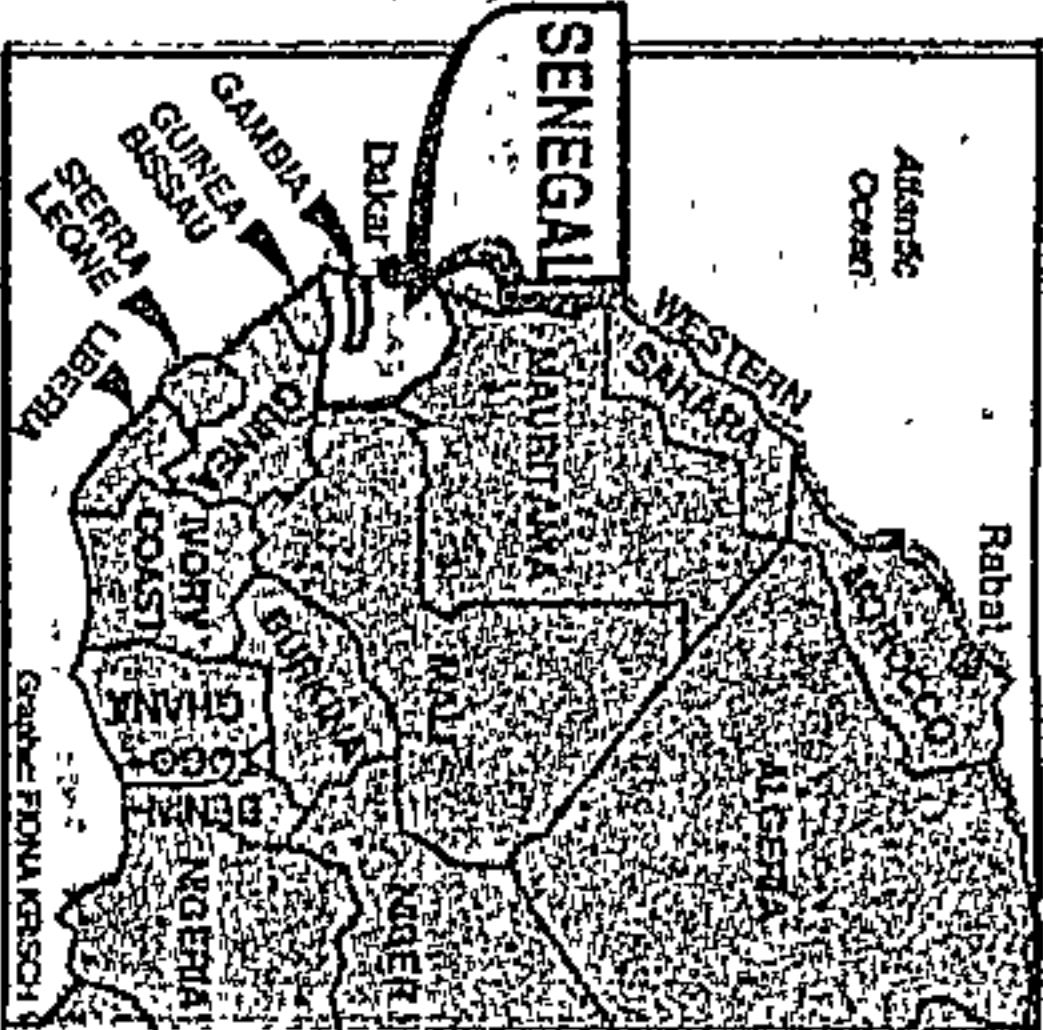
Dutch government sources said the cultural treaty between South Africa and Holland which was suspended in 1979 to protest against the death in detention of Steve Biko, and scrapped a few years later, would not immediately be renewed — but it was "time to open up for cultural, scientific and educational co-operation".

South Africa's eyes are also on a European Community committee comprising 12 directors-generals of political affairs — the highest public servants in the EC — who are about to prepare a report on sanctions.



New friends . . . President F W de Klerk and his wife Marike chat to their hosts, Queen Beatrix and Prince Claus of the Netherlands, prior to a state luncheon at Noordeinde Palace in The Hague yesterday.

Picture: Reuter



Another breakthrough for FW as he heads for Senegal

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to pay an official visit the east African state of Senegal today, achieving another significant breakthrough in Africa.

Sources said yesterday De Klerk and his party would stop over at Dakar and would be received by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf.

He will leave for SA tomorrow.

In 1987, Dakar was the venue of one of the first meetings between white South Africans and the ANC.

A spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department would not comment on the trip

TIM COHEN

yesterday, but it is expected to be announced by the Senegalese today.

Senegal has been critical of SA in the past and has supported the call for sanctions, but has also emphasised the need for discussions. It is not expected to establish diplomatic relations with SA immediately, but De Klerk may secure trade links and landing rights, sources said.

De Klerk arrives in Dakar after today's stopover in Luxembourg following his visit to the Netherlands.

BARRY STREEK reports from The

25/10/90

Hague that a Dutch Foreign Affairs spokesman said the EC's investment sanctions against SA and bans on religious, educational and scientific links could go by mid-December.

The spokesman said other EC sanctions measures would remain until all apartheid measures had been scrapped and the European governments were convinced the process of change in SA really was "irreversible".

He stressed that the gradual lifting of sanctions would be part of a comprehensive EC package which still had to be nego-

tiated with the other countries. Luxembourg will hold the EC presidency during the first half of 1991 to be followed by Holland for the second half.

Standing foreign affairs commissions in both chambers of Holland's parliament are investigating Dutch policy on SA and are expected to report back in mid-November.

The EC Council of Foreign Ministers, which met in Luxembourg on Monday, has also set up a special investigation into policy on SA and is due to meet again before summit of European heads of government in Rome in December.

THE Heredity Nasionale Party comes of age today - with only a few die-hards celebrating its archaic ideologies which have left the party in a lonely wilderness since its birth 21 years ago.

A quiet celebration it will be, on Saturday in Pretoria, for the men and women who have carried the torch of Afrikaner nationalism in its purest, narrowest sense.

Voortrekker outfits, volkspele and traditional delicacies such as koeksisters and pancakes will be at the order of the day, with an address by the dignified Boer gentleman, Jaap Marais, to spur the nation on to new heights.

The young party with the ancient aura was formed by Albert Hertzog, son of General JBM Hertzog, in 1969 as a splinter group of the Na-

Archaic HNP is 21 years old

Sowetan 25/10/90

(3041)

Sowetan Correspondents

tional Party.

The ultra-conservatives accepted the then-NP policy of separate development, but clashed with the NP on the "liberal" application of these principles, especially in regard to the admission of "non-white" diplomats and visiting sportsmen.

Today, in an era of vast changes, it still staunchly adheres to those

principles.

Fighting its first general election in 1970, the HNP vigorously contested 78 out of 166 parliamentary seats.

It failed to hold or gain a single seat, polling just over 53 000 votes as against the NP's almost 822 000.

Upsurge

It reached a peak 11 years later, polling roughly 200 000 votes in the 1981 general election.

This upsurge in Afrikaner nationalism

paved the way for the formation of the Conservative Party in 1982, which has since reduced the HNP to a mere fringe group.

Only once did it boast a Member of Parliament: Louis Stofberg, a former NP MP for Worcester, who joined the HNP at inception and won the party's only seat in a by-election in Sasolburg in 1985.

In 1987, he lost the seat again when the CP split the right wing vote. Then he joined the CP,

and won Sasolburg back last year.

At worst, the HNP comprises a group of "klipkoppe" who refuse to let go of the racist past. At best, it planted a seed of conservatism which has grown into a formidable force.

To its credit, the HNP has stood fast on its principles.

So, in the words of Francis Bacon, here is an inspiring birthday wish to the HNP: "New nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time."

Going will be tough - expert

304A

Sowetan 25/10/90

WASHINGTON - The process of co-operation that has been created at the top levels of South Africa must be broadened and made real for the average man and woman in the street.

This is the view of Dr Pauline Baker, an eminent American expert on the country, in an article in the latest issue of *Journal of Democracy*.

Even compared with the seismic political transitions elsewhere in recent years, she wrote, the process of change in South Africa was daunting.

"This is a country that has to do it all," she commented.

"Deracialise its society, democratise its policy, and restructure its economy under some of the world's most arduous conditions and cultural diversity, ideological polarisation and economic stratification."

As a result, Baker believes that there was no guarantee that negotiations would succeed or that democracy was "around the corner".

Sowetan Correspondent.

Base rates:
9.00-11.00 p.m.

New SA plan proposes axing of President's Council

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL report released yesterday proposes a completely revamped political system for South Africa — including the abolition of the President's Council itself.

A major feature of the multi-party report is a call for the introduction of a bicameral parliamentary system with the lower chamber elected on a country-wide proportional basis and the upper chamber on an ethnic or other "group" basis.

The 126-page report, whose proposals closely resemble a secret government document currently being circulated to the Broederbond for comment, also calls for the establishment of a national conflict management system and a special constitutional court to enforce the principles embodied in the new constitution and a bill of human rights.

The report dismisses the concept of a white state as "stillborn", writes off the notion of black city states as "highly unlikely" and pans the indepen-

dent homelands as non-economic, coup-prone areas which enjoy "little or no legitimacy".

The report says the committee believes characteristics from different constitutional systems could be incorporated into a distinctive system that would meet the needs of a future South Africa.

The result of such an approach would be a system somewhere between a traditional federation and a union.

According to council chairman Dr Willie van Niekerk, the report is intended to be non-prescriptive, and it is hoped that it will be of value as a basis for negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

The PC began a two-day debate on the report yesterday. The Conservative Party is strongly opposed to the report as it says that partition should be a last resort, only to be contemplated when all other options have failed.

The report was drawn up by the council's committee for constitutional affairs following a request from President F W de Klerk in December last year that the council inquire into decision-making and conflict resolving mechanisms and techniques in

various constitutional systems.

The report argues that in a bicameral parliamentary system a first chamber, comprising popularly elected representatives on a countrywide proportional (rather than simple majority) basis, would accurately reflect the countrywide support of each party.

It states that a second chamber would only be meaningful if it was not composed on the same basis as the first chamber.

"The second chamber could be structured to represent (a) geographic units such as regions (in a unitary state) or member states (in a federation), (b) ethnic groups, (c) other interest groups such as environmentalists, (d) hereditary leaders (tribal chiefs) or (e) senior members of the community elected on the basis of their expertise or experience in specific fields."

The report emphasises that the composition of the two chambers in a bicameral system should make provision for two fundamentally different types of party — "political parties" in the first chamber and "community parties" in the second chamber.

This would entail each voter casting two votes, one for each type of party.

It is envisaged that community parties in the second chamber would represent cultural, language, religious, regional, economic or other special interests and would be formed on the basis of freedom of association.

Both chambers should be able to initiate and approve legislation and should be equal in size and enjoy equal powers.

"Such a system would be advantageous in that by combining voter participation in both political and community parties, cross-cutting cleavages, which make consociation more workable, would be created.

"For instance, an Afrikaans cultural party could be supported by members of the CP, NP and Labour Party, whilst a Natal regional party could enjoy the support of political parties as divergent as NP, DP, Solidarity, NPP, Inkatha, ANC, PAC and SACP."

The report says a constitutionally-entrenched bill of rights is essential for a future South Africa, and

that the success of a constitutional system will be in direct proportion to the extent to which minority groups in particular are protected against domination.

A minority veto may be necessary so that minorities can prevent their interests being prejudiced.

A holistic approach was necessary for resolving disputes and conflicts of interest which addressed basic human needs at grassroots level.

Among the basic needs that emerged strongly during the investigation were the protection of minority groups and the right to private property within a free market system.

The committee's chairman, Mr J H Heyns, told a press conference that the report "in basic elements is acceptable and already accepted by the vast majority of the population".

He said the report recommended that any dispute in a future legislature be resolved by mechanisms within the legislature rather than by an external arbiter such as the President's Council.

"This means we advocate our own abolition," he said.

NP, DP election pact likely in Jo'burg

PETER DELMAR

THE DP and NP are expected to reach an agreement not to oppose each other in two pending municipal by-elections in Johannesburg.

City council sources yesterday predicted the NP would not challenge the DP in the marginal ward of Melville, following the resignation of DP councillor Deon van Greunen.

Negotiations between the two parties were continuing, but it was likely the NP would stand back for the DP candidate, despite losing the seat to Van Greunen by only 93 votes in 1988.

In return, the DP would not contest the southern suburbs ward vacated by Dave Verster, who was suspended by the party recently. (304A)

Meanwhile, senior NP spokesmen have urged DP supporters to back the NP in next month's Randburg parliamentary by-election.

President F W de Klerk told the NP's Transvaal congress last week that DP support for the NP in Randburg would help discussions on co-operation between the two parties.

BARRY STREEK

LONDON — President F W de Klerk left Europe last night predicting that the Continent would adopt a more reasonable attitude towards SA.

He left Luxembourg for Senegal shortly after Luxembourg Prime Minister Jacques Santer announced that the grand duchy had committed itself to assisting a peaceful transition towards a democratic constitution in SA.

De Klerk yesterday held talks with Santer who will play a key role in shaping European sentiment towards the SA peace process. Luxembourg assumes the presidency of the EC in January and is heading the committee of European foreign ministers reviewing their policies towards SA. De Klerk told a Press conference he

FW buoyed by mood in Europe

believed SA would be judged "fairly and objectively" by the EC when it reviews its SA policies in Rome in mid-December.

He said SA's house was now in order and it had set itself acceptable goals. However, there was a residue of mistrust and suspicion which had to be attended to.

At a lunch held for De Klerk yesterday Santer did not raise the issue of sanctions but his remarks reflected support for government's reform process and the move towards negotiations.

De Klerk had Luxembourg's support in knowing that reconciliation could not be

□ To Page 2

Europe

achieved overnight, he said.

Santer concluded by saying the process of change was definitely launched on both sides and proposed a toast to De Klerk.

Coming after his warm reception in Holland, Luxembourg's similar approach can only be regarded as another indication that the EC will modify its policies towards SA when the 12 heads of government meet in Rome in mid-December.

De Klerk also said yesterday that all four of the international tours which he had undertaken this year had been aimed at removing misunderstanding and promoting the changes in SA internationally.

From Page 1

The EC would have to play a central role in promoting international attitudes towards SA in the years ahead.

He also said his visit to Holland was very important because in the past it had taken the lead in imposing restrictions on SA.

De Klerk and his party were due to land in Dakar, Senegal, late last night where he will have discussions with President Abdu Diouf and members of his cabinet. De Klerk believes the fact that he visited two countries in Africa and two in Europe is indicative of SA's steady return to the international community.

He is due to land in SA this morning.

● Picture: Page 3

CP will accept a smaller SA

3044

17/6/82
26/10/90

Rightists ready to ditch Johannesburg

Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party MP Koos van der Merwe's concession that Johannesburg would not necessarily be included in a "white" state has drawn strong criticism from the National Party, weeks before the Randburg parliamentary by-election.

Mr Van der Merwe, Overvaal MP, told Monitor, journal of the Human Rights Trust, that the CP was prepared to accept a smaller "white" South Africa, but would never give up Pretoria.

Asked about Johannesburg, he initially replied: "You see, now you're leading me into trouble. I can't give predictions."

The interviewer responded: "But then you're doing what you accuse De Klerk of. You will have to do a deal leaving Johannesburg, or some big

urban areas at least, in black hands. Otherwise you can't keep Pretoria. And this is not what you're telling the electorate."

Replied Mr Van der Merwe: "I will say this. We will eventually have to sacrifice important land, but I can't tell you which land. People will have to think for themselves."

Media speculation

The NP's election agent for next month's Randburg by-election, Mr Johann Lutz, said it was clear that the CP was prepared to sacrifice Randburg and Johannesburg in its bid to keep Pretoria "white".

This acknowledgement of a change in CP policy underlined again that the CP was not spelling out the consequences of its policy.

Mr Van der Merwe's statement gave weight to media speculation on serious differ-

ences in senior CP ranks regarding the borders of their so-called "volkstaat", he said.

Said Mr Lutz: "It seems as if the voters of Randburg will succeed in achieving the impossible — to force some CP leaders to acknowledge the weakness of its ill-defined policy."

"The NP is not prepared to sacrifice the people of Randburg to keep Pretoria white. We believe in a constitutional model that accommodates and protects the just aspirations of all South Africans."

Minister opens dam

DURBAN. — The Minister of Environmental and Water Affairs, Mr Gerrit Kotze, opened the new Inanda dam which will supply water to Durban and apparently reduce the effect of floods. The dam will regulate water flow from the lower Mgeni River. — Sapa.

Kaizer Nyatumba on the dilemma
facing several political parties

8/26/10/90 3044

Talking about talks about talks

TO negotiate or not to negotiate? That is the question an increasing number of South African political parties and organisations have had to grapple with since February 2 when President de Klerk changed the face and direction of South African politics with his bold announcements.

For a number of organisations to the Left and Right of the ruling National Party (NP) the decision has not been easy to make, and consequently pro- and anti-talks rhetoric has abounded as different organisations cautiously seek their followers' views.

Predictably, the Right charged vociferously that the Government was selling whites out and that they would, therefore, have nothing to do with the much-talked-about negotiations, while extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left remained suspicious of the Government's new-found liberalism and were consequently wary of negotiations.

But if the flux in which Mr de Klerk had plunged South African politics was not readily understood by the NP's foes, it was welcomed by those parties operating within the 1983 tricameral parliamentary system. Parties in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives boasted that their involvement in the system was vindicated and that South Africa was finally on the road to democracy, thanks to their political foresight.

Eight months after the February 2 speech, not all organisations have made up their minds regarding participation in negotiations.

Of the three major liberation movements in the country, at least one, the African National Congress (ANC) is already involved in talks with the Government. A few weeks after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's release from prison on February 11, the ANC national executive committee met in Zambia and decided to send a delegation to South Africa to hold talks with the Government.

It is now history that the ANC has held at least two high-profile

meetings with the Government, yielding the Groote Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute respectively.

Eager to bring the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) into the fold, the Government issued invitations to these organisations asking them to become involved in exploratory talks with a view to getting real negotiations off the ground as early as next year.

Azapo has rejected the invitation, thus prompting Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen to say events leading up to the negotiation of a new constitution were gathering momentum and Azapo was "marginally" ing or excluding itself from this process.

After holding a three-day consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe to discuss the talks invitation, the external and internal leadership of the PAC referred the matter to various PAC branches and structures in the country for exhaustive discussion.

However, the Government is assured of the involvement of homeland leaders, the coloured and Indian parties in the tricameral Parliament and organisations like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in negotiations.

In the House of Assembly, the Democratic Party (DP), fierce advocates of negotiations and western-style democracy for many years, is patiently waiting for the right moment to take its place at the negotiating table. The same, however, cannot be said of the official Opposition, the Conservative Party (CP), which has always insisted it would never talk to either the ANC or communists.

Along with Azapo and the CP are smaller, lesser-known extra-parliamentary organisations like the Workers' Organisation for a Socialist Azania (Wosa), the New Unity Movement (NUM), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Blanke Bevriddingsbeweging (BBB), the Boerestaal Party and countless others which presently reject negotiations. □

8/26/90 304A

Vote for the Nat Party in Randburg, says DP leader

By Adam Gordon

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night that people should vote for the National Party rather than the Conservative Party in the coming Randburg by-election.

The DP-mooted Randburg election pact with the NP had not set a precedent for his party in the future, he said.

Dr de Beer was speaking with fellow MP Harry Schwarz at a meeting in Craighall Park, Johannesburg.

Mr Schwarz said he had been mandated by the DP to negotiate with the NP on the issue of the by-election. For varying

reasons, none of the DP caucus had wanted to fight the election.

An opinion poll had shown that the NP had twice as much support among blacks as the DP.

Dr de Beer said South Africa needed a government of national unity with moderate, centrist, non-socialist values.

He expected such a government to incorporate large elements of the NP and the ANC, as well as the DP.

In a new South Africa, in which everyone had a vote, the DP had more of a role to play than ever.

(Report by A Gordon, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Political Editor John Patten discusses stumbling blocks to progress on political reform

It's time to take another risk

26/10/90

3044

LACK of co-ordination of the reform effort between opposing political groups in South Africa is resulting to a large extent in the sabotage of constructive initiatives on both the economic and political fronts.

Part of the problem is that the African National Congress (ANC), while trying to participate in reform, also wishes to maintain pressure on the Government to keep its support. The other part is that the Government, while initiating reform, likes to bash the ANC to pacify anxious supporters and keep the Conservative Party (CP) at bay. It also has to battle with a very sick economy, made more unwell by political sanctions.

Somehow, the animosity needs to turn to co-operation, especially as the country enters a difficult period of recession, aggravated by high oil prices, a shaky gold price and domestic unrest.

When the Government argues that inflation must be brought down to levels similar to those of South Africa's trading partners, there is recognition of the need to sharpen the country's competitive edge in world markets. But when high interest rates designed to steady the economy for this purpose lead in the end to high unemployment, it has to be admitted that the country lacks the social welfare support systems necessary to make austerity measures

constructive. Austerity may be good for inflation and the balance of payments, but it is doing horrible things to job opportunities. And high unemployment is doing damage to law and order, while making an end to township rent boycotts more difficult to achieve.

While the Government has good reason to emphasise that it cannot provide bridging finance indefinitely as black township residents use public services that cost millions without being willing to pay for them, the actual plight of many township residents is such that resumption of payment is not necessarily only a matter of political will.

Economic Co-ordination Minister Win de Villiers spoke earlier this month of the need to increase shift work to make maximum use of industrial capacity, a way of cutting unit costs and increasing productivity.

Productivity, however, has very little place at present in the think-

ing of anti-apartheid groups and affiliated trade unions. They are still much more concerned with demanding an increased share of the benefits on existing productivity levels than in creating wealth through increased productivity.

In an economic recession, that attitude — even where based on justified demands — is likely to heighten political and employer-employee tensions, because job-cutting and a slow-down in job creation are the inevitable phenomena of the moment.

Economists estimate the country needs an economic growth rate of 5.6 percent just to take up the annual increase in workers entering the jobs market, yet it is known that the country's actual economic growth rate is well below this figure. The political implications of the difference are seriously disruptive of the reform process.

President de Klerk, since taking office 13 months ago, has done something uncharacteristic of a party politician. He has tried to

rise above point-scoring to address the question of what is right and just, regardless of past party political stances.

While he and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have kept their hands clean, party lieutenants such as Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani have rocked the boat with deliberate energy.

The two key parties sponsoring rapprochement urgently need to take a decision simultaneously to act above the level of petty politicking. If aggressive rhetoric was regarded as an insurance policy against the erosion of their respective power bases, then there is a more powerful argument they are overlooking.

Unless the process of negotiation can be pushed ahead without unnecessary tactical obstructionism, fast enough to allow constructive moves to counter the deteriorating economy, the danger is that the deepening recession could

cause unrest to overrun reform as it did in the mid-1980s.

Both the Government and the ANC have already taken the risks of openly engaging in pre-negotiation talks with a view to full-scale negotiation. They must now consciously buttress that decision by taking an even bigger risk — burying their rivalry and egoistically assisting each other to get negotiation going.

For the ANC, that means suspending the armed struggle and dropping its call for international economic and sport sanctions. For the Government it means assisting in the return of dissident exiles to unbanned parties, releasing political prisoners or reducing tough sentences for the most serious crimes committed with a political motivation, and keeping tight control over the security forces in unrest situations. It means taking account of economic hardship when setting economic policy.

For both it means calling a halt to counter-productive rhetoric. □

... was critically stabbed before rein- Khayelits

Shock CP win in Boland by-election

CMI-
Trent's
26/10/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

30/11

THE Conservative Party yesterday described the victory of their candidate, Mr Daantjie Malan, in this week's Wellington municipal by-election as indicative of a "massive swing" towards the CP in the Western Cape.

Mr Malan beat National Party President's Councillor and well-known Wellington personality Mr Johann von Wielligh by 16 votes.

Nationalists pointed out yesterday that Mr Von Wielligh had been the local ratepayers' association candidate and had stood on a non-political ticket.

However, CP national secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the result showed that "even in the deep Western Cape we are growing steadfastly".

"We were so weak in the area during the 1988 municipal elections that we did not even bother to put up a candidate," he said. "We did not expect this result but it is very important to us."

Wellington Ratepayers' Association chairman and NP member Mr Danie Theart said the result of the election had come as "a great disappointment" to the association.

He said party politics should not play a role in municipal elections and that this was the first time this had become a factor in a municipal election in Wellington.

Mr Theart said the fact that only 1 076 votes were cast in a 37% poll was equally disappointing.

The MP for Wellington, Mr Giel Malherbe, won the Wellington seat in the general election last September with a comfortable majority.

Principles for local govt set out

By 18 May 26/10/90

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IN TERMS of the Thornhill report, any of the local government options chosen should conform to the basic principles of economic viability and nonracialism.

The report, drawn up by an investigating committee under the chairmanship of Planning and Provincial Affairs deputy director-general Chris Thornhill, says local communities may negotiate any other model, as long as they are in accordance with the general principles.

The constitutional options proposed are: separate local authorities; local services councils; a simple majority model; and the government community model.

The separate local authorities option involves retaining present local councils but converting management and local affairs committees into autonomous local authorities.

However, the forthcoming repeal of the Group Areas Act means the "separate" local authorities will have to become "open".

Government sources say they do not believe this option would satisfy the political and financial requirements of the basic principles for local government.

The local services council model envisages a council with the functions of the regional services councils, comprising elected representatives from nonracial autonomous local authorities.

The local authorities would elect representatives according to their financial contribution, but each authority would have at least one representative, and no authority could designate more than half the mem-

A special report on a new local government system for SA has proposed four constitutional and three institutional models that would be negotiated at grassroots level by political, community and business leaders. **EDYTH EULBRING** reports from Pretoria.

bers on the council.

Matters could be decided on the basis of consensus, a simple majority or even a specified majority.

The local bodies would have full decision-making autonomy in their own areas over those functions that were not assigned to the local services council.

Local services councils would be funded from RSC levies where the RSCs had been replaced by the councils, or they could share in this income.

They could also share in the surpluses on commercial services in business and industrial districts, on a negotiated basis.

The local services council would administer the entire area. The administrations of the present racially separate local authorities would thus be rationalised.

The community government model envisages a joint local authority for a town or city, with an option for local communities to establish nonracial neighbourhood com-

mittees. These would take care of neighbourhood interests, including the maintenance of standards and the promotion of independent community life.

The joint local authority would have legislative and executive powers and would be responsible for municipal functions as well as functions devolved from central government.

The neighbourhood committees would be responsible for neighbourhood interests. Discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or creed would not be allowed.

Members of the neighbourhood committees could be elected either on a proportional or ward basis. The committee would be represented on the joint city council by its chairman or other designated members up to the number of city council wards situated in the area of the neighbourhood committees.

These would be demarcated according to the number of voters and/or financial criteria.

Decision-making in the joint council might take place on the basis of consensus, simple majority or a specified majority.

The joint local authority would be responsible for providing services for the whole area and would have its own tax base consisting of property rates on business and full or shared RSC levies.

Where its functions overlapped with the neighbourhood committees, the relevant funds would be voted in the municipal budget and allocated to a separate neighbourhood committee budget.

These committees may share in rates on residential property and surpluses on com-

mercial services in their own areas, on a negotiated formula.

Central government functions devolved to the neighbourhood committees had to go hand in hand with the devolution of existing or new fiscal powers and sources, the report said.

The simple majority model involved the division into wards of the local government area.

The councillors would be directly elected by the residents of a ward, which would be divided according to the number of voters or on financial criteria.

MAYOR

It would be possible to protect minority groups through applying constitutional mechanisms, such as proportional representation on the council or on the executive committee.

In addition to choosing one of these constitutional models, residents would have to pick one of three institutional models relating to the function of the mayor.

The first model favours the present system of a ceremonial mayor.

The second option provides for an indirectly elected mayor who chairs an existing management committee but also has the powers of a ceremonial mayor.

The third option provides for a mayor elected by the voters for a period of five years who is not a council member.

In addition to being the fulltime ceremonial head of the municipality, the mayor would also be the political head of the municipal authority.

PAC leader 'positive' about negotiations

PETER DELMAR

ENTERING negotiations with government would not conflict with any PAC principles, the organisation's newly elected acting president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Makwetu has taken over the position after the death of Zeph Mothopeng on Tuesday. Mothopeng's funeral is to be held in Soweto on November 3.

Because of the funeral, the Africanist movement's national conference — at which it will vote for a new leadership and decide on government's invitation to negotiations — has been postponed for a month to December.

Speaking to journalists in the PAC's Jo-

hannesburg offices yesterday, Makwetu, 61, said he did not envisage any major policy or strategy changes until after the conference.

Asked about constitutional negotiations, Makwetu said the PAC membership was "positive" about the issue.

He said this meant negotiations would not conflict with any of the organisation's principles.

Makwetu was flanked by PAC executive members and general secretary Benny Alexander, who said an announcement

would be made soon on whether the PAC's exiled leadership would attend the conference in Johannesburg.

The internal PAC leadership has been at pains recently to deny reports and widespread suggestions that its exiled leaders are closer to taking up the government invitation than local members.

Dar-es-Salaam-based PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo is expected to be a front-runner for the organisation's presidency.

Makwetu was deputy president until succeeding Mothopeng and was based in Transkei. A former ANC Youth League member in the 1950s, he was instrumental in launching the PAC in 1959.

'Local govt must head agenda of negotiators'

B1 Day 26/10/90

EDYTH BULBRING

THE Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs yesterday accepted proposals for a new nonracial local government system and suggested that local government be the first item on the agenda in constitutional negotiations.

The accepted principles, which would be published as a manifesto on local government, would form the framework on which a new democratic and nonracial system of local government would be negotiated.

In a statement, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, who chairs the council, said it decided to make the report available to all political parties and the National Forum for comment.

The council would recommend to government and all involved in the negotiation process that local government receive priority in the negotiating process.

Local government should, perhaps, be dealt with first as part of the whole process, the council decided.

The report would be made available to political parties in the self-governing territories for their urgent consideration and comments, Kriel said.

The committee which drew up the report on a new local government system was under the chairmanship of Planning and Provincial Affairs deputy director-general Chris Thornhill.

It was asked to investigate particularly personnel matters, finance, metropolitan government and the role of regional services councils.

The council also decided to appoint

a high-level committee to investigate interim measures to alleviate the pressure on black local authorities and coloured and Indian management committees.

This committee will be chaired by Planning and Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Tertius Delport. It will consider interim measures for accommodating the transitional period to a new system of local government.

The basic principles of a new local government system contained in the manifesto include:

□ Local government is an independent tier of government consisting of autonomous, directly elected local authorities which are fully fledged government institutions with legislative and executive powers. Local government, therefore, should be protected as a basic democratic institution in any new constitution.

□ Any new system of local government should provide for democratic political participation, elimination and prevention of domination, effective participation of minorities, free and independent community life, elimination of discrimination, freedom of association, and a commitment to negotiation as a method of change.

□ Existing and new sources of local government income and intergovernmental grants must be utilised in effective and non-discriminatory manner to promote the sound economic development and financial independence of a town or city.

● Comment: Page 10
● See Page 11

ANC, business have 'room for agreement'

RECENT policy statements showed there was much room for agreement on ideas and attitudes between the ANC and the business community, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at a function in Sandton, De Beer said the differences between the ANC and business were not as great as many would expect.

Quoting from the ANC draft economic policy document and the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) paper on economic options for SA, De Beer conceded that although there were distinct differences in emphasis when read as a whole, there were selective quotations showing that neither or-

ganisation had refused to recognise the possible validity of the other's attitude.

The ANC stated that "it is absolutely imperative to reverse the present trend towards stagnation and to promote economic growth" without which "we will not be able to address the pressing problems of poverty and inequality".

Sacob, meanwhile, noted that "apartheid has been the cause of historical injustices and redressing these will require economic policies that go beyond the repealing of social laws and functional deregulation".

PETER DELMAR reports that De Beer told a party meeting in Johannesburg last night that the DP would have to be included in a future moderate government consisting of the ANC and NP.

De Beer said any "lurch to the right or left" which prevented the creation of a nonracial, moderate government would be disastrous for SA.

Recent developments had positioned the DP to play a more effective role "in the future than we have played in the past", he said.

A government of national unity would have to include at least large elements of the NP and ANC to hold the line against extremists.

GILLIAN HAYNE

THE PRESIDENCY FIM 26/10/90

(304A)

MR BOTHA, I PRESUME?

A secret visit by former President P W Botha to Morocco paved the way for this week's official visit by President F W de Klerk.

Botha made a successful three-day visit to King Hassan in 1979 (when Botha was still PM and Minister of Defence). After the visit, Morocco — which was then locked in battle with the rebel Polisario Front — signed a major arms deal with Armscor. Details about the Armscor deal emerged later, when various defence magazines reported that SA arms had been confiscated in the Moroccan conflict.

Botha's visit took place during the early part of the 1979 parliamentary session. He travelled with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and the chief of the SA Defence Force, Magnus Malan, who later succeeded Botha as defence minister.

In an exclusive telephone conversation with the FM this week, the former president — who has been in retirement at his Wilderness home, Die Anker, since his resignation last year — confirmed his visit to Morocco and agreed to answer questions. Though he suffered a stroke last year, Botha was friendly and sounded very healthy and relaxed.

It has emerged that the visit by the PM and his party to Morocco was made possible after high-level contact between SA intelligence officers and the Moroccan government. The FM understands the party travelled in an SAA Boeing 707 which had been repainted for the trip and was afterwards taken out of service.

Apart from P W Botha, Malan and Pik Botha, the party included Brand Fourie (then director-general of Foreign Affairs), Captain Ters Ehlers (P W's aide-de-camp and a former submarine commander) and



Botha ... following in his footsteps

other officials. The visit followed an earlier secret trip to the Ivory Coast, says Botha, the first by an SA minister.

Botha was received by Hassan in his palace at Fez. However, the former president

would not comment this week on reports that a deal was negotiated between Armscor and the Moroccans. He said that it had always been his policy not to talk about arms sales to or from SA.

He says he was well received by Hassan and that he and Pik Botha stayed overnight at the king's guest house on the coast. Afterwards the SA party also travelled to Rabat and Casablanca.



De Klerk

During his meeting with Hassan, says Botha, he presented the king with a hunting rifle which had been specially made by an Armscor affiliate. Hassan presented Botha with a gift of silverware which — along with other gifts and personal possessions — Botha has pledged to the museum at George. The presentation will take place soon.

The significance of Botha's visit to Hassan, at a time when SA had already been isolated by many Western countries and most African nations, became clear this week.

It is also clear that full diplomatic relations and an expansion of trade links may follow De Klerk's meeting with Hassan. And a visit by Moroccan Foreign Minister Abdalatif Filali to SA is to take place soon, according to De Klerk.

De Klerk says he briefed Hassan fully on reconciliation in SA and that Morocco has an important role to play in Africa's move towards the free enterprise system. Hassan said, in turn, that De Klerk's next visit would have "full State status."

It is expected that the De Klerk entourage will make a brief stopover in another African country of some significance, en route from the visit to the Netherlands' Queen Beatrix and Luxembourg. Sources speculate that it could be Kenya or Nigeria.

Eddie Botha

THE MILITARY FIM 26/10/90

SOLDIERING ON



While Defence Minister Magnus Malan seems dead against the integration of the SA Defence Force and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), senior SADF officers are understood to be working out the logistics of what is regarded as inevitable.

Malan has repeatedly ruled out the merging of the two forces. His main concession has been to invite MK members to apply to join the SADF. He has also invited MK to

HERNUS KRIEL

SMOOTHING THE WAY

3041
FIM 26/10/90

About a year ago, Hermannus (Hernus) Kriel was just another Nat backbencher without portfolio who hoped to get an invitation some day to F W de Klerk's home.

Now Kriel's name is in the news just about every day as government's front man on group areas and separate amenities, as well as the subsidiary issues of squatters, free-settlement areas, open cities and services to townships.

When it's put to him that his portfolio of minister of planning & provincial affairs has been called "ministry of apartheid," he lets out a laugh. "Well, I hope I work myself out of a job."

Insiders ascribe his rise from nowhere to his experience in local government, his capacity for hard work (in the office by 5.30 most mornings) and his friendship with Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprises, head of the Cape NP and a De Klerk supporter. "You don't apply for a job like this," Kriel says. "The State President decides who can do the job. It's a big compliment."

Talking to Kriel, it's easy to understand why De Klerk picked him to do the explaining of government's position on some of the more sticky topics. A debating champion at Stellenbosch University who attended his first political meeting while in Std 8, he's comfortable dancing around the minefields.

As a lifelong supporter of Nat policies, how can he now be a prominent spokesman for the end of apartheid? "Each and every member of the NP has had to search his soul. To me it was easy."

And what does he tell Conservative Party members when they reject "open" amenities, as the Nats themselves did until recently? "I tell the CP, get with it, please. This will blow over. We're all still alive. We can survive an apartheid-free society."

Wasn't it difficult for Nats to jettison the concept of separate development? "Not when we realised that it was not the right action plan to reach our goal..." There it is: the now-familiar Nat explanation that apartheid is history because it couldn't work. But he quickly adds: "...and from the point of view of justice, we can't continue to discriminate. If you make that decision, you must have the courage of your convictions. Then it becomes easy." Hernus Kriel is certainly smooth.

Born in Kakamas, near Upington, he's the only child of a minister in the coloured branch of the NGK. After university Kriel (48) became a public prosecutor in Bellville and then established his own law practice in Parow, where his political career began in 1974 as a member of the Parow Divisional Council.

In 1977, he was elected to the Provincial Council and went on to handle local government, estimates and town planning portfolios. In the 1984 Parow by-election, he was sent to parliament. His wife and three children — including one who's also a debating champ at Stellenbosch — live in the Cape. For the future Kriel believes negotiations



Kriel ... "you don't apply for a job like this"

and his dream of owning a farm will both come to fruition. "By 1994, I believe, we'll have a referendum. No doubt we'll get the OK."

"Then we'll implement the new constitution. I would like to be involved in a new government, not necessarily as a minister — I would be happy to supply radishes from my farm."

To talk or not to talk

THE negotiations process in South Africa was like a chess game in which a player could sacrifice a big piece, such as a knight, to gain an up- perhand on his op- ponent and finally check-mating his op- ponent.

This assessment was made by Mr Philip Dlamini, legal secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, during a two-day national congress of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, recently.

Comparison

Dlamini made this comparison on the eve of his organisation's national congress in which it will have to come out with a clear position on whether to negotiate with the Government following the invitation it received from Dr Gerit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

If Dlamini's assessment can be used as a yardstick, it is clear that when President F W de Klerk unbanned all political organisations on February 2, he had not only carefully planned his move, but had also caught all the liberation movements, including the PAC, on the wrong foot. De Klerk played his hand well and sacrificed some of the big pieces on the chessboard, knowing full well his intention was to reap the rewards in the end.

FW's moves, Zeph's death put pressure on PAC

By SY MAKARINGE

Dlamini admits that the PAC is also finding it- self in a dilemma.

"De Klerk has made a move. We must also make a move. If we say 'no' (to negotiations) we're finished. If we say 'yes', we're finished. The answer is not 'yes' or 'no'. We must think prop- erty before making a deci- sion," Dlamini said.

Dilemma

The dilemma here is that the PAC might find itself marginalised if it refuses to enter into nego- tiations with the Govern- ment. If it does, it might find itself in a "trap".

With the date of its congress drawing closer, the PAC has to get to grips with this reality.

Last month, the PAC leadership in Harare de- cided to refer Viljoen's invitation to its structures for discussion as part of the organisation's "democratic centralism."

But the PAC, like all other liberation move- ments, had to contend with numerous in- surmountable organisa- tional problems since its

unbanning less than 10 months ago.

It is still battling to rebuild the structures which collapsed as a result of the banning.

Viljoen's invitation has not reached all the structures within the Pan Africanist ideology.

So far it is only Paso, its students' wing, which has managed to take the issue up to national level.

Paso's decision has been put under wraps and will only be unveiled on the PAC congress, for two reasons.

Firstly because it has received a directive from the PAC not to do so.

Secondly because it might influence other structures.

Tested

But these structures seem to be finding it dif- ficult to get their act to- gether.

The Azanian National Youth Unity and the Afri- can Women's Organisa- tion have still to come up with their decisions, taken at regional and national levels, which they must put forward at the PAC congress.



PHILIP DLAMINI

Even the PAC itself has not yet tested the in- vitation at grassroots level. So far, only the Tembisa branch of the PAC is known to have discussed the issue at its meeting last weekend, al- though others might have done the same away from the spotlight.

The decision the branch took at the meet- ing was supposed to have been taken, along with those of other branches, to a regional or provincial congress for further dis- cussions. No PAC regional congress is known to have taken place so far.

The organisation has not clearly spelt out when and where its national congress will be held, ex- cept to say it will be in November.

Its organisational problems have been ex- acerbated by the death this week of president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Most of the members of the internal leadership were at his bedside most of the time, leaving their Johannesburg offices vir- tually unmanned.

This comes at a time when Viljoen had already announced that full-scale negotiations might start in earnest at the beginning of next year. Which means that the PAC's congress must take place sooner rather than later.

From the look of things, the organisation will go to its congress without having received a proper mandate from its grassroots membership, the thing it set out to do when it received the in- vitation from the Govern- ment.

Danger

Alternatively, it will have to postpone it. But the danger here is that the situation would have changed completely by the time it came up with a clear position.

One cannot help but agree with Dlamini when he says De Klerk's move must not be taken for granted.

De Klerk is moving at a very fast pace, outwit- ting his opponents, open- ing National Party's ranks to all races, meeting most of the organisations' demands, thereby win- ning accolades and friends, black and white, inside and outside the country.

He has scrapped the Separate Amenities Act and both the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 are also headed for the wastepaper basket.

Talking of sacrificing a queen or knight to check your opponent... whatever it is, De Klerk has something up his sleeve.



JAVIER PEREZ
DE CUELLER

Let's visit SA, UN urged

Sowetan
26/10/90

NEW YORK - The group of African states at the United Nations proposed in a resolution circulated on Wednesday that South Africa receive a special mission to study, among other matters, the protection of minorities.

South Africa's white population is apparently not the primary concern, but such a mission, if it ever got under way, could hardly fail to look into all aspects of the country's society.

The resolution, being debated in the General Assembly's social committee, would instruct UN

Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to request Pretoria to allow a visit by the special rapporteur of the sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities.

The intention is that the official, Mr Ahmed Khalifa, would update his report to the General Assembly.

However, the sponsors do not appear to believe that such a mission is on the cards or that they would have insulted the South African Government by referring to "the

racist and colonialist regime" - for most of the membership an outdated term under the favourable impact of State President FW de Klerk's reforms.

The resolution calls on all governments and organisations to maintain sanctions "until the total dismantlement of the apartheid system has been achieved".

It will probably command a big vote in the 159-nation committee, but is hardly likely to impress Pretoria or those countries now encouraging reform. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

DP warning over new constitution

Sowetan 26/10/90

304A

THE transitional stage of a new constitutional system would be the most difficult period and steps should be taken to allay fear, Mr James Rennie told the President's Council.

He was speaking in a debate on constitutional mechanisms drawn up by

the council's constitutional affairs committee.

Rennie, a Democratic Party member of the council, said that warnings against the 1983 constitution were based on two cardinal issues - the failure to include blacks and the fact that it was the brainchild of the National Party and not the result of

negotiations with the people of South Africa.

A new constitution could develop strong, but lean, local and regional government and a minimum of central control that would effectively be consociational.

The results of past differences could not be erased overnight and un-

fortunately there was a good deal of suspicion, apprehension and fear on all sides.

Attention should now be given to the need for specific mechanisms to ease tensions and allay fear.

There were numerous examples of such measures in Western democracies where deep divisions existed.

In most instances they were either not used or fell away when mutual trust and cooperation were established.

It was important to bear in mind that mechanisms and techniques applied in isolation were unlikely to be effective.

They could only function successfully as part of a package deal within an appropriate combination of constitutional structures and franchise options.

Essential

"We are told that apartheid is dead but it seems to be taking an inordinately long time for rigor mortis to set in.

"It is essential that the Government moves fast to hammer the final nails into the coffin of apartheid and unceremoniously bury the monster.

"Only then will we be able to get on with the serious business of planning the future."

Rennie said that, "no matter how successful we may be in the constitutional field, it will be in vain unless we can resolve the land issue and achieve an annual economic growth rate of at least six percent."

It would need wise heads and nerves of steel at the negotiation table.

DURING his visit to the Netherlands last summer, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela started his speech from the balcony of the Amsterdam Theatre in Afrikaans. The Dutch audience was shocked. Some people even whistled in protest.

This small scene shows the difficult relationship of the Dutch with their "ooms and tannies" overseas, and of course the problem of keeping pace with the changes in South Africa.

The same goes for this week's visit by President FW de Klerk. Only six months ago, Dutch foreign minister Hans van den Broek said it was "too early" to invite De Klerk, although elsewhere in Europe the South African president was hailed as the architect of post-apartheid.

De Klerk's visit this week was a relatively low-key affair — but compare the current atmosphere in Holland with the smell of the words "South Africa" a year ago.

Two Dutch governments almost fell over South African-related issues: the selling of nuclear equipment in 1975 and the oil boycott in 1980.

Demonstrations against apartheid were a predictable success, and the anti-apartheid movement flourished and had direct access to every politician it wished to see.

Streets which used to be called after the Afrikaner heroes of the Boer War were given new names such as Biko Square or Mandela Avenue.

A supermarket was burned down, forcing Dutch food chain Makro to leave South Africa. Shell garages were torched, and many motorists

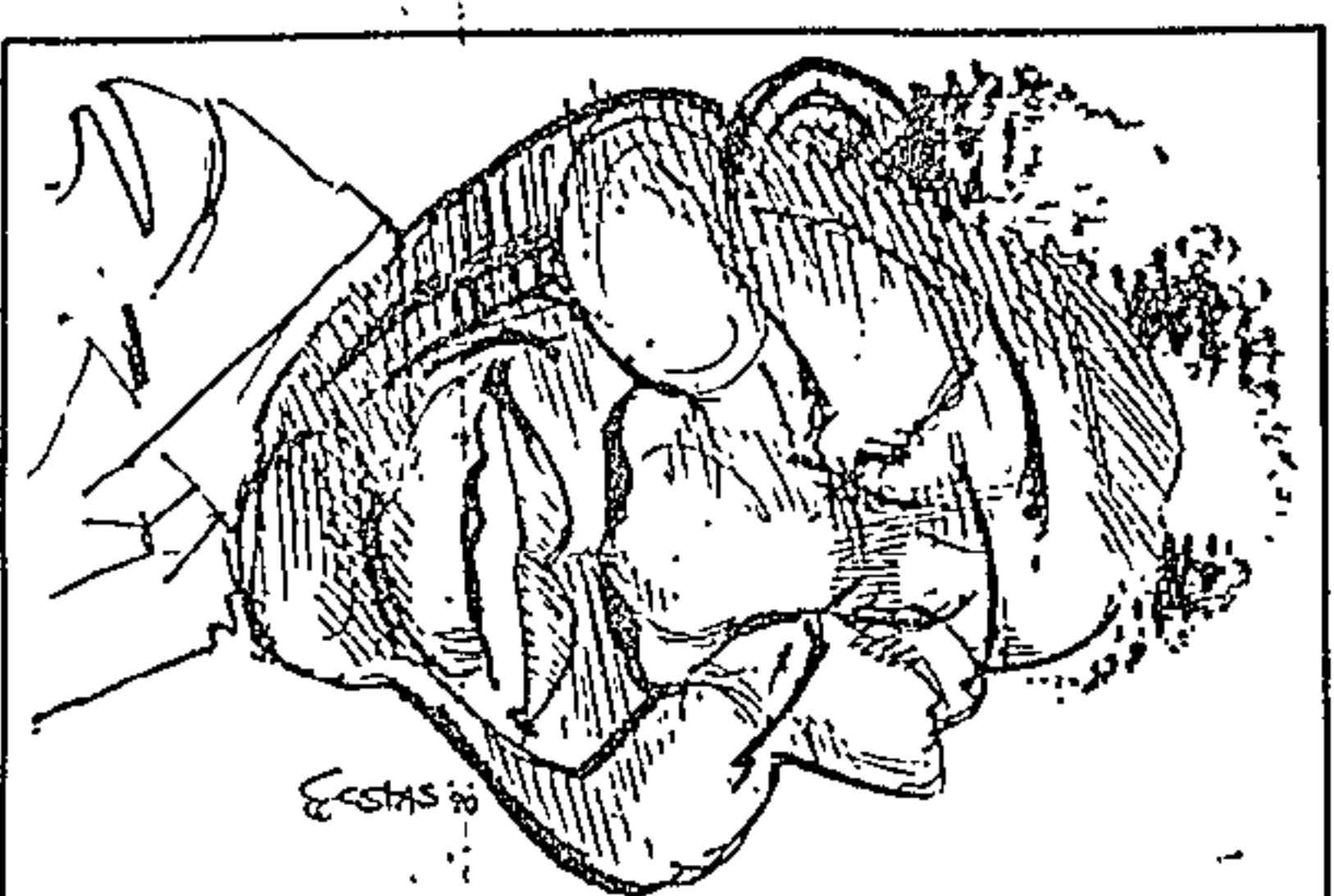
Dutch uncles lower eyebrows Somewhat

The Dutch were shocked when Nelson Mandela addressed them in Afrikaans. Now they don't even protest when FW de Klerk visits their country.
MARTIN SOMMER reports
from Amsterdam

supported the boycott against the petrol giant for its dealings with South Africa. Positions were clear then and most Dutch agreed who the goodies and the baddies were.

This all changed, almost overnight, with Mandela's visit in June. To the astonishment and confusion of many, the ANC leader declared that De Klerk was a sincere man, and that the South African president really meant to end apartheid.

Protests faded away. Kees de Pat-
er of the anti-apartheid Komitee
Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) willingly ad-
mits "that it would now never be
possible to organise a demonstration
of 50 000 people, like the one we



Nelson Mandela ... Confused the Dutch
had two years ago in Amsterdam".
The once-fiercely KZA never even
formally protested against De
Klerk's visit. The trade union FNV
(one-million members) was disap-
pointed not to have an appointment
with the president.

Times are also changing for Hol-
land's other major anti-apartheid or-
ganisation, the Anti-
apartheidsbeweging, Nederland.
One of its leaders in this month's is-
sue of *de Anti-Apartheidskoerant*
suggested liquidating the organisa-
tion once apartheid had been dis-
mantled.

Sociologists and historians tend to
explain the Dutch protests against
apartheid as an outlet for feelings of
guilt over their colonial past.

And the Dutch have always had a
tradition of foreign policy on a moral
basis, to counter the power-policy of
the bigger neighbours Great Britain
and France: moral right to tackle
night. Political ideas in Holland
kept their moral overtones.

Of course, this does not take into
account the historical ties between
the Netherlands and South Africa,
nor the developments in South Afri-
ca itself.

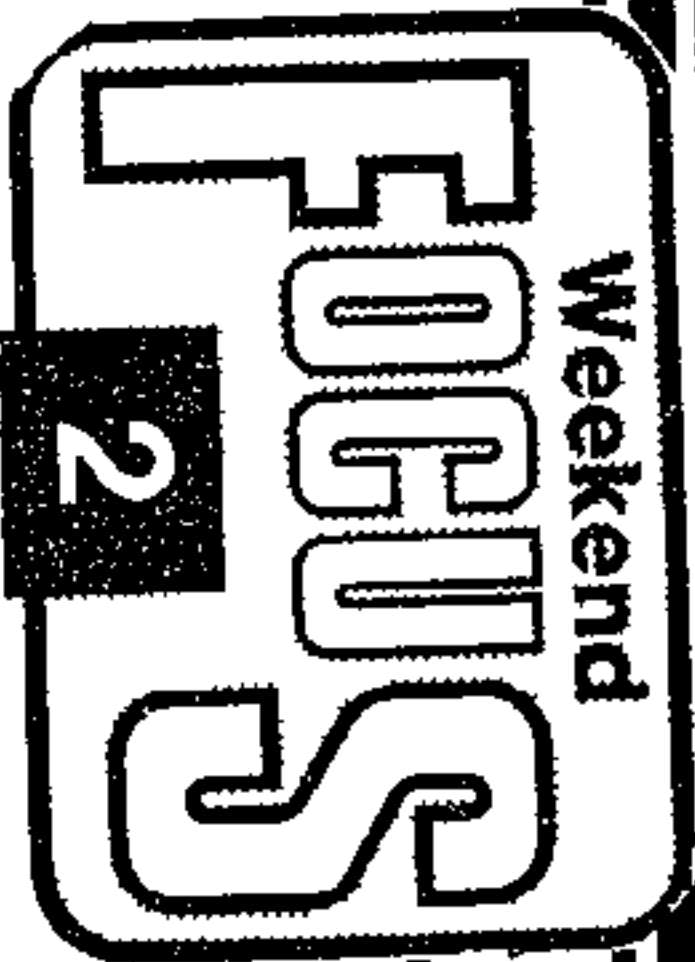
However, South Africa still re-
mains politically explosive material,
which explains why De Klerk's offi-
cial visit has been played down.

Foreign minister Van den Broek
recently suggested lifting sanctions
step by step. "We cannot pretend
that the times in which we and the
other European countries decided to
take economic sanctions against
South Africa have not changed," he
said.

The cultural boycott, once a sub-
ject of heated debate when writers
like WF Hermans or Gerard Reve
lectured in South Africa and were
blacklisted, has now become a dead
letter. Nobody gets excited anymore
when a popular rock band like BZN
applies for a visa to South Africa.

CONT-2

There is no doubt that since FW de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2 the political ball-game has changed drastically. The party is experimenting with all kinds of new formulas to find a policy approach to ensure its relevance in the New South Africa. Professor SAMPLE TERREBLANCHE, who teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch, examines these different experimental phases.



The NP's desperate search for relevance

left April 27/10/96

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THE National Party has completed its congress season on an alleged triumphphant note. President De Klerk declared that the NP will exist for at least another 75 years and that it wants to play an even greater role in the future — in co-operation with other parties. He also claims the “moral high ground” for the NP.

There can be no doubt that these political ball-game has changed drastically since February 2. It must be said to the credit of the NP that it is searching in seemingly great sincerity to rejuvenate itself. It is experimenting with all kinds of new formulas to find a policy approach to ensure its relevance in the New South Africa.

Since February 2 one can detect at least three different experimental phases in the NP's desperate search for continued relevance. The first three months could be described as the period of the De Klerk euphoria. People in NP circles displayed an almost unlimited confidence in Mr De Klerk's ability to deliver a New South Africa of peace and prosperity with the vested interests and the minority rights of the whites neatly entrenched.

WHEN the Nationalists spoke during this period about the fact that Mr De Klerk was going to “deliver”, they did not create the impression that

they were thinking about a just political system, but only about his ability to “create” a new South Africa that will enable them to carry on with their “braai-en-dop-en-dam” (barbecue and brandy) in their backyards as if nothing has changed. This euphoria was so unsettling that at times one thought that we should grant NP supporters their “braai-en-dop-en-dam” on condition that they allow at least two squatter families into their backyards.

The second experimental period could be described as the Grand Alliance approach. After the success of the Groote Schuur conference at the beginning of May, the NP displayed great enthusiasm for a Grand Alliance with the African National Congress. The ANC was at that stage projected by the NP as a very reasonable and responsible movement. In the inner circles of the NP (and perhaps also the ANC) there was optimistic talk about a final settlement within two years!

This period also lasted for about three months. But when Mr Joe Slovo danced the toy-toy at the launching of the SACP at the end of July and when the closeness of the alliance between the ANC and the SACP became evident, the NP started to rethink the idea of a Grand Alliance. Recently Dr Gerrit Viljoen said categorically that an NP alliance with the ANC was out of the question because of the fundamental differences between them.

THE third experimental phase started with the Natal congress of the NP when Mr De Klerk announced that the NP would be opened to all South Africans. We could describe this phase as the Coalition Front approach. Dr Gerrit Viljoen often repeated that the NP wants to become a (non-dominant)

partner in a broadly based front that will play a dominant role in the future. He is very confident that a coalition between the NP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Front can win a future general election. (Behind closed doors it is also whispered that the ANC can later enter the Coalition Front through a back door if it can distance itself from the SACP.)

The key element in the new Coalition Front approach is that all the participants in the coalition should endorse *certain basic values, norms and principles*. Dr Viljoen also said he was quite confident that the NP would succeed in convincing the other participants in the Coalition Front of the merits of the NP's (value) points of view — also about what he called the NP's “group values”.

UNFORTUNATELY the NP did not specify in concrete terms what these values, norms and principles will be. Consequently the new approach raises more questions than it answers.

What kind of values will be put forward by the NP and what kind of values will be acceptable for a majority of its supporters? Will it be the bourgeoisie and materialistic (and even nouveau riche) values that have lately become a typical feature of many NP supporters? I sincerely hope not.

Will there be an attempt by the NP to entrench the success morality and the rich man's cult that has become embedded in NP circles during the too rapid socio-economic upliftment of Afrikaners as a result of the artificial protection and privileges supplied by the apartheid structures and policies?

Is the so-called group values yet another attempt by the NP to maintain the privileged position of the white minority group? And is the emphasis that the NP has lately put on the maintenance of civilised standards yet another thinly disguised attempt to entrench the undeservedly high living standards of the whites? Is the “braai-dop-en-dam” syndrome still very much alive and living in the backyards of Pretburg and/or Jo(y)toria?

PERHAPS we should be very thankful for the NP for bringing the “value-debate” to the forefront. The kind of fundamental restructuring needed to create a truly New South Africa cannot only be concerned with constitutional models and parliamentary representation. A new democratic system can only prove to be sustainable if a new Social Accord — based on shared values — can be developed within the next decade or two. This kind of Social Accord must be regarded as enormously more important than the creation of a Coalition Front to enable the NP to play a relevant role in a New South Africa.

The really important question ought to be about the *shared values* appropriate for a broadly based Social Accord. Given that the whites make up only 14 percent of the total population, they ought to realise that they cannot be too prescriptive as far as these shared values for a sustainable democratic system are concerned. They ought to realise that a spirit of sacrifice and generosity towards the impoverished and exploited black majority is a sine qua non for such a Social Accord.

The NP will only succeed in retaining its relevance in a New South Africa if it can say: “Mea culpa” and if it can substantiate this confession with an appropriate policy of affirmative action.

The NP has come a long way. It still has a longer way to go.

Why a 'quick fix' plan will fail

A NEW constitution for South Africa will only enjoy broad legitimacy among the majority of the population if it is drawn up by an elected Constituent Assembly.

This is the conclusion reached in a study project of the Human Sciences Research Council released in Pretoria this week.

Dr Bertus de Villiers, of the HSRC's Centre for Constitution Analysis, warns against a "quick fix" agreement between elites that does not enjoy popular support. This short-term solution could run out of steam once the present leaders are replaced.

The HSRC's recommendations seem to present a middle road between the divergent views expressed by the Government and the ANC on the feasibility of a Constituent Assembly.

Dr De Villiers favours a step-by-step approach in drafting a new constitution and phasing in the transfer of power to a newly elected government:

- An initial meeting between the

By DRIES van HEERDEN
and NORMAN WEST

leaders of existing political groups to reach a consensus on broad issues, such as the levels of government and universal franchise.

- Agreement on a "statement of intent" and a timetable for the implementation of the new constitution. Target dates should be set for elections to the various levels of government.

- The formation of a "government of national reconciliation" to govern the country in the transition phase — not necessarily an interim government.

Dr De Villiers proposes that the present Cabinet should operate in a close working relationship with senior representatives of major black movements and that all cabinet decisions should be negotiated before their announcement.

- The start of "mini-national conven-

tions" on local and regional level to determine the structure of these bodies. This would culminate in elections for local and regional government.

- Elections for a Constituent Assembly to draft the final constitution. Meanwhile, this week's proposal by the President's Council for a "best-men" coalition form of government has been given the thumbs down by the ANC.

A member of the ANC constitutional committee, Dullah Omar, described the PC models as an attempt to maintain white domination.

The PC report calls for a national conflict management system and a special constitutional court, to enforce the principals embodied in the new constitution, and a Bill of Human Rights.

The PC report argues that in a bi-cameral parliamentary system a first chamber, comprising popularly elected representatives on a country-wide proportional (rather than a simple majority) basis, would accurately reflect the support of each party.

Morocco is all set to resume SA relations

MOROCCO is preparing to announce full diplomatic relations with South Africa early next year, according to diplomatic sources.

This will make it the first recognised African state — besides Malawi — to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria.

The way for the historic move was opened during President FW de Klerk's visit to the Moroccan capital of Rabat this week.

President De Klerk announced after talks with King Hassan that SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Moroccan counterpart, Abdellatif Filali, would begin discussions about full diplomatic relations.

Pleased

This would include a visit by Mr Filali to SA. A date has not yet been set.

Moroccan diplomats indicated after the announcement that they hoped to exchange ambassadors early in the new year.

SA diplomats were surprised, but pleased, at the speed at which diplomatic exchanges with Rabat developed this week.

The man currently being tipped to become SA's first ambassador in Africa north of Malawi is Justus de Goede, the No 2 in the SA embassy in London.

Mr De Goede flew to Rabat to act as interpreter for President De Klerk in

French-speaking Morocco.

Morocco is a conservative African Arab state. It has a stable government under King Hassan, who is only the second ruler the country has had in three decades.

Morocco's lingering dispute with other states over its annexation of Western Sahara has estranged it from the Organisation of African Unity.

It has also been something of an open secret that Morocco has substantial trade links with SA and has been an important Armscor customer for years.

Yet it remains an influential African member of the so-called Maghreb group of states, which include Tunisia, Algeria and Libya.

Diplomats expect many African countries to want to take advantage of SA's accelerating acceptability — and to do so in the flush of the "honeymoon" period.

With many African states now desperate for foreign sponsors after the developed world's swing to Eastern Europe, none will want to be far back in the queue in opening political and economic exchanges with SA.

The symbolism of the Moroccan move and its portents of more of the same from the rest of Africa, will now place the ANC's sanctions policy under near-breaking strain.

Diplomats expect the Ivory Coast to be the next country to follow Morocco's example.

LESTER VENTER ON TOUR WITH THE PRESIDENT

Now FW must wait on Europe

STWes

28/10/90

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WHEN the leaders of the 12 European Economic Community nations meet in Rome on December 15 to review their joint South African sanctions policy, 10 of the 12 heads of governments will have met President F W de Klerk.

They will sit down to their deliberations — which could boost the SA economy by easing trade restrictions — having taken a personal measure of the man leading SA into a new order.

This, simply, has been the point of President De Klerk's two-stage European campaign that ended this week.

For the 12 leaders will base their policy review on what is essentially a subjective judgment.

Their joint policy commits members of the EEC to a review when they deem changes in SA to be "profound and irreversible".

Their face-to-face meetings with the man who has ushered in the changes up to now, and will manage those

to come, will be a critical factor in a decision in Rome that could regain international acceptance for SA.

All indications are that Mr De Klerk made favourable impressions on government heads in his campaign that started with his "nine nations" tour in May — in which he met eight EEC leaders.

In the Netherlands and Luxembourg this week he met two more. The two countries with whom he has not had personal contact are Ireland and Denmark, both vociferous opponents of SA.

Upgrading

However, Denmark has already signalled a softening in its attitude by upgrading its diplomatic mission in SA to embassy status with an ambassador.

There are many indications, too, that the Rome review will entail the lifting of some sanctions provisions. Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek has said

publically that the time has come for practical encouragement of reform in SA.

Diplomats expect British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to take the strongest position in Rome, calling for an immediate lifting of all sanctions.

It is likely, though, that the lifting will be incremental.

After Mr De Klerk had met Dutch parliamentarians in The Hague this week a Dutch government source said Holland may call initially for the

lifting of the ban on new investments.

The source said Mr Van den Broek has also indicated Holland could resume cultural, educational and scientific ties unilaterally as they are not part of the co-operative European package.

The timing of this week's visit fitted in well with Mr Van den Broek's obligation to report to the Dutch parliament on sanctions in mid-November as a precursor to the Rome summit.

The change in Holland's

stance will have a significant impact on the Rome deliberations because that country has been recognised as one of the firmest advocates of sanctions against SA.

During his tour, President De Klerk used his now-tested manner of pointing to his track record of unbroken promises, spelling out carefully the nature and timing of future undertakings and being open and frank about SA's problems and the government's own weaknesses, and

Pioneer of SA's liberal politics has died

By IVOR CREWS

DR JAN STEYTLER, one of the founders of the Progressive Party and a pioneer of liberal politics in South Africa, died in a Somerset West hospital this week - a day before his 80th birthday.

He played a decisive role in South African politics in 1959 when, as Cape chairman of the United Party, he broke away to form the Progressive Party.

Paying tribute to his close friend this week, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "Jannie was a truly remarkable South African."

"Son of a Boer leader, Louw Steytler, he qualified as a doctor at Guy's hospital in London and served with distinction in the SAAF during the war."

"He had two remarkable qualities: he was absolutely fearless and had a phenomenal strength of will. He was never a man for detail and his politics were always based on broad, strong principles."

304 Prophecy

Dr De Beer said Dr Steytler had told him 30 years ago: "Zach, you and I will never be in power, but we will live to see other people implement our policies."

"Now, as I mourn the death of my great friend," added Dr De Beer, "I take great comfort from the fact this prophecy of his was fulfilled in his lifetime."

Former PFF MP Helen Suzman said: "He was a thoroughly decent, caring man who had sufficient prescience many years ago to see the need for all the changes now happening."

"He was a man before his time but a great example of a man who could have played a leading role in a democratic South Africa."

Colin Eglon, DP MP for Sea Point, said: "He was a politician of the old school who had an earthy warmth and a real feel for the South African people."

Constitutional matters high on Sacob conference agenda

Staff Reporter

Top politicians and business leaders are to attend the three-day annual convention of the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), starting in Johannesburg today.

A key aspect of the convention will be discussions on constitutional matters following the release of a report on South Africa's constitutional options by a Government-appointed committee.

Other motions include constitutional reform,

local government, education, security, agriculture and urbanisation.

President de Klerk is to address a banquet tomorrow night. In the afternoon a discussion on the role of big business in the future South Africa will take place.

Wednesday's programme centres on economics. Speakers will include ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, Development Bank of Southern Africa chief executive officer Simon Brand and Reserve Bank senior deputy governor Jan Lombard.

Star 29/10/90 304A

DP and ANC to monitor unrest

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In a unique local initiative, Democratic Party and ANC structures in the Free State started discussions last week on joint regional strategies to promote the creation of a democratic and non-racial dispensation.

DP and ANC leaders met in Bloemfontein following the adoption of a resolution at the recent DP provincial congress to "negotiate regional joint strategies with the ANC aimed at building a broad non-racial democratic alliance/pact" to

encourage the move towards the creation of a new South Africa".

A member of the DP's Free State/Northern Cape executive and of the DP's national council, Professor Dirk du Toit, said this initiative was in line with the DP's programme of action of seeking closer ties with the ANC and the National Party.

The programme committed the DP to the development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation and alliances with organisations within and outside Parliament which were pursuing the objectives of negotiations and reconciliation.

"One of the issues discussed was to establish a joint unrest monitoring and prevention committee. A large number of the DP's black executive members were present," Professor du Toit said.

The only definite decision taken was that a follow-up meeting would take place before the year end.

DP sources said the resolution to seek closer ties with the ANC had been taken after DP leader Zach de Beer left the DP conference. They suspected he would not be "too happy" about the initiative.

FW gaining on ANC in Africa

South Africa 29/10/90

WHAT South Africa with Morocco, Senegal and Madagascar may have lost on the swings through the reported cancellation of Kenyan landing rights, it has gained on the roundabouts through its newly-improved relations.

In deciding to deal openly with the South African Government, Madagascar, Morocco and Senegal were obviously inspired by President FW de Klerk's reforms.

But in trying to capitalise on this new attitude, the Government is being opposed by the African

National Congress, which is still advocating diplomatic as well as trade and cultural sanctions against South Africa.

It is perhaps simplistic to say that the issue has resolved into a contest between De Klerk's reforms and ANC influence in Africa.

But that is essentially what it comes down to while the ANC keeps trying to keep South Africa ostracised and Pretoria keeps trying to break out on the back of reform.

Issue

As in the rest of the world, the issue revolves largely around a determination of whether the reform has become irreversible.

African and other governments are almost certainly weighing up whether the reforms are cosmetic, designed to win foreign friends, or whether they are inspired primarily by domestic imperatives.

The Kenya Government's initial decision to exchange landing rights



President FW de Klerk being met by Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko on arrival in Kinsasha. Pic: ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

with South Africa was very probably taken in the belief that the reforms would make the deal acceptable in African eyes.

Kenya, while bellowing apartheid rhetorically, has long shown an eagerness for open dealings with South Africa.

Several years ago Nairobi was on the point of quietly allowing South African tourists to visit Kenya, but it was rescinded when the decision was leaked to the Press.

The decision on landing rights (which would inevitably have meant opening the doors to South African visitors) coincided by chance with a stop in Nairobi by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela while on his way to Australia, and he took the opportunity to oppose the decision.

Whether this was enough to make the Kenya Government change its mind is open to conjecture, but no other reason has emerged.

The budding new relationship between South Africa and other African states is still at an extraordinarily sensitive stage.

Advantages

However, much the other states might want to seize the advantages available from open dealings with South Africa, it has still not become clearly respectable.

It entails spurning not only the ANC on this particular issue but also the Organisation of African Unity, which still officially supports the ANC stance.

Hence the extreme caution with which Senegal went about receiving De Klerk.

Unlike other states such as Madagascar, Mozambique, Ivory Coast, Zaire and Morocco, which have received him in formal state visits, Senegal's President Abdou Diouf has agreed only to what seems to amount to an informal chat during a refuelling stop at Dakar on De Klerk's return from Europe.

Refuelling stop or not, the fact that Diouf will be openly receiving his South African counterpart is almost as good for Pretoria's purposes as a state visit.

It breaches the ANC embargo just as effectively.

FW to visit Vaal townships this week

Soweto 29/10/70

By SY MAKARRINGE

STATE President FW de Klerk is to visit the black townships of the Vaal Triangle on Friday, according to leader of the Vaal Residents Representative Party Mr Sam Kolisang.

De Klerk's visit to the Vaal townships - scenes of bloody clashes which claimed hundreds of lives in recent weeks - will coincide with his bestowment as a free man of Vereeniging, the town he served as MP for several years.

De Klerk, who is currently abroad on a three-nation tour, will be the second South African Head of State to visit the townships, which have been one of the focal points of worldwide attention since the 1961 Sharpeville massacre. A few years ago, former State President, Mr P W. Botha, visited the townships at the invitation of

former mayor of Lekoa, Mr Esau Mahlatsi.

Kolisang said De Klerk had accepted an invitation by his party, an affiliate of the moderate National Forum, to visit the townships as a resident of the Vaal Triangle.

He refused to elaborate on De Klerk's schedule for the day, except to say he expected residents to receive him with open arms. De Klerk's office could not

deny or confirm the invitation. A spokesman said he was not in a position to disclose De Klerk's itinerary unless instructed to do so.

De Klerk received a tumultuous welcome a few weeks ago when he paid a surprise visit to Soweto. There were shouts of "Viva Comrade De Klerk" from curious onlookers as he moved around the townships to gain first hand experience of township life.



A flag depicting ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, left, Oliver Tambo, centre, and Walter Sisulu hangs over Soweto's Orlando Stadium on Saturday at the rally relaunching the movement's Youth League after 30 years. Picture: REUTERS

ANC calls for immediate creation of an interim govt

ANC leaders appealed at the weekend for alliances with other political organisations and strongly repeated the ANC's insistence on the immediate creation of an interim government.

ANC president Oliver Tambo had a speech read on his behalf and internal leader Walter Sisulu also spoke at the relaunch rally of the ANC Youth League at Soweto's Orlando Stadium.

In his speech, Tambo, 73, confirmed he would return to SA in December.

More than 10 000 youths attended the rally, many of them in military fatigues.

Sisulu told the crowd the ANC had entered a new phase of struggle in which it was contesting the "fundamental question of power".

"We are talking about nothing but the transfer of power from the minority government to the people as a whole," Sisulu said.

The ANC, he added, should seek a broad front of those opposed to apartheid. His call was echoed by Tambo, who said the ANC should win over and seek alliances

with those who had not identified with it in the past.

Sisulu urged the youth to repeat the ANC's call for an interim government.

"The demands for a constituent assembly must reverberate everywhere, including in the corridors of power. Only then will the Pretoria rulers sit up and listen."

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo called for an intensified campaign for a constituent assembly.

In a strongly-worded speech, Naidoo said government had no legitimacy and should agree to an interim government immediately.

And SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo said if the people "stopped their clamour" the ANC would become "mere beggars at the negotiating table".

Slovo rejected government's stated intention to get white approval for a new constitution either through a referendum or election.

PETER DELMAR

Star 30/10/90
FW yes to FIDA
President F W de Klerk has given the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance the go-ahead to participate in the upcoming negotiation process. FIDA president John Gototya made the announcement after meeting Mr de Klerk yesterday.

'Go-ahead' from FW to join talks

16 Dec 30/10/90
PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk had given the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance the go-ahead to participate in the negotiation process, Fida president John Gogotya said after meeting De Klerk yesterday.

Eleven members of Fida's national executive committee met De Klerk at the Union Buildings to discuss Fida's participation in the negotiation process.

Gogotya said after the meeting Fida had a "feeder membership" of 400 000 to 600 000.

But at this stage, Fida was not prepared to form an alliance with the NP because it still considered the party oppressive.

Fida, he said, was prepared to negotiate with the ANC, but would not go to it "cap in hand".

The formation of ad hoc discussion groups between Fida and government on

(304A)
such issues as security and local government had also been discussed yesterday.

He said De Klerk's response to the question of Fida taking part in negotiations had been "no problem".

Fida said in a Press release yesterday it doubted whether people would learn to elect leaders on political rather than cultural or ethnic grounds. Under such circumstances, majorities carried the risk of being artificial and ultimately oppressive if the democratic process were to be limited to simplistic models, such as the Westminster system.

Fida said national resources should be protected by the state. It considered culture, art, national traditions and symbols as such resources. It also advocated the right to private economic initiative, the right to private property, and to one's own rewards and fair taxation. — Sapa.

Fida (304A) meets De Klerk for talks

THE national executive committee of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance met President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday to discuss Fida's proposed participation in the negotiation process.

The FIDA delegation was led by its president, Mr John Gogotya, while De Klerk was assisted by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister, Roelf Meyer.

According to a Fida Press release, the alliance advocates the formation of joint working groups between Fida and the Government.

Fida said it doubted whether people would learn to elect leaders on political rather than cultural or ethnic grounds.

Models

Under such circumstances, majorities carried the risk of being artificial and ultimately oppressive if the democratic process was to be limited to simplistic models, such as the Westminster system.

According to Fida, national resources should be protected by the state. It considered, culture, art, national traditions and symbols as such resources.

It also advocates the right to private economic initiative, the right to private property, and to one's own rewards and fair taxation.

"Special and penalising taxes may be imposed in cases of an under-utilisation of personal resources, capital or land," it said. -Sapa-

ANC must cut its ties with communism, says De Beer

DP LEADER Zach de Beer suggested last night that the ANC cut its ties with the SACP and stop adhering to socialism as necessary steps towards forming a moderate, centrist government with the NP. (304A)

De Beer told a meeting in Queens-town that the sort of government needed to ensure political stability and foreign investment could not be formed without a coalition consisting of elements of the ANC and NP.

"The gap between the Nats and the ANC is not as wide as some people

PETER DELMAR

have been suggesting. What is needed is for the ANC to cut their links with the Communist Party and abandon socialism as their economic policy and for the NP to dump its remaining apartheid policies," he said.

De Beer urged local DP leaders to make contact with the ANC and NP, adding that regular and constructive contact was taking place at leadership level.

Speaking in King William's Town

earlier yesterday, De Beer said he did not think an interim government at either national or regional level would be either feasible or practical.

"They would have no constitutional basis and no clear authority.

"Even the present structures, bad as they are, are better management units than interim government would be," he said.

He added, however, that every organ of government at every level should start urgent consultations with representatives of the majority

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Pik: list SA as a developing country

Pretoria Correspondent

South Africa's classification should be changed from a developed country to a developing country, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a Pretoria conference, "Southern Africa towards the year 2000", Mr Botha said such a classification should be seen against the background of the European Community's Lome Convention which covers a range of issues, including development aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

Mr Botha said the majority of South Africans suffered backlogs which the Government was committed to erase and the country should therefore qualify for development aid in terms of the Lome Convention.

Opening

Present world trends were not only favourable to closer co-operation but made closer co-operation in Africa essential.

The economic unification of Europe in 1992 had caused concern in Africa because the opening of markets in the USSR and eastern and central Europe might draw investors away from Africa and reduce interest in the continent, he said.

Mr Botha expected that the transfer of public funds to Africa would decrease and more reliance would be placed on the transfer of private funds.

Private investors, however, did not invest in regions where there was unrest and political systems were not in line with the private sector in Europe.



Pik Botha... South Africa is still a developing country.

"I never believed in the superiority of whites or the inferiority of blacks," Mr Botha said, adding that if the human infrastructures in Africa had been better developed at the time of these countries' independence, the continent would not find itself in such a dire state now.

He said South Africa had a vital interest in helping its neighbours achieve prosperity but had no intention of dominating their economies.

"South Africa is part of Africa and must live or die in Africa," Mr Botha said.

A development programme for southern Africa needed to be co-ordinated, he added.

The European Community's contribution to such a programme included:

- Acknowledging that South Africa had an essential contribution to make.
- Pursuing policies supportive of South Africa's efforts to evolve a domestic social and political order acceptable to the majority of South Africans.
- Granting and/or mobilising funds for the modernisation of the region's infrastructures.
- Assisting southern African governments to create economic conditions which would attract private investments.
- Instituting training programmes.
- Considering other appropriate measures to stimulate growth in the region.

Although South Africa had a contribution to make to such a programme, it was limited by disabilities such as unemployment and lack of education, housing and health care, Mr Botha said.

New investment

He said the time for sanctions was over and if Europe delayed lifting sanctions, especially the prohibition on new investment, history would one day judge them as having damaged the prospects of the majority of black South Africans and South Africa's neighbours.

Addressing himself to the ANC, Mr Botha said the organisation's trump card was gone and it was only making it impossible to achieve a growth rate for ANC followers.

It was essential for the region to pool its resources and to present a stable market to the world, Mr Botha said.

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NEWS

304A

Business wants a say in constitution

By Michael Chester

Big business yesterday demanded seats of its own alongside political parties at negotiations on a new constitution.

Pressure on the government to allow the business world to voice its views about the shape of constitutional reform took first priority on the agenda of the first annual convention of the SA Chamber of Business when it opened in Johannesburg.

The response from the Government was positive and swift. Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelt Meyer, who attended as an observer, said business participation in negotiations would be welcomed.

The proposal was put by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which said business had a vital stake in the outcome of political negotiations.

tiations.

The main objective was to ensure that the constitution that emerged inspired a new wave of business confidence and new flows of domestic and overseas investment rather than leave clouds over the economic outlook.

"Business confidence in South Africa in particular depends to a large extent on perceptions of political stability and sensible economic policies," the Johannesburg chamber said.

"It is accordingly imperative that the process of political change is handled in such a manner as to avoid creating a climate of needless uncertainty for existing businesses and potential investors."

Among the critical factors were the issues of nationalisation versus the private enterprise system and how the redistribution of wealth should best be tackled.

It was crucial that consti-

tutional reform was underpinned by economic growth.

"Dubious and failed systems such as socialist centrally planned economies will — as has been the experience in Eastern Europe and Africa and elsewhere — lead not to wealth creation but to a destructive loss of opportunities," it said.

"South Africa must avoid opting for measures or policies which threaten the wealth-creating mechanisms of the market economy.

"This does not imply that business should not be prepared to look at ways and means in which the performance of the market economy in South Africa could be improved or restructured.

"On the other hand, however, business will have to deal with nationalisation and related arguments as vigorously and critically as it previously dealt with interventionist policies by government."

Star 31/10/90 (304A) (312)

Zimbabwe opens door to SA MPs

HARARE — Zimbabwe will not stop South African MPs from coming to talk about changes taking place in South Africa, the Speaker of Zimbabwe's Parliament, Nolan Makombe, said at a press conference yesterday.

Replying to a question on how Zimbabwean legislators interacted with their "reactionary" counterparts from South Africa, he said: "We cannot deny people the chance to come and talk about change in their country. There are changes

going on in South Africa and discussions between the ANC and the South African Government which are of interest."

He added that the door could not be closed to people who wanted to learn from Zimbabwe's success under a black majority government.

Six MPs from the National Party, Conservative Party, Democratic Party and Labour Party visited Zimbabwe recently. — Sapa.

Pik: SA could qualify for aid if reclassified

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday called for the classification of SA as a developing country so that it could derive benefits from the Lomé Convention.

He told delegates at the Africa Institute's conference, Southern Africa towards the Year 2000, that SA should to be invited to join the convention as the country — classified "developed" — was not, in fact, a developed country.

The Lomé IV Convention, an EC agreement to provide about \$12bn in aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries during the next decade, supplies aid for development projects and allows products made in member states tariff-free access to the 300-million consumers in the EC.

Botha said that as a regional power, SA had a vital role in assisting its neighbours to prosperity, but had no intention of dominating the region.

SA could render assistance, particularly in the fields of agriculture, mining and manufacturing, because it had knowhow

adapted to African circumstances, he said.

A concerted effort was needed to develop a southern African development programme, which would require extensive discussions with the EC and southern African countries.

If southern African countries combined their resources, they would be well placed to compete in world markets. SA's total trade with Africa was growing by leaps and bounds. Trends favoured closer co-operation.

SA needed to build a school every day, he said. It was time black South Africans woke up to the fact that they were being harmed by the continued application of sanctions.

Botha said the ANC's continued calls for sanctions were making it impossible to achieve the 5% growth rate needed to create the required 350 000 jobs annually.

"The season for economic pragmatism and realism in southern Africa has dawned," he said.

TIM COHEN

Sever links with SACP, urges De Beer

Gap between NP, ANC is not wide

364A

Sowe far
21/10/90

THE gap between the National Party and the ANC was not as wide as some people had been suggesting, the leader of the Democratic Party, Zach de Beer, said this week.

Addressing an audience in Queenstown, he said what was needed was for the ANC to cut their links with the Communist Party and abandon socialism as their economic policy, and for the NP to dump its last remaining apartheid policies.

"Negotiation is the only game in town. We are in regular and constructive contact with both the ANC and the Nats at leadership level.

Local contacts

"I want to ask you to maintain similar contact at local level. Talk to the other political groups here. Get to know their viewpoints and their motivations.

"Build trust. Debate, either privately or publicly, your viewpoints about our new constitution and the new government we should elect. You will find - and so will others - that the principles and policies on which a suc-

cessful South African Government needs to be based are those which we in this party have always supported."

Earlier, De Beer said South Africa was in the position of a person walking across the Victoria Falls on a tight-rope.

"We may not make it to the other side, but we sure as hell can't go back to where we came from. Any attempt to reassert white domination over the whole of South Africa now will cause conflict and bloodshed on a huge scale, the collapse of our international position, the ruin of our economy and finally a descent into a morass of anarchic violence.

"We simply must negotiate our way to a new constitution which gains broad acceptance by all the people of South Africa. It must provide for guaranteed equal rights, personal freedom and the Rule of Law.

"And it must accommodate the establishment of a thriving economy which encourages free people to make their own decisions. - Sapa.

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1990

NOVEMBER

'Broeders selling reform to whites'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The Broederbond, which played a key role in the formulation of apartheid policies, is now working behind the scenes to sell President De Klerk's reforms to whites.

The startling claim is made in the International Herald Tribune, which credits the secret organisation for the acceptance of Mr De Klerk's initiatives in the government and the National Party.

According to the Tribune, the Broederbond's volte-face is confirmed by a secret document circulated among members.

The document explains the Broederbond's objective of extending equal rights to blacks and other South Africans while incorporating minority protections for Afrikaners, who account for less than a 10th of the population.

The document suggests the following:

- Under a new constitution "the head of government does not necessarily have to be white" but that the presidency's prerogatives be defined such that it is not possible for one group to dominate another.

- The abolition of statutory discrimination should "not be seen as concessions but as a prerequisite for (white) survival".

- An acceptance that "the majority of the government members will be black".

- So-called "group interests" may transcend colour differences.

THINK-TANK

While pointing out that many Afrikaners and whites still opposed the dismantling of apartheid, the Tribune report says the Broederbond has remained influential in white politics, education, broadcasting and the Dutch Reformed Church.

The report suggests that the secret organisation, of which Mr De Klerk is a member, has been turned into a think-tank for the president.

It quotes Professor Pieter de Lange, Broederbond chairman, as saying: "Some of us became convinced that Afrikaner interests had become so entwined with everyone's interests you couldn't promote Afrikaner interests in isolation."

ANC 'won't delay negotiations'

Star 1/11/90 (SofA)
Staff Reporter

The African National Congress would cause no delays in negotiation with the Government, ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki told a business conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the annual convention of the South African Chamber of Business, Mr Mbeki strongly denied rumours that the process of negotiations had been jeopardised by an ANC decision to postpone a full-scale conference scheduled to take place in December.

He hinted that the ANC might be close to easing back on

pressures to maintain international sanctions on South Africa.

The ANC intended to review its stance on sanctions at a national conference next month, Mr Mbeki said.

High on the agenda would be discussions on how the ANC intended to approach negotiations on a new constitution.

"There will be no delays in negotiations caused by the ANC," he said.

"Both constitutional affairs and policies towards sanctions will be debated next month.

"The ANC is aware that there are a number of issues too

pressing to delay decisions about.

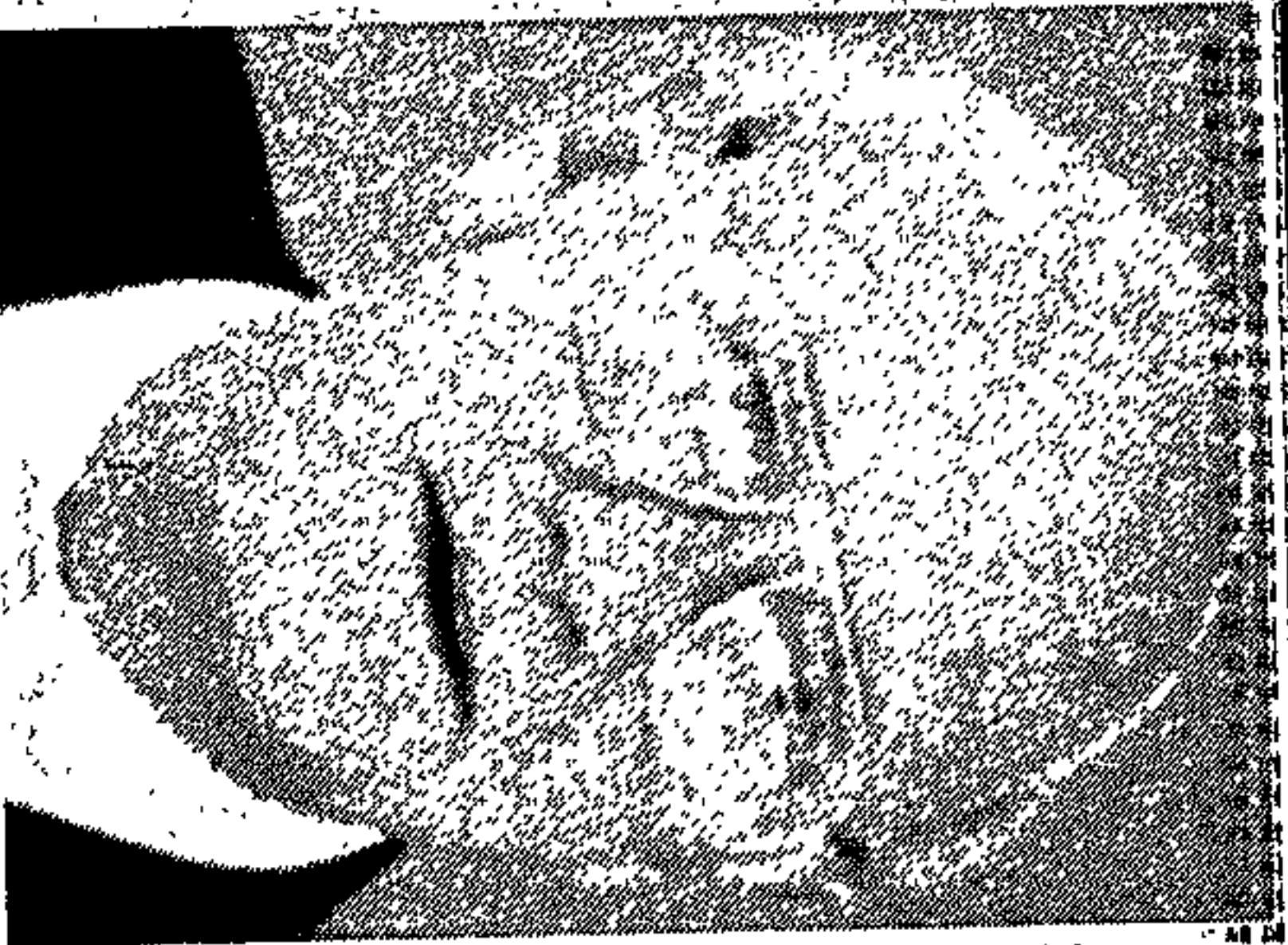
"The agenda may be restricted only because there are all manner of questions that still need discussion."

One item certain to be on the agenda was the ANC stance on sanctions.

"We are aware it needs to be reviewed," he said.

"It must be remembered that sanctions were an important part of pressures to bring about change in South Africa.

"Given the changes now taking place, we have decided we need to review the issue," Mr Mbeki added.



F.W. de Klerk ... to close NP drive.

Last-ditch bid for Randburg seat

304A
sowden
11/11/90

THE National Party and the Conservative Party have embarked on last-minute efforts to get voters to the polls in Wednesday's Randburg parliamentary by-election, but party workers yesterday predicted a low percentage vote.

Only 872 special votes have been cast by now and electoral officer Gerrit Reyneke expected special votes to total about 1 200 by closing time on Tuesday. No postal votes had been cast by closing time last Friday.

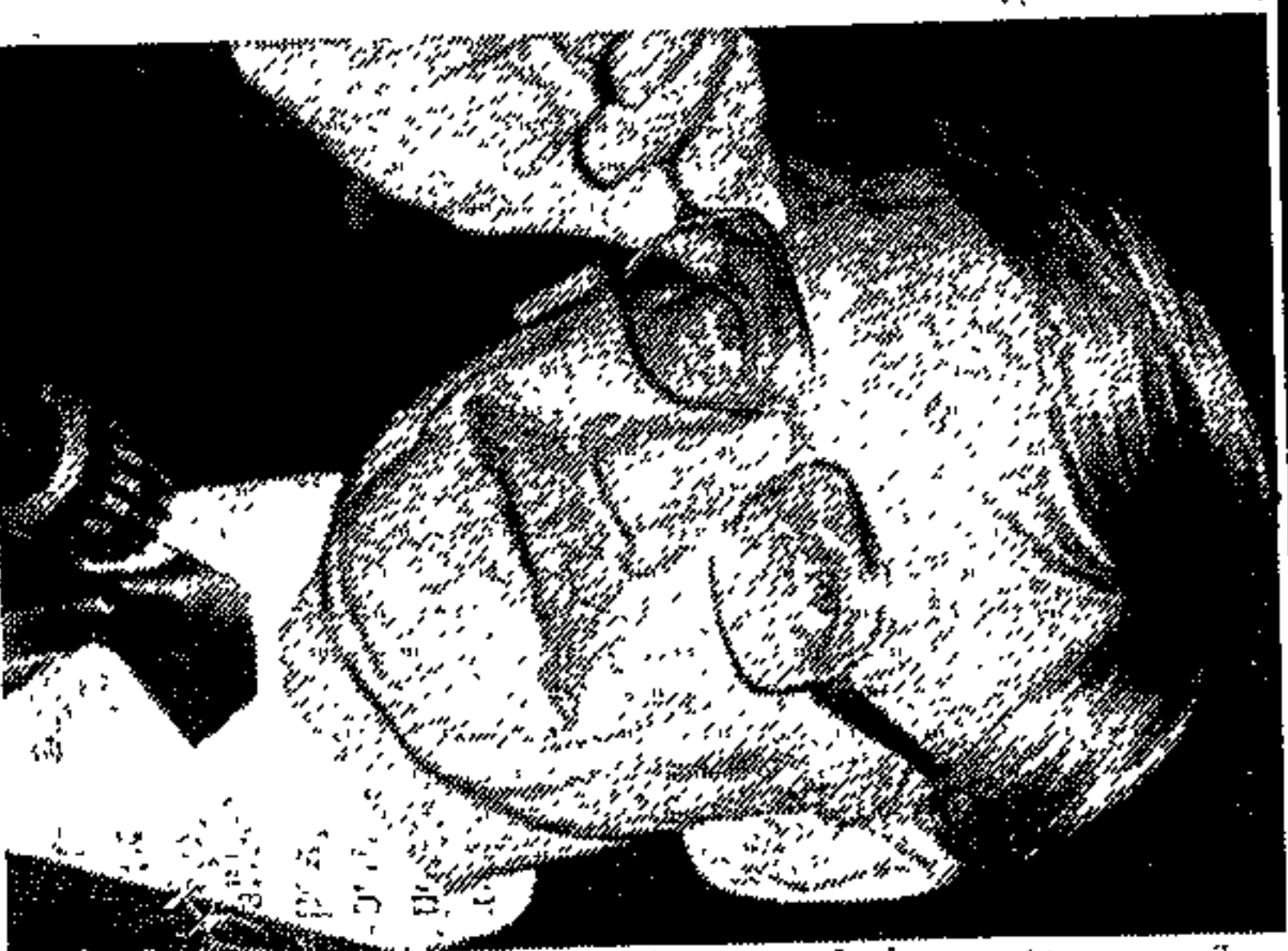
CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg will close the CP campaign tomorrow night with a public meeting at Randburg High School.

The NP's campaign reaches a climax on Monday night with a public address by President de Klerk at the same venue.

The CP's election agent, Piet de la Rey, predicted half-heartedly that its candidate, Leonie Steele, could "possibly" receive about 20 percent of the vote.

But both parties predicted a large victory for the NP's candidate, Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

(Report by E. van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000).



Hartzenberg ... ends CP campaign.

Democracy is not automatic, says MP Fuchs

THE political process currently under way in South Africa would not automatically lead to a democratic system of government.

It would only occur if "those brave enough" ensured that the liberal democratic dream lived on, Democratic Party MP for Hillbrow Mr Lester Fuchs said this week.

Giants

Speaking at a report-back meeting in Hillbrow, Fuchs said neither the National Party on the right nor the ANC on the left could be trusted to deliver a liberal democracy.

"It is a fact that our party is caught between the NP and the ANC, the two giants of South African politics, as it is a fact that many of our sup-

SOWETAN Correspondent

porters have deserted us since February 2."

There would be no room for the DP if the principles and policies of these bodies or one of these bodies were the same as those of the DP.

Fuchs said racism still abounded in the policy of the NP and people were still being discriminated against on the basis of skin colour.

Although the Government had taken far-reaching bold steps, apartheid was still very much alive. The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act remained on the Statute Book.

Referring to the ANC, he said the organisation's policies were incompatible with the principles of a multiparty democracy.

Recent statements by Mr Harry Gwala, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo threatened democracy.

According to the organisation's recent constitutional guidelines, those who advocated regional exclusiveness would not have a right to exist in a future South Africa.

Solution

It would mean that the DP, with its belief in a federal solution, would not have a right to exist.

"Taking into account the ANC's commitment to an economic policy which has failed all over the world, we should be under no illusion that the ANC is not exactly the beacon of democracy that some people even in our party claim it is."

Govt says no to Communists

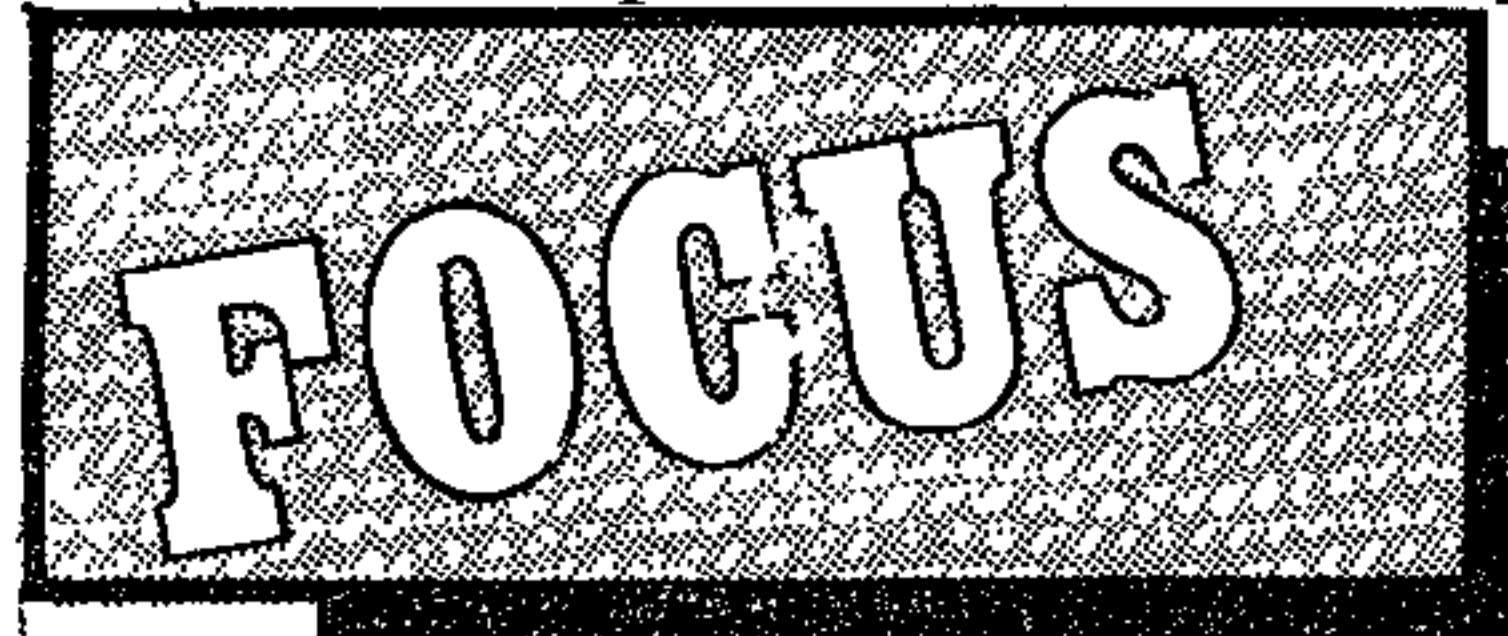
304A
Sowetan 1/11/90

THE Government and the police warned yesterday that they would not tolerate the SA Communist Party or other organisations forming "private political armies" under the guise of self-defence units.

They were reacting to a plan for an elaborate structure of township self-defence units published in the latest issue of the SACP journal *Umsebenzi*.

It said discussion was still being held on whether the units would be armed with firearms licensed in the normal way or whether they should demand that the Government allow them to carry weapons of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

SACP interim leadership group member Chris Dlamini has been quoted as saying that the issue had been raised at discussions of the Government/ANC working group discussing the practical implementation of the



ANC decision to suspend armed actions.

The SACP argued that its proposal for self-defence units was not inconsistent with South African practices.

Weapons

The Government allowed Inkatha to carry "cultural" weapons and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had told the AWB there was nothing wrong with self-protection provided it did not attack anyone - and the SACP did not intend to attack anyone.

Government and police sources said today the SACP plan was "absolutely intolerable" and that no SACP plan had been raised in the working group.

Police sources said no

political party could have a private army. It was the role of the SAP, assisted if necessary by the SA Defence Force, to defend township residents.

"There is no need for self-defence units as we are protecting them and we will continue to protect them from attack."

"The trouble with self-defence units is that they can easily become offensive units."

The problem of the AWB's self-defence units had been raised by Law and Order Minister Vlok in a meeting with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche. It was not true that he had told Mr. Terre'Blanche it was all right to have self-protection units.

He had only told him it was all right for indi-



TERRE'BLANCHE

viduals to protect themselves. This was different.

The sources said the ANC had also been told that police were disarming Inkatha. The SACP plan contradicted the ANC's view expressed in the working group, the sources said, without elaborating.

They dismissed the is-



MINISTER VLOK

sue of how the units would be armed and said the whole point of the working group was to reach agreement on disarming people.

They believed the SACP plan was a "political trick" and could not be meant seriously. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

FW's growing effect^{304A} on SA's white women

Staff Reporter

CAN. TIME 2/11/90

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk is becoming something of a ladies' man.

Research indicates that support for him among white women has been "steadily increasing".

"A striking upward trend is evident" when September survey results are compared with those of March and August, the survey agency Research Surveys Ltd said.

His reform initiatives and successful visits to heads of state had resulted in steadily increasing support for him among white women voters.

In March 34% of white Afrikaans women and 50% of white English-speaking women supported Mr. De Klerk. In August this support grew to 45% and 67%, respectively.

This further increased in September to 52% of Afrikaans women and 64% of English women.

HARRY FOR LONDON

Democratic Party stalwart Harry Schwarz is the surprise choice of the National Party government to become SA's next ambassador at the Court of St James. Schwarz's appointment (which will be announced as soon as it has been cleared with the British government) is certain to weaken an already punch-drunk DP. (304A)

According to highly placed sources, the Department of Foreign Affairs has made contact with Schwarz and an agreement has been reached that he will replace ambassador Rae Killen.

The FM has learnt that Schwarz's appointment is the direct result of a request by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who has, on occasion, publicly admitted that he enjoys a valuable working relationship with Schwarz. In the past, Schwarz was severely critical of Nat fiscal and racial policies.

There has been some unhappiness in DP circles with Schwarz, after President F W de Klerk rejected an election pact with the DP for this month's Randburg by-election. DP members had hoped that Schwarz would reach such an agreement with Du Plessis, who is also Transvaal NP leader, while both were at the recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC.

Some DP members may not exactly shed a tear when Schwarz departs from the local political scene. During the recent DP congress, he was involved in numerous arguments with MPs like Dave Dalling (Sandton) and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town) on the issue of dual membership.

When he was overseas recently, there was much press speculation that Schwarz would become an ambassador in a European country, but he denied the rumours.

Apparently it was initially suggested that Schwarz take the top diplomatic job in

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Schwarz ... off to defend Nat policies (304A)

F/M 2/11/90

Washington, succeeding present ambassador Piet Koornhof, and former *Sunday Times* editor Tertius Myburgh was earmarked for London. However, after Myburgh's decision not to take up an ambassadorial position abroad, Schwarz was given his number one choice.

A by-election in Yeoville, long a safe DP seat, could put the party under renewed pressure in the wake of the Randburg humiliation.

This time, it will be interesting to see whether De Klerk will allow an election pact with the DP.

At the recent Transvaal congress, De Klerk defended his decision on Randburg because, he said, the remaining two congresses of his party had not (at that stage) "approved a move in the direction of co-operation with other parties." Since then, all four congresses have done so.

Yeoville will be a pointer to future Nat-DP relations. If the Nats again reject such an agreement, DP supporters who will vote Nat in Randburg could feel betrayed by De Klerk. On the other hand, they could go ahead and vote Nat anyway — which would surely signal the end of the DP. *Eddie Botha*

FIM 2/11/90 (304A)
rather strained alliance.

Prof Alf Stadler, head of political studies at Wits University, believes the media have been unkind to the DP, but says that "for a party of very able people on the whole, they look remarkably foolish. There is something slightly archaic in the way they interpret things. Federalism, as an example, won't work in this society and yet they push it."

"Maybe the real problem is that the DP are now the genuine conservatives — but, man for man, they're easily the best bunch."

Stadler says the DP has been damaged particularly by its leadership issue; the departure of Wynand Malan; and the "Nats kicking them in the teeth with Randburg." The DP stood down from Randburg in favour of the Nats to avoid splitting the vote in favour of the CP. Last year, the DP won



*De Beer ... low morale
in party*

Randburg from the Nats by 1 714, while the CP managed only 755 votes.

The lack of purpose is reflected in the finances. It seems the Natal coastal region (after the humiliation of Umlazi) is not healthy: last week, regional director Roy Ainslie had not been paid for a month. However, DP leader Zach de Beer says the national organisation has no problems.

Low morale is reflected in the resignation of national director Neil Ross, a brilliant organiser, who could get the volunteer troops working like professionals.

Colin Eglin, former DP leader and veteran MP for Sea Point, recently wrote that it was time the DP stopped "behaving like a bunch of self-indulgent prima donnas and behaved like a cohesive team that knows what it is, where it wants to go and has a strategy to get there."

The trouble may be precisely that the DP is not a cohesive team, that it does not know where it wants to go. Or it does — but De Klerk already seems to have the route mapped out. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (304A) **AFTER RANDBURG?** FIM 2/11/90

Ever since February 2, when President F W de Klerk transformed the political landscape, the DP has seemed confused. Thanks to De Klerk, the DP was actually forced to withdraw from one of its own seats, leaving the Nats and the CP to fight over Randburg in this week's by-election. There has been talk of financial embarrassment and much internal bickering in what was always a

FW, Inkatha agree to hasten pace of talks

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said yesterday that talks between him and an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had focused on the urgent need for negotiations to get underway.

He and Buthelezi were jointly briefing journalists at the Union Buildings after a two-hour meeting.

De Klerk said a decision was taken for two joint committees to continue with their work.

One joint committee, between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would be reactivated and would focus on the negotiations process.

A second, between the National Party, led by Natal leader Mr George Bartlett, and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would

continue with its functions.

Buthelezi warned there were people in South Africa who did not believe in negotiating peacefully and on the danger of the negotiation process being sabotaged.

He added that Inkatha had not received a formal invitation yet to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive, proposed by the ANC's national executive.

Buthelezi said according to the ANC decision, both he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would participate in this meeting.

He assumed he would receive an invitation once Mandela returned from his foreign visit.

In the meantime, there were regular meetings between a seven-member Inkatha committee and an ANC national executive committee.



Let's shake on it: FW de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi agree on talks.

Schwarz (304A) may get UK envoy job *504/90*

SA Press Association

DEMOCRATIC stalwart Mr Harry Schwarz is the surprise choice of the National Party government to become South Africa's next ambassador at the Court of St James, according to this week's Financial Mail.

The magazine says his appointment, which will be announced as soon as it has been cleared with the British Government, is certain to weaken an already punch-drunk government.

According to highly placed sources, the magazine reports, the Department of Foreign Affairs has made contact with Mr Schwarz and an agreement has been reached that he will replace ambassador Rae Killen.

The FM says it learnt that Mr Schwarz's appointment is the direct result of a request by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, who has, on occasion, publicly admitted that he enjoys a valuable working relationship with Mr Schwarz.

In the past, Mr Schwarz was severely critical of Nat fiscal and racial policies.

When he was overseas recently, there was much press speculation that Mr Schwarz would become an ambassador in a European country, but he denied the rumours.

Top job

Apparently, it was initially suggested that he take the top diplomatic job in Washington, succeeding Mr Piet Koornhof, and former Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh who was earmarked for London. However, after Myburgh's decision not to take up an ambassadorial position abroad, Mr Schwarz was given his number one choice.

South Africa facing a test - Jan Steyn

3048
Sowetan
2/11/90

SOCIO-ECONOMIC pressures will challenge the established economic institutions in the South African society as never before, says chairman of the Independent Development Trust Mr Jan Steyn.

He said South Africa had one of the highest measured income inequalities in the world.

Steyn, who was speaking at the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation function on Wednesday night, said the real transition was yet to

come, and that it was the economic and socio-economic policies that a new government would pursue that were the real issue.

"These socio-economic policies cannot all be defined and circumscribed by the constitutional process. They will be defined by needs, pressures and expectations."

The issue facing South Africa was, therefore, only partly the political or constitutional resolution.

Steyn said, however, that he had some confidence that the country's

future constitution would reflect reasonable compromises.

As it was known that the poor were going to become voters, it was clear that in their economic policies, the ANC, the PAC or Azapo would have no option but to put the needs of the disadvantaged South Africans at the top of their agendas.

Principle

Steyn said another principle that had to be considered was the necessity to address the needs of people who were

excluded or alienated from all networks of social and economic delivery.

These were the rural poor and the swelling army of unemployed and under-employed school-leavers, whose general background and educational qualifications make them not only unemployable but also difficult to involve in productive economic activity of any kind.

"Perhaps the socio-economic problem with the greatest impact on political stability and therefore on business con-

fidence is associated with issues of alienated youth."

Alienated youth was a common factor in most of destabilised areas in the world, and when they were organised in networks, street formations or gangs they constituted a high level of availability for violent destabilisation, Steyn said.

"Unless development initiatives address this alienation, we will fail to assist in creating a social climate in which people can prosper - whoever governs." - Sapa.

CP march in Pretoria tomorrow

Sowetan 2/11/90

304A

CONSERVATIVE Party supporters will march tomorrow from Pretoria's Church Square to the Union Buildings to protest the Government's handling of "the Afrikaner's freedom".

Protesters will meet at Church Square from 11 am onwards before marching along Church Street at 1pm.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will participate in the march and later address protesters in the gardens of the Union Buildings.

CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said a memorandum, detailing certain demands, will be delivered to the State President's office.

Beyers said the demands will only be made public tomorrow. -
Sowetan Correspondent

PROFILE: Jaap Marais on the HNP's 21st birthday

An old-fashioned rebel

BACKCHAT
Charlotte Bauer



W.H.M. 2/11-8/11/90 3048

different from his own. When asked whether he has ever felt anything in common with people he may have met outside of this tight little group, he thinks for a moment then says:

"Once there were some Indians who bought some birds from me..." (Marais is a veteran breeder of budgerigars.)

He thinks some more: "I have had very good relations with quite a number of English people — but there has been very little social traffic between us. It's the same with Jews. I've never visited a Jewish home or had a Jewish person in my house — not that I'd have any objection to it, you understand."

Marais has never met anyone from the Pan Africanist Congress or the African National Congress or, God forbid, the South African Communist Party, but he does find the "PAC much more acceptable than the rest."

This might be an irony, but it is also a reasonable one. Marais can appreciate a political grouping which broke ranks with the ANC "because it didn't want to be involved with whites". It's a mirror reflection of HNP ideology.

"At least the PAC is not a group inspired or led by foreign powers. It's indigenous," he says, and then launches into a Steve Biko quote about language and education.

AT the suburban Pretoria headquarters of the Herstigte Nasionale Party the women's toilet is marked by a sign reading simply "Dames". This is not because peppy apartheid ("Blanke Dames, Nie-blanke Dames") has fallen into disuse. It's because signposting becomes unnecessary when the only black woman in the building wouldn't dare use it.

Today it is Jaap Marais' 68th birthday. A week ago it was the HNP's 21st, the official age of consent. The party's birthday may have passed unnoticed by most South Africans, but at Pioneer Park in Silverton, the HNP — which claims 25 000 members — did brisk business at the anniversary fête, raising a further R50 000 towards putting the white race back on top.

HNP leader Jaap Marais says that when no-one is interested in making showy corporate donations to your party, you have to rely on the generosity of individuals — and every little bit counts.

Among the busts of Afrikaner leaders and bottles of KVV brandy in the HNP boardroom stands a bride doll, her creamy dress and pearl-studded veil protected by a cellophane wrapper. Jaap Marais won this doll at a bachelorette show. He decided to raffish it at an HNP fête to a man who then donated it back to the party — presumably so that it could be raffled again.

It is this combination of judicious thrift and enter-like determination that has kept the HNP alive, despite a total lack of representation in parliament. For a brief while in 1983, the HNP had Louis Stofberg ... but then he defected to the Conservative Party.

When Marais thinks back, he is undamned by the party's singular lack of parliamentary muscle.

"There has never before been a political party in South Africa that has been around so long without getting into power. We have served, rather, as a political catalyst. We have served to keep Afrikaner Nationalism in operation."

Marais boldly describes himself as the "father of the right-wing movement" and, in many senses, he is right about that. "We were the first opposition party to the right of the National Party. We successfully hung in throughout the 1970s despite the NP's efforts to wipe us out. Our survival created the necessary conditions for the Conservative Party to emerge. Today the hard-core cannot exist without the HNP."

While Marais is bland about the HNP alliance with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and emphatic about his estrangement from Dr Andries Treurnicht, one perceives that he might have been better pleased if the HNP and the CP had been able to come to some arrangement.

His old-fashioned ways extend beyond his archaic political beliefs: he believes in integrity, in courtesy and in the redeeming virtues of "a good political argument" as opposed to the "rough and tumble" of street politics.

Jaap Marais was born in Vryburg in the Northern Cape, the son of a farmer, Jacobus Albert, who was one of the founder



Jaap Marais ... After me, the deluge

Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

members of the National Party.

As a boy, Marais cut his teeth on political meetings — they were often held in his parents' workroom.

He was in matri when World War II broke out — and simultaneously all hell broke loose in South Africa over whether to fight with the allies or remain "neutral".

"I remember going to my first protest meeting with two school friends. It was a National Party meeting to protest participation. I'll never forget it, mainly because we were spotted by one of our school teachers and given detention for a week."

Those were the days when, as Marais recalls, political emotions ran as high as they ever have since, the days when the Afrikaner population felt as keenly oppressed as the black population they were soon to preside over, the days when "the currents were so strong that anybody with a grain of self-respect and intelligence was just pulled into the stream."

Those were the days when Marais met up with the Leibbrandt brothers in Potchefstroom, when Robey Leibbrandt, still at large, would distribute fiery pamphlets throughout the hostels and colleges in which young men like Marais were studying commerce.

Later, while working for the CSIR in Nigel, Marais met up with John Vorster and "introduced him to the Nigel constituency". They were friends for years until Vorster, the prime minister, sullied the name and ideals of Hendrik Verwoerd with his "liberal interpretations" of apartheid. This led to the expulsion of four dissenting members of parliament — Marais, Albert Heertzog, Louis Stofberg and Willie Marais, who, in 1969, formed the Herstigte (reconstituted) Nasionale Party. He never spoke to Vorster again.

In the span of his political career, Marais has forced many estrangements with one-time friends or colleagues. He speaks of people like this as "agreeable fellows" — in the social sense of the word.

In this way he describes Vorster, Treurnicht and F W de Klerk. Of the latter he says: "I knew his father very well — a very agreeable fellow, like his son — in the ordinary social sense, of course. Morally he is completely wrong. His uncle was J G Strijdom, you know. That's one fact in his favour ..."

Marais lives in a small world, the size of which he has chosen quite deliberately. He lives in an "isolated area of about 200 residents" just outside the city of Pretoria with his wife, Marie.

Although he in part describes the "superiority" of the white race to its "acceptance of the challenge of the oceans", he himself has never travelled beyond South Africa's borders. And he has never mixed socially with anyone whose language or colour

different from his own. When asked whether he has ever felt anything in common with people he may have met outside of this tight little group, he thinks for a moment then says:

"Once there were some Indians who bought some birds from me..." (Marais is a veteran breeder of budgerigars.)

He thinks some more: "I have had very good relations with quite a number of English people — but there has been very little social traffic between us. It's the same with Jews. I've never visited a Jewish home or had a Jewish person in my house — not that I'd have any objection to it, you understand."

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"At least the PAC is not a group inspired or led by foreign powers. It's indigenous," he says, and then launches into a Steve Biko quote about language and education.

Marais concedes that "I suppose we are all humans" and that "people associate spontaneously not only on account of their race, but also on account of their interests", which is what reminded him that he had once met two Indians who shared his interest in budgies.

If Marais were to elaborate upon his own example, he would discover that all sorts of people shared his interest in poetry and literature which he reads a lot of. He once translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar into Afrikaans, but never tried to get it published. His reading spans TS Eliot, Robert Frost, Philip Larkin, history — particularly Roman history — and biographies, especially political ones.

He's just finished reading one about the personal excesses of Hermann Goering. It made him think that Goering's peculiar tastes might have been a contributory factor to Hitler losing the war, what with his Luftwaffe chief spending so much time commandeering trains up and down Europe for the express purpose of transporting his spoils of war — fabulous art works stolen in the name of the Reich.

In the present tense, Marais is convinced that "1990 style South African politics is going to fail as sure as the sun is set to rise tomorrow". He is resigned to "carrying on the fight with an ANC government". He has a new book out this week which deals with the "post-February 27" situation: it is called *Afrikaner Nasionale en die Nuwe Suid Afrika*.

I ask him what he thinks will happen to the HNP after his death, whether there is a future leader of the HNP waiting in the wings. Marais is certainly the most familiar icon of the party — and to outsiders it seems that it is only his personality which holds together the frayed edges of the HNP blanket.

His leader's vanity warns to the question: "Yes, you might well ask what happened to the United Party after Smuts, to the National Party after Verwoerd ... party standards were not kept up. Perhaps it is a question of 'after me, the deluge' ..."

"But in the HNP there are a number of promising young men who may not be so experienced yet, but who are so committed to the cause that one among them will provide the necessary leadership after I am gone."

He will not give up his leadership any other way.

"I am not a civil servant to be retired at a certain age," he says. "At this age one feels the effect of the years, but I can still conduct a very tight schedule."

Victory to the candidate who got no vote

304A

W/ Mail 2 111-811190
By SHADLEY NASH: Port Elizabeth

VOTER antagonism for the Port Elizabeth city council's "tricameral" approach to the one-city campaign plumbed new depths last week when less than one percent of voters turned out for by-elections. One candidate won, but did not receive a single vote.

The council has been trying to build one city administration with the largely discredited management committees from coloured and Indian areas.

In a by-election in one part of the coloured Northern Areas last week, only 13 out of more than 4 000 eligible voters turned up to vote — an effective poll of 0,325 percent. They all voted for John Fondling, who was duly elected. His opponent, Phillip Abraham Goliath, got no votes at all.

In Helenvale, one candidate withdrew after his taxi was stoned, and the other was duly elected by default — without anyone having voted for him.

Unusually, city officials themselves have slammed the results. Acting city administration director Harry Roger said they were farcical.

The Bloemendal Action Committee, which organised pickets of the polls, said the result was a "bad blow" for the Northern Areas Management Committee and further demonstrated that it was not representative.

The results come at an embarrassing time for the city council, which has begun holding talks on forming one city authority. — Pen



President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi answer questions after their talks at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Picture: REUTER

Treurnicht and Buthelezi to hold exploratory talks today

CP leader Andries Treurnicht will meet Inkatha leader, Mangosutho Buthelezi for talks in Durban later today.

Treurnicht said the Inkatha leader approached the CP and discussed the possibility of the two parties meeting, although it is understood that Treurnicht put the plan in motion and organised the meeting.

"There is no set agenda for the talks, it is just an opportunity for members of both the CP and Inkatha to meet each other and get to know one another," Treurnicht said yesterday.

He said a joint statement would be issued after the meeting.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday the two parties would probably discuss negotiations and where each party stood and where they "were coming from". "I'm sure both sides will table their views on current developments in the coun-

try," she said.

Vos said Inkatha believed in reconciliation before meaningful negotiation could take place, as only through respect for freedom of political choice could a new open and race-free SA be created.

She described yesterday's meeting between Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk as "very positive".

Danger

EDYTH BULBRING reports from Pretoria that after his two-hour meeting with Buthelezi and an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation, De Klerk told a joint Press conference there was an urgent need for progress to be made in the negotiation process.

Buthelezi told the conference, held at Union Buildings, there was a danger of the negotiating process being sabotaged as there

were people in SA who did not believe in peaceful negotiations.

The two parties decided to continue with the work of a joint committee between the NP, led by Natal leader George Bartlett, and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another committee focusing on the negotiation process between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party would be reactivated, Buthelezi said.

This committee would focus on the definition of principles.

He also expected to receive a formal invitation to a meeting between Inkatha's central committee and the ANC's national executive.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was expected to be present after his return from abroad.

Buthelezi said a remaining obstacle to negotiations was the question of violence.

Buthelezi: CP represents many

CVE 7018 3/11/90

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the Conservative Party represents a large constituency and cannot be wished away.

Speaking at a press conference here yesterday after a two-hour meeting between top-level delegations of the IFP and the CP, Chief Buthelezi said political differences in South Africa would not be resolved if parties tried to hold one another at arm's length.

Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a joint communique approved by both parties that both leaders subscribed to Christian principles and rejected domination, terrorism and communism.

Dr Treurnicht said there were differences between the IFP and the CP as to political models to accommodate the political claims of various groups but the two parties maintained an open-door policy on future talks in the interests of peaceful and good relations.

Randburg: Nats faced with double headache

By DRIES VANHEERDEN

THREE days to go to polling day in Randburg and the National Party is faced with a double headache.

● How do you drum up support for an election when the result is a foregone conclusion?

● And how do you then explain away the expected considerable growth of support for the Conservative Party in the very seat it considers itself "least likely to succeed".

In the general election last year Randburg was the focal point of international attention. It was DP co-leader Wynand Malan in competition with the NP's Glenn Babb for the support of Afrikaner Yuppies.

Conservative Party candidate Willem Grobler became the forgotten man of the 1989 campaign. Fourteen months later there is little sparkle in Randburg where

the NP — in the absence of the DP — is coasting to a comfortable victory on Wednesday.

"Our biggest enemy is complacency. It is difficult to campaign when everybody knows you are going to win handsomely," complains NP candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

Conservative Party candidate Leonie Steele feels much more at ease with her performance. She knows that even if she loses, she wins.

Even her worst case scenario will still quadruple the Grobler tally of 755 votes. Conservative Party organisers are looking for around 2 800 votes and for Mrs Steele to retain her deposit. And if the polling percentage

dips below 50 percent — as some pessimistic Nats predict — the CP can well claim with some justification that it has made huge gains in traditionally liberal constituencies and project it into a future victory in a countrywide poll.

But that is exactly the NP's dilemma — there is not going to be another general election for whites only. President De Klerk has said so on numerous occasions. So Mr Van Schalkwyk may well be one of the MPs with the shortest terms in the country's political history.

And how do you inject enthusiasm among your supporters when they know this?

In the final three days the NP organisation will expend all its energy in exhorting supporters to come to the polls. On Wednesday all potential NP voters will wake



STEELE



VAN SCHALKWYK

up with a note on their front doors reminding them to go out and make their crosses behind Mr Van Schalkwyk's name. It will be followed up with another notice ... and, if need be, with a third.

In spite of the problems, Mr Van Schalkwyk is satisfied with the way his campaign went: "We did not fight in the traditional way — always attacking our opponent, always responding to allegations."

In a roundabout way CP candidate Mrs Steele — a Warmbad town councillor — agrees with her opponent.

"I have a hard time convincing Randburgers that they must believe the National Party," she says. "They must believe Mr De Klerk when he says there will be a one-man-one-vote system and that he is prepared to serve under Mr Mandela."

"Our problem is with Nat supporters who tell us they are going to vote for Mr Van Schalkwyk because they believe the NP still has a hidden agenda somewhere up its sleeve which it will use to prevent black majority rule."

Mr Van Schalkwyk agrees that there has been a shift towards the right in the wake of the Government's reform moves, but that it has been offset by gains made

from the withdrawal of the DP. On the opposite side of the political spectrum Mrs Steele advances the case for partition.

"We tell the voters that this may be their last opportunity ever to vote and that they should use it to support the CP in its quest to stop the government's moves towards majority rule."

Mrs Steele says a characteristic of the campaign is the huge number of "doubtful" voters that her canvassers have encountered.

It's these people who will determine the size of the NP victory on Wednesday. If they turn up at the polls, Mr Van Schalkwyk can expect close to an 8 000-vote margin. If they stay at home the margin can be reduced to under 7 000.

● Report by A van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

We can buy off white SA — Oh, no, you can't

TWO top academics clash on possible white attitudes to change in a future South Africa. **HERIBERT ADAM** says whites will put their cheque-books first and ethnic concerns second. **LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER** argues that to underestimate white ethnicity is perilous. The articles appear in *The Elusive Search for Peace: Israel, Northern Ireland and South Africa*, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Jannie Gagliano (Oxford University Press) and released this week

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IT has yet to be proven anywhere that a BMW-owning bureaucratic bourgeoisie with swimming pools and servants readily sacrifices the good life for psychologically gratifying ethnic affinities.

Racial sovereignty proves durable only so long as it can deliver. A bureaucratic oligarchy can be expected to drop its "albatross" when racialism becomes dysfunctional.

In truly nationalist conflicts, a group identifies with the homeland or state as an exclusive property. But, in South Africa, the ruling minority shares the territory with a vast majority and control of the state is not so much a matter of identity for most whites as a source of blatant self-enrichment.

The NP government regularly buys its vote through pre-election handouts.

Cynical

A dramatic increase in corruption scandals among government officials also testifies to an instrumental rather than an emotional use of the state.

It is this access to spoils and a privileged lifestyle, more than identity, which the South African regime does not want to lose.

If it needs to co-opt auxiliaries from other racial groups or even share some of the spoils, it is ready to oblige.

Expediency at the top affects the bottom as well. Increased opposition to army service and emigration by professionals is only one indication of the weakening commitment to nationalist sacrifice in South Africa.

Emotional identification with an ethnic cause can also be gauged from the position of writers and intellectuals. Poets, artists and singers have always been the prime articulators and mobilisers of nationalism.

In South Africa, on the other hand, many of the Afrikaner intelligentsia have defected from the nationalist cause.



HERIBERT ADAM

Many Afrikaans writers and poets now sing the praises of the ANC. They identify with a common patriotism.

What is left of academic support for the old order is of the social engineering kind.

In the words of the cynical leader of this group, Piet Cillie, apartheid had to be tried in order to prove it could not work.

NP managers display smug bemusement at the quaint nationalist antics of the ultra-right.

Opposition parties on both the right and the left criticise the government mainly for economic mismanagement and no longer for ideological betrayal.

They bank on a protest vote, not on the superiority of their own vague programmes.

Fear

This strategy reflects the electorate's clear priority of economic issues.

Concerns about identity rank far below worries about inflation, pensions and currency values.

The conventional wisdom that whites act out of justifiable fear of a potential black takeover needs, therefore, to be revised.

The fear is better described as anxiety about losing the lifestyle to which they are accustomed.

● Professor Heribert Adam is professor of sociology at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada, and the author of *Modernising Racial Domination*.

HERIBERT ADAM may be right in saying that at present whites or Afrikaners, unlike the Northern Irish communities, are not a cohesive ethnic group with a strongly manifest primordial solidarity rooted in myths of origin.

He is wrong to assume, however, that this implies that they will willingly desegregate and blend into a society which they will perceive as pitted against their material, occupational and residential interests in the name of racial equity.

To assume this is to endorse policies which will risk creating an emotional solidarity which does not exist yet among whites.

South African whites as a collectivity do not have a fully blown myth of origin; but they have an equivalent and equally powerful myth of mobilisation — "European standards".

Contact

South African white ethnicity has been a self-reinforcing product of the very earliest contact between technologically advanced European settlers and technologically far less developed indigenous people, out of which a plural society emerged.

Today, apartheid and the universal tendencies for social and economic advantage to be perpetrated through the family system have ensured that, in terms of broad proportions, the relative educational-technological disadvantage of blacks is almost as great as it was in the 17th and 18th centuries.

There has not been sufficient black occupational mobility to break the apparently valid stereotypes.

While white social identity may not be primordial, but rather an "instrumental" unity, a kind of popular-class advantage, most whites nevertheless adhere to the myth that there is some kind of very basic contrast between First World and Third World.



LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

They see their middle-class privilege as the manifestation of their origin as Europeans, protecting certain "standards" in a sea of Third World conditions.

This is not to defend the white myth. It is simply to say that whether the roots of white identity are primordial or instrumental is not the issue.

In politics, perception is everything and whites perceive themselves to have a social identity, latently as powerful as the commitments of true ethnics.

The whites, without contemplating its possible shallowness (Afrikaans ethnicity excluded), have a myth of lifestyle which, because of its coincidence with colour, is tantamount to the identity formation in ethnically divided societies.

Whites will compromise, they will open the formerly closed group boundaries and they will share resources and power, but they probably will not put their myth of having special standards to protect on the line.

If the shelter of the structure of white domination were to be stripped away and Afrikaners' cultural symbols and their collective sense of "place" in the society were to be an issue, virtually all comparative and historical precedent would suggest that Afrikaans "nationalism" would come to the fore once again.

● Professor Schlemmer is Director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.

Ambassador Schwarz off to America

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

HARRY SCHWARZ, for years a leading opposition figure and Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, has been appointed South Africa's ambassador to the United States.

The posting will have a serious impact on the DP, which is already burdened with dwindling voter support, financial troubles and the surrender of its Randburg seat to the National Party.

Mr Schwarz's appointment — the first time the ruling party has named a member of the opposition to an ambassadorial post — is in line with President De Klerk's moves to create less partisan representation in important embassies abroad.

“My appointment does not mean that the new South Africa is already here,” said Mr Schwarz yesterday, “but I hope it means it is irreversibly and rapidly approaching.”

“After a political career in which I have always been in opposition politics and opposed to apartheid, I find that what I have fought to



HARRY SCHWARZ
S/Times 4/11/90
achieve is now being realised. Now that apartheid is going, the crucial question is what will follow.

“Since February the state president has been advocating policies and processes which are in accord not only with my beliefs but with the policies of the party to which I belong,” he said.

There was no question of his joining the National Party, said Mr Schwarz.

Mr Schwarz, a navigator in the SAAF and RAF in World War Two, has a background in banking and insurance.

He entered Parliament in 1974 as a member of the United Party and was a founding member of both the Progressive Federal Party and the Democratic Party.

● See Page 2

Nat threat to Yeoville as Schwarz goes west

S/Times 4/11/90

THE Democratic Party has been dealt a potentially disastrous blow by the appointment of Harry Schwarz as ambassador to Washington.

His departure puts the traditional opposition seat of Yeoville within the National Party's grasp.

Mr Schwarz's personal standing in the constituency has helped to keep the seat in DP hands. Without an election pact with the NP, which seems unlikely, the DP could well lose it.

Mr Schwarz's appointment is the latest in a series of blows the ailing DP has endured, including its election defeat at Umlazi, the resignation of national director Neil Ross, internal dissent and declining financial resources.

A symptom of the state of the party is its decision not to contest Wednesday's election in Randburg, once a safe DP seat.

"Harry's appointment is a great loss to us and to parliament," said southern Transvaal DP chairman Peter Soal.

"He's a fighter and very popular. He has an enormous public profile."

Mr Schwarz's loss will be most felt by the majority of the DP that believes the party should stay independent of both the NP and the ANC.

He led this battle, often clashing acrimoniously in public with advocates of closer links with the ANC, like Sandton MP Dave Dalling.

Mr Schwarz's departure will create a tactical gap for Mr Dalling and his followers.

Ironically, it comes at a time when the two factions seem to have settled on agreeing to disagree about the question of alliances.

The absence of Mr Schwarz will considerably disrupt the DP's formulation of economic policy. Mr Schwarz was an avowed social democrat who coined the term "economic democracy" to describe the DP's

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

policies, which he largely drafted.

The party is plagued by declining donor confidence.

Leader Zach de Beer has acknowledged that the NP's encroachment on the DP's policy terrain has switched a lot of financial support to the ruling party.

Mr Soal said the DP would expect the NP not to stand in Yeoville, which has in recent elections been an uncontested opposition seat.

Deals

Senior Transvaal Nationalists, however, have indicated they may not stand back, and the NP has not yet set a policy on deals with the DP.

The DP felt it was "dumped" by the NP when a proposed pact on the Randburg by-election fell apart. Since then, party leaders have called on DP supporters in the constituency to vote for the NP, the latest call coming from Major Reuben Sive, retired DP MP for Bezuidenhout.

Mr Soal said the idea that the two parties would stay out of one another's constituencies in by-elections before a post-negotiations general election "made sense".

The DP argues this would facilitate the NP's stated desire to form political alliances.

● Report by L. Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Dr No ducks out of protest march

By HERMAN JANSEN

304A

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday told a cheering crowd that President F W de Klerk did not have the support of whites to negotiate with the ANC.

The crowd had marched 3km from Pretoria's Church Square to the Union

Buildings in the midday heat to deliver a petition to Mr De Klerk, who was not there. *S/Times 4/11/90*

CP chief secretary Andries Beyers appealed for all but the old and infirm to walk to the Union Buildings, but Dr Treurnicht covered only about 500m.

He ducked into a Mercedes and reappeared at the Union Buildings half an

hour later to receive his supporters.

Dr Treurnicht then said the CP would not recognise any agreement made with the ANC and accused Mr De Klerk of destroying white unity.

Among the numerous posters displayed by the marchers was one with the acronym AIDS. Its explanation: "Apartheid Is Definitely Safe".

Arrested MP promises to defy police township ban

St. Times 4/11/90

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By KURT SWART

DEFIANT Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck vowed yesterday to ignore an order preventing him from entering Cape Town's troubled black townships.

His vow comes a day after he and UDF regional secretary Willie Hofmeyr were arrested while taking part in a high-profile tour of Khayelitsha by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Cape Town deputy mayor Frank van der Velde and city administrator Gys Hofmeyr.

Mr Van Eck and Mr Hofmeyr were released an hour after their arrest. Police said they had opened dockets after the arrests relating to the "failure" of the two to leave an unrest area.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok declared Cape Town townships unrest areas on Wednesday and police reinforcements were brought in from Pretoria.

The declaration of a mini state of emergency was fol-

lowed by the banning of Mr Van Eck by Western Cape police commissioner Maj-Gen Flip Fourie from the townships.

He claimed Mr Van Eck had "taken sides" with residents and that his presence caused them to "over-react".

In an interview, Mr Van Eck said that DP regional chairman Jannie Momberg had been informed that the ban extended to all DP members.

"The ban on MPs like myself and others who have been involved in monitoring police action in townships since 1985 can only mean that the police are trying to hide something," Mr Van Eck said.

"I'm aware of various excesses committed by elements within the police and if I went there I would be able to testify to the nature of

police actions."

Mr Van Eck said he believed a personal vendetta was being waged against him because of his high profile and critical monitoring of police actions.

Said Mr Van Eck: "Yes, I've taken sides. I'm taking the side of black communities throughout the Cape who've been completely defenceless against the might of the security forces. For that I don't apologise."

"However, I have never said anything against the police that was not the truth."

Anarchy

Mr Van Eck said he was concerned that police action was destroying the climate needed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to allow the negotiation process to succeed.

"Security force action in Cape Town is in fact turning residents against negotiations."

"I consider it my duty as an MP, and one who desperately wants negotiations to succeed, to expose the excesses that jeopardise the process."

He warned that the situation was explosive and had

the potential to degenerate into the chaos.

"You have all the elements — a third force and assassination squads who seem to have a free hand and who are targeting civic association leadership."

"People feel helpless. They can't defend themselves against balaclava-clad men in vans circling their houses. The situation could result in anarchy."

"We thought that F W de Klerk had brought back civilian rule. To pass the political buck to the securocrats is doing exactly what P W Botha did."

● In the Supreme Court in Cape Town this week, Brigadier Frik Kellerman denied that police had provoked Khayelitsha residents to act violently so that his police unit could take action against them.

He was responding to allegations in an application by Khayelitsha civic leader Michael Mapongawana for an interdict restraining police from using excessive force during the funeral of his wife Nomsa, murdered by an alleged assassination squad.

An affidavit from Mr Van Eck on recent police action formed part of the evidence led.



SHACKED UP . . . Jan du Bruyn in lakeside hut Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

By FELICITY LEVINE

RIGHTWINGERS have rallied to support alleged Melrose House bomber and AWB official Jan du Bruyn, who is squatting at Randfontein's Riebeeck Lake.

"If the blacks can do it, so can we," said Mr Du Bruyn, who has erected a shack on the lawns surrounding the lake. "And what's more I intend filling the area with other white squatters."

Jean Golden, head of the Boere Facist Party, said: "We aim to encourage whites to move in and pitch their tents."

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday he fully supported Mr Du Bruyn.

"He was merely fighting for a cause and now he has lost his house and job as a result of government discrimination," he said.

Mr Du Bruyn, 37, lost his house and job five months ago after being arrested in connection with the Melrose House bombing in Pretoria on May 23. He is out on R2 000 bail.

"Before my arrest I

Defiant white squatter digs in

S/Times 4/11/90
worked as a mine developer for Goldfields Deelkraal mine and I had a house on the premises," he said.

"They fired me after the Melrose bombing but I have taken the matter to the industrial tribunal and am waiting for justice."

Mr Van Tonder who conferred honorary party membership on Mr Du Bruyn at their national congress in October, said Melrose House was regarded by his party as "a symbol of intense humiliation for the people of South Africa".

"It is the place where the boer generals signed away our country to the British and

my regret is that whoever was involved in the bombing did not blow it up entirely," he said.

A divorced father of four, Mr Du Bruyn said he set up his shack to "prove a point".

"While whites are being locked up for so-called political crimes the government is giving our land away to the blacks," he said.

He has been squatting since Thursday in a small corrugated iron shack in which his only luxuries are a green plastic sheet on the floor, a camp bed and a small camp table holding glasses, soft drinks and a bottle of brandy for guests.

Order

Mr Du Bruyn, who has to report to the Randfontein police station daily, said he was "happy living as a squatter".

But on Friday the Randfontein council obtained a court order in terms of the Illegal Squatting Act to evict him. He has been given until Monday to move.

"I defy them to come and move me," he said. "It is the people against the town council."

NP won't fight Schwarz seat

APC 7/1/75 5/11/90 3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

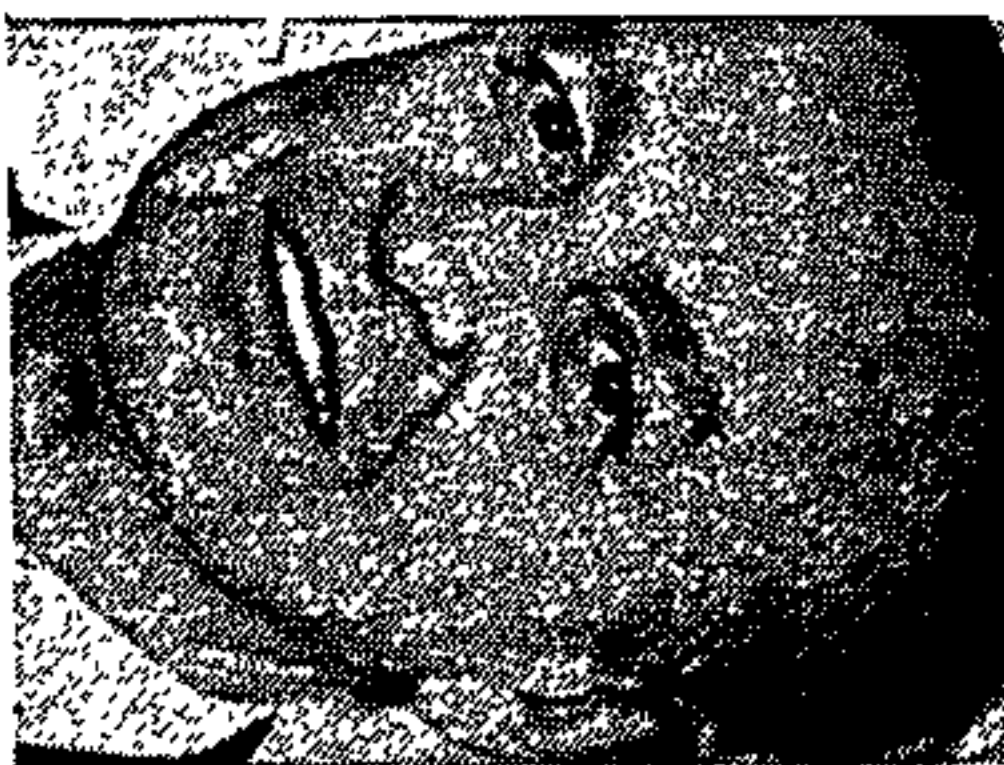
THE National Party will not fight the coming parliamentary by-election in Yeoville following the appointment of veteran Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz as the new ambassador to the United States. This was announced by NP Transvaal leader Mr Barend du Plessis early today. No reasons were given for the decision. The move could go a long way to persuading recalcitrant DP supporters to vote for the NP candidate, Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk, in Wednesday's Randburg contest.

The decision would also serve to quash possible DP accusations that Mr Schwarz was guilty of "a Wynand Malan-style of betrayal" against his party. Mr Schwarz said at the weekend that his greatest challenge while in Washington would be to persuade the West that its responsibility in South Africa would not end with the demise of apartheid. Mr Schwarz, who will remain a DP member, is expected to take up his new post towards the end of April. He said he intended to represent everyone and all races in South Africa.

"My objectives will be to get money into the country, to get sanctions lifted and to get trade going."

Mr Schwarz said he believed the DP still had a role to play in South Africa in human rights and in pushing for a social market system and a federal form of constitution.

A DP source said yesterday that the former DP co-leader and former ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, was being considered as the next ambassador in Paris. Dr Worrall was overseas and could not be contacted for comment.



AMBASSADOR ...
Mr Harry Schwarz

Schwarz for US — and deal on Yeoville

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5/11/90

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The appointment of veteran Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz as ambassador to Washington has revived hopes of a deal between the DP and the National Party.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced Mr Schwarz's appointment at the weekend — the first time an opposition politician has been appointed ambassador.

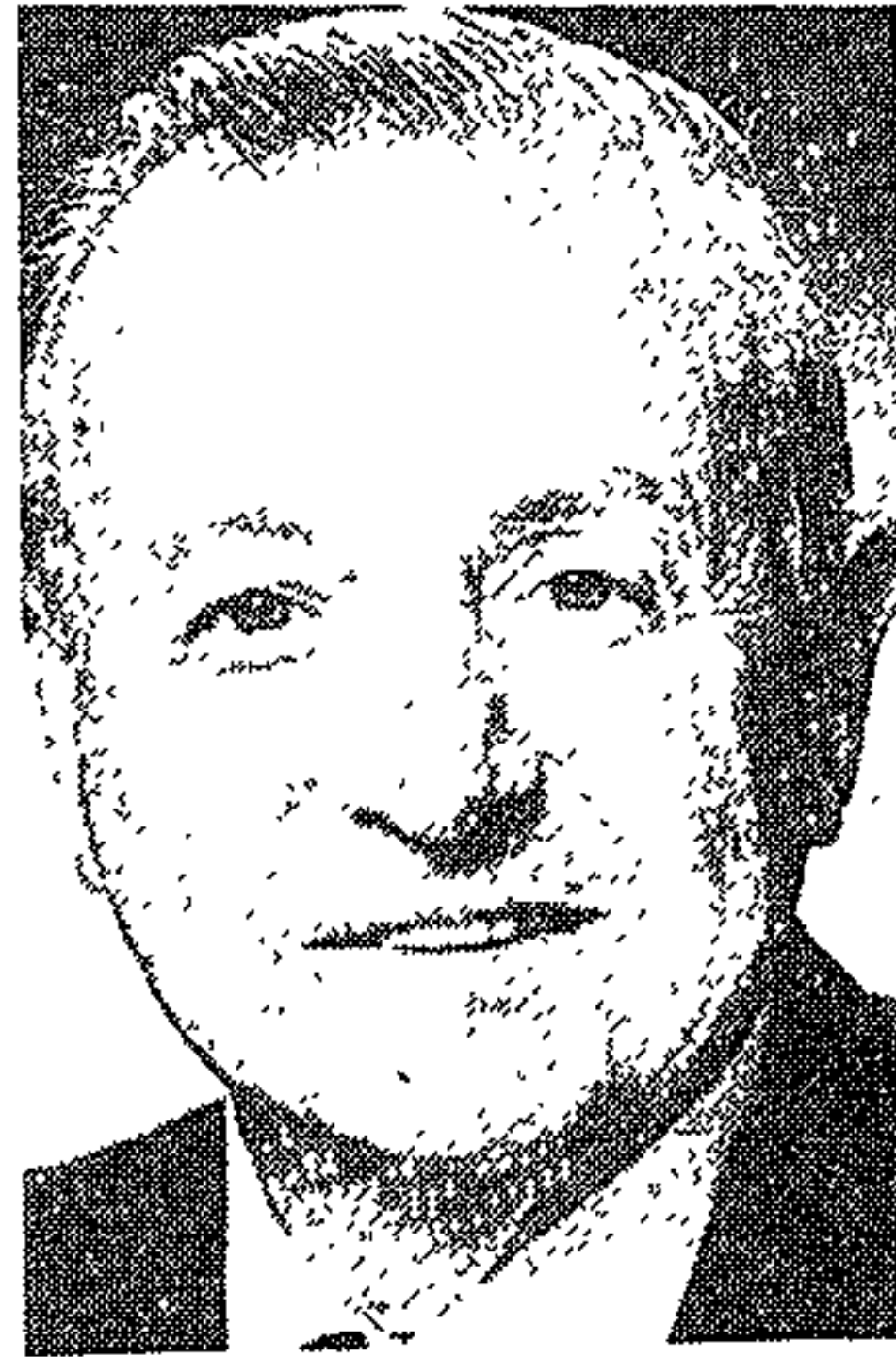
And Transvaal NP leader Mr Barend du Plessis has announced that the NP will not fight the DP in Yeoville when Mr Schwarz vacates the constituency early next year.

'Reject CP'

DP Southern Transvaal MP Mr Peter Soal responded yesterday by calling on DP supporters in Randburg to vote for the NP in Wednesday's by-election — something he has conspicuously refrained from doing so far.

"In the light of the Yeoville decision, I would hope that DP supporters in Randburg would vote to promote reform and reject the policies of the Conservative Party," he said.

DP sources said they be-



Mr Harry Schwarz

lieved the NP offer could be the start of an "arrangement" with the NP.

The NP offer has gone some way to placate the DP for the NP's last-minute withdrawal from an election pact a few weeks ago.

DP sources believe Mr Schwarz engineered the Yeoville deal as a condition of taking the Washington job, to help the DP.

He was intimately involved in negotiations with Mr Du

Plessis for the election pact which fell through after two other NP provincial leaders got cold feet.

Mr Schwarz has also minimised the damage of his departure from the DP by making it clear that he would remain a member of the party and would not join the NP.

'Still relevant'

And he said in an interview yesterday that the DP was still relevant because it was still the best party to promote human rights and because its social market and federal policies had to be put on the negotiating table.

DP leader Mr Zac de Beer said yesterday that although he was sorry to lose an MP of Mr Schwarz's calibre, he was proud that a DP member had been chosen for such an important job.

DP sources believe the NP offer of not contesting Yeoville was an important concession as the party would have battled to keep it without Mr Schwarz's personal following.

Nonetheless Mr Schwarz's decision to retire from active party politics has inevitably had some demoralising effect on a party already doubting its relevance.

Schwarz to be US envoy

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304A

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz has been appointed South Africa's new ambassador to the United States.

The MP for Yeoville has accepted the appointment and will take over the position when Dr Piet Koornhof completes his term in January next year.

Announcing the appointment, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha, said Mr Schwarz had excelled himself in the private sector, in the legal profession and in public life. The government was grateful that Mr Schwarz had accepted the position of being the representative of South Africa in the United States.

"The government has full confidence in Mr and Mrs Schwarz's ability to represent South Africa and all its people in a dignified and capable way."

Mr Botha also paid tribute to Dr Koornhof for his "excellent service".

Mr Schwarz said he accepted the appointment, "conscious of the honour". - Sapa

NP to stand back in Yeoville by-election

PETER DELMAR
and TIM COHEN

THE NP would not fight a by-election in the Yeoville seat of SA ambassador-elect and DP MP Harry Schwarz, NP Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

A by-election in the constituency is expected in April or May next year following Schwarz's appointment as ambassador to Washington.

DP sources said yesterday Schwarz had insisted that the NP not contest Yeoville if he vacated the seat. Schwarz could not be reached for comment.

However, DP southern Transvaal chairman Peter Soal said that if this was cor-

rect, it meant Schwarz had "not left us in the lurch".

Du Plessis' statement yesterday gave no reason for the decision not to fight Yeoville and came just days before the NP's fight against the CP in Randburg.

The NP's decision on Yeoville will help ease DP unhappiness over President F W de Klerk's refusal to form an election pact with the DP in Randburg.

The DP stood back for the NP in Rand-

burg, despite holding the seat, and the NP is depending on DP support to reduce what is expected to be a significantly improved showing by the CP.

NP Transvaal secretary Gerhart Koornhof, son of the present US ambassador Piet Koornhof, said yesterday his father had not yet decided on his political future.

Meanwhile, DP finance chairman Douglas Gibson and Johannesburg city councillor Clive Gilbert yesterday confirmed that they would both seek the DP nomination. Local councillors Martin Sweet and Cecil Bass might also stand.



De Klerk's position under threat — Mandela

The Argus Correspondent

KUALA LUMPUR. — Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela has warned that rightwing elements in South Africa could topple President De Klerk to prevent black-white power-sharing talks.

"You have a right wing among whites in the country and they are very strong indeed. If De Klerk makes the mistake of trying to seek a mandate from whites, as he did during the last elections, then his position is under threat," Mr Mandela told a news conference at the end of his three-day visit to Malaysia.

Township violence

The African National Congress deputy president accused the security forces of inciting the violence in black townships, and said that as a result his coming meeting with leaders of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party was unlikely to end the bloodshed.

"The violence now raging is instigated by the security forces themselves and therefore the meeting may not put an end to the violence," Mr Mandela said.

But he said the meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Zulu-based Inkatha, should be held "because we

Mr Nelson Mandela ... "white right wing strong enough to topple President De Klerk."



are of the opinion that Inkatha has allowed itself to be used by the security forces".

The meeting is expected to take place when Mr Mandela returns to Johannesburg at the end of his Asia-Pacific tour. He leaves for Brunei, the last stop, on Sunday.

About 800 people have died in violence in Johannesburg's black townships since

August. Police blamed rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha for the violence, but Mr Mandela said the killings were the work of "death squads" trained by the security forces.

He said on Friday that the violence, if left unchecked, could provoke the ANC into resuming its armed struggle.

Asked on Saturday how close the ANC was to this, Mr Mandela said: "If we were close to that possibility, I certainly would not discuss it with the Press."

"We are determined to keep the peace process on track and will deal with the problems as they arise."

Decision

"But once we reach the position that the government no longer intends to go on with the peace process, we will have to take a decision ... an appropriate decision."

He said it would be a blow to the peace process if Mr De Klerk fell, but the government must keep to its commitments.

He described his six-nation tour as a success, with the possible exception of Japan, whose government rejected an ANC appeal for \$25 million in financial aid. — Sapa-Reuter.

FW asks for strong reform vote

Star 6/11/90

Amos

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk rounded off the National Party's Randburg by-election campaign last night, at a meeting of about 1 500 voters, by calling for an overwhelming vote for reform.

About 700 enthusiastic supporters filled the Randburg High School hall and several hundred more listened to the speech from loudspeakers outside the building. There was no right-wing disruption.

Speed

Reflecting NP fears of a slawaway by Democratic Party supporters in tomorrow's by-election, Mr de Klerk appealed to voters to overcome "petty party political prejudice" and to strengthen his hand in his reform moves.

"An abstention will, however it may be intended, amount to a tacit vote against a new South Africa and that is how the analysts will see it, as a tacit vote for the Conservative Party's emotional opposition to inescapable renewal."

"In this spirit I ask all Randburgers to stand up and be counted for what they basically believe in. Your support will strengthen my hand in moving forward with speed and determination."

He denied that the NP had played "typical party politics"

in pulling out of an election pact with the DP in Randburg and repeated his wish to see the Democratic Party becoming part of a broad discussion.

Earlier, at a press briefing, Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis had hinted that the NP's decision to stand back for the DP in Yeoville could lead to a broader election agreement.

Asked if the NP might do the same in other by-elections, he said: "There is a spirit that prevails beyond the confines of the Transvaal."

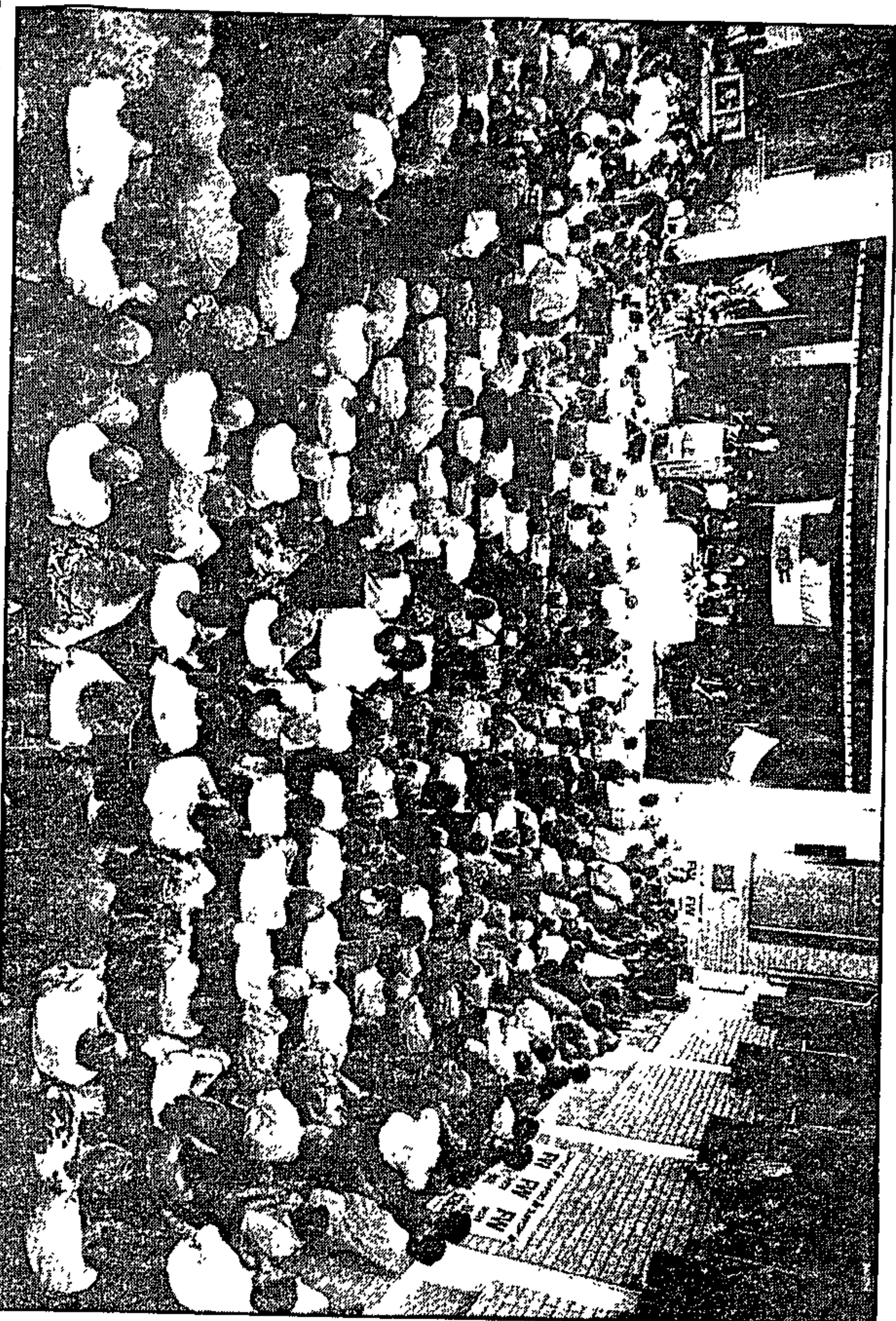
He also confirmed that the NP and the DP were discussing an election pact in coming Johannesburg council elections.

Mr de Klerk also warned about the danger of complacency. Although the CP had done badly in Randburg in 1989 it was putting all its "venom, bitterness and dirty tricks" into the campaign, he said.

The only way to counter this was to vote overwhelmingly in favour of reform and renewal so there could be no argument about where South Africa intended to go.

Dealing with CP criticism, he said he wanted to make it absolutely clear that there would not be another general election soon "because there is no basis for such a request".

He dismissed CP leader Andries Treurnicht's criticism that the NP had closed the door of constitutional change. He had given an absolute assurance that there would be a referendum before any new constitution was implemented, he said.



Capacity crowd . . . hundreds of people packed the Randburg High School hall last night, and hundreds more stood outside, to hear President de Klerk appeal for an overwhelming vote in favour of reform.

Picture: Karen Fletcher.

Star 6/11/90 (304A) (25)

DP calls for urgent meeting with FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has been asked to meet a delegation of Democratic Party MPs from the Western Cape urgently to discuss the controversy over the police ban on Claremont MP Jan van Eck entering Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

Mr van Eck was arrested and detained on Friday when police claimed he had defied an order restricting access to the townships.

Mr van Eck said the call for the meeting

forms part of a campaign to have the ban lifted so that DP MPs can continue their work unhindered. He said he would defy the ban and "continue my monitoring work in the townships".

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer yesterday again protested against Mr van Eck's arrest.

He said Mr van Eck was loved and respected in the townships because he had involved himself in the lives and the problems of the people. On the other hand the National Party and police had never been loved in these areas. — Sapa.

Normal relations a priority Schwarz

304A

B/p am 6/11/90

PRETORIA — The normalisation of relationships between SA and the US would have a profound influence on the development of a democratic dispensation in SA, ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

Normalisation would be his immediate priority, Schwarz said.

With the progress being made towards a new SA it was vital there should be an exchange of views over a wide area including constitutional, economic and cultural issues.

Also needed was a better understanding in the US of the difficulties which lay ahead for SA.

It was vital that the US's political, governmental and economic concepts not be ignored. It was equally important that they should be clearly understood by SA's constitutional negotiators.



● SCHWARZ

GERALD REILLY

On trade and investment restrictions imposed in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, Schwarz said a priority would be to convince Americans at all levels that SA had gone well beyond the point of no return in its determination to establish a non-racial dispensation.

There were "many things" that could be done under US influence to assist the underprivileged in SA, which had been retarded politically, economically and socially by decades of discrimination.

Schwarz said the US, having chosen to interfere in SA's affairs, should reassess its attitude in the light of the dramatic developments of the past 10 years.

The US should use its influence to ensure that in the new SA the economic system had to be firmly based on social market-oriented principles, and that this was clearly understood by all who would have a say in shaping economic policy.

US sanctions had hurt SA. Another of his tasks, he said, would be to persuade Americans that these were no longer justified against the background of recent events in SA.

Church debates role in talks

WILSON ZWANE

B/p am 6/11/90

REPRESENTATIVES of 144 Christian denominations began a five-day conference yesterday to discuss guidelines on Christian principles for politicians involved in the negotiation process.

The National Conference of Churches (NCC), being held near Rustenburg, is co-chaired by former Mineral and Energy Affairs director-general Louw Alberts and SA Council of Churches (SACC) secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane.

The NCC said that, given that 78% of the population was Christian, a "united Christian witness" in the process of change would have a great influence on SA society.

Alberts, who was asked by the President F W de Klerk to organise the conference, said it was not convened to form a united church.

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FW hints at closer links with DP

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night hinted strongly at closer links between the NP and DP.

Wrapping up the NP's Randburg by-election campaign, De Klerk told a meeting of 800 people he believed SA could no longer afford petty politics that bedevilled co-operation between people sharing the same basic values. *Bay 6/11/90*

The obvious differences between the NP and DP were best dealt with constructively around the negotiating table and in Parliament, De Klerk said.

In dealing with failed efforts to reach a by-election pact between the NP and DP, De Klerk said the NP believed an agreement could endanger the achievement of government's main objective — establishing broad co-operation.

EDYTH BULBRING

The NP was, at the time, asking each of its four congresses for a mandate on the issue of alliances. To have entered into a pact would have been "jumping the gun".

He stressed that he would like to see the DP becoming part of a broad discussion on the subject.

"The new SA demands that those who belong together through inner conviction should find ways and means of standing together and working together," he said.

Earlier, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said government had plans to talk about co-operation with the DP in two Johannesburg municipal by-elections.

Report by E Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

● Comment: Page 8

'Group rights' is dying a quiet death in SA

7/11/90

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By PETER FABRICIUS, Argus Political Staff

THE protection of political group rights — historically the keystone of National Party policy and almost everybody else's despair — seems to be dying a quiet death in the constitutional think tanks of the government.

Recent clues suggest rapid evolution in NP thinking has reached the point where groups may not figure as such at all in the constitutional proposals which the NP eventually puts on the negotiation table.

"Minority rights" — which in the NP mind have largely become universal democratic values such as the need for regular elections — will only be protected indirectly through political parties or through loaded majorities, it now seems.

As recently as August this year a leaked Broederbond document revealed that groups were still prominent in NP thinking.

The plan confirmed that government envisaged a two-chamber legislature with a lower "House of Representatives" elected by one-man, one-vote on a common voters roll.

Groups voluntarily formed around common principles such as language, culture or religion — but not race — would be equally represented in an upper house or senate along with representatives of 10 geographic regions.

Advice body

Groups would exercise powers disproportionate to their numbers through various mechanisms including a requirement that the senate approve all legislation — by a two third majority — and through an "advice body" which would resolve deadlocks between the two houses, by a three quarters majority.

Only senators would serve on the advice body.

One representative for every group would also serve on a multi-party cabinet, along with one representative for every region and seven members of the lower house.

Late last month the President's Council produced a similar constitutional blueprint.



Gerrit Viljoen

But it was probably still-born.

In the meantime the NP had announced its decision to open its ranks to all races and seek alliances with other parties.

Dr Viljoen had revealed a "new vision" — that Afrikaner and white interests would better be protected in a multi-racial alliance rather than in enshrined minority rights in the constitution.

This might have been a signal that the group idea was dying.

At the Transvaal NP congress another prominent member of the government's high-powered Ministerial Committee on Negotiations, (known by its Afrikaans acronym MKO) Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, gave notice of a further dissolution of the group concept.

Minority values

Asked how minorities would be defined if not racially, he gave a suprising indication that minority groups were losing their definition in NP thinking.

He suggested that different minorities would form to protect different "minority values."

And the same person could belong to different "minorities" on different issues.

Yet another MKO member, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, had made the point more



Roelf Meyer

explicitly at a Foreign Correspondents Association lunch, when he said "the days of group rights are gone."

This meant any definition of group based on race, religion or culture, he added, implicitly refuting the Broederbond and President's Council models.

Mr Meyer suggested that to define groups on the basis of language would split the two major white groups.

Apart from a bill of rights, "party political participation" would be the best way for whites to defend their interests.

The same suggestion cropped up about the same time in a confidential British report.

The report described a NP constitutional blueprint almost identical to the Broederbond model — but significantly with all explicit references to groups removed.

There would be only 10 representatives from each of the 10 regions and 100 elected by parties on a proportional basis in the senate, it said.

Another significant omission from the new plan was the "advice body" to resolve deadlocks.

The other features of the constitution corresponded closely to the Broederbond plan. They were;

- A bill of rights that would by protecting individual rights, protect languages,

religions and cultures as well as human rights;

- Devolution of power to ten autonomous regions, (corresponding to the present economic regions) that would in turn devolve power to local councils;

- Regions could differ in their official languages, education policies, public holidays and flags;

- A 300-seat lower house based on one-man, one-vote and proportional representation.

Parties would need to win a minimum of three percent of the vote to be represented in this house;

- A cabinet of seven members elected from the lower house, one each from the ten regions and one each from political parties.

The idea would be to establish a Swiss-style grand coalition with shifting alliances on different issues rather than the British-style permanent confrontation between the government and the opposition;

Like the US

- A largely ceremonial head of state elected by the legislature and a rotating executive prime minister chosen from each of the Cabinet members in turn;

- Legislation to be originated from either house with consensus being reached, as in the American system, by joint committees of both houses;

- Changes in the constitution only by a two-thirds majority of both houses;

- An independent high court to guard the bill of rights and the constitution and to settle disputes between federal and regional governments;

- An economic system based on free-market principles.

"What is emerging looks more like the United States constitution than any other model," the report concluded.

"It would protect group rights without saying so."

It is not yet certain that this fully represents government thinking.

Pik flies to meet leaders at 'breakfast'

By Ken Vernon
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Foreign Minister Pik Botha flew into Lusaka today for a prayer breakfast and a "seminar" with the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity and other African leaders.

On his arrival at the airport Mr Botha congratulated President Kaunda of Zambia for arranging the "spiritual initiative" in an effort to help solve southern Africa's problems.

The presence at the meeting of President Museveni of Uganda is seen by observers to be especially significant as he is the current chairman of the OAU. In addition, his country at present is playing host to a thousand members of the African National Congress's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Also attending the meetings is ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

President Chissano of Mozambique arrived yesterday for the meetings. The head of the Lesotho government, Major-General Metsing Lekhanya was expected to pull out of the meeting following the govern-

ment's decision yesterday to dethrone King Moshoeshe. President Buyoya of Burundi has also withdrawn.

President Quett Masire has sent his Foreign Minister, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, in his place. Others due to take part were Transkei's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Swazi premier Sotsha Dlamini and a representative of the Namibian government.

Significantly, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe — still the most vociferous opponent of Pretoria — declined to attend or send a representative.

A Zambian government spokesman said the prayer breakfast and the seminar that was to follow it were a demonstration of reconciliation in southern Africa following the easing of regional tensions.

However, observers in the Zambian capital see it as a desperate attempt by Dr Kaunda to regain credibility in Africa as a regional peacemaker.

Zambia's economy is in a parlous state and the president, having agreed in principle to a multiparty state — should that be what the majority of his people want — could be on the brink of political extinction.

SA has 'fair chance' of reaching stability

810ay 7/11/90
THE Economist magazine, published in London, this week features SA in a 30-page survey titled After Apartheid.

It examines the country's chances of achieving stability and prosperity under a democratic constitution, and concludes that they are fair.

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Writer Sebastian Malaby, The Economist's Africa correspondent, says the more President F W de Klerk involves the ANC in the changes already in

Business Day Reporter

train, the more certain he can be that they will stick.

"As the ANC's leaders accept more responsibility, their followers will start to realise that politics can bring only compromises, not the miracle of liberation that they have been taught to expect."

The survey, supported by advertising from major SA companies, looks at problems caused by violence, the breakdown of black education, and revolutionary attempts to make the country ungovernable.

It says Nelson Mandela is appealing for discipline, "but ungovernability is appallingly difficult to undo."

It estimates that unemployment is close to 50%, and says that an economy suffering slow growth, low investment, declining gold production and AIDS cannot be expected to support the huge expansion of welfare that blacks expect.

Racial justice would not reverse the damage to growth done by sanctions.

Yeoville part of Schwarz deal

Sowetan 2/11/90

304A

DEMOCRATIC Party Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz accepted an appointment as ambassador to Washington on condition the National Party pulled out of the Yeoville by-election, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

This appeared to contradict Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis, who said last night at a Press briefing in Rand-

SOWETAN Correspondent

burg that the Yeoville offer was not a condition of Schwarz taking the Washington job.

The NP had decided "spontaneously" to pull out of Yeoville, to reciprocate the DP's gesture in pulling out of Randburg.

Schwarz's appointment and the NP decision not to fight the DP were indicative of a new phase

in South African politics, De Beer said.

"I should emphasise there is no question of the Democratic Party surrendering any of its identity, its independence or its integrity.

Proposal

"Harry Schwarz was approached to accept the Washington job, which he can certainly do better than anyone else could, and accepted on the basis that he retains his DP membership (while ob-

viously not being active in the future) and that we do not have to fight a difficult election in Yeoville.

"There is a loss to the DP in that we lose an outstanding debater from our parliamentary team, but South Africa undoubtedly gains in that the appointment begins to establish a bipartisan approach to Government, and also the cause of democracy gains from the fact that a lifelong democrat now represents South Africa in this crucial post."

Nats pray that CP will lose deposit

A MAJOR talking point of today's by-election in Randburg is almost certain to be how the votes are split between the two parties contesting the seat.

The Conservative Party has been making growing claims that it now represents the white voters of South Africa since President F W de Klerk's dramatic changes announced in his February 2 speech.

It will be looking for the narrowest margin of defeat to prove its point that voters had moved over to the right, far enough to sweep it to victory in a general election.

The ruling National Party will be looking for the widest possible space between it and the CP to dispel these claims. CP hopes for around 3 000 votes represent a massive increase from the 755 votes it polled in the 1989 general

election.

The NP can counter by pushing up its vote to the extent that the CP, in spite of an increase in votes, loses its deposit. The NP could then claim the CP's loss as a humiliation, in spite of the increase in its votes.

The NP realises they need the enthusiastic support of Democratic Party voters who are not represented in the by-election.

NP organisers were hoping that the appointment of DP MP, Mr Harry Schwarz, as ambassador to the United States and the decision by the NP not to contest the by-election caused by the vacation of his Yeoville seat, would placate DP voters and persuade them to vote Nat. - *Sapa.*

(News by Ken Daniels, 1st Floor, Kine Centre, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

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21/11/90

Left shift just as bad - Zach

A SHIFT to the left in South Africa would be just as destructive as one to the right, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking in Cape Town De Beer said if there was a shift to the right the country would descend into a morass of anarchic violence, inter-

national rejection and economic collapse.

Somebody
11/1/90
A shift to the left, brought by a government with a socialist policy, would result in a command economy in which nationalisation or massive government intervention in industry would occur, he said. - Sapa.

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Rapid evolution in NP thinking

FOCUS

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Sowetan 7/11/90

THE protection of political group rights - historically the keystone of National Party policy and almost everybody else's despair - seems to be dying a quiet death in the constitutional think tanks of the Government.

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Exercise

Groups voluntarily formed around common principles such as language, culture or religion - but not race - would be equally represented in an upper house or senate along with representatives of 10 geographic regions.

Groups would exercise powers disproportionate to their numbers through various mechanisms including a requirement that the senate approve all legislation - by a two third majority - and through an "advice body" which would resolve deadlocks between the two houses, by a three-quarters majority.

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Council produced a similar constitutional blueprint.

But it was probably stillborn.

In the meantime the NP had announced its decision to open its ranks to all races and seek alliances with other parties.

Viljoen had revealed a "new vision" - that Afrikaner and white interests would better be protected in a multi-racial alliance rather than in enshrined minority rights in the constitution.

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Minority

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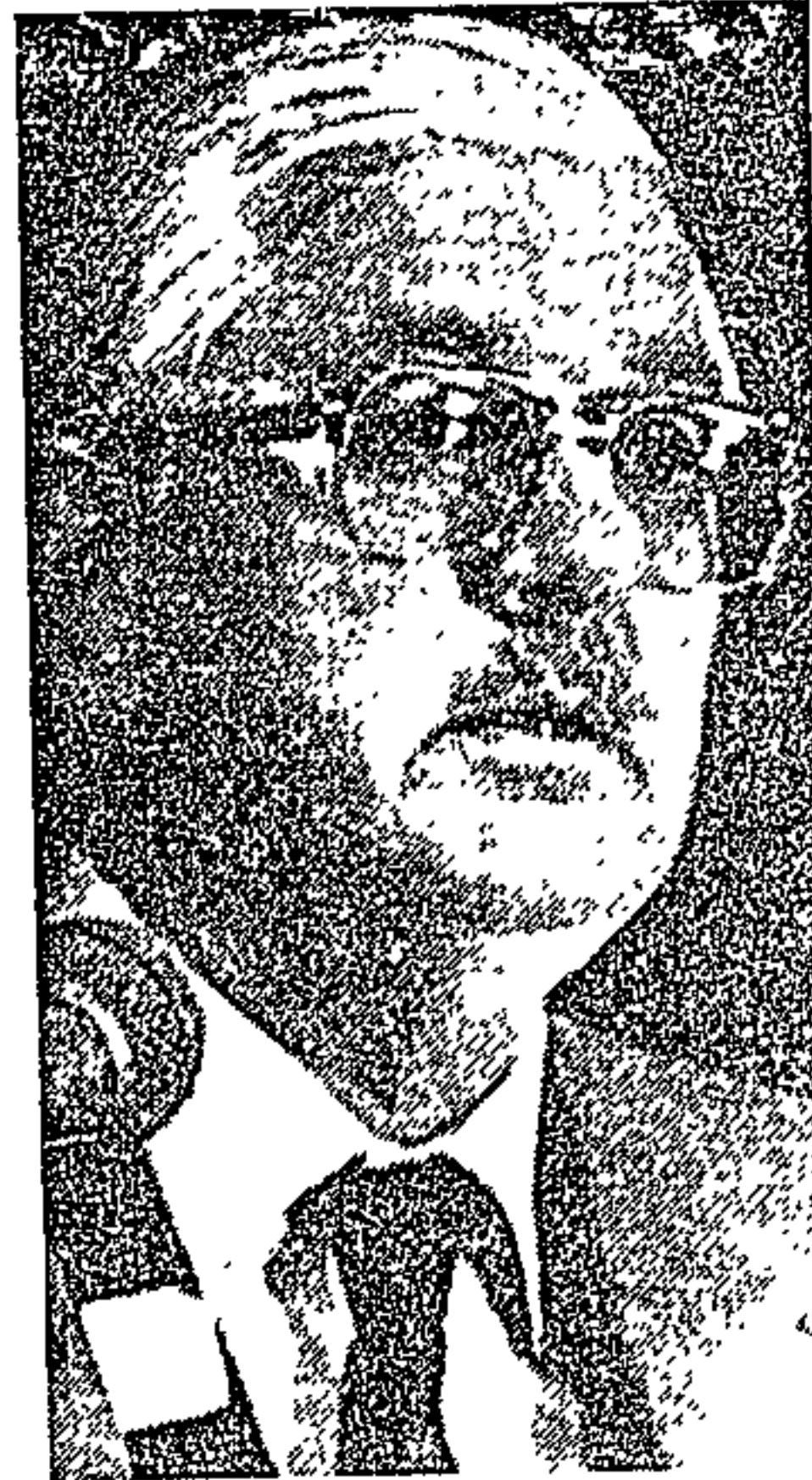
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GERRIT VILJOEN

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High Court

- * An independent high court to guard the bill of rights and the constitution and to settle disputes between federal and regional governments;

- * An economic system based on free-market principles.

"What is emerging looks more like the United States constitution than any other model," the report concluded.

"It would protect group rights without saying so."

It is not yet certain that this fully represents Government thinking. An important contrary indication was Viljoen's explicit stipulation at the October Cape NP congress that "minority groups must be constituted according to a new, acceptable and non-racial system of guidelines laid down in the constitution."

Has Viljoen already gone past this view? Or are there different schools of thought debating the issue inside the party?

This is not clear. But it seems likely that the NP - knowing that group protection is unacceptable to the ANC and other major negotiating or potential alliance partners - is moving past this notion in order to properly prepare itself for competing on a level political playing field. - Sowetan Correspondent.

BACK in 1981 Wynand Malan won Randburg for the NP by 698 votes from the Progressive Federal Party's Pieter Schoeman, who polled 5 445 votes.

In every election in the constituency since then those PFP voters have been asked to support another party, and have done so — securing Malan comfortable majorities first as an independent and then as a DP candidate.

In today's Randburg by-election the old Prog supporters are again being asked to vote for another party — this time FW de Klerk's revamped new-look NP, which is challenged by the CP. If they do, De Klerk will receive a thumping endorsement for his reform policies. Their failure to do so could bring a severe embarrassment for De Klerk and the NP.

The result is not in doubt. Both parties agree the NP will win — but by how much?

NP canvassing in Randburg has confirmed a drift amongst its former supporters to the CP and the party expects the CP to poll at least 2 000 votes — three times what it did last year. The CP expects a minimum of 2 800 votes.

Even allowing for a drift of 2 000 former NP supporters to the CP, if all the other voters who cast their ballots in favour of the DP and NP last year voted for NP candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk, the party would receive a huge majority of more than 9 000 votes.

But this is highly unlikely. For one thing, ever since the DP withdrew from the contest, interest in the by-election has been minimal.

The CP predicts a poll of just 50% while the NP's

Randburg: FW relies on

304A
MIKE ROBERTSON

campaign manager Johan Loots, although hoping for a 60% poll, expects one in the middle 50s.

The expectation is that whatever the percentage poll, the CP vote will remain constant so in the event of a 60% poll, the NP will receive a majority of about 7 500 while in a 50% poll this will fall to about 6 000.

Whatever the turnout, the CP will claim that trebling or even quadrupling its support in a solidly middleclass constituency justifies its claim that De Klerk has no mandate for his reforms.

But there are several reasons working in favour of the CP which militate against this victory-in-defeat argument.

For one, in their canvassing both parties attest to encountering numerous DP supporters who simply cannot bring themselves to vote for the NP.

Protest

Because the result is a foregone conclusion many NP and DP-inclined voters will simply not bother to go to the polls.

Both parties also say they have come across a small (NP) or significant (CP) number of DP supporters who, enraged by the way in which the NP rejected an election pact worked out by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz, say they will cast their ballots in favour of the CP as a protest vote.

Loots believes the number of DP supporters who will do this has declined since the NP's announcement that it will not contest Schwarz's Yeoville seat when he takes up his new post as ambassador to the US. His CP counterpart, Maraisburg MP CP de la Rey, says he still expects a significant number of DP supporters to make protest votes.

A final reason to question CP claims that its expected defeat in Randburg will in fact be a vote against reform is that the 755 votes it received in last year's election is almost certainly not a true reflection of its support then.

Glenn Babb, the NP's candidate, fought a negative campaign epitomised by the publication of a photograph of Wynand Malan with SACP chief Joe Slovo — the suggestion being at best that Malan was soft on communism and "terrorism" or at worst that he was a sympathiser.

Given the high profile of last year's campaign, it is highly likely that voters, who were more at home in the CP camp than in that of De Klerk's NP, probably cast their ballots in favour of Babb.

This can be seen by the fact that while the CP vote increased dramatically countrywide, in Randburg

it fell from 884 (1987) to 755.

With the CP's Leonie Steele doing now to Van Schalkwyk what Babb did then to Malan, these voters will return to their more natural home.

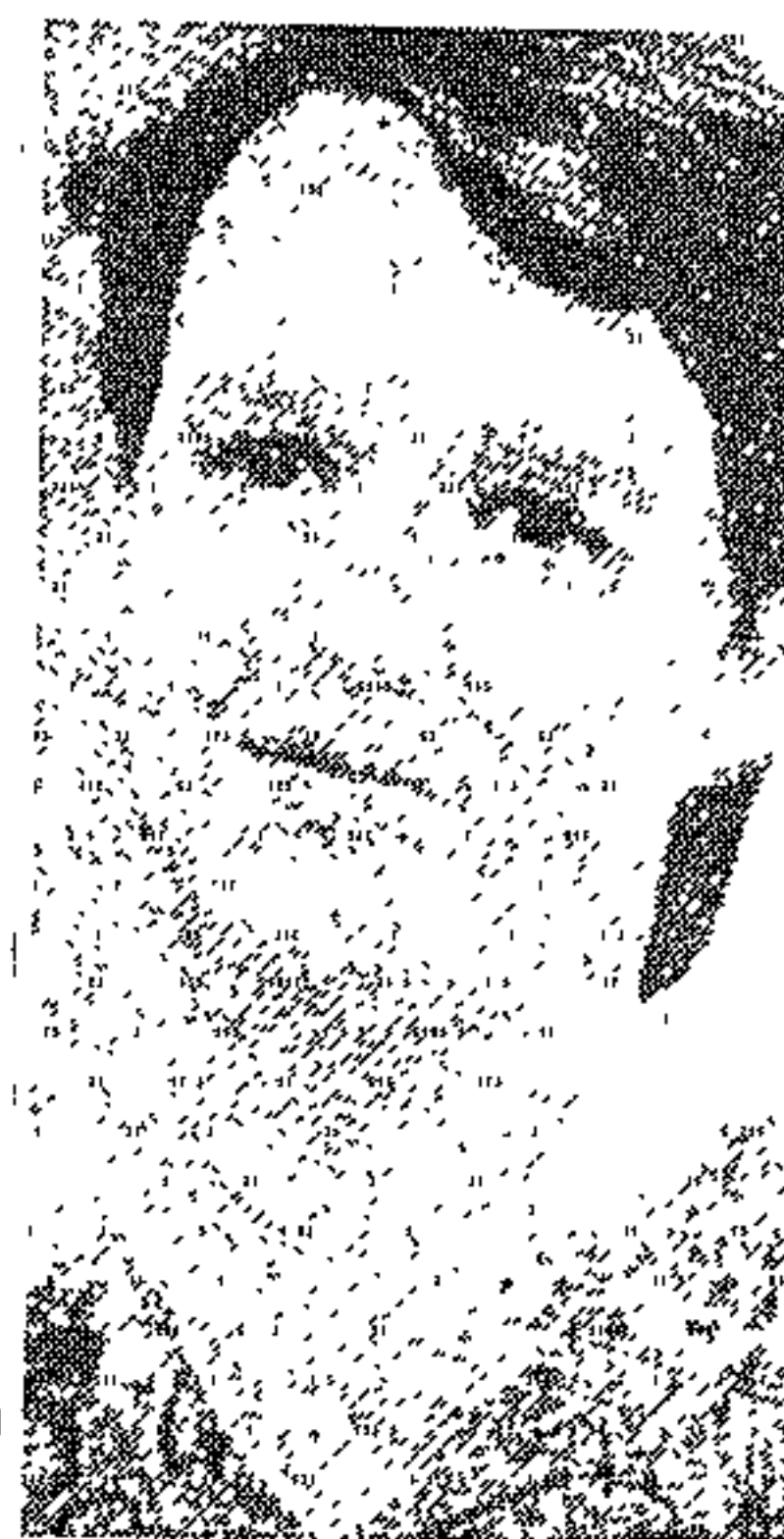
When the result of today's election is announced, it will show that a majority of voters in Randburg support change. If the former PFP stalwarts again rally to support another party the endorsement will be overwhelming. If they don't the NP will have cause for concern that the erosion of its traditional support base by the CP is not being offset by gains from the left.

Report by M. Robertson, 11 De la Rey Street, Johannesburg.

SINISS DAY, Wednesday, November 7 1990

5

old 'Progs'



● STEELE



● VAN SCHALKWYK

Nats clinch it

CP lose deposit in Randburg

APR 11/90 8/11/90

Pik at

prayer With Africa's leaders

LUSAKA. — Foreign Minister Mr. P. Botha met several top Africa leaders at a prayer breakfast here yesterday.

Among the leaders were the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the host, and President Josiah Chissano of Mozambique.

Mr. Botha congratulated President Kaunda on arranging the "spiritual initiative" to try to help solve Southern Africa's problems. He said South Africa's moves to end apartheid were irreversible and urged all parties seeking multi-racial democracy to overcome mutual suspicion.

President Kaunda called for reconciliation between all South African people and prayed that President F. W. de Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and all others engaged in attempting to end apartheid would succeed. The meeting was also attended by ANC secretary-general Mr. Alfred Nzo. — Sapa

WELCOME BREATHIER FROM THE SCORCHER



JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party won the Randburg by-election last night by a majority of 8 913 votes, according to provisional results.

The National Party candidate, Mr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk, polled 10 882 votes to the 1 969 votes of the Conservative Party's Mrs. Leonie Steele.

The CP lost its deposit. Even before the result was announced, the NP was confident of a resounding victory over the Conservative Party.

When the polls closed at 9pm the leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Finance Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis, said he was sure his party would win handsomely.

Right up until the close of polls, CP workers were still trying to persuade everyone who arrived at the three polling stations to vote for them.

"Vote CP on the right. Stand on the left," CP people continued to passers-by, but, as with the pattern throughout the day, voters moved past the CP tables and appeared to be voting for the NP in overwhelming numbers.

CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht arrived at the main polling station soon after 5pm amid loud chants of "CP, CP". In last year's general election, the CP received a mere 755 votes.

Yesterday, as voting picked up momentum in the late afternoon and early evening, election officials from both camps had predicted a higher than expected percentage poll of between 55% and 60%.

The topic of intense discussion had been whether the CP would manage to obtain 20% of the total votes cast in order to retain its deposit.

Late yesterday afternoon, the CP's chief secretary, Mr. Andries Beyers, conceded that his party's chances were slim.

However, Mrs. Steele said: "It won't be a victory for the Nats if they don't get at least 15 000 votes, the total of the combined NP/DP vote in last year's election."

Nationalist candidate Mr. Van Schalkwyk said the CP had scented down its expectations throughout the day yesterday when it became clear that voters were streaming to vote for the NP.

Crucial test

"They first said they could get 4 500 votes, then 3 000 and now 2 800," he said before polls closed.

Democratic Party supporters appeared to bury the hatchet and looked to the three polling stations in considerable numbers to vote Nat. Two DP MPs, Mr. Tony Leon of Houghton and Mr. Lester Fuchs of Hillbrow, visited the main polling station at Fontainebleau Primary School early yesterday morning to wish the NP candidate well.

Former Randburg DP MP Mr. Wynand Malan, who once held the seat for the NP, cast his vote at the Rissdale polling station for the NP. The by-election was the result of Mr. Malan's resignation from politics earlier this year.

Regarded as a mini-referendum on the country's constitutional future and a crucial test for President De Klerk's reforms, excitement ran high shortly before voting closed.

The CP drew most support at the Fontainebleau polling station, but its tables at Rissdale Primary School and Norbellif Primary School were virtually deserted. These areas are traditional DP strongholds. — Sapa

TAKING A BREAK...

Sparkling waves at Three Anchor Bay yesterday beckoned paddlers (from left) Jackie Filks, Doreen Lange, Magdelaine Jones and Maria De Koker. They were watched by Mark Liffman (left) and Ralph Beltrami.

Photo: Sapa 004

Syfers Cape Times

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Govt lifts curfew on Khayelitsha

By CHRIS BATTENMAN

tempt on Khayelitsha's Western Cape Civic Association chairman Mr. Michael Mwanamwana and the

possible charges for refusing to leave Khayelitsha when ordered to do so last week said the lifting

Randburg poll clear thumbs-up for FW

ARGUS 8/11/96 304A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Randburg voters have given a clear thumbs-up to President De Klerk's constitutional initiatives in a parliamentary by-election which has been interpreted as a mini-referendum on white urban support for the reformist government.

In a severe blow to the Conservative Party's claim that it now represented the majority of whites following the government's dramatic reforms, the NP scored a resounding 8 913 victory in a 56,5 percent poll. There were 72 spoilt papers.

The NP's Marthinus van Schalkwyk got 10 882 votes compared to the 1 969 votes of the Conservative Party's Leonie Steele.

Jubilation

However, the CP increased its support by 1 214 votes compared to the 755 it had received in last year's general election, fuelling its belief that it could obtain the majority of parliamentary seats in a general election.

Jubilation reigned in the NP camp when the election result was announced by electoral officer Gert Reyeneke at 11.30pm.

The NP's Transvaal leader, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, and an ecstatic Mr Van Schalkwyk were carried shoulder-high by supporters who had patiently awaited the result since voting closed at 9pm.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the result had confirmed that the government did have a mandate for its reforms, and that "we are unfalteringly on the way to a new South Africa".

He urged the CP to become part of the negotiating process, since "it has now been proved that this is the only way forward".

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht expressed disappointment at the result, saying: "We would have been happy had we fared better, but we are thankful for the support received."

Analysts interpreted the result as a boost to President De Klerk's reforms.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, said the result showed a 7 to 8 percent swing to the CP — well short of the swing needed to challenge Mr De Klerk's mandate.

Former Randburg MP Wynand Malan, whose retirement from politics brought about the by-election, said it had been a good result for Mr De Klerk.

"The message from Randburg is that they are behind him. He must take the process and carry it on until negotiations."

Political observer Professor Willem Kleynhans said the low poll of 56 percent was a "fiasco" in a by-election which had been billed by President De Klerk and all political commentators as one of the most important in decades.

He said that for nearly half the people of Randburg to have decided not to vote indicated a deliberate stayaway, which should be disturbing to the National Party.

'We don't want cheap NGK confession'

Star 8/11/90

30/11

By Carina le Grange

RUSTENBURG — Serious dissent between the white Ned Geref Kerk and its sister black and coloured churches threatened at the National Conference of Churches yesterday.

It followed a personal confession of guilt about apartheid by an individual NGK member, which was later endorsed by an official NGK delegation.

The deepening of the already-existing rift between the NGK, the (black) NGK in Afrika and (coloured) NG Sendingkerk was triggered by the confession of guilt by theologian Professor Willie Jonker on Tuesday morning, which he made on behalf of the NGK.

This was followed by the spontaneous forgiveness and acceptance of the confession by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Yesterday, NGK moderator Professor Pieter Potgieter told the conference that the NGK delegation had unambiguously stated that they identified with Professor Jonker's statement.

The black and coloured NG churches had however required an urgent clarification on whether the confession had been accepted by Archbishop Tutu on behalf of the entire conference.

As the matter became a dominant issue, both inside and outside the proceedings, these two churches also said they would be "enormously

compromised" if the conference were to become a platform for the theological viewpoints of the white NGK.

In a statement and at a press conference, these churches said their position of protest was not aimed personally at Archbishop Tutu or Professor Jonker and that they also accepted the latter's confession.

They pointed out that the NGK had not yet clearly committed itself to a structurally united church and that many ministers were members of the Broederbond.

Their major objection centred on the fact that recent progressive developments in the white church were couched in words which could be interpreted in more than one way.

Sam Buti, of the NGKA, said: "We do not want a cheap confession. You can only confess after you have repented that you have done wrong in the past."

Rusell Botma of the NG Sendingkerk said the NGK confession meant that Dr Andries Treurnicht and Professor Carel Boshoff, both NGK members, had also confessed their sins and guilt over apartheid.

"If that is true, we must also hear it from them," he said.

The Rev Frank Chikane said: "The trauma we are going through is part of the pain of confronting one another. It is a constructive event, in my opinion".

PLAN FOR SA

304A

South 8/11 - 14/11/90

JOHANNESBURG.— The National Party's constitutional blueprint, which it hopes to submit at the negotiation table next year, is taking shape behind close doors, according to a report in London.

The latest issue of **FRONT FILE**, a sub-

scriptions only newsletter published in London, says the blueprint is a "classic United States-style geographic federation" consisting of 10 or 12 semi-autonomous regions and a powerful Supreme Court as a final arbiter of the constitution.

It includes a Charter of Human Rights and a division of power between the Supreme Court, a bicameral legislature and a rotating executive presidency with proscribed powers.

Minority interests will be protected through a combination of the Human Rights Charter, entrenched constitutional guarantees within a free market system and frequent elections and proportional representation at all levels of government.

The plan allows neighbourhoods to take decisions on their own schools as long as these do not impinge on the human rights of others as protected by the Charter of Human Rights.

Autonomous regions will be able to decide on economic and security issues and will even determine regional official languages, anthems and flags, provided the national symbols are accepted as the highest embodiment of the state.

Several important aspects of the party's constitutional vision have yet to be finalised.

One of the most contentious is the exact nature of the executive.

It talks about a rotating executive presidency, with limited powers. The president would be chairperson of the cabinet based on proportional representation and consensus decision-making.

Significantly, the National Party has dropped its earlier demand for specific guarantees for the white minority, even on a temporary basis as was the case with Zimbabwe.

ANC officials will also be

Indemnity

last weekend to deliver indemnity explain the application proced

number 8 to November 14 1990

NAT

DP will welcome pact with Nats

304A

Sowetan 8/11/90

THE Democratic Party would welcome an election pact with the National Party.

DP MP and Southern Transvaal chairman Mr Peter Soal told Sapa the NP had not yet approached the DP about such a pact, but there was a need for people who believe in reform to come together.

Referring to the comments made at an election meeting in Randburg on Monday night by State President F W de Klerk and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Soal

said the Nats were fishing for votes in Randburg.

The NP are facing a setback in the Randburg by-election and they were worried that the Conservative Party might come out of the poll looking good.

Pressure

The withdrawal of the DP from the Randburg contest has put pressure on the NP and Soal believes this could be why there is new talk of an election pact.

He warned, however,

that the DP would be more cautious about forming a pact after the Nats rejection of the pact proposed by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer. - Sapa

De Klerk's sincerity challenged

SIR: I appeal to all liberation-hungry Africans not to be fooled by De Klerk.

I believe that the struggle for liberation of Africans in this country should be an entirely African affair.

So I condemn the ANC and other liberation

movements who allow Europeans, the engineers of apartheid, to infiltrate them.

What De Klerk is doing is what the NSL has done to the FPL.

We do not want to be assimilated into the existing apartheid Government Structures, we

want them all demolished.

We do not want to share power with the Afrikaners, to further oppress those of us (Africans) who will not be in Government.

To Africans, liberation is a must, it is not a favour which the whites should grant us. We have

to liberate ourselves without their help.

No white South African should be allowed to deceive us by feigning sincerity and commitment to our struggle, be he De Klerk or whoever.

KM
Mmabatho

3041

Blday 8/11/90
**New leaders
vital, says
Van der Post**

STELLENBOSCH — The solution to SA's problems did not lie in politics but in unlocking the attributes of its nations in a dialogue which would reveal the new leaders, Sir Laurens van der Post said yesterday.

In an address at Stellenbosch University, the author and philosopher said the Afrikaner had found his true self again and was able to laugh after 40 years of dour silence because he was once more living up to the dictates of his Huguenot conscience.

"I do not accept that our problems can be solved politically. (304A)

"To say the future leaders are to be found only in the few parties involved in the current process is a terrible error," he said.

"The call for the real trek, the greatest trek of all, is upon us. The real trek with consciousness of our real freedom to choose between truth and error," Van der Post said.

"This is the weapon we have got." — Sapa.

ards in
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304A

'Randburg result shows NP strength'

Political Correspondent

THE Randburg by-election result meant that the National Party would "easily" beat the Conservative Party in a general election, Potchestroom University said yesterday.

Mr Simpson said the "staggeringly strong" vote for the NP in which it managed to garner 85% of the votes cast, meant that it would win an election based on the present or redrawn constituency boundaries.

The NP candidate, Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk, received 10 882 votes, while the CP candidate, Mrs Leonie Steele, managed 1 969 votes.

On the basis of its performance in Rand-

burg, the NP should win 60% of the popular vote in a referendum on a new constitution, Mr Simpson said.

However, Mr Simpson cautioned that "great care" should be exercised before making claims for and against parties based on the Randburg result because of the low percentage poll. Only 56,5% of the eligible voters bothered to cast their ballots compared with 74% in last year's general election.

"This is a very good result for the NP and a morale booster after the Umlazi debacle.

"The NP candidate is a genuine 'De Klerk' policy man, a liberal by the standards of 1989.

"On the mandate issue, Mr De Klerk has

his mandate renewed at this by-election," he said.

● Sapa reports that Mr De Klerk said yesterday that the Randburg result was a good sign for reform and gave the government the thrust for what it wanted to attain.

Speaking at a press call with a visiting group of British MPs at the Union Buildings, Mr De Klerk said the outcome of the by-election had disproved the CP's "exorbitant claims".

However, he warned that the CP still enjoyed 25% support among the white electorate and accordingly had to be withstood "because the road they find themselves on is a dangerous road".

FW calls for a pledge to peace from ANC

Sowetan 9/11/90

3048

STATE President FW de Klerk said on Wednesday night South Africa expected the African National Congress to take a stand against everything which did not accord with the search for a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

Speaking at Bethlehem in the Free State, De Klerk said the ANC had to distance itself unconditionally from destabilisation, boycotts, intimidation and military build-up.

There was a clearly defined strategy of in-

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

timidation and undermining of local management systems, regional government and self-governing states, he said.

He wanted to know who was responsible for these misdeeds and their potentially far-reaching consequences.

By agreeing to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes the Government and the ANC had bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions

and to curbing intimidation and violence, De Klerk said.

He said the ANC should not be involved in violence, in preparing for violence or in so-called "non-violent destabilisation actions".

The country expected deeds to match words and was waiting for ferocious elements in South Africa to be brought under control.

De Klerk said unless he received a satisfactory reply he would certainly hold the ANC responsible.

Churches to meet over interpretation of apartheid

By Carina le Grange

RUSTENBURG — The white Ned Geref Kerk and its two younger black and coloured churches will meet officially early next month to clear up their differences over the interpretation of apartheid, it was announced at the National Conference of Churches (NCC) yesterday.

This meeting is considered a breakthrough out of the deadlock which exists between the churches.

It is the outcome of a rift which has existed for some years, but which surfaced publicly at the NCC after the white NGK confessed its sin and guilt over its support for apartheid.

The (black) NGK in Afrika and (coloured) NG Sendingkerk have responded to the confession by saying there are differences in the interpretation of apartheid between the white and black churches, creating problems for the latter to ac-

cept the confession of guilt.

The announcement of the scheduled December meeting came after a consultation during which the "air was cleared" with regard to the NGK's confession to the conference this week, according to NGSK moderator Nic Apollis.

This has defused an issue that had been dominating the conference since Tuesday and created much soul-searching over the nature of confession and forgiveness which should follow it.

The initial spontaneous personal confession of NGK theologian Professor Willie Jonker was accepted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Yesterday Professor Jonker was thanked for his confession by close friend Beyers Naudé.

Pastor Ray McCauley, on behalf of the Rhema Bible Church, the Network of Christian Ministries and Christian Fellowship International, also formally confessed guilt yesterday.

Govt in tough stand over 'mass action'

Political Staff

The Government and the ANC are expected to cross swords today over ANC mass action. This is likely to be the key issue at today's resumed meeting of the joint ANC/Government working group in Pretoria.

President de Klerk has singled out boycotts and other forms of mass action as destructive and tantamount to violence, and has promised to "call the ANC leadership to account" if it fails to give a clear undertaking to distance itself from boycotts, intimidation and mass action.

Emphasised

But Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, only this week emphasised at a meeting in Johannesburg that Mr Mandela had called for the intensification of the struggle on all fronts.

She said Mr Mandela had telephoned her from London and asked her to convey this message.

During a speech in Bethlehem this week, Mr de Klerk said the Government had accepted the necessity of change, but mass action, threats and intimidation were not necessary to achieve this.

He expressed deep concern about the emergence, "stronger than ever before", of a "clearly defined strategy of intimidation and undermining of local authorities, regional and self-gov-

erning states, the refusal to pay rent and service fees, boycotts of mortgage bonds and other forms of destabilising orderly government ... just about everything that is not violent but has the same destructive capacity of violence if it is not brought under control".

Mr de Klerk added: "These things are in reality just another form of violence."

In terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, he said, the ANC should distance itself from these activities.

"I expect from them an unqualified stand against everything that is not conducive to the peaceful search for solutions. The whole country expects this of them. The ANC must accept its responsibility in this regard.

"If I do not get a satisfactory answer, I will certainly call the ANC to account."

The Government has differentiated between political mass action such as rallies and meetings, and mass action linked to the armed struggle, including boycotts and stayaways.

The joint working group's work has taken on a new importance with the announcement of guidelines for the granting of indemnity and the release of political prisoners.

The Government has linked this process to progress made in reaching a peaceful political settlement and the satisfactory resolution of the armed struggle.

Granting indemnity and release of political prisoners will be partially linked to progress made by the working group.

Naudé urges the NGK to confess guilt

By Carina le Grange

RUSTENBURG — One of the ways in which the Ned Geref Kerk could make a confession of guilt over apartheid would be to do it at Blood River or the Voortrekker Monument in front of the widest possible representation of blacks, Dr Beyers Naudé said yesterday.

Healing

Similarly, the English churches could confess at the Bloemfontein Vrouemonument over the deaths of 26 000 Afrikaner women and children in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War, he said.

Speaking at the National Conference of Churches (NCC) near Rustenburg, Dr Naudé said: "All the churches in South Africa should participate in an expression of guilt."

"No healing is possible without reconciliation, no reconciliation is possible without justice and no justice is possible without genuine restitution."

He said the NGK had a special role to play in this regard, as it was responsible for specific laws and actions which promoted apartheid.

He said the NGK also owed the World Council of Churches (WCC) an apology for the serious wrongs which the NGK's rejection of the international ecumenical body in 1961 had caused the WCC.

Added to this was National Party propaganda which, "through decades, deliberately created and sustained a totally distorted image of the WCC and its important ecumenical role of love, service and reconciliation".

Dr Naudé also said: "My deepest concern today is not focused on the political but on the economic issues in South Africa."

Later, at a press conference, he said sanctions could not be lifted yet.

"We need to resolve political problems as soon as possible so that the door can be opened to investment."

In the meantime, the pressure of sanctions on the Government was still necessary.

Mistake

He said the immediate lifting of sanctions might cause a division within African National Congress ranks and hamper Nelson Mandela's handling of the negotiation process.

Earlier, Dr Naudé cautioned that it would be a "grave mistake if the NCC, in our urgent longing to achieve a united Christian witness, denied or ignored the deep differences in our midst to reach an acceptable compromise".

"This will not lead us to the truth, or help in removing deep-rooted injustices, nor help pave the way for lasting reconciliation and peace."



Nats beat CP convincingly in Randaburg

304A
9/11/90

The resounding NP victory in the Randburg by-election was a thrust for what the Government wanted to achieve in South Africa, President de Klerk said today. "It was a good result for reform," he said at the Union Buildings. He said it completely disproves exorbitant claims of white support that the Conservative Party had been making for some time. Supporters of the National Party (above) were visibly overjoyed when their candidate in the Randburg by-election, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, convincingly emerged victorious on Wednesday night; while (left) disappointment was written all over Dr Andries Treunicht's face after the Conservative Party candidate, Mrs Leonie Steele, made an unsuccessful bid at the seat. She polled 1 969 votes and lost her deposit.



Dhlomo...

turned down Washington

FIM 9/11/90

304A

member Denis Worrall, a former ambassador to London and Canberra, has been approached to be ambassador to France — but these have been quashed by government sources. Worrall is not on the list; nor is nominated MP Glenn Babb, formerly ambassador to Canada and the unsuccessful Nat candidate in Randburg in the 1989 general election.

The sources say, however, that a career diplomat has been earmarked for the French post. One name mentioned is Andre Jacquet, who has served in both Paris and Washington. Another career diplomat tipped for promotion is Derek Auret, who played a major part during the Namibian independence process and is close to Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

DIPLOMACY *FIM 9/11/90* **LATE SWITCH** *304A*

The appointment of Democratic Party finance spokesman Harry Schwarz as ambassador to the US followed consideration at Cabinet level of various candidates and postings. The *FM* has learned that former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo had been the first choice for the Washington job.

A top government source tells the *FM* that Dhlomo's possible appointment, and that of *Sunday Times* former editor Tertius Myburgh as ambassador to London, had been discussed and agreed upon at a Cabinet meeting before President FW de Klerk's meeting with President George Bush. Dhlomo, however, turned down the offer.

As the *FM* reported last week, Schwarz was keen to take up the UK post and, say sources, it was decided to appoint Myburgh to Washington. However, a few days after the announcement that Myburgh was to be an ambassador he was forced to turn down a foreign posting for health reasons.

The decision to send Schwarz to Washington in place of Myburgh was taken at a much later stage. Senior government officials were still under the impression last week that Schwarz was going to London.

Meanwhile, Cabinet has approved several other diplomatic postings, to be announced as soon as the host countries have cleared them. The names of new ambassadors to Israel and Portugal can be expected before the end of the year. The replacement for Rae Killen in London is also expected to be made known soon, though no names are circulating in the Union Buildings since the decision to send Schwarz to Washington.

There have been rumours that senior DP

Torture claims in train massacre case

LINDEN BIRNS

FIVE Zulu men charged with the Denver and Jeppe Station train massacres in September insisted they had been assaulted and suffered electric shock torture at the hands of police, a Johannesburg magistrate heard yesterday.

State counsel advocate David Gordon told Magistrate C J van Heerden, who was hearing a bail application, there were no signs of the men being shocked or physically injured after allegedly being assaulted by police. Defence attorney Ian Small-Smith argued that the men's confessions were made under duress and contained factual errors.

These related to descriptions of the men's movements at the railway stations and also indicated contradictions in witness accounts of what happened.

Solomon Khumalo confessed to having shot one of the victims in the head, but the weapon he claimed to have used could not be linked to the murder even after extensive ballistic tests, Small-Smith said.

Small-Smith said four of the accused — Martin Ngcobo, Basi Nkosi'ngondle, Solomon Khumalo and Mabinela Mandla Majazi — belonged to Inkatha while Mnen-gela Magubane did not.

Judgment on the bail application is expected today.

We have refuted the CP, says FW

610am 9/11/90
PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk said yesterday the Randburg by-election result was a good sign for reform and gave the government impetus for what it wanted to attain.

Speaking at a media call with a visiting group of British MPs at the Union Buildings, De Klerk said the result had disproven the CP's exorbitant claims.

However, he warned that the CP still enjoyed 25% support among the white electorate. *(304A)*

The MPs met De Klerk as part of their fact-finding tour of SA.

Our Political Staff reports that Natal University political science professor Mervyn Frost said in Durban yesterday the Randburg result showed the CP did not have a future in the urban areas of the country.

Richard Humphries, research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the outcome was not a bad result for the CP, but was a hopeful signal for De Klerk.

Potchefstroom University election analyst Donald Simpson said the result meant the NP would "easily" beat the CP in a general election.

● Comment: Page 8

Nat victory... thanks to the DP

By PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

W/Mei 9/11-15/11/90

FW DE KLERK has the Democratic Party to thank for the important psychological boost the National Party received in Randburg on Wednesday.

First, Wynand Malan quit unexpectedly, handing the Nats an opportunity to prove their support in their suburban heartland. A platteland or blue-collar by-election right now could have proved severely embarrassing for De Klerk.

Secondly, the Democratic Party refrained from recontesting their own seat, which gave the Nats a clear and easy run.

And, finally, thousands of Democrats and old Progs turned out to vote for the Nats, compensating for those chessed off old Nats who didn't bother to vote or actually switched their support to the Conservative Party.

The NP's Marthinus van Schalkwyk received 10 882 votes to CP candidate Leonie Steele's 1 969, representing a majority of 8 913 votes to the Nats. The Conservatives did, however, increase their vote by 140 percent. The percentage poll was down from 74 to 56,5 percent. And the joint Nat/Democratic vote total declined by 4 000 votes in 14 months.

Except for the one discordant note of veteran pundit Willem Kleythans — who described the result as a "fiasco" for the National Party — political analysts were united in hailing it as a crushing defeat for the Conservatives. The figure that sticks out is the almost 9 000 votes that the Conservatives were licked by.

In the light of that, Conservative leader Andries Treurnicht's claims that support for the "Nat/DP alliance" is fading, look threadbare.

By-elections, by their very nature, reflect only a small, usually distorted



Clear and easy run ... National Party candidate Marthinus van Schalkwyk with Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis after his resounding victory in Randburg on Wednesday. Picture: SEAN WOODS, The Star

segment of reality. In short, they don't mean much. All that really matters is the impression they create of how the governing party is faring — and Randburg looks good for De Klerk.

Similarly, the wild swing to the Conservatives in Umlazi in June placed a lingering question mark against De Klerk's mandate from the white electorate for his reforms. Whatever the fine print, Randburg sets that to rights.

De Klerk used the result yesterday to claim it was a "good sign for reform" and gave the government "thrust" for

what it wanted to attain. He sorely needs to create the impression that what he is doing is legitimate in the eyes of the whites — and Randburg and the DP have helped him pull it off.

It doesn't make sense to count up what might happen in a general election — as the Conservative Party is doing — because there isn't going to be one. From now on the only white election that counts is the referendum — and that will be the last one where the white electorate goes to the polls alone. All the Nats need is 50 percent plus

one — which they should easily attain, with DP support.

Treurnicht's summary of the Randburg election is that De Klerk is on his way out. Yet it is the Conservative Party that has been outmanoeuvred. After a year in which De Klerk has virtually revolutionised the political scene, Treurnicht has yet to come up with a strategy to stop him.

The veiled threats of violence and withholding taxes and refusing to pay television licences have come to nought.

TAKING ON UNCLE SAM

On May 13 Harry Schwarz will celebrate his 67th birthday in Washington as SA's ambassador to the US. Harry Schwarz? A diplomat? This was not expected.

Schwarz's combative nature has served him well in his role as one of the chief opponents to the National Party over the past few decades. But will the blustery Yeo-ville MP be able to tone down the rhetoric when he reaches Massachusetts Avenue? And do the Americans know that they have given the OK to a politician who hasn't always held them in the highest esteem?

Earlier this year, Schwarz, a leading proponent of a lottery for SA, was asked by an American reporter if he had considered the problems created by legalised gambling in places around the US. His response: "Baser instincts prevail on better instincts nowhere more than in the US." And when told that American lottery players have been known to bet the rent money, he said: "Americans are stranger than I thought."

That's Harry. Love him or hate him, you have to acknowledge that he has always been one of the few white South Africans willing to buck the Nat machine openly — and a few of his party colleagues.

During the recent debate over who would lead the Democratic Party, *Business Day* called Schwarz "the leader who possesses the political intelligence, the education, the principled toughness and the passion for the job."

But at least one DP MP has said privately that Schwarz, the party's so-called economic guru who supports the German "social-market" philosophy, was the stumbling block to allowing the party to embrace a more free-market, pro-privatisation economic policy. Schwarz has put the brakes on privatisation.

Schwarz says he won't leave the DP, though he is to be one of the most important front men for the Nat government. However, for the past few years he has been developing closer links with government. In 1988 he represented SA at the IMF-World Bank meeting — the first time a member of the opposition was a delegate — and he was part of the team in Washington this year.

He may also have surprised fellow Democrats when he pledged support for this year's Budget, a first for an opposition party. "His

choice was for integrity," said Finance Minister Barend du Plessis at the time.

Born in Cologne, Germany — which may help explain his unswerving devotion to the German economic model — Schwarz and his family came to SA in 1934 and he attended Jeppe High and Wits University. In World War 2 he served as a navigator in the SA Air Force and was seconded to the Royal Air Force.

During the Rivonia trial, the young counsellor defended James Kantor, who was ac-

quitted. But don't get the wrong idea. "I went to the same university (as Nelson Mandela), attended the Rivonia trial and visited him in prison," he said in September at the DP Congress. "I like the man. But that doesn't mean I have to join the ANC."

Never one to mince words, he criticised Wynand Malan for a lack of commitment to the DP when Malan resigned as MP for Randburg in July, and then said he hoped others would not follow Malan out of parliament. For his part, Schwarz says he's leaving the green benches because, by picking him, the Nats have proved

they are serious about the new SA.

So how is it that the Nats have become so wild about Harry? Some observers suggest that they wanted Schwarz, who's known to be an excellent parliamentarian, out of the way. And if the DP suffered, so be it.

But it is more likely that the NP wants a political boost from appointing a non-Afrikaner, non-Nat, anti-apartheid Jew to a showcase post. ■



Schwarz ... betting on a new deal

South Africans urged

Sowetan 2/11/90

(304A)

(10)

not to use force

LONDON - The most important thing South Africans had to learn was to solve their problems through political means, not force, veteran anti-apartheid activist, Mr Albie Sachs said this week.

Speaking on BBC-2 TV's *Fifth Column* programme, Sachs said this meant that the vote for all and the institutions of democracy must be "inst-

alled as soon as possible."

"Far from the violence provoked by elements in the State being used as a pretext for postponing democracy, the bloodshed reminds us how urgent it is for us to give democracy a chance - and to enable our people, all our people, to accustom themselves to settling their differences in a peaceful way."

Without the vote and the democratic institutions, he said, "peace stands no chance at all."

Call

He also called on the "honest and dedicated" personnel inside South Africa's security forces to join with trained personnel of the ANC and the "non-corrupt forces" of the various bantustans to create a genuinely na-

tional peace-keeping force for the Republic.

"The whole network of squads dedicated to internal and external destabilisation has to be uncovered and disbanded."

Sachs described himself as just one victim of the "low-intensity war" which has left thousands limbless, blind or disabled. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

White varsity students are 'slaves of ignorance'

W/ Mail 9/11/15/11/90

WHITE South African university students are politically short-sighted, apathetic and ill-informed, according to a research report compiled by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Responses to questionnaires sent to a random sample of 8 747 students indicated that the attitudes of most white students were singularly out of synchronisation with those needed for leaders in a changing South African society — at least in June 1989 when the survey was undertaken.

Political science academics Jannie Gagiano of Stellenbosch University and Susan Booysen of the Rand Afrikaans University had a response rate of over 40 percent in what they hoped was a representative sample of the student population at the major white universities. Questionnaires sought the students' views on political institutions, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary; the security forces; violence as a means to political ends; and general outlook and beliefs.

The researchers found, among other things, that:

- More than 80 percent of Afrikaans students in the survey indicated support for the National Party and the Conservative Party.

- More than 80 percent of English-speaking students questioned supported the Democratic Party or political formations to the left.

- Most of the students who supported the CP and NP voted the same way as their parents, whereas DP supporters tended to lean more to the left of their parents' political convictions.

Stellenbosch MA candidate Cornis van der Lugt wrote in an accompanying paper that it could be argued that the minimal political interest of white students manifested itself in exclusivist nationalism in the case of Afrikaans-speakers and capitalism in the case of English-speakers.

Their political viewpoints appeared to result from tradition rather than informed, deliberate choice, he wrote.

When attitudes towards the African National Congress were tested, the research uncovered not only significant hostility and resistance from the more conservative Afrikaans students, but also inconsistencies in the liberal beliefs of the English-speaking minority.

For instance, the responses from DP supporters indicated that only six percent of them would welcome an ANC government, while more than a third would emigrate for political reasons should the ANC govern South Africa. Nearly 40 percent of NP-supporting students would do the same and just over 40 percent said they would physically resist an ANC government.

When it came to the question of whether they would accept an ANC government, 21 percent of English-speakers said they would; but 42,8 percent indicated that they could accept a Nationalist government.

The survey was conducted last year — before the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations. Still, more than 90 percent of the Afrikaans students questioned were unsympathetic to the ANC (five percent sympathetic and a further five percent apathetic), whereas 28 percent of English-speakers described themselves as sympathetic, 58 percent unsympathetic and 14 percent apathetic.

And when they were quizzed about the future shape of this country's constitution, most students said they

A survey conducted amongst white university students shows them to be politically insulated and uninformed.

SAMANTHA WEINBERG reports

would prefer a dispensation which made some provision for the protection of group rights, and almost 70 percent of Afrikaans students indicated a preference for a dispensation where racial forms of political representation are built into the constitution.

Gagiano and Booysen then asked questions aimed at discovering why white students were so out of line with their black counterparts.

They found that a majority had very little interaction with black people — especially when it came to political discussion. Nearly 75 percent reported that they never discussed politics with their black co-students and 80 percent said they never discussed politics with black people outside the university.

They were also rarely exposed to divergent views as expressed by the media. Over 80 percent said they never read newspapers "sympathetic to the left (like *Vrye Weekblad* or the *Weekly Mail*)" — whereas more than 70 percent said they watched news reports on the SABC at least three times a week.

While the compilers of the research admitted it was not necessarily accurate, because of the deep-seated changes that have taken place in this country since it was conducted and the new stance of the ruling National Party, broad conclusions about the attitudes of students were still regarded as valid.

According to Gagiano: "Studying the political attitudes of white student populations in South Africa yields a vantage point from which one can gauge the moods and attitudinal trends that are prevalent and emerging within the ranks of the politically-dominant white middle-class".

While student bodies are inevitably artificial communities, existing within an intellectually stimulating and demanding environment, he claims they are still broadly representative, as a microcosm of the society they fall within, and as the generation from which future leaders — political or business — will be taken.

The shortsightedness and apparent lack of political knowledge and interest exhibited by the students in the survey could be explained in a number of ways, said Van der Lugt.

He suggests the statistics show that "the students have grown up in a separate world in which there apparently existed no political injustices whatsoever. The social structure of apartheid over the last 40 years has ensured that prejudice and privilege remain ensconced behind the barriers of non-exposure and lack of contact".

He described the white students as "slaves of ignorance", politically uninformed and unpoliticised.

Their attitudes, he said, would have to change to enable them to understand the actions taken in the future by black youth. But to change they would need more contact with black youth, programmes to improve and broaden their political knowledge and a free press operating in an atmosphere of an unrestricted flow of information.

Also, to promote harmony among the emergent generation of future South African leaders, black youth would have to understand the position of white youth better.

Pik's speech proves a big hit in Zambia

LUSAKA — Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Lusaka seems to have made a big impression on most Zambians.

His speech, calling for greater economic co-operation among southern African countries, has become a talking point — a temporary diversion from domestic political issues.

Both state-run national newspapers on Thursday carried Mr Botha's speech as the lead item on the front page, with the Daily Mail carrying a picture of Mr Botha shaking hands with OAU chairman Yoweri Museveni.

State TV broadcast Mr Botha's speech at length late on Wednesday night. "I stayed up to watch it," said a local businessman. "It was very good. If we opened up trade with South Africa it could solve a lot of our problems."

MIKE HALL
Africa News Service

Political analysts say there is widespread support among Zambians, especially urban consumers, for the normalisation of economic ties.

In August the government lifted an official ban on the use of South African transport routes.

However, Mr Botha's visit brought little comfort to exiled members of the ANC in Lusaka, about 3 000 of whom are still waiting to go home.

Scores of ANC members, attending a celebration of the Great October Revolution at the Soviet Embassy in Lusaka on Wednesday night, scoffed at Mr Botha's speech, with most of them describing it as "deceitful".

However, judging by the reaction of most Zambians, Mr Botha's visit was a minor diplomatic coup.

Slr 10/11/90

Apartheid definitely an evil, says NGK

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk issued its strongest repudiation of apartheid yesterday, joining other Christian denominations in confessing the sins of segregation and denouncing the policy as "evil".

Then it unexpectedly issued a statement distancing itself from some points of the Rustenburg Declaration adopted by the National Conference of Churches because they found some political trends in the declaration "very one-sided".

The dramatic move by the NGK came while the conference was in the plenary session during which the declaration was being debated and adopted — but long before proceedings were over. The statement was released to the media only, and immediately led to the NGK once again dominating the scene, albeit off-stage.

Jeopardy

The precarious unity fashioned during the week-long conference of churches of every persuasion in the country, which came about largely due to the NGK's confession of guilt over apartheid, seems once again in jeopardy.

Reacting to the NGK statement, Dr Beyers Naude said it would create serious problems for other participants at the conference, and that unless the NGK clearly indicates which points it cannot support as well as the reason for it, the integrity of the whole church would be at stake.

CARINA LE GRANGE

"They have found it difficult to go the whole way with us," said the Rev Frank Chikane, a conference co-chairman and leader of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches. "I feel that we have started a process and I'm just hoping the Dutch Reformed Church will be able to move ahead with us."

The Rev Sam Buti of the (black) NGK in Afrika responded to news of the statement by saying the NGK's confession earlier in the week had been a "cheap confession, not one of repentance".

"You can't trust what they say," he said.

Warning that the NGK would not

unreservedly endorse the Rustenburg Declaration came early on during the session when moderator Professor Pieter Potgieter said that although the church could comply with many things in the statement, he had to state very clearly that the church had difficulties with some "political trends".

He referred to a provision made in the preamble — saying "some of us are not in full accord with everything said at this conference" — and added that the NGK delegation was bound by church order to remain within the parameters set by decisions taken at its last synod in October.

(The declaration calls on the Government to remove all apartheid laws, calls for a one-person, one-vote democracy in a multi-party state, and appeals for a redistribution of wealth.)

Rev Chikane, however, later said he understood the Dutch Reformed Church's hesitation to give full support.

"I understand they're constrained, they have to answer back to their own membership."

Major new study gives crystal ball look into...

WHAT SA'S FUTURE HOLDS

WEEKEND
ARGUS
EXCLUSIVE!
REPORT

W/C ARGUS 10/11/90 304A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A COMPREHENSIVE opinion survey among leaders in many fields has produced an incisive new insight into what the next five years might hold for South Africans.

One of the issues on which clear guidelines are provided is whether young people should leave the country to escape upheaval or to seek a better future elsewhere. The answer, in effect, is a firm: "No, don't leave now!"

The reason offered is that while there might be some volatility in the country's situation and perhaps more political violence, the situation will be largely containable.

The survey findings and analyses are contained in a report entitled Political Environment Survey. It is designed to give strategic guidelines to business and is to go on sale this month at the substantial price of R5 500 a copy.

Among the major contributors are Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa leader, Mr Michael Olivier, a businessman, computer specialist and president of the Five Freedoms Forum; Mr Michael Charney, a specialist in business strategy and market research; and Ms Gael Nkomo, who has been involved in extra-parliamentary politics for years.

WEEKEND ARGUS has been given an exclusive look into the new political "crystal ball", which disclosed the following scenarios:

Last bid for R1-m treasure

THIS is your last chance to put yourself in line for the R1-million first prize in the Kruger Millions treasure hunt.

In addition to the main treasure, there are consolation prizes of R50 000, R20 000, R15 000, R10 000 and R5 000.

For your convenience, clues given during the six-week competition are reprinted on Page 14 today, together with a consolidated map. All you need for the Kruger Millions hunt is right here in this edition, at your fingertips.

So go for it! Someone's going to STRIKE IT RICH. And why not you?

The closing date for entries is Wednesday, November 21.



**Monday
deadline
for entries**

ENTRANTS to the...

At an early stage South Africa will start to be run by a multiracial working administration. But it will take at least five years for a new negotiated constitution and a democratically elected government to be in place.

South Africans can expect a measure of political and economic instability in the country's transition period — but the overall prospect is largely peaceful.

A big problem will be criminal violence which is expected to increase, largely due to growing unemployment and the frustrations of South Africa's "lost generation" of black youth.

Though the economy will have continuing difficulties and setbacks, it will show improvement as both growth and stability are expected.

It is a matter of time before sanctions will go. Across the political spectrum virtually everybody accepts that sanctions are obsolete. Hence not much time was spent on this issue during the surveys.

Politically, it is expected to take at least five years before a democratically-elected government and a new negotiated constitution are in place. Before then, many serious differences between the negotiating parties will arise.

Two broad phases are foreseen — a period of preliminary negotiation between now and a referendum, and a period of full negotiation to develop a new constitution.

In the pre-referendum phase — expected to take about 18 months — various agreements will be reached, negotiations will gain momentum, and a broad interim mechanism or framework for a constitution will be worked out. A point will be reached where the nation can be consulted — by way of a referendum — on whether or not to go ahead with a plan of action for negotiations.

After the go-ahead given by referendum, a new multiracial working administration will be set up to run the country. It will include a significant proportion of black people.

It will be like an interim government, but is unlikely to be called that because of its controversial political connotations. In essence such an administration will not be fully democratic because it will not have

■ Turn to page 3

Blueprint for the future SA

■ From page 1

been elected democratically.

Once such a working administration is in place, the real nitty-gritty of the new constitution will be negotiated. This will be the difficult phase — expected to take another three or four years.

One of the crucial issues to be resolved once blacks have been incorporated in significant numbers and positions at all levels in the country's administration is the evolution of security forces for the "new SA".

It is foreseen that once blacks share power and responsibility in the administration, it will be essential to effect corresponding changes in the entire security system — including the Defence Force, the police and all related structures. It is argued that if blacks are to be part of the administration, they must have some say and influence over the security forces.

This is but one example of a tough administrative agreement still to be hammered out at the negotiating table. There are many others.

It was also found that the ANC's leadership is beginning to accept certain realities and is willing to drop or modify some of its earlier demands like insisting on a Namibia-type constituent assembly.

People inside top structures of the government and the National Party tacitly assume that they will remain in control of government until a new constitution has been negotiated. Significantly, there is acceptance from the top leadership of both the ANC and the NP that whites will still be in government positions after transition.

Overriding recommendations to businessmen, as summarised by Dr Slabbert, are:

- Accept the unpredictable, uncertain environment — use it as an opportunity, and explore possibilities;
- "Tame the dragon" — help to shape the environment and don't let it shape you;
- Understand the environment. Get to know the players, who they are, what they are saying, what they're doing and whether they understand what you're doing;
- Train, educate and upgrade your workforce;
- Anticipate social spending — look for new opportunities and broaden your base of accountability.

Is Zola



The Defence Minister is back on the warpath. Alan Dunn discusses questions this raises

Why FW stuck up for Malan

Star 20/11/90

304th

NUMEROUS riddles on political slayings have been left unsolved by the Harms Report. But it has raised another, equally compelling one: why did President de Klerk risk considerable political capital to back Defence Minister General Magnus Malan?

A savvy politician, Mr de Klerk knew his exoneration of the politically enigmatic general would expose him to flak and observations that this was the first serious blot on his record as the new South Africa's creator.

Yet he said: "I have also thoroughly considered the report in the light of all the events it deals with and the circumstances in which the events took place, and I can find no reason to condemn the politicians in charge for the way in which they carried out their duties and responsibilities."

It was at the National Party's Transvaal congress on October 20 that General Malan fired a flare signalling that he had returned to public business from the foxhole he had been occupying for months as controversy raged about the secret military unit, the Civil Co-op-

eration Bureau. By the time of the congress, at which he delivered a headline-catching speech, the Government had had Mr Justice Harms's findings for six weeks. It is unlikely the general was not aware of them when he spoke.

The Harms Report was released last Tuesday. Mr de Klerk's statement of support came simultaneously. On the same day, General Malan was again snapping at the African National Congress like the Government's attack dog.

From that podium at the School of Armour in Bloemfontein, he moved to a reunion of combat veterans in Pretoria the next night. A third speech came on Thursday at the opening of the Birchleigh North police station in his constituency, Modderfontein.

This was the general on the move, assertive and very visible, signalling that he thought he had emerged unscathed from the episode which was now behind him. The talk about General Malan will not die, however. The focus of more gossip than anyone else in high office in the De Klerk administration, he is constantly said to be a misfit, a relic of the P W Botha era who sits uncomfortably on the reformist bus.

But some in the Cabinet see General Malan as a "verligte", who approves the De Klerk reforms, when it comes to race and racism. He has repeatedly endorsed the changes in his public remarks, declaring that the "Defence Family" favours them.

Nonetheless speculation continues about his retiring after 10 years as Defence Minister, in spite of the belief of those close to him that he intends carrying on until the new South Africa actually dawn in another four years or so. One line of thought as to why the President declared the general blameless is that Mr de Klerk decided, in weighing it up, that his need to retain the Minister was greater than the threat posed by a popular outcry.

"White South Africa has got three powerful assets in these negotiations," said one seasoned analyst. "It is in power, it has invaluable skills without which the country would collapse, and the security establishment is in its hands."

Mr de Klerk, the thinking goes, cannot afford to throw away any one of those strengths. In fact, he has thanked and praised the security forces this year almost as often as General Malan has had salutes. His tributes to them have been studied and effusive.

He would also not have missed the fact that the gratitude he expressed to the security forces drew the biggest applause of the evening at Hoërskool Randburg, at the climax of the NP's Randburg by-election campaign.

Mr de Klerk has for much of this year been embroiled in a battle for the hearts, minds and votes of the security establishment. His early switch from Mr Botha's reliance on security forces damaged morale at Defence Headquarters and Wachthuis.

A smarting military's considerable, ascendant influence in government had suddenly received an order from the new man to about turn. His reforms, where fading laws were still on the statute books but not to be enforced, confused the security sector.

These factors, coupled with deep cuts in the Defence budget, made for palpable discontent and

readjustment among the unified.

It was an uncertain time, ideal for the Conservative Party to pounce and capitalise. It did, and has not stopped the attack, trying relentlessly to pry a conservative security establishment's allegiance from the Government.

The CP campaign included a revelation in August of an alleged Malan-de Klerk collusion where the Minister threatened to resign in the wake of the ANC and SA Communist Party's unbanning. The general vigorously denied this, saying he was a solid member of the De Klerk team.

Blatantly wooing South Africa's soldiers and policemen, the CP's most recent effort was contained in a response last week by its defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, to the Harms Report: "Those who carried out orders should be let alone."

Mr van der Merwe, a lawyer, joined the clamour for General Malan's head, ignoring in his demand the requirements of the country's laws that the actual perpetrators of crime should be

brought to book. The CP has in the last 10 months sought to portray the De Klerk Government as "soft" on security, as a regime betraying order.

On why General Malan specifically should remain in the job, and not be replaced by another for the time being, the question emerges: By whom? One analyst sees him as a security Minister with the image of an old warrior, a gritty, uncompromising anti-communist. Viewed like that, he is a rallying point for the conservatives of the Defence Force.

"He came through the ranks, was chief of the SADF for four years, and would still have a lot of personal loyalty from those days," the observer said.

"This is the classic case of a man who could stage a coup along South American lines," he added. "Malan is the man who could do it, because he has all those personal IOUs."

"De Klerk needs to hold the Defence Force together. It is a very vital part of his structure. General Malan is key to that." □

My politics barred me from conference, claims archbishop

Star 10/11/90 (3041)

ABBEY MAKOE

ARCHBISHOP Mzilikazi Masiya this week claimed he was barred from attending the historic church conference which was held for five days at Hunter's Rest, Rustenburg.

He said the reason given to him was that his credentials were suspect, and the organisers "seemed unsure" when he told them he represented about 2,5 million Christians. The Archbishop is the head of the Council for Apostolic and Zion Churches in Southern Africa.

The Archbishop said when he arrived at the conference, the Rev Barney Pitsoa "told me the steering committee decided I was not welcome".

One reason given to him was

that he was the leader of a political party, he claimed.

The disappointed church leader said the treatment he received at the hands of the organisers reminded him of the Book of Matthew 23: 13-14.

He said it read: "How terrible for you, teachers of the law and Pharisees! You hypocrites! You lock the door to the Kingdom of Heaven in people's faces, and you yourselves don't go in, nor do you allow in those who trying to enter!"

He said he had no apologies to make for his anti-sanctions campaign.

Informal first steps to a constitutional summit

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

304A

THE government and the ANC have begun informal discussions on an agenda for constitutional negotiations expected to start next year.

The discussions have focused on what sort of priorities the parties should set, according to sources.

One suggestion is that constitutional talks will begin with local government structures and move from there into regional government and, finally, the mechanics of national government.

The government has also begun exploring the format of negotiations with other negotiating partners, such as the self-governing and

national states, and the National Forum led by John Mavuso.

A proposal that negotiations begin with local government has been made by the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs. *S/Times 11/11/90*

The council includes black and white local authorities and is chaired by Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Hernus Kriel.

The government view is that this area of negotiations could be based on the recent Thornhill Report which recommended that local authorities be autonomous, directly elected and non-racial.

The report was drawn up by a committee under Chris Thornhill, a

deputy director-general in Mr Kriel's department.

Neither the government nor the ANC would officially confirm the discussions.

Formal issues, such as whether negotiations should be undertaken by an elected constituent assembly, as the ANC favours, or in an open forum, as the government favours, have still to be resolved.

A government official said it was not yet known where the formal negotiations would take place. Details of the venue and other issues will emerge from talks now taking place with potential participants.

One motivation for starting negotiations with talks on local govern-

ment is that this could bring early success to the negotiations, which would lay a foundation for further agreement.

● The joint working committee of the government and the ANC received a setback at its meeting on Friday when Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani failed to arrive.

Other members of the ANC group, including its foreign relations portfolio holder Thabo Mbeki, were unable to explain Mr Hani's absence, according to sources close to the committee. The meeting went ahead without Mr Hani.

The government group was led by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

CASIO DIGITAL DIARIES.

Cabinet post for Louis Pienaar in FW shuffle

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk shuffled and expanded his Cabinet yesterday, appointing Publications Appeal Board chairman Louis Pienaar as Minister of National Education and Environmental Affairs.

In a low-key reassignment of portfolios, Mr De Klerk also appointed Vryburg MP Johan Scheepers as Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

The State President said the reshuffle and expansion of his Cabinet to 22 members was aimed at a more even



LOUIS PIENAAR

distribution of the workload and increased efficiency.

Highlights of the reallocation of portfolios are:

- The creation of the post of Deputy Minister of Information Services in the President's Office, to help with information and intelligence matters.
 - The shifting of Development Aid, which allocates money to the self-governing homelands, to the Ministry of Agriculture.
 - The establishment of a new Regional Development portfolio, which will include decentralisation issues.
 - The grouping of group areas, free settlement areas and squatter issues under a new Directorate of Area Management.
 - The attaching of Health Services in the House of Assembly to the Ministry of National Health.
- Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer is now also Deputy Minister of Information Services in the President's Office.

Newcomer

The Minister of the Budget and Local Government in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, Ami Venter, also gets Regional Development.

Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Tertius Delpot becomes also a deputy minister in Constitutional Development.

Agriculture Minister Jacob de Villiers picks up Development Aid.

The Minister of Welfare and Housing in the House of Assembly, Mr Sam de Beer, takes charge of the Directorate of Area Management.

Water and Land Affairs Deputy Minister Japie van Wyk is now also Deputy Minister of Finance.

The newcomer to the Cabinet, Mr Pienaar, 58, is a former administrator-general of what was then SWA-Namibia. He was appointed head of the Publications Appeal Board in April, earning him the unofficial title "chief censor".

DP is SA's watchdog for democracy

8 Times 1111 90

MANY people say that because the National Party has adopted many of the policies of the Democratic Party, the latter has, to a large extent, become irrelevant. This is surely an upside-down argument. It would be more logical to say that the closer the NP moves to the DP, the more irrelevant the NP becomes.

Why then, has the DP lost ground since the 1989 election?

First, a great many NP supporters had grown tired of their party's inability to pluck up courage to cross the Rubicon. President De Klerk has placed the party firmly on the path of reform. Many of our new supporters decided to return to their old party.

Second, the release of Nelson Mandela and others raised hopes that reform would bring immediate peace and stability to our country. Unfortunately the reverse happened. The response of black leaders has sharpened white fears of the consequences

BOB ROGERS addresses the fate of the Democratic Party in the wake of the National Party's resounding victory in Randburg

should a black government take over.

In a nutshell, fear, which was largely laid to rest in the euphoria of the last election, is again affecting white thinking to a large extent.

Whither then the DP? Has it a future?

The DP's policies are based on liberal values and on the understanding that all South Africans regardless of colour belong to one country and must work together to realise these values. What can we do to achieve this?

The importance and the value of a strong opposition in parliament is well known.

The absence of such is akin to living in a one-party state with all its concomitant problems. In the present house of assembly, the official opposition is the Conservative Party, which is totally

opposed to the reform policy.

Its opposition is based on this fact and is largely irrelevant to the creation of a new South Africa. It therefore falls to the DP, as an opposition party, to see that the government carries out the necessary reforms and to oppose any straying from the reform path.

The DP will insist on having a seat at the negotiating table where it can take an active part in formulating the new constitution and in proposing solutions to many other problems which will precede the birth of the new South Africa.

It must influence the decision makers to act in accordance with liberal, democratic values and it must help to ensure that the new constitution is one which will last for generations to come.

At this stage it may also

become necessary to form alliances and pacts with other parties in an effort to achieve what is best for South Africa.

The DP has an important role to play in seeing that all its supporters vote in accordance with its published principles when a referendum on the constitution comes before the voters.

Again it can act as a watchdog on government actions and can play an important role in conflict resolution and mediation. As the powers of central government become more decentralised, third-tier government will grow in importance.

The role of the DP is thus far from irrelevant. It played a significant role in swinging white opinion to accept a reform policy in the past and still has an important role to play in keeping the ball rolling in the right direction.

□ General Rogers is the DP MP for the Port Elizabeth constituency of Walmer

...like the Western Cape glitterati

Drawing a cross for new voting values

SITimes 11/11/90

CRAFTILY located in a comfortable hotel, sufficiently far outside Stellenbosch to prevent participants going AWOL, the Community Law Centre and the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape combined with the ANC for two and a half days of intellectual vigour on possible election systems for future South African hustings.

Though in no sense a policy-making forum, the vocal presence of members of the ANC's constitutional committee invested the proceedings with considerable weight.

It is difficult to imagine a similar intensive workshop taking place in Britain and it is clear evidence of the seriousness with which the constitutional debate is being pursued in South Africa.

Crucial

At the heart of the debate lies the unanimously accepted belief that the ballot paper in the hand of the poorest inhabitant of Crossroads is the same token of South African citizenship as that in the hand of President De Klerk.

It is crucial, moreover, for each citizen to know that each ballot has equal value.

At Stellenbosch last weekend these key beliefs inexorably drove the workshop away from the Westminster — and white South African — model of the single member, first-past-the-post, constituency.

Not only would such a system prevent a constituent assembly or legislature from being representative of the voters' wishes, it would also ensure that votes in marginal seats had far more value than those elsewhere.

My own preference for the Irish system of the single transferable vote found some support. This system requires the elector to indi-

MICHAEL MEADOWCROFT reports that the ANC is discovering there is more to election systems than the slogan of one-man, one-vote.

cate preferences by numbering the candidates in order.

It involves constituencies electing perhaps three, four or five MPs at once so that electors can express preferences within parties as well as across party lines.

The powerful objection to the system, at least for the first election, was the belief that too many new voters would not be able to cope with anything more complex than placing "X" alongside the symbols of their preferred party, as in Namibia.

The workshop consequently worked itself towards a consensus than placing "X" alongside the symbols of their preferred party, as in Namibia.

Not a national list on its own, which would concentrate too much power in the individual party's hands and would dangerously limit representation of regionally based groups, but a combination of regional and national lists.

Under such a system, assuming 400 MPs, half might be elected in, say, 10 regions and half nationally. This would give a natural threshold of around 5 percent for a seat rather than having to agonise over an artificial threshold.

The voter would vote with an "X" for the party of his or her choice and seats would be allocated from the national list in proportion to the aggregated regional votes for successful parties.

Behind this thinking lies the belief that a stable, secure and viable South Africa requires a voting system that maximises consent from all voters.

The prevailing feeling at the

workshop was that political power had to be exercised within a framework of wide acceptance of a government's legitimacy, rather than against the background of an alienated and potentially dangerous opposition — inside and outside a constituent assembly. This view encompassed the whole political spectrum. I sensed no feeling that any party currently on the actual or potential ballot should not be allowed to compete for votes.

Unsurprisingly, there was a rejection of ethnicity as a motivation for voting for a particular party or group. This manifests itself, for instance, in a demand for a unitary state. No system of federalism was on the agenda.

I do not think that the ANC has yet worked out the implications of this deeply held view for its own evolution into a formal political party. I doubt whether it is possible to move away from ethnic politics without moving towards ideological politics.

Cordial

Indeed, the rapid development of a party structure in South Africa in which parties are based on expressed values — the role of the state, the nature of national sovereignty, the boundary between individual and corporate rights, federalism, attitudes to ecology, etc — is, I believe, the only way to transcend the current racial compartmentalism of politics here.

It is also essential for the cohesion necessary to sustain government. A liberation movement has

one overriding and unifying purpose — the overthrow of the existing regime.

The achievement of that aim inevitably requires the movement to develop a programme which will create a very different country. This is perhaps the key challenge facing the ANC today.

The Stellenbosch workshop strayed beyond the rather dry agenda of election systems into the realm of electoral processes.

An independent election commission, with nominees of all the major political groupings, is clearly seen as a visible requirement for open and fair elections.

Honesty

Rarely does one attend a political conference which addresses important topics as openly as did the one at Stellenbosch.

The willingness to acknowledge ignorance on the nuances of different election systems, and the commitment of intellectual honesty, even if it led to a change of mind, suggests to me that this occasion will prove to be a further important milestone in the creation of the new South Africa.

Getting the election system right is fundamental to the success of the current process. Those who attended the Stellenbosch meeting ought now to take the debate to a wider audience.

I came to South Africa this time unsure of what I would find. I return to Britain with considerable optimism: not because there is any naive belief here of a smooth and easy road ahead, but because there is a determination, even among sceptics, to make the reforms work.

□ Mr Meadowcroft chairs the all-party Electoral Reform Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He was Liberal MP for Leeds West, 1983-87.

Randburg result was a ^{clashes 11/11/90} humiliation for the CP ³⁰⁴⁴

By LOUWRENS PRETORIUS of Unisa's
Department of Sociology

IN electoral politics, as in sport, it's the scoreboard that counts. The National Party beat the Conservative Party by almost 9 000 votes in the Randburg by-election and the CP lost its deposit. That spells humiliation for the CP.

In socio-economic terms and in terms of its political history, Randburg was not a good battleground for the CP. However, the influence of national political and economic conditions should have helped the CP even in Randburg.

Like Umlazi — where the CP did so well in June — most Randburg voters are English-speaking. Unlike Umlazi, Randburg is a predominantly middle to upper-middle class constituency. Unlike Umlazi, a majority of Randburg voters have supported relatively liberal candidates for more than a decade.

These unfavourable local conditions apparently justify the CP's expressions of satisfaction with the outcome.

The CP pushed its vote up from 755 to 1 969. This is a seemingly substantial increase and the CP presents it as such. But it is easy to improve on a low base.

Even if government policy had not changed since the last general election, a reasonably well-organised party with an approximately credible policy should have been able to advance well beyond a base of 700. This the CP did, but it could not deliver 2 000 votes in a constituency of 22 000.

The CP pretends to be the new guardian of white — and in particular Afrikaner — interests. It also claims its support goes beyond the "rural", "blue-collar" and "lower white collar" segments. In view of such claims, the CP's performance was poor.

If the CP's rhetoric about the inter-

ests and policy preferences which it represents had any real appeal, the party should have gained at least half the 6 767 votes which went to the NP in 1989. Randburg has about 8 000 Afrikaans-speaking voters.

Voter turnout tends to be low in by-elections and incumbents often suffer a protest vote. Hence, opposition parties tend to gain in by-elections.

The present political situation is marked by drastic shifts in government policies and actions since late 1989.

Many whites feel very threatened. These conditions are the stuff of CP appeals to the electorate.

The CP's weak showing in such relatively favourable nationwide conditions must cast doubt on the level of its support. The results also cast doubt on the party's ability to mobilise support.

The enforcement of a general election is central to CP strategy.

The fact of the matter is that the NP will go back to Parliament with an additional seat. Whether the NP wins a seat by nine or 9 000 votes makes very little difference to the government's position. With an additional seat in hand, the government has no reason to call a general election.

The CP seemed to take comfort from claims that the NP invested some R300 000 in the Randburg election. Simple arithmetic shows that the NP thus received one vote for each R30. What else can one buy at that price?

At this stage of the white electoral game, then, the CP may claim to have the potential to win. But it is in fact still a loser. Thus far, neither the leadership nor the mass of its supporters have shown any signs that it has the political will or the resources to adopt a new strategy at a level beyond that of rhetoric.



First-World conservative ... despite promises to maintain standards, the CP was hammered.

FW shuffle eases load for govt's negotiators

CM T775 12/11/90 3047

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk strengthened the hand of his negotiating team and lightened the load of some of his more over-worked ministers at the weekend by shuffling and expanding government portfolios.

However, he stopped short of assigning certain cabinet ministers to dealing exclusively with the negotiation process — a step he mooted at last month's National Party Transvaal provincial congress.

Instead, Mr De Klerk moved to ease the burden on some of his busiest ministers and bolstered some key portfolios by appointing a number of deputy ministers.

No ministers were dropped from the cabinet in the process, which appears to be geared mainly to achieving greater efficiency and a fairer distribution of workload.

However, the controversy-plagued Mr Gert Kotze has been relieved of his Environment portfolio — but will remain the cabinet minister responsible for Water Affairs and Forestry.

The only "outsider" to be drafted

into the expanded 22-member cabinet is the country's chief censor, former administrator-general of Namibia and former MP for Bellville Mr Louis Pienaar.

The 58-year-old avowed nature trail lover and perlemoen diver takes over the portfolios of Environment and National Education.

The other newcomer in the cabinet is the white "own affairs" Minister of the Budget and Local Government Mr Amie Venter. He keeps his old job but will also head the newly-created Office for Regional Development, designed to boost industrial decentralisation and regional development.

A number of government ministries will be consolidated and strengthened by additional deputy ministers.

One of the busiest ministers in government at the moment and one who has been heavily involved in negotiations in recent months, Mr Adriaan Vlok, will once again be getting a deputy minister of law and order. Mr Vlok will now be assisted by Vryburg MP Mr Johan Scheepers.

Despite the predictions of some pundits, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan retains his post. Nationalist insiders say his position is more secure than ever.

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Pik to set off on European tour

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha is expected to visit former communist bloc countries Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on a European tour this week. *B/D am 12/11/90*

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday Botha would address the Hans Seidel Foundation in Munich this week, but he declined to name a number of other European countries he was expected to visit. *(304A)*

However, it was unlikely that Botha would visit Hungary and Poland, as SA had accomplished as much as it could at this stage with the establishment, in the past six months, of low-level diplomatic ties.

The setting up of diplomatic ties between SA and Czechoslovakia has been on the cards for several months since the visit by a senior Foreign Affairs official to Czechoslovakia in July.

An official said at the time it was likely SA and Czechoslovakia would institute for-

EDYTH BULBRING

mal diplomatic ties before the end of the year. Botha is expected to visit Prague in preparation for this step.

The forging of formal links with Yugoslavia is seen as the second priority, and Botha is expected to visit Belgrade to assess the situation.

Formal trade links between SA and Romania were established this year and Botha might also stop over briefly in Romania. However, diplomatic ties between SA and Romania were expected to be formalised only later next year.

This will be Botha's second visit to Central Europe this year.

He visited Hungary at the beginning of the year, and diplomatic ties were agreed on six months later.

Diplomatic ties between SA and Poland were finalised this month.

FW shuffles into position for real hard dealing

AKUS 12/11/90
304A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has shuffled his Cabinet largely to prepare his team for the real constitutional negotiations which are expected to begin next year, government sources said last night.

The main effect of the shuffle announced at the weekend is to lighten the burden on principal negotiators and others overloaded by the reform process. As one Cabinet minister said last night: "Reform is a very labour-intensive business."

The ministers of Constitutional Development, Law and Order and Finance get new deputies, while another minister involved in negotiations, Minister of Education and Development Aid Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, has been relieved of his lesser Development Aid portfolio.

Mr De Klerk's changes have also hinted at the possible direction of government constitutional thinking, especially in the creation of a new portfolio of regional development.

He has also done some normal promoting and demoting. Environmental Affairs Mr Gert Kotzé has been demoted, losing his main portfolio to new Cabinet appointee Mr Louis Pienaar.

LOUW DEMOTED

The Minister of National Education, Home Affairs and the SABC, Mr Gene Louw, has also been demoted. National education has been allocated to Mr Pienaar, leaving Mr Louw with two minor portfolios.

Apart from Mr Pienaar, the only other addition to the Cabinet is Mr Amie Venter, Minister of Budget and Local Government in the white Ministers' Council. He retains these portfolios but also gets the new general affairs portfolio of regional development.

Down-playing the obsolete own affairs system may have been the intention behind transferring Mr Sam de Beer's white health services portfolio to general affairs Health Minister Dr Rina Venter.

Mr De Beer instead acquires two major headaches, group areas and squatting, from Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who now has housing added to his portfolio.

Another promotion is Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, who now also becomes a deputy minister in the president's office, with responsibility for the Bureau of Information and the National Intelligence Service, largely to relieve the burden on Mr De Klerk.

The transfer of deputy minister Mr Tertius Delport from planning and provincial Affairs to constitutional development also has constitutional significance, sources point out. The move suggests that local government, Mr Delport's chief responsibility, will be playing an increasingly important role in constitutional negotiations.

But the appointment also eases the burden on the government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen.

The transfer of Development Aid from Dr Van der Merwe to Agriculture Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers, while allowing Dr Van der Merwe to devote more time to negotiations, also emphasises the importance which the government attaches to black education.

Reshuffle points to real negotiations

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

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He retains these portfolios and has the new general affairs portfolio of regional development.



Departing . . .
Gert Kotze.

Kotze removal hailed

CAPE TOWN — Environmentalists have welcomed the removal of Minister Gert Kotze from the environmental portfolio.

Nan Rice, of the Dolphin Action and Protection Group, said there had been much dissatisfaction in certain quarters about his handling of the gill-net issue.

But DP spokesman on environmental issues, Rupert Lorimer, said it was regrettable that Mr Kotze had lost his portfolio just as he appeared "to be getting on top of it". — Sapa.

Thousands heed Cosatu call for work stayaway

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Tens of thousands of people failed to report for work in Pretoria today, heeding a call for a one-day stayaway by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in protest against alleged repression in Bophuthatswana.

The Atteridgeville branch of the ANC-supported Cosatu, the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation (Asro) and the local branch of the UDF began an indefinite boycott of white businesses today.

Putco and Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings (BTH) said bus services from Mamelodi and Soshanguve were "non-existent" though Putco was operating "almost normally" from KwaNdebele to Pretoria.

Neil Groenewald, a spokesman for Putco, told The Star today: "There has been a fair amount of intimidation. For instance, buses were filled at Soshanguve, but the people were ordered off by vigilantes and told to go home."

All drivers had reported for duty.

There were only a few black taxis operating in the city and none between Atteridgeville and Pretoria and from Mamelodi and Soshanguve.

SOWETAN Monday November 12 1990

FW reshuffles Cabinet

STATE President FW de Klerk has shuffled his Cabinet to include Publications, Appeal Board chairman and former administrator of South West Africa Louis Pienaar as the Minister National Education and Environmental Affairs.

The new appointments and the transfer of responsibilities come into effect on Wednesday.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer will, in addition to his present job, assume responsibilities as the new Deputy Minister for Information Services.

White own affairs minister Amie Venter has been appointed to the central cabinet as Minister for Regional Development, but he will also retain his portfolio of Budget and Local Government in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

Pienaar takes over Mr Gert Kotze's Environmental Affairs portfolio and Mr Gene Louw's National Education portfolio to become the Minister of National Education and of Environment Affairs.

Kotze will retain the Water Affairs portfolio and will assume responsibility for forestry. His new title is therefore the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Léuw will retain the Home Affairs and SABC portfolios.

Stoffel van der Merwe will continue

as Minister of Education and Training but his Development Aid portfolio will be added to Minister Jacob de Villiers' portfolio of Agriculture.

The only woman on the Cabinet, Dr Rina Venter, retains her National Health portfolio and in addition becomes the white own affairs Minister of Health Services.

Mr Sam de Beer will remain responsible for the white own affairs portfolio of Welfare, Housing and Works.

364M
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12/11/90

Cabinet moves upgrade regional govt role

THE appointment of senior white own affairs Minister Amie Venter to the Cabinet with the portfolio of regional development has highlighted government's commitment to decentralised government in a new constitutional dispensation.

Venter, previously Minister of the Budget and Local Government in the House of Assembly, will handle industrial decentralisation in his new portfolio.

Yesterday, Venter could not elaborate on his plans until he had familiarised himself with his new responsibilities.

Venter and former Namibian administrator-general Louis Pienaar were ap-

EDYTH BULBRING

pointed to the Cabinet, bringing the number of members to 20.

De Klerk, who announced the Cabinet shuffle on Saturday night, said the changes were made in the interests of greater efficiency, to promote constitutional negotiations, restructure the economy and maintain law and order. (304A)

The portfolio changes emphasise the various issues government regards as matters for concern.

Pienaar was appointed National Education and Environment Affairs Minister,

freeing Home Affairs (and National Education) Minister Gene Louw from his education responsibilities.

Environment and Water Affairs Minister Gert Kotze, whose handling of several issues has been criticised, relinquishes the environment portfolio to Pienaar.

De Klerk also named a new Deputy Minister. Vryburg MP Johan Scheepers becomes Deputy Law and Order Minister, a post left vacant since Leon Wessels's move to Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister last year.

Constitutional Development Minister

□ To Page 2

Cabinet ^{8/12/11/90}

Roelf Meyer will assist De Klerk in two areas, by helping administer the National Intelligence Service and the Bureau for Information.

Yesterday Meyer said he could not describe what this assistance would involve as it would depend on what De Klerk delegated to him.

White own affairs Minister of Welfare, Housing and Works, Sam de Beer, will administer matters related to the Group Areas Act and squatter control. Management of population growth, urbanisation and urban squatting are now viewed as top government priorities.

(304A) □ From Page 1

In line with this concern, a new housing portfolio will be handled by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel.

The development aid portfolio, which fell under Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, will be transferred to Agriculture Minister Jacob de Villiers.

Deputy Water and Land Affairs Minister Japie van Wyk will have a dual position as Deputy Finance Minister with Org Marais, while Deputy Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Tertius Delport will also serve as Deputy Constitutional Development Minister alongside Meyer.

Hani's absence seen as ANC delaying bid

MIKE ROBERTSON

364A

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend Friday's meeting of the armed action working group is being interpreted by government as part of an ANC bid to slow down the pace of negotiations and instead concentrate on transforming itself into a political party.

ANC international head Thabo Mbeki, who led the ANC delegation at Friday's meeting, was apparently unable to explain Hani's absence. Mbeki left early, and the meeting broke up shortly after.

A particular sticking point in the working group talks has been government's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe's continued recruitment is contrary to the Pretoria Minute. ANC sources said at the weekend they believed this issue could be dealt with only at a meeting between President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. 6 (pam) 12/11/90.

Government sources said they felt the working group was empowered to take decisions on this issue.

They said the government-ANC committee had agreed to meet again only once the armed action working group had finished its task. Any delay in finalising the armed action committee's work would delay exploratory talks on negotiations.

A senior government spokesman said that despite the lack of progress, he was confident the working group could complete its work before the month end.

Anglo boss: Black
statesmen soon

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Anglo American chairman Mr Julian Ogilvie Thomson hopes South Africa will have a new constitution, with blacks in the government, by next Christmas.

Interviewed on British television, he also indicated he would be prepared to see partial nationalisation of his corporation and predicted there would probably be a black director on the board in about three years.

Mr Ogilvie Thomson was speaking on Sunday evening on Channel Four's "Answering Back" programme in a series of interviews with leading international business and political figures.

Asked by presenter Mary Golding when he foresees blacks in government in South Africa and a new constitution in operation, he replied: "I personally would hope that it would be next Christmas. But it may well be 1992."

He went on to indicate that while he is prepared to see partial nationalisation of Anglo American, he believed the chances of full nationalisation by a future ANC-led government were receding as the ANC "are beginning to see that this is not a sensible route to go down".

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Govt, ANC policies 'on similar track'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

There is no essential difference between the Government's economic policy and the ANC's latest economic policy of "growth through redistribution", Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has suggested.

Mr du Plessis told the Smith New Court/Frankel Kruger Vinderine conference in London yesterday that the Government accepted that it had to take "deliberate action" not only to promote growth but to "expedite the distributive process".

He said the Government was pursuing a policy of redistribution through fiscal policy.

Mr du Plessis said that according to the law which measured income inequality, South Africa was at, or near, the worst case — even though South Africa's blacks might be markedly better off than in most of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.

Ideally the inequality should be overcome by economic growth. But over the last decade the economy had not grown enough to raise overall living standards, and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita had actually fallen.

But even if an acceptable rate of growth were achieved, the rate of trickle-down would be "fairly protracted".

"Deliberate action by the authorities both to advance and expedite the generation of work and income and to channel some of the fruits of growth in specific directions is inescapable," the Minister said.

"The Government is there-

fore faced with a twofold task: it must seek on the one hand to promote sustainable economic growth with all speed, and on the other to expedite the trickle-down process."

Mr du Plessis said the national Budget was placing increasing emphasis on social spending.

Welfare spending now constituted close to 40 percent of the central Government Budget. Education spending represented 18,2 percent of the Budget and 4,9 percent of the GDP — "rather high by world standards".

The Government had also endowed R2 billion to an independent trust to overcome socio-economic backlogs, and another R1 billion in proceeds of privatisation which was earmarked to overcome backlogs in education and land for housing.

Pragmatic

Mr du Plessis said the ANC model of growth through distribution "differs from ours only in its word order".

The difference was that the Government sought first to give people a stake in economic activity — "to teach them to fish" — while the other schools wanted to begin the process by "distributing fish".

He was confident that "pragmatic accommodation on the issue" would be reached.

Although the Government believed staunchly in the efficiency of market forces, it was not "doctrinally fixated on unfettered free enterprise".

He was quite ready to use the term "social market economy" as a valid description of the Government's approach.

510-13/11/90 (304A)

ANC leader, De Klerk to meet

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will hold a meeting with President F W de Klerk this month, ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan confirmed yesterday.

Dr Jordan said Mr Mandela, who returned from a visit to the Far East and Europe on Friday, would meet President de Klerk in a one-on-one encounter on November 27.

Dr Jordan also disclosed that the long-awaited meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was expected to take place in the near future.

The meeting — the first face-to-face encounter between the two men since Mr Mandela's release from prison on February 11 — would take place in the presence of members of their respective executive committees.

Also attending would be the IFP's central committee and the ANC's national executive committee, led by Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela respectively.

The date and venue of the meeting would be finalised with the IFP once Chief Buthelezi,

who was at present out of the country, returned home on November 21.

Dr Jordan also scoffed at suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend the Government/ANC joint working group meeting in Pretoria on Friday was an ANC attempt to retard negotiations to buy time for itself to organise as a political party.

"That is quite ridiculous," said Dr Jordan. "What has the ANC got to gain from playing delaying tactics?"

He said Mr Hani, leader of the ANC delegation to the working group, was out of town and therefore could not attend Friday's meeting.

WHEN Professor Hermann Giliomee (Pattern of Politics, Cape Times October 23) raises the question of "genuinely competitive elections" in a future South Africa, and amusingly speculates that it would be a head-on clash and showdown between the ANC and the National Party, he is essentially underestimating the dramatic and fundamental way in which South African politics shall have changed in such an eventuality.

The National Party has been a political force of some election importance in South Africa mainly (although not only) because it operated within a race-defined minority. This constitutional arrangement was convenient for all whites-only parties because they could pretend that they were "national" (as the NP's name suggests), while more than three quarters of the country's population was excluded from central parliamentary politics.

The future South African elections Giliomee is speculating about will include, for the first time, all adult blacks, not just "qualified blacks" as Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen might want.

Optimism needed

There is just no way in which an ANC leadership or delegation to negotiations would accept the argument for a qualified franchise* for blacks without the risk of forfeiting its leadership role within its traditional constituency. Certainly not when the NP itself came to power in 1948 by relying precisely on the vote of these "unqualified" whites, the majority of whom were Afrikaners.

Not that Giliomee discounts altogether the

Patriotism and positivity what SA needs now

ANC-TM 13/11/70

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Viewpoint by MZALA

possibility of the ANC winning such genuinely competitive elections with a landslide; his central concern is that such an eventuality is undesirable and should therefore be avoided. He thus places the responsibility for creating obstacles to the achievement of such true democracy in South Africa, as conventionally perceived and practised throughout the world, on the NP. This shall be by way of advancing a notion of qualified votes.

In effect, the South African blacks will not have travelled very far from 1652, 1910 or 1961. But has not the De Klerk government made a public commitment that future South African central politics will no longer be the exclusive concern of whites-only institutions? Does this period of transition not mean a definite move from apartheid to a genuine democracy?

Since the subject of this discussion falls squarely within the realm of speculation, we should exercise caution and not allow our fertile imaginations to get us carried away.

However, more problematic than to engage in speculative imaginings would be for any South African, black or white, NP or ANC, to allow for the political traps of the past to weigh heavily in our current reasoning.

Ethnic variety

What we need at this time is a large dose of optimism, patriotism and a positive future perspective. It would seem to me, in fact, that unless we get our political thinking focused on this need to build a united, non-racial South African nation, instead of engaging in an exercise of endless predictions about which party or alliance of organisations shall form the first post-apartheid government, our political priorities shall be completely misplaced.

Our immediate and practical political concern should be the building of a new South African constitution, as the fundamental law of the country. Such a constitution should not, and will not, be the expression of any partisan political tendency. It will be neither an ANC nor an NP constitution. By definition the constitution should embody the aggregate aspirations of all citizens irrespective of their racial or ethnic affiliation. It is only on the basis of such a constitution that true national unity and equality will be placed on a secure legal basis in South Africa.

Governments come and go. The ANC may win the first post-apartheid elections only to be outvoted from government by a new alliance of political forces in five or 10 years time (as was the case with the Sandinista government in Nicaragua), yet our new South African constitution, like our new flag and national anthem, will have to belong to that solemn category of the new nation's heritage which shall be the pride of all South Africans, black or white, and whatever their political affiliations. This, I believe, is the perspective that should bind us and evoke the genius within us, towards the realisation of this paramount matter: the building of a just national unity.

The problem with the habitual reference to South Africa's multi-ethnicity (including as articulated in Donald Horowitz's *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*) is that it often proceeds from a simplistic assumption that the existence of ethnic variety implies politicised ethnicity, and that, correspondingly, it means ethnic political polarisation and tension.

Toast to freedom

Giliomee's obsession with ethnicity (which he politicises) as well as his predictions about a possible split within the ANC over a proposal for a qualified vote, shows both an inadequate effort to transcend the



DR GERRIT VILJOEN

past and also a failure to identify those things in the history of African resistance which tended to unite the members of the ANC. As a historian, it should not be difficult for Prof Giliomee to recall that when previous white governments in South Africa provided a qualified vote to the blacks in the Cape, it was consistent ANC policy for decades that such an approach fell far short of the demands that the blacks of this country were making.

Future elections, therefore, will indeed be the carnival of the oppressed, a revolution, as our people shall not be able to suppress their excitement for their first participation in the administration of their country. I will be there for that historical celebration, and hope that Prof Giliomee's hand shall be clutching mine, as our free hands shall be clinking our champagne glasses for the beginning of a new era in our country.

□ Mzala is a London-based ANC political analyst.

*Professor Giliomee did not refer in his article to a qualified franchise, but to a qualified election, after which power is to be shared according to a pre-agreed formula. Editor, Cape Times.

Pik aiming to boost SA's overseas links

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha left yesterday on a 10-day trip to several European countries, including Czechoslovakia.

The visit to Prague is understood to be aimed at establishing diplomatic links, following the Government's success in doing so with two other formerly-communist Eastern European countries - Hungary and Poland.

It is understood that Rumania is also on the Government's agenda for diplomatic ties.

Botha's office, however, has only confirmed that he will visit Germany to address the Christian Social Union-linked Hans Siedl Foundation in Munich - "and will take the opportunity of visiting a number of other European countries".

There has been unconfirmed speculation that Botha may intend lobbying European Community countries to lift sanctions against SA.

The EC is currently in the process of reviewing its sanctions policy and a decision is expected in December.

* Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was to address a conference on investment in post apartheid SA in London yesterday.

The conference was organised jointly by South African and British stock-brokers.

The ANC's head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki will also address the conference.

* Deputy foreign minister Leon Wessels met Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle in Montevideo on Saturday and discussed normalising relations between the two countries.

Wessels expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the talks, the Department of Foreign Affairs said last night.

Wessels officially opened the new SA embassy in Montevideo and then left for Brazil to meet South African envoys.

304A

13/11/90
Soweto

MK on Mandela, De Klerk agenda

Sowetan 13/11/90

SOWETAN Correspondent

UNRESOLVED differences in the joint Government/ANC armed struggle working group about the training and recruiting of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres may have to be dealt with at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The working group met in Pretoria on Friday and once again failed to reach agreement on this crucial issue.

The Government

believes that recruiting and of training MK cadres is an integral part of the "armed action and related activities" which the ANC agreed to suspend at the Pretoria summit in August.

The ANC contends that it only agreed to give up actual MK operations and that it is not prohibited from continuing to train and recruit for MK which is not a forbid-

den organisation.

A spokesman for the State President said yesterday he was not aware of any impending meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

Government sources yesterday downplayed speculation that MK chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend Friday's working group meeting was part of an ANC strategy to retard negotiations to give itself time to organise as a political party.

ANC is obstructive ^{304A} Pik

^{31 day 14/11/90}
LONDON — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday criticised the ANC for creating "new stumbling blocks" on the road to negotiations by failing to deliver on undertakings it agreed to with government on August 6.

He was speaking at a news conference after a meeting at which he updated British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on the situation in SA and on SA's expanding relations with other countries in the region.

Botha said he told Hurd of his government's "concern about the new stumbling blocks which have arisen despite the agreement of 6 August, when the ANC and the government agreed that all stumbling blocks were removed, and that the way was open for negotiations on the future constitution of SA."

KIN BENTLEY

"We are of the opinion there is no room whatsoever for misinterpreting the agreement, in terms of which the ANC announced that all armed and related activities would cease."

Despite this undertaking, he said, "calls are being made by individual members of the ANC for a continuation of mass demonstrations which erupt into violence and very often the looting of shops".

Botha said the two sides had agreed to set up a liaison committee. "The government has produced the names of our representatives. We are still waiting for the ANC to produce theirs."

Government was "experiencing an inhi-

□ To Page 2

Pik Botha ^{31 day 14/11/90}

bition on their (the ANC's) part to assist in the identification of arms caches, which was a categoric assurance given to us on August 6".

He said it was intended to set up joint committees and to arrange meetings with the ANC — "but they don't turn up. They postpone those meetings."

"So I really think that the time has come that — despite my government's patience, tolerance and understanding of the situation — the ANC leadership must realise now that apartheid is gone and is going, and they cannot hide behind it any more to look for sympathy in Europe and elsewhere."

Like the government, the ANC would

^{304A} have to "stand in the focus of world opinion and analysis."

"My government is ready and prepared to stand in that focus, to have our proposals for a new constitution tested against the principles and objectives generally accepted in all civilised countries."

Botha said he also told Hurd government was experiencing "tremendous difficulties in coming to an agreement with black town councils in black urban areas as regards the payment of services".

A British Foreign Office spokesman said Hurd stressed the importance to both sides of resolving their differences and keeping the momentum of reform going.

□ From Page 1



Aussies refuse envoy cut

CANBERRA. — Australia yesterday refused to reduce its diplomatic presence in South Africa to keep step with Pretoria's decision to bring home several of its own envoys.

Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans told parliament that the request to match the staff cuts was not covered by any principle of reciprocity in international relations.

His reaction has caused a stir and will be seen as a unilateral breach of diplomatic practice if carried through.

Governments usually agree to have the same number of diplomats in each other's country. With South Africa already having announced its cut, the Canberra government is not likely to get much support.

Mr Evans claimed that South Africa's decision to close its consulate in Sydney and reduce staff at its embassy in Canberra was an attempt to punish Australia for its refusal to lift sanctions.

However, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday that the cutback was part of a necessary reallocation of limited

funds needed to set up promising new missions in Central Europe.

He was speaking in London en route to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

He said he foresaw useful relations and trade links in raw materials and manufactured goods between Central Europe and South Africa, which would benefit Southern Africa as a whole.

Closing the Australian consulate would save R7 million a year while a diplomatic mission in a Central European country would cost R4m, Mr Botha said. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter

'We won't desecrate Nelson's prison cell'

By DANIEL SIMON

A CAPE TOWN businessman has promised not to "desecrate" Mr Nelson Mandela's old Robben Island prison cell, if big business proposals to turn the historic island into a major tourist attraction are given the go-ahead.

Mr Nick Malherbe, coordinator of the Future of Robben Island Committee (Fric) was reacting to the angry response of the ANC's regional coordinator for the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, to the commit-

Botha slams ANC on talks 'stumbling blocks'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday slammed the ANC for creating "new stumbling blocks" on the road to negotiations by failing to deliver on undertakings it agreed on with government on August 6.

Mr Botha was speaking at a press conference after a meeting yesterday morning with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd.

Mr Botha also announced that he would visit Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia this week for meetings at foreign minister level or higher.

Mr Botha said he told Mr Hurd of Pretoria's "concern about the new stumbling blocks" which have arisen.

"We are of the opinion there is no room whatsoever for misinterpreting the agreement, in terms of which the ANC announced that all armed and related activities would cease."

Despite this undertaking, he said, "calls are being made by individual members of the ANC for a continuation of mass demonstrations which very often erupt into violence".

Pik's vow 'hilarious'

Political Correspondent

MR Pik Botha's statement that he had considered quitting the National Party to form a United Democratic Party "really borders on the hilarious", Mr Janie Momberg of the DP said yesterday.

Mr Momberg left the NP after a row with President P W Botha.

He said: "This is the same Pik Botha who ... made a vicious attack on Dr Denis Worrall, accusing him of all those things that he now says he wanted to do if he resigned from the NP."

He said "the perks of NP government" had kept Mr Botha in the NP.

Star 14/11/90
Malan

and Vlok

cleared by De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has cleared Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok of any responsibility for hit squad activities.

He said last night that after studying the Harms Commission report, he could find "no reason to condemn the politicians in charge for the way in which they carried out their duties and responsibilities".

But Mr de Klerk added that special or covert operations were being reviewed "in total". He said that in deciding there was no reason to condemn the politicians, he had considered the circumstances.

"The events dealt with in the report took place in an era of serious conflict, now belonging to the past.

"We should act with a view to our future and take the conciliatory steps which are necessary to again create a peaceful South Africa."

These steps included possible indemnity for those involved in the conflict.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced last night that the commission's recommendations had already been referred to the various attorneys-general.

Malan tells of ANC plan to seize power

Sowetan 14/11/90

3049

IT appeared ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was aware of a plan by the organisation to transfer power to itself through mass mobilisation, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

He said the ANC was planning to use the "political underground", armed struggle and international isolation to achieve this aim.

Speaking in Bloemfontein, Malan said the ANC associated itself fully with the masses and saw a transfer of power to the masses as a transfer of power to itself.

He said according to a recently-released ANC publication, "ANC: The Road to Peace - Resource Material on Negotiations", power should be transferred to the people through "the combination of the four pillars of struggle: mass mobilisation, political underground, armed struggle and international isolation".

"On television Mr Mandela told South Africa that mass action, or mass mobilisation, was part of the democratic process.

"It emerges very clearly from this official ANC publication, which deals with the ANC's

views on negotiations, that Mr Mandela's mass action is part of a broader plan.

"It also appears that Mr Mandela is aware of this broader plan, because he promoted it by asking during his most recent overseas visit for the international isolation of South Africa."

The ANC was not pursuing democratic goals but blatant authoritarian politics in which it saw itself as the centre of all political interests.

In terms of the ANC's "four pillars" strategy, South Africa would not end up with a democracy but an ANC government.

- Sapa.

IBN
COMPUTER SCHOOLS

THE MARK OF
EXCELLENCE

**Councillor
to be buried**

A FORMER Leko Town

Rent boycott talks called off

A MEETING between the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and the Atteridgeville ANC branch on the rent boycott in the Pretoria township was called off yesterday, said TPA assistant liaison director Jan Houbser.

It was not known when the next meeting would take place.

Atteridgeville ANC chairman Abe Nkomo said he did not know about this decision and was awaiting the ANC delegation's report.

Atteridgeville Residents' Organisation publicity secretary John Ramatsui said the organisation had pulled out of the talks because of police action in the township.

The TPA had said the agenda would include recommendations of the Kriel Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the town council. The commission earlier found there had been a number of irregularities.

Violence flared on Saturday, killing two youths and injuring more than 20 people in a confrontation between protesters and police over an

electricity switchoff. Subsequent to the violence, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in Atteridgeville on Sunday night.

Meanwhile, the Klerksdorp and Jouberton councils will hold a crucial meeting tomorrow to determine further action in the rent and service charges boycott in the township.

The Klerksdorp council reconnected electricity to the township on Friday last week, and said tomorrow was the deadline for residents to make satisfactory payments.

In Witbank, the town council cut power supplies to the township of Kwaguqa on Monday.

Town clerk Adam Engelbrecht announced last week that the R60 flat rate paid by residents was not enough and if the amount was not increased there would be no alternative but to effect the cuts.

A spokesman for the residents' organisation said they were surprised by the action.

Engelbrecht could not be reached for comment yesterday. — Sapa.

Women urged to help build new SA

WILSON ZWANE

DEPUTY Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday urged women to become involved in the peace process and to share the responsibility of creating a new dispensation in a growth-orientated SA.

Addressing women in Soweto, Meyer said as women made up more than half the country's total population, it was clear they had to take an active part not only in the political sphere, but also in the wider social structure.

"In working to bring about the new SA the government is not aiming only for a new political system. SA needs a whole new social structure where the ideals and aspirations of everyone can be realised," Meyer said, adding that without the involvement of women it would not be possible to negotiate a new, acceptable and workable constitution.

Social contract a likely political route — academic

Blair 14/11/90
ALAN FINE

SA Faced two possible political scenarios in 1991 — a social contract or a destructive stalemate, Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

Addressing an Andrew Levy and Associates seminar in Johannesburg, Schlemmer said the social contract course was more likely because any intelligent appraisal of the situation showed the only feasible alternative to be a "no-win stalemate."

He defined a social contract as an "elite cartel" in which leaders of political groups were able to convince their followers to moderate their demands to accept not all demands could be met immediately, and that some interests would have to be sacrificed.

A social contract in SA would be a special governing arrangement for the transitional phase. He warned there were factors against it.

Studies showed some 60% of the white electorate expected minority participation, and the CP was strong enough to limit government's options.

Control

Significant sub-elements of the ANC — including the youth, civic associations and the SACP leadership, which were not fully under ANC control — could resist such developments.

The coherence in policy and control over the constituency needed was also probably lacking in government.

The ANC was aware of its disadvantages in the negotiating process. With the NP in power this meant the playing field was not level. It went against the ANC, and this lent impetus to mass mobilisation campaigns which could defeat a social contract.

The economic situation and ANC fears of losing support to more militant groups also militated against a social contract being achieved.

There were, however, sporadic signs of acceptance of the need for a co-operative approach from ANC leaders.

This, and the fact that the only other option was stalemate, tipped the scales slightly in favour of the social contract plus some form of interim government.

Australia counters Pik on its SA mission

CAPE TOWN — Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Garreth Evans told his parliament yesterday Australia would not comply with a request from SA to reduce its diplomatic representation here.

SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced on Monday that the SA consulate in Sydney would be closed early next year and embassy staffing in Canberra would be scaled down. (3049)

Governments normally agree to have the same number of diplomatic representatives in one another's country. Evans's reaction thus caused a stir, and could be seen as a unilateral breach of long-standing diplomatic practice if carried through.

Sapa reports that Botha confirmed in

Political Staff

London yesterday that the diplomatic cut-back in Australia was part of a reallocation of limited funds needed to set up promising new missions in central Europe.

He was speaking en route to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, after a midday meeting with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in London.

As an example, he said closing the consulate in Australia would save about R7m annually, without adversely affecting SA's diplomatic presence there. Setting up and maintaining a full-scale diplomatic mission in one of the central European countries would cost only about R4m annually.

Union wants free and fair elections

Sowetan 15/11/90

304A

THE 50 000-strong Johannesburg branch of South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union has called for free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

The call was made by about 500 Saccawu shop stewards at the branch's congress at Shareworld last weekend.

The Saccawu officials resolved that the elections be conducted to determine the mandate for the drawing up of a new constitution.

Agreed

No secret negotiations should occur between the Government and any organisation, they concurred.

Five other resolutions were adopted at the congress, mostly focusing on the independence of trade union movement; the tripartite alliance of Cosatu with the ANC and SACP and the destruction of the hostels.

By DON SEOKANE

Delegates resolved that the trade union movement must be independent from political organisations, the State and employers.

"Furthermore, the trade union should have the right to form alliances with progressive political organisations and that such alliance should must be based on a clear mandate from the workers," said one of the resolutions.

The delegates said they were not against alliances, and called on

Cosatu structures to clarify the nature of the tripartite alliance between the federation, SACP and ANC.

Cosatu affiliates should also discuss why other progressive organisations were being excluded from the alliance.

Unions

To ensure true independence of trade unions, the congress resolved that unionists should not hold leadership positions in the trade union movement and in a political organisation simultaneously.



Mr Mandela



Dr Naude

Mandela

accuses

FW in row

over demos

App Times
16/11/90

3084

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela last night accused President FW de Klerk and his government of trying to prepare public opinion for a "violation" of civil rights.

Speaking to the Foreign Correspondents' Association, Mr Mandela hit at government criticism of the ANC's strategy of mass demonstrations.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold meetings, processions and stage mass demonstrations.

"After close on three decades during which these rights were trampled underfoot by the SA state, there are signs that De Klerk and his colleagues are attempting to prepare public opinion for their violation."

Mr Mandela said it was accepted that extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities constituted an interface that was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

As the rift between the government and the ANC widened, Dr Beyers Naude, for-

mer secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday warned of serious consequences for South Africa if it was not resolved.

He referred to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's statement that the ANC's Western Cape "mass mobilisation" campaign seemed to "be a ploy to derail negotiations".

He said the impasse showed an "alarming lack of communication or difference in understanding between the government and the ANC".

He was "especially concerned" about the mood among young unemployed blacks, many of whom believed meaningful change was "deliberately being blocked".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the government should allow demonstrations. When police kept a low profile, they nearly always went off without problems.

"Then the onus is on the organizations to ensure that they enjoy their democratic right without encroaching on the rights of others," he said.

● ANC hits back — Page 2

Women urged to take part in shaping our future

Soweto 16/11/90

304A

WOMEN form the backbone of any society and considering that they make up more than half the total population of this country, they should take part in the shaping of the new South Africa.

This was said by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, addressing a group of women attending the Soweto City Council's second annual Women's Day celebration in Chiawelo this week.

Speaking on "the role of women in shaping a new South Africa", Meyer urged women to take the initiative and

By PEARL MAJOLA

responsibility to participate in the process, to be strong and fight for peace.

"In highlighting the women's role, we must constantly bear in mind that the impact of women in the new South Africa will to a large extent be determined by their level of personal involvement," he said.

Politics

"Active participation should not be restricted to politics only, South Africa also needs a whole new social structure where the ideals of everyone can be realised.

"In the new dispensation for example, mothers

will need to participate in decisions about the education of their children.

Another social responsibility women could take was to have a positive approach to family planning to prevent the unbridled population growth which would restrain education, housing, health services and job opportunities.

"In 1984, it was estimated that about 78 percent of black businesses were run by women.

"By stressing the need for self-employment and making the most of these opportunities, women in the new South Africa can benefit themselves and the economy in general," he continued.

"Participation in and through communities is important, but the greatest responsibility women have for the new South Africa lies in promoting relationships between different people and groups.

"Women can create positive perceptions with people whom politicians cannot reach.

"I also want to urge you to be involved in the peace process and to share responsibility in creating a future South Africa. Your contribution, as bearers of stability, is therefore vital to the success of the new South Africa that we want to build for the benefit of all South Africa's citizens," he concluded.

cerned . . . Members of the Artists Market Association have been working ha
it Roon, chairman of the organisation, and Leone Roon, its secretary, hand ove
ar Seaside Fund at a function at the Rosebank Hotel recently. Eleven other
R35 000 raised by the association.

Aggression unnecessary - FW.

By Frank Jeans

Johannesburg.

"I call on leaders in all spheres to put aside the tools of intimidation and violence and use the tools of democracy," he said.

Emphasising his optimism about the future, substantiated by his reception abroad recently, Mr de Klerk said peaceful negotiation was the only viable route.

Calling for support for South Africa from the international community, he said there was a realisation that the country was "now in step with the rest of the world".

Looking at economic

prospects, Mr de Klerk pledged his Government to a determined cutting-down on State spending and thus, among other goals, to lower the tax burden as part of the economic restructuring programme.

Seeing the new South Africa firmly on a dynamic growth path, he added: "One cannot build a successful constitution on a failed economy."

"The Government and the private sector should work together in identifying industries with an export potential and, where necessary, investment partners abroad."

Don't use battering rams to open doors which are already opening, and play the game according to the rules of democracy, was the strong message sent to all South African leaders by President de Klerk yesterday. "There is no need for aggression to achieve equal opportunities, for there will be equal opportunity for all in the new South Africa," Mr de Klerk told 700 guests at the 25th annual lunch meeting of the South Africa Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) in

Municipal shake-up

By CLIVE SAWYER, Tygerberg Bureau

HUNDREDS of Cape municipalities may go in a shake up of provincial and local government, says the Administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring.

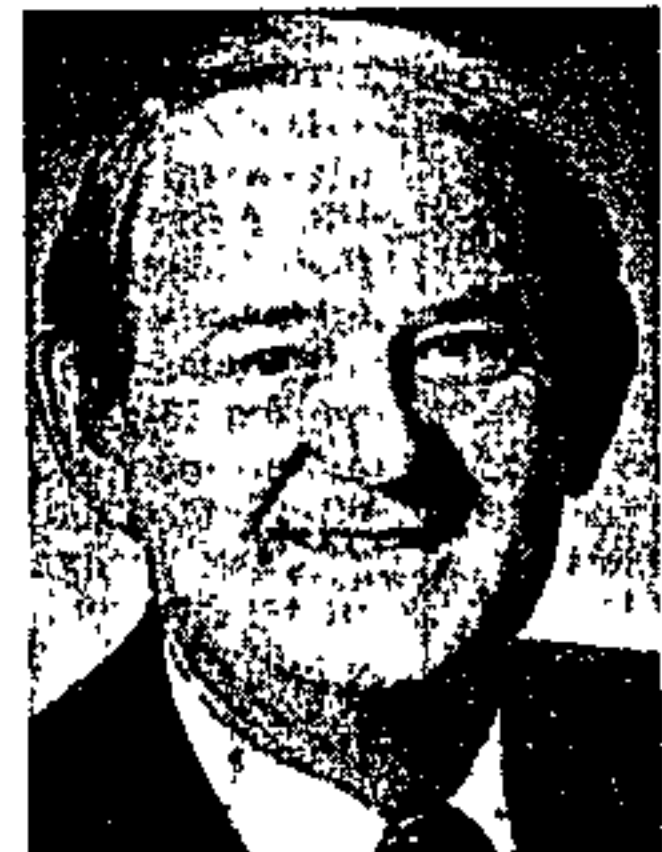
At a Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry lunch in Kraaifontein, Mr Meiring said the fragmented system of government at provincial level should be replaced by a federal structure with nine or 10 regions.

"There are four provinces, homelands, self-governing states. This has led, for instance, to 17 health departments," he said.

A future secondary-level government structure could be based on "development areas" such as the Western, Northern and Eastern Cape.

The government was opposed to a centralised system of government as proposed by the African National Congress.

There were several options for local authorities, including changes to the ward system and the introduction of a "mini-Regional Services Council" principle, giving representation to wards in proportion to their use of services.



Mr Kobus Meiring

There were hundreds of municipalities, particularly in the Cape, which could cease to exist. Widening the boundaries of some would make them effective and able to draw on a broader base of expertise, he said.

He had been pleased by the reaction to his announcement at the Cape Provincial Municipal Congress earlier this year that the CPA would not give money for discriminatory projects.

"Now we say there must be one council for one area. At this stage, we are saying nothing about composition or the size of that area."

Consensus crucial

Government by consensus was crucial at all three levels.

The government was discussing alternatives constantly and would not repeat the mistake of imposing a new dispensation without extensive negotiation.

A lack of money and urbanisation-related problems such as squatting were hampering the reform process, he said.

"The easiest part of getting rid of apartheid is the scrapping of laws. The most difficult is promoting changed attitudes," Mr Meiring said.

It was a tragedy that so many people at local level in the "Third World sector" saw socialism as a solution.

It was necessary to lift their standard of living because "people with nothing to lose will throw stones and petrol bombs because it makes no difference," Mr Meiring said.

The economy was not strong enough to lift standards of the underdeveloped sector as high as those of the developed sector, and talk of sanctions meant there would be no hope of doing so.

Woman stands on nuclear bomb

The Argus Foreign Service

LAS VEGAS. — A daring British anti-nuclear weapons activist stood over a nuclear device and stopped the explosion seven minutes before it was due.

Miss Lorna Richardson, a veteran campaigner against nuclear weapons, stood directly over the underground British device in the Nevada Desert this week after she and three other demonstrators penetrated strict security.

As the minutes ticked away the environmental group Greenpeace warned the American authorities about the group's presence.

The Americans at first did not believe them after helicopters and surveillance cameras failed to spot the intruders. Only when Greenpeace ordered one of the group to reveal herself was the explosion postponed.



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

DIVE! DIVE! DIVE! The CJP Vermeulen control room simulator, duplicating the environment in a Daphne-class submarine in various situations, makes an emergency dive in the hands of trainee submariners. Chief of the Navy Vice-Admiral Woody Woodburne and Commander Kobus Jordaan watch. Admiral Woodburne named the control centre yesterday. ● Report, page 5.

Khayelitsha firebombs — three more injured

Staff Reporter and Sapa

THREE people have been injured in petrol-bomb attacks on two vehicles in Khayelitsha.

Thus, in three days, 17 have been injured by firebombers.

Nine Lingeletu West Town Council clerical staff and five others were injured when a car and a minibus collided on Wednesday after a petrol bomb was thrown through the minibus windshield.

Two people have died and three injured in shooting incidents in the township this week.

Police found the body of a man with stab wounds at the Zongizwe squatter camp near Germiston, according to the unrest report.

At Tembisa in Kempton Park a home was attacked with petrol bombs and an AK 47. Two women and two men were injured.

At Wembezi in Natal four men fired shots at a home with a 9mm pistol, killing a man. In another incident a home was attacked and a man was killed with "sharp instruments", said the report.

Child snatched from car fire

Staff Reporter

A YOUNG mother snatched her two-year-old son from a possible fiery death after he set alight the seats of the family car.

Mrs Lizette Haasbroek, 22, of Van der Spuy Street, Beaufort West, left her son Deon in the car on Tuesday afternoon while she went to buy bread.

"I parked the car opposite the shop in Donkin Street and was gone for about a minute.

"When I came out of the shop, I had to wait for a truck to pass before I

could cross the road and I heard Deon shouting 'Mommy'.

"He was leaning through the window of the passenger door and when I saw the smoke and flames behind him, I ran to the car and pulled him out."

After trying to put out the flames with her hand, Mrs Haasbroek ran to a supermarket and asked for help.

By the time the police arrived, supermarket workers had put the fire out.

Only the front seats of the car were damaged.

Defiant Maggie vows to soldier

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has vowed to soldier on by ex-cabinet minister Mr M.

to oust her from 11 years in office, an opinion poll showed many voters.

A defiant Mrs Thatcher, who ment yesterday she would continue to lead the Conservative Party.

"After three general elections leading the only party with a resolutely carried out, I intend she said as supporters cheered.

Former defence minister Mr M. will stand against Mrs Thatcher of Conservative members of the party leadership on Tuesday.

OPINION POLL BACKS

He has acknowledged Mr M. achievements in the 1980s, but conservatives need a new leader to win the next general election to be held by mid-1992.

His view is backed by an opinion poll published today showing the Conservatives more likely to win the election with a new leader.

The Mori poll conducted by a newspaper gave the opposition a four percent lead over the Conservatives. Mrs Thatcher remained in office.

However, the Conservatives to a 10 percent advantage over people were asked how they felt about Mr Heseltine at the helm.

The electorate's faith in the government has been shaken by economic squeeze and concerns about the Conservative leadership policy.

"A growing number of people after all (Mrs Thatcher) has been in time, perhaps, to ask questions in the 1990s and it will need a new language, a new approach in time."

COMMITTED TO Mr Heseltine has pledged to run a campaign on a pledge to reform popular local government.

BBC television reports that people had not yet participated in protests around the country. Mr Heseltine, a self-made man, committed to eventual European political and economic integration, urged caution to protect Mrs Thatcher is hostile to integration. — Sapa-Reuters.

● See pages 3 and 4

Bloodline a boost racing

R1 million TopSport Bloodline Million earlier this year — the first venture into horseracing sponsorship — he said they were in fact "not even putting in one million. Or even R500 000 for that matter."

"We are part of a team... with which we are proud to be associated, and our contribution will be to build the race, through our medium to the heights that such a large event deserves."

Horseracing was the third largest industry in South Africa and the SABC's involvement in the sport would further enhance its contribution to the economy.

MORE PROMINENCE

Mr Harmse pointed out that horseracing was not very high on "white" (TV1) viewers' preference polls.

This was altogether different on TV2 and TV3, and horseracing would be covered far more prominently on those two channels as well as TV4, he said.

However, big events like the J&B Met, Rothmans July and OK Gold Bowl did have a place on "white" TV.

The new Bulgaria

SOFIA. — Bulgaria, which ousted its hardline communist leaders a year ago, has changed its official name to the Republic of Bulgaria instead of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. — Sapa-Reuters.

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Star 16/11/90

Don't feel guilty about the past, urges PW

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africans don't have to bow their heads in "sickly" feelings of guilt about their past leaders and their heritage, former president P W Botha said at the Excelsior Primary School's award ceremony in Bellville last night.

This follows a recent undertaking by Afrikaans Church leaders not to bow to political pressure after reports that Mr Botha had telephoned Ned Geref Kerk moderator Professor Pieter Potgieter to express his displeasure at a church confession to having wrongfully supported apartheid.

He appealed to South Africans not to deny their traditions and their leaders: "We must know from which rock we have been hewn."

Mr Botha addressed the ceremony on leadership, and, referring to America's George Washington, said: "A true leader strides ahead and does not turn on his own people — he does not chase popularity."

He called former President Steyn "a statesman who fell before the tread of those he loved".

Mr Botha said every leader had to realise that attempts would be made to deprive him of his sense of responsibility.

The Afrikaner and other minority cultural groups in South Africa were experiencing difficult times: "We are in a winepress and to get through this will depend on our future leaders and on our willingness to serve," he said.

School principal San Pienaar said Mr Botha and his wife had been invited as guests of honour in recognition of Mr Botha's relationship with the Defence Force and the school's guardianship over the navy submarine, SAS Maria van Riebeeck.

● Confession row escalates
— Page 3.

Star 16/11/90 (304A)

Govt mounts attack on mass mobilisation

The Government has launched an attack on the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, a major point of disagreement currently being discussed in the joint Government/ANC working group.

The Government claims that the mass mobilisation campaign is part of the armed struggle — which the ANC has agreed to suspend. The ANC insists that the campaign is a separate issue, justified as long as

blacks lack the vote.

The issue was expected to be high on the agenda of the working group's meeting in Pretoria today.

The group has also reached deadlock over whether the ANC may

continue to recruit and train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These questions are expected to be discussed by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela when they meet on November 27.

570 16/11/90

Row over confession escalates

By Peter Fabricius
and Esmaré van der Merwe

Concern is mounting in Government circles about the potentially damaging political consequences of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk's confession of guilt about apartheid.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has stepped into the row by agreeing to address a conference of dissident NGK ministers, some of whom have already started to resign, protesting against the confession at last week's ecumenical conference in Rustenburg.

The meeting has been organised for December 1 by the Reverend Kobus Potgieter, a former moderator of the NGK, amid signs of a gathering revolt among platteland congregations against the confession.

Implications

On December 4, NGK academics and ministers will gather to discuss the implications of the current row, under the auspices of the Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond.

Moderator Pieter Potgieter yesterday appealed to church members not to resign.

He said that information would soon be distributed among NGK members to explain the general synod's stance on apartheid.

Both Professor Pieter Potgieter and his predecessor, Professor Johan Heyns, predicted that the outflux of dissenting church members would be confined to the Transvaal platteland.

However, they conceded that dissatisfaction in the rest of the country was considerable.

Professor Heyns expressed "shock and disappointment" about the invitation to Dr Treurnicht to speak at the December 1 conference.

He said it was a move which

he believed would unnecessarily politicise the NGK.

Government sources said yesterday that they could not disagree in principle with the apartheid confession, but they felt the way it had been handled had given Dr Treurnicht and his Conservative Party "a gap to get at us".

They said the fact that the confession had been made by Stellenbosch theologian Professor Willie Jonker to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu — who was not the most popular figure with the general public — was part of the problem.

Respected right-wing academic Carel Boshoff, who is organising the Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond meeting, said there was countrywide dissatisfaction about developments in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

He predicted that the December 4 meeting would adopt a decision that the synod no longer represented the sympathies of ordinary members, and that several regional synods might distance themselves from the synod's stance on apartheid.

"Dissent has spread all over the country, even to the Cape. The way in which the synod currently functions leaves much to be desired," Professor Boshoff said.

The Johannesburg daily newspaper, Beeld, said yesterday that Professor Jonker's confession had been a mistake.

Professor Jonker was not a member of the NGK's delegation, the newspaper said.

It criticised Dr Treurnicht for agreeing to address a meeting on a religious subject.

Dr Treurnicht was not available for comment yesterday.

His deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, confirmed, however, that Dr Treurnicht had been invited to speak as a churchman.

He said he believed Dr Treurnicht had accepted the invitation.

Political Editor John Patten discusses the Ned Geref Kerk apology for apartheid

Not all ready to confess 'sin'

RETIRED State President P W Botha does not break cover and expose himself to political crossfire without good reason these days. His intervention in the Ned Geref Kerk row over its confession of sin for its part in apartheid was therefore much more than just another outburst of bad temper. It was a defence of his own integrity.

What is more, he knew Afrikaner congregants — innocent of malice in spite of their racial conservatism — would feel the same. His protest would therefore sound a chord that could have an immediate effect.

On the political side, it articulated the extent to which Afrikaner Nationalist politicians of the past four decades (and more) believed in the rectitude and even the pragmatism of their policies. The role of the church, on the other hand, was to see whether these could be reconciled with morality irrespective of practical policy.

Apartheid to the Afrikaner Nationalist politician — especially as the policy was spelt out and refined by its main architect, Dr

Hendrik Verwoerd — was a theoretical solution to the problem of cultural preservation and sovereignty. It was seen as being as ethically defensible for the protection of black cultural and tribal values as for protection of those of the Afrikaner (to which English cultural interests were tagged for convenience), with difficulties apparent only in the area of practical application.

The Ned Geref Kerk's initial acceptance of the policy, and attempt at finding biblical justification for it, was always on shakier ground. The truths of the Christian faith had to be bent to accommodate the very human fears of a small cultural minority that had known previous domination and was determined never to submit to it again.

That was the subjugation of religious belief to the human threat of domination, a situation that should have been untenable in the church from the beginning, even while politicians were still trying to prove (with increasing lack of success) apartheid was a theological and practical answer to a situation that required unusual solutions. Human frailty and fear

should never be an excuse for bending religious conviction, which is based on deep and eternal truths not capable of compromise.

The fact is that the Nationalist politicians, and especially Dr Verwoerd, the zealot with the powerful intellect, pressured the church into accepting compromises their faith should never have allowed them to accept.

Morality to the Nationalist politicians, however, was of a different order. It was important only insofar as the theory of apartheid was concerned, not in its practical effect — where imperfection could be worked on to eliminate inequities that might be exposed.

To them the theory of apartheid looked ethical. Separate but equal in a compartmentalised society sounded fine as a concept for avoiding friction and domination, even if it was difficult to apply. Apartheid accepted equality of status, equality of separate sovereignties, and also saw nothing wrong with the role of mutual inferiority in each other's territories.

The idea that there really were no black South Africans (because

South Africa was the white man's state) was not perceived by Nationalist politicians as an insult to blacks in the country, just as Germans depriving Turks working in Germany of political rights there is not considered an act of oppression (because Turks can exercise their political rights in Turkey).

There are Nationalists who no longer believe in apartheid who today would still claim there was nothing unethical or wrong about the theory. They no longer believe in apartheid for a different reason: experience in trying to apply the experiment has convinced them the theory is not capable of application — or achieves equality for so small a section of an increasingly mixed population that it cannot be seen as a final political answer.

Perhaps Mr Botha himself is one of these, for he also saw apartheid was failing and that reform was essential, though he never conceded that previous policies were sinful, and apparently to this day is unwilling to do so.

Other Afrikaner politicians have not yet conceded even that apartheid cannot be applied in

any other way than as baasskap. They include Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and HNP leader Jaap Marais, both of whom also objected strongly to Professor Willie Jonker's confession of sin and heresy when he spoke at the recent historic conference of churches in Rustenburg, and are mobilising resistance to it.

Though there is obviously a difference in the way politicians and churchmen look at moral issues, there were many South Africans who always believed (and a growing body who now accept) that apartheid was so inherently unjust in its foreseeable effects and so inappropriate to the interwoven fabric of South African society that its political base of projected equality could never be realistic. To them apartheid was, or has become, sinful by definition.

The political failure of apartheid has also freed Afrikaner churchmen of the considerable political and cultural pressures which previously caused them to bend their faith. It has now become possible for them to stand up and confess their sin to clear the air ... only to find that some

black churchmen do not find those words of confession are enough, but demand restitution (for instance of stolen land) as proof of genuine reform.

There is a long way to go before apartheid will be accepted fully in the Afrikaner community as a sin, let alone acceptance of the need for a purging process. And it is complicated further by some of the sins of black churchmen in their own area of influence — involvement in radical rabble-rousing where the consequence was foreseeable violence, and even acceptance by some churchmen of the need for violence to remove apartheid.

That was a further reason for Mr Botha's anger at Professor Jonker's confessing sin before Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, whom Mr Botha long regarded as a serious political provocateur.

Before South Africans are ready for heaven, a lot more acceptance of sin may be needed ... and a lot more acceptance that honest intent in political policy is no substitute for genuine morality. □

No. 2519

16 November 1990

LAND TITLES ADJUSTMENT ACT, 1979

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO DESIGNATE LAND.—
DISTRICT OF WATERBERG

I, Jacob Albertus van Wyk, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, acting on behalf of the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs under and by virtue of the powers vested in him by section 2 (2) of the Land Titles Adjustment Act, 1979 (Act No. 68 of 1979), hereby give notice that I intend to designate the land specified in the Schedule hereto under section 2 (1) of the said Act.

Persons who wish to object to the intended designation are invited to lodge their objections in writing with the Director-General, Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, Private Bag X65, Pretoria, 0001, on or before 14 December 1990 (Reference 2/20/2/19).

J. A. VAN WYK,

Deputy Minister of Land Affairs.

SCHEDULE

1. Portion 2, in extent 2197,8283 hectares; and
2. Portion 3, in extent 8,0300 hectares;

both portions of the farm Doornkom 376, Registration Division KR, Transvaal.

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

No. 2651

16 November 1990

304A

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

The State President has requested the President's Council in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), to investigate and make recommendations on the desirability and, if necessary, the scope of an ethical code of conduct or statutory framework for the functioning of South African political parties in terms of commonly prevailing democratic norms and guidelines.

The request has been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit relevant memoranda, not later than 31 January 1991, to the Secretary to the President's Council, P.O. Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000. Further information can be obtained from Mr J. F. Marx at telephone (021) 45-5541.

The Committee may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,

Secretary: President's Council.

No. 2519

16 November 1990

WET OP REËLING VAN GRONDTITELS, 1979

KENNISGEWING VAN VOORNEME OM GROND
AAN TE WYS.—DISTRIK WATERBERG

Ek, Jacob Albertus van Wyk, Adjunk-minister van Grondsake, handelende namens die Minister van Openbare Werke en Grondsake kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen by artikel 2 (2) van die Wet op Reëling van Grondtitels, 1979 (Wet No. 68 van 1979), gee hierby kennis dat ek voornemens is om die grond wat in die Bylae hiervan vermeld word, kragtens artikel 2 (1) van gemelde Wet aan te wys.

Persone wat teen die beoogde aanwysing beswaar wil maak, word versoek om voor of op 14 Desember 1990 hul besware skriftelik by die Direkteur-generaal, Departement van Openbare Werke en Grondsake, Priwaatsak X65, Pretoria, 0001, in te dien (Verwysing 2/20/2/19).

J. A. VAN WYK,

Adjunk-minister van Grondsake.

BYLAE

1. Gedeelte 2, groot 2197,8283 hektaar; en
2. Gedeelte 3, groot 8,0300 hektaar;

beide gedeeltes van die plaas Doornkom 376, Registrasieafdeling KR, Transvaal.

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT

No. 2651

16 November 1990

PRESIDENTSRAAD

Die Staatspresident het ingevolge artikel 78 (1) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die Presidentsraad versoek om ondersoek in te stel na en aanbevelings te doen oor die wenslikheid en, indien nodig, die trefwydte van 'n etiese gedragskode of statutêre raamwerk vir die funksionering van Suid-Afrikaanse politieke partye in terme van algemeen-geldende demokratiese norme en riglyne.

Die versoek is na die Komitee vir Staatskundige Aangeleenthede van die Presidentsraad verwys.

Belanghebbendes word uitgenooi om tersaaklike memoranda nie later nie as 31 Januarie 1991 aan die Sekretaris van die Presidentsraad, Posbus 3601, Kaapstad, 8000, te stuur. Navrae kan gerig word aan mnr. J. F. Marx by telefoon (021) 45-5541.

Die Komitee kan besluit om mondelinge getuienis aan te hoor indien verdere inligting oor memoranda verlang word. Indien wel, sal betrokkenes in kennis gestel word van die datums waarop en plek waar getuienis aangehoor sal word.

J. WEILBACH,

Sekretaris: Presidentsraad.

PAC founder back to form 'genuine' party

A FOUNDER, member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr A. B. Ngcobo, has returned to South Africa from exile to try to re-launch the "genuine" PAC.

Ngcobo was elected treasurer general of the PAC at elections held in Johannesburg on April 6 1959. This put him number three in the hierarchy behind Mr Robert Sobukwe and Mr PK Leballo, he said at a Press conference in Durban on Tuesday.

The PAC was banned in April 1960.

"Ngcobo said the strain of PAC he represented wanted other persuasions that had emerged in the PAC while it was banned and which were outside of its philosophies to now dissolve and team up with the founders who still advocated African nationalism, Africanism and pan-Africanism.

Ngcobo was born in Melmoth. He is a gradu-

ate of the University of Natal, Durban, and of London University. In January he visited South Africa on a British passport, and returned to South Africa in September. He has taken leave from his job as an inspector with the Inner London Education Authority to pursue his political work in South Africa.

Action

"I have come to re-activate the original Sobukwe PAC and to promote the ideology under which it was founded and organised," Ngcobo said.

The original PAC he represented had nothing to do with Mr Benny Alexander's grouping, Ngcobo said, and was not a Marxist-Leninist orientated organisation.

He is not going to the PAC congress in Johannesburg next month. The national executive he represented had been elected by the people of South Africa and was organising its own conference later.

As founders of the movement, his group would go into talks with the Government, because there was a time to talk and a time to fight, and because they believed people should engage in negotiation.

Ngcobo said he had attended an Inkatha peace march and meetings in recent weeks. The PAC's

relationship with Inkatha had always been good, and he hoped it would improve. He has met Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi since he has been back.

"African unity is important in itself. It would be a great step towards achieving African unity if the PAC and Inkatha united."

Ngcobo said his grouping had formed branches in Lindaleni, KwaMashu, Umlazi, Ermelo and Witbank. They were trying to trace people who were active in the PAC at the time it was banned and were pushing the philosophies the PAC advocated in 1959.

Ngcobo is not too sure when he and his family will return to South Africa permanently. - Sowetan Correspondent

Women's council will seek Bill of Rights

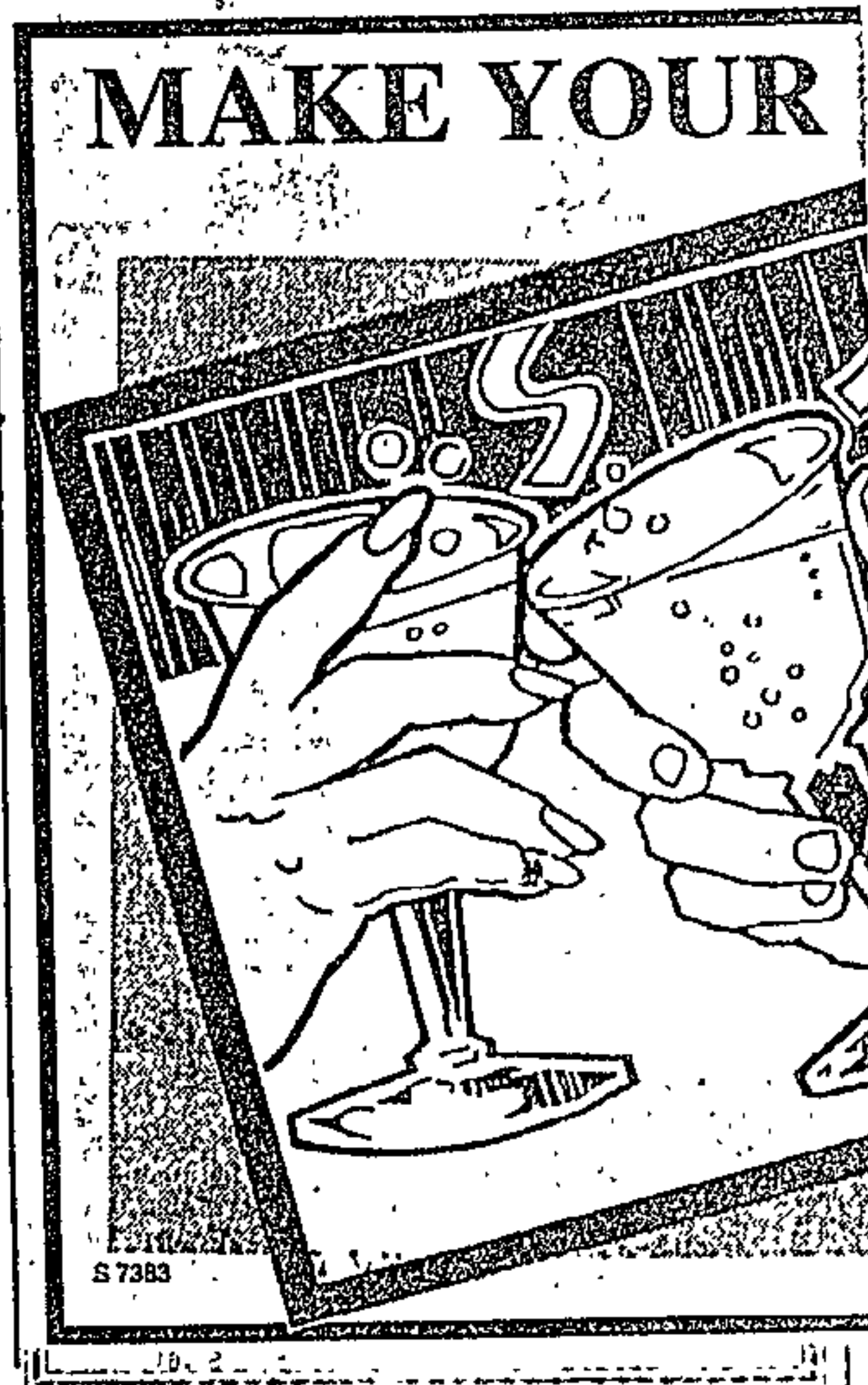
The National Council of Women of South Africa will meet the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in Pretoria next Tuesday, in response to the invitation by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, for all interested bodies to take part in the constitutional negotiation process. Sowetan 16/11/90

NCWSA has welcomed this opportunity and will reiterate its policy based "on the unshakeable premises that South Africa is one country and one people, that the new constitution should include a Bill of Rights which must be justiciable, and that all forms of discrimination based on sex, race or creed be abolished".

The delegation will also suggest strategies on how NCWSA, together with other women's organisations, could ensure the full participation of women at all levels of the negotiation process.

In the absence of the national president, Mrs Heather Tracey, the delegation will be lead by the immediate past president of NCWSA, Mrs Catherine Schneider. It will include members of the national executive committee and the presidents of the Transvaal branches.

Sapa



ANC's mobilisation plan attacked

The Government has launched a concerted attack on the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, a major point of disagreement currently being discussed in the joint Government/ANC working group on the ANC's decision to suspend armed activities.

Sharp differences have emerged, with the Government claiming that

the mass mobilisation campaign is part of the armed struggle which the ANC has already agreed to suspend. The ANC insists that the campaign is a separate issue and that it is justified in continuing with it as long as blacks lack the vote.

Campaign

The issue is expected to be high on the agenda of the working group's next meeting in Pretoria today. Over the past few days three senior Cabinet ministers have attacked the mass mobilisation campaign on the grounds

that it is a stumbling block to negotiations. Defence Minister Magnus Malan raised the issue on Tuesday night.

Foreign Minister P. Botha did so similar words in Prague, Czechoslovakia and Justice Minister K. Coetsee followed up the attack in a strong statement on Wednesday night.

Directing his fire at a plan by the Western Cape branch of the ANC for a mass mobilisation campaign, Coetsee said it seemed to be a "ploy to derail negotiations."

He was reacting to ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Trevor Manuel, who announced two marches in Cape Town and called on the Government to stop using ANC political prisoners and exiles as "pawns or hostages to try to force us into political positions on terms favourable to them."

Rejected

He said that the ANC delegation to the Pretoria summit had specifically rejected the attempt by the Government delegation to "inhibit mass action by disenfranchised blacks."

He also denied that the ANC had agreed to assist in identifying arms caches or to hand over its weaponry.

The armed struggle working group has apparently reached deadlock on the issue of whether the ANC may continue to recruit and train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These questions are expected to be discussed by President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela when they meet on November 27.

The mass mobilisation issue may also have to be referred to them if the working group fails to resolve it.

Sowetan Correspondent

ALLAN EDWARDS
177 BREE STREET, JOHANNESBURG
TELEPHONE: 834-2775

Styled in Italy
Colours:
BLACK and
BROWN

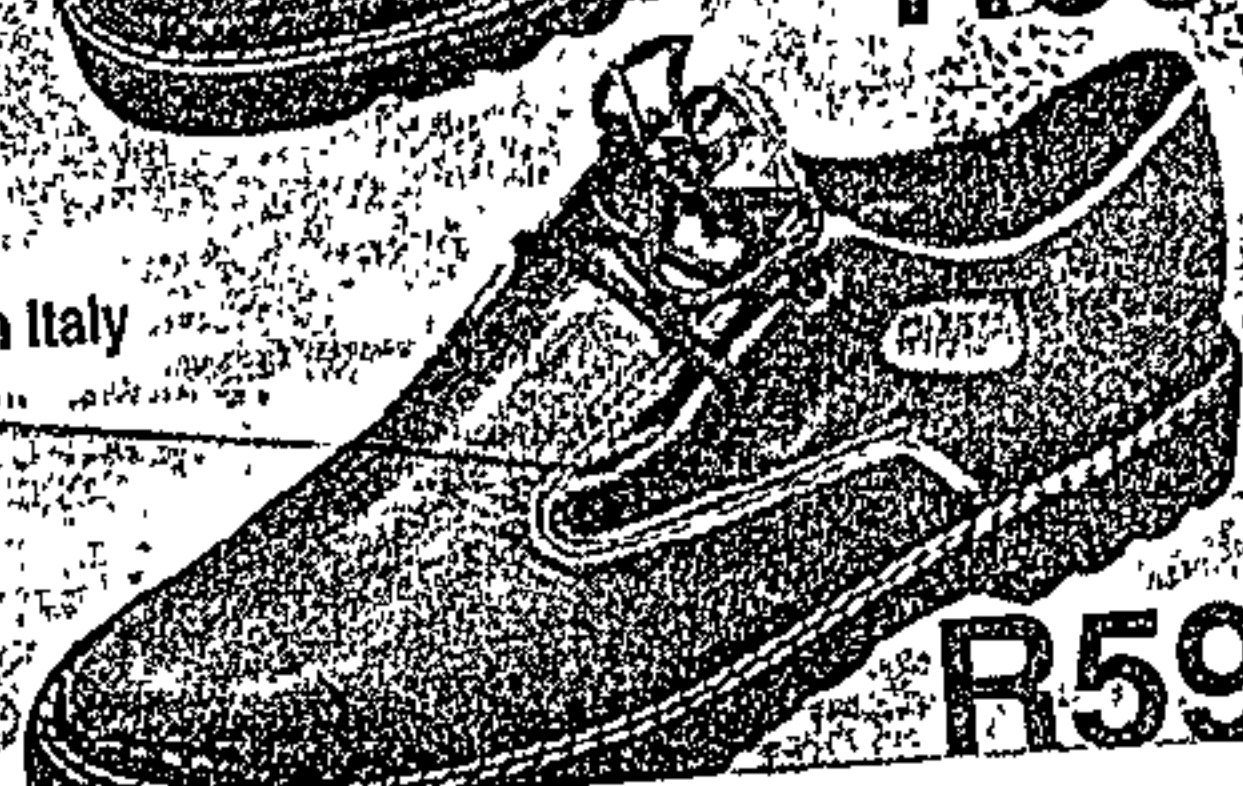
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R59⁹⁹

Govt 'preparing for violation of civil rights'

THERE were signs that President F W de Klerk and his government were attempting to prepare public opinion for the violation of civil rights, ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said last night.

Mandela, addressing the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg, said it was universally accepted that various means of political expression, including public meetings, rallies and non-violent resistance, were aspects of freedom of speech.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold

meetings and processions, and stage mass demonstrations.

He said a regime accustomed to authoritarian behaviour needed time to grow accustomed to democratic practice.

He said it had been accepted that the interface of extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

Mandela said it would be foolhardy for anyone to align themselves with government's attempts to curtail these rights.

Shopkeepers attempt to end boycott

KROONSTAD shopkeepers are taking the lead in attempting to resolve a consumer boycott.

Residents of Maokeng township started the boycott after the Kroonstad Town Council cut electricity and water supplies.

Maokeng residents have been boycotting service charge payments.

Kroonstad store owner Greg Papapanous said yesterday that the week-and-a-half old boycott had hit shopkeepers hard.

He said 50 traders had signed a petition calling for the dispute to be settled.

Papapanous said he had met the boycott organisers, the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee, on Wednesday and they had agreed to try and find ways of ending the boycott.

A meeting between shopkeepers and the Kroonstad Town Council was due to be held last night.

Papapanous said he hoped that progress towards a compromise would be made. — Sapa.

HAMILTON RUSSELL VINEYARDS



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INTERIM REPORT 1990/91

As sugar cane, citrus and grain are seasonal crops and dividends from investments are not received at regular intervals the figures shown are half those estimated for the current year and the comparative figures are half the actuals of last year.

	APRIL/ SEPT 1990	APRIL/ SEPT 1989	% CHANGE
Turnover	R100s 18 603	R000s 17 553	+ 6
Net operating income before interest (Note: 1)	2 607	2 317	+12
Income from investments (Note: 2)	920	1 711	-46
Net interest paid	(372)	(97)	

Far East opens front door to SA

S/Times
18/11/90
304A

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is to visit a number of Far Eastern countries early next year in what may herald a major shift in South African foreign policy.

Japan, Thailand, Singapore and South Korea are all countries targeted for upgrading as major trading and diplomatic partners.

Top foreign affairs sources indicated this week that South Africa was on the brink of a major break with its isolationist past.

"We have come of age in our foreign relations," said one official this week. "There is no 'standing at the back door with cap in hand' approach any more".

Part of this realignment of forces could be a shift of traditional diplomatic ties

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

from Western Europe, the US and Britain to new links with other regions — the Far East, Central Europe, South America and Africa.

The government is re-evaluating its ties with Western countries in an effort to establish whether to continue present diplomatic patterns.

This week's decision to downgrade diplomatic relations with Australia and the present visit of Foreign Minister Pik Botha to Central Europe are said to be the first tangible results of the new approach.

Targets

Yesterday, Mr Botha was in Belgrade for talks with his Yugoslavian counterpart, Budimir Longar.

The reform moves initiated by Mr De Klerk have resulted in greater interest in resuming normal relations with SA than the Department of Foreign Affairs ever expected.

"It is almost embarrassing", a source said. "For years we tried everything possible to set up small, unobtrusive trade missions.

"Now we almost do not have enough trained personnel to staff the embassies and missions opening up to us."

To streamline the new era in SA's foreign relations, key countries in important regions have been targeted as "diplomatic beachheads".

● **THE EAST:** Economic ties with East Asian countries are considered to be a major thrust of the diplomatic offensive.

Said to be under consideration is the upgrading of the South African mission in Japan to full embassy status and the entering into relations with emergent economic powers such as Singapore, Thailand and South Korea.

● **CENTRAL EUROPE:** Mr Botha's visit to Czechoslovakia and Romania — following closely on a trip to Hungary and the resumption of relations with Poland — is indicative of the emphasis the government is now placing on ties with former communist governments.

Again, trade will be used as the starting point of the

relations which may eventually develop into full diplomatic ties.

● **SOUTH AMERICA:** With the exception of the military regimes in Chile and Paraguay, relations between South Africa and countries on this continent have cooled considerably in recent years.

Now new opportunities are opening up, with a strong possibility of an early exchange of envoys with Argentina and Uruguay.

● **AFRICA:** The continent is still very high on the agenda although there are historical and practical problems in changing the present covert trade relations into overt diplomatic ties.

Upgrading

Other countries on the diplomatic "shopping list" include Zaire, Somalia and the Central African Republic, while closer to home the trade mission in Mozambique may be upgraded to embassy status.

Earlier this month Pik Botha opened a South African diplomatic housing complex in Maputo which is seen as an indication of the permanence of the new

relationship with the government of President Joaquim Chissano.

As the same time there are indications of a "cooling off" in relations with South Africa's traditional diplomatic partners.

On Monday Mr Botha announced the downgrading of its embassy in Canberra to an ambassador and two other diplomats and the closure of the mission in Sydney.

One top diplomatic source this week agreed that the decision was "a snub".

"For many years the Australian government treated South Africa like a pariah state. We were constantly subjected to a barrage of criticism and uncalled for advice.

"Now that we are in the process of change, Australia does not have the grace to support us, but prefers to continue with its moralistic approach," he said.

The source also pointed out that Australia's "obsession with sanctions" was the result of the country's attempts to make economic gains — especially in the export of steel and coal — in markets that were closed to South Africa.

Showdown on ceasefire

THE dispute about the interpretation of the ceasefire agreement between the government and ANC will top the agenda when President F W de Klerk meets Nelson Mandela on November 27.

The government's view is that the ANC's style of "mass mobilisation", which includes the recruitment and deployment of Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas, is included in the "related activities" the ANC undertook to suspend in terms of the Pretoria Minute of August 6.

The ANC holds that mass mobilisation is its democratic right while its followers do not have the vote.

The row has stalled the work of the ANC-government working group, whose task it is to pave the way to constitutional negotiations,

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

senior government sources said this weekend.

A report by the working group — due on September 15 — has not yet been finalised.

A government source close to the negotiations said this week the government did not object to meetings and rallies.

Violence

But it ruled out boycotts, stayaways and strikes because of the violence and intimidation that invariably accompanied them.

The armed struggle and mass mobilisation could be seen as "two facets of the same thing", said the government source.

Amid other indications of a hardening government

attitude, the source said: "We are presently defining areas of no compromise."

Violence would be central to these.

"This is the watershed point," the source said.

This week several senior government Ministers strongly criticised the ANC's mass mobilisation and the delaying of an agreement on negotiations.

They included President De Klerk, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

It is believed the government is planning a "think tank" early next month with its seven-member Ministers' Committee on Negotiations.

Its purpose will be to discuss initiatives the government can take to get negotiations started and to consolidate the international acclaim it has received for its reforms.

It will also assess the outcome of the ANC's consultative conference on December 16.

FW and Mandela to discuss widening rifts

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet Tuesday next week to try to defuse growing differences between the government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation and the question of whether the ANC should be allowed to continue recruiting and training members of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could be the main subjects for discussion at the meeting.

Several clashes between the police and protesters over the weekend have underscored the sharp differences between the government and the ANC over the ANC's strategy of mass mobilisation.

Mr Mandela made it clear in a speech in Lenasia yesterday that the ANC intended to "intensify the struggle" by using all legitimate peaceful means of pressuring the government, including civil disobedience.

Mr Mandela strongly denied claims made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other government spokesmen that the ANC had agreed at the Pretoria summit in August to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions.

The joint government/ANC working group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

However, senior police sources have expressed grave doubts about the ANC's real commitment to resolve this issue. They point to the fact that the head of the ANC's delegation to the working group — Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani — failed to attend the second-last meeting of the group.

And last week the ANC withdrew from the last scheduled meeting of the group at the last minute.

Mr Mandela said yesterday he believed a third summit was needed to decide how the real constitutional negotiations should be structured and whom should attend.

● Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela have been elected 1990 Newsmakers of the Year by the Johannesburg Press Club.

Yugoslav ties 'wrap up' central Europe

810am 19/11/90 304A
SA WOULD soon set up consular and commercial relations with Yugoslavia, the leading nation in the strongly anti-apartheid Non-Aligned Movement, Foreign Affairs sources predicted yesterday.

The prediction was made yesterday during Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's first visit to Belgrade, following on his trip to Czechoslovakia and Romania.

The sources said the Yugoslavia initiative had virtually "wrapped up" formal links with central Europe.

Bulgaria, the only other central European country still without formal links with

EDYTH BULBRING

SA, would probably make the move soon.

A four-man Bulgarian government delegation left SA on Saturday after a two-week visit. The delegation met representatives from the Reserve Bank, SAA and the SA Chamber of Business.

Botha, who returns from his 10-day European trip on Wednesday, has signed accords with Czechoslovakia and Romania to create reciprocal consulates.

He leaves for Germany today.

This year SA has also set up a permanent

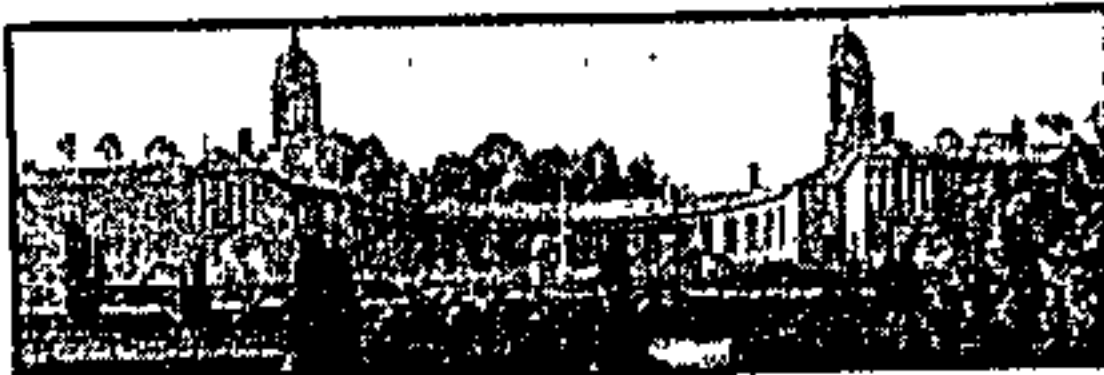
mission in Hungary and agreed to set up reciprocal offices of interest with Poland.

The links with central Europe also spell opportunities for trade as central Europe is seeking new markets.

SA could act as a middleman for central Europe in the African market and could also expand its export operations in central Europe.

The sources said links with the Soviet Union were growing, but the establishment of diplomatic ties were not on the cards until the Soviet Union's domestic problems were resolved.

Think-tank to decide
next policy moves



FW-Mandela meeting
will influence agenda

304A (B)

Cabinet 'bush indaba'



F W de Klerk ... his special rapport with the ANC
deputy president will be put to the test.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet and other senior National Party officials are to hold a three-day "bush indaba" at a secret venue near Pretoria next week to set the direction of government for next year.

The think-tank session is likely to be influenced strongly by what happens today in talks between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — a meeting set up to break a serious deadlock in clearing the way to formal constitutional negotiations.

Rapport

At today's meeting in the Union Buildings, the special rapport which has developed between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela will be put to its greatest test as they try to find solutions to problems which ANC and Government officials have failed to solve over the past few months.

Obstacles barring the start of real negotiations are:

- The ANC's view that the security forces are being used in a campaign of violence against black people. The ANC was investigating alleged violence instigated by Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service.

- The status of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The Government insists the ANC should stop training and recruiting members to serve in it.

- The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation — in the form of protests, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts.

President de Klerk calls

special extended Cabinet think-tanks whenever there are important decisions to be made.

It was at a meeting like this a year ago that the momentous decision to unban the ANC and other organisations was taken.

The "bosberaad", as the Government calls it, will take place from Thursday to Saturday next week.

It is likely to focus on plans to broaden the negotiation process into a multi-party forum.

The repeal of the Land Act and the Group Areas Act, which are expected to take place during next year's session, will probably also be discussed.

A technical committee has completed a report on measures to replace the Group Areas Act, and this apparently was presented to the high-powered Ministerial committee on negotiations yesterday.

Apart from measures to maintain physical standards and prevent slums, the committee has also proposed measures "to protect an own community life for those who want it", as Mr de Klerk put it in an M-Net phone-in programme recently.

Some concern has been expressed that this might mean bringing residential apartheid in again by the back door.

But senior Government sources insist they will stick to Mr de Klerk's promise that the Group Areas Act will not be replaced with anything that smacks of racial discrimination.

The 1991 Budget and permission for M-Net to broadcast news are also thought likely to be on the agenda.

● Mbeki's plea — Page 3.



Nelson Mandela ... 'Security forces are being
in a campaign of violence against blacks.'

'Govt wants only leaders' — Ndebele

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The South African government wanted to negotiate with ANC leadership and not with its membership, the secretary of the ANC's newly launched Southern Natal Regional Executive Committee, Mr Sibusiso Ndebele, said yesterday.

At a conference to introduce Mr Jacob Zuma, the new regional chairman, Mr Ndebele said the government wanted only people such as Mr Nelson Mandela at the negotiating table and wanted to talk to individuals rather than address the organisation as a whole.

In response to a question about the ineptitude of the ANC to make decisions, Mr Ndebele criticised the government.

"If you talk about ineptitude you talk about the South African government who have admitted they made a horrible mistake for the past 42 years in the creation of apartheid. They are inept in bringing about the return of exiles and inept in that they can't even send a fax from Pretoria to Robben Island to release political prisoners."

Ste- 20/11/90

Mandela, FW to meet as rift widens

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet next Tuesday to try to defuse growing differences between the Government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation and the question of whether the ANC should be allowed to continue recruiting and training members of its military wing could be the main subjects for discussion at the meeting.

Several clashes between the police and protesters at the weekend have underscored the sharp differences between the Government and the ANC over the ANC's strategy of mass mobilisation.

Mr Mandela made it clear in a speech in Lenasia on Sunday that the ANC intended to

"intensify the struggle" by using all legitimate peaceful means of pressuring the Government, including civil disobedience.

He strongly denied claims made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other Government spokesmen that the ANC had agreed at the Pretoria summit in August to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions.

Intimidation

Yesterday senior Government sources said they believed the ANC's agreement in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes to terminate destabilising actions implied that certain mass actions would be called off.

They said it was important to distinguish between mass meetings and mass marches — which were acceptable as long as they were peaceful — and other mass actions designed to destabilise the situation, such as

consumer boycotts and the intimidation of black local councillors.

The sources said an attempt would still be made to resolve this problem at the meetings of the joint Government/ANC working group discussing the ANC's suspension of "armed actions and related activities".

The group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

Mr Mandela reiterated yesterday that the ANC was entitled to continue putting pressure on the Government through mass actions as long as blacks lacked proper channels through which to express their grievances.

Government sources replied that under the Pretoria Minute, it was agreed to set up mechanisms for this purpose but that the ANC had not co-operated in establishing these mechanisms.

Top level crisis talks next week

Sowetan 20/11/90

304A

PRESIDENT de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet next Tuesday to try to defuse growing differences between the Government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

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Important issue

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They said it was important to distinguish between mass meetings and mass marches - which were acceptable as long as they were peaceful - and other mass actions designed to destabilise the situation such as consumer boycotts and the intimidation of black local councillors.

They said it was clear from his remarks on Sunday that Mandela did not make this distinction.

The sources said an attempt would still be made to resolve this problem at the meetings of the joint Government/ ANC working group discussing the ANC's suspension of "armed actions and related activities".

The group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

However senior police sources have expressed grave doubts about the ANC's real commitment to resolve this issue.

They point to the fact that the head of the ANC's delegation to the working group - Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani - failed to attend the second-last meeting of the group.

And last week the ANC withdrew from the last scheduled meeting of the group at the last minute. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Buthelezi warns against one-party rule

Buthelezi 20/11/90

SOUTH Africa should avoid winner-take-all politics and the "political abyss" of a constituent assembly prior to negotiations should be avoided at all costs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a series of talks overseas, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader said trials of strength should be left until it was assured there would never be a dictatorship in South Africa.

Referring to the African National Congress-authored Harare Declaration, which calls for a constituent assembly, Buthelezi said this would have disastrous effects.

"Nothing could be more designed to produce a violent white right wing backlash than the prospects of a South African Government handing over power to a constituent assembly we know not what, to produce a constitution we know not what."

The IFP envisaged that negotiations would be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances would demand that the Government legislate the negotiated agreements into position as they were reached.

"This avoids winner-take-all politics and avoids forcing South Africans to agree to leap into some kind of constitutional and political abyss."

Common cause

South Africans could discover in common cause, that the politics of negotiation should provide them with the opportunity of doing just this," he said.

Buthelezi said unless there was racial reconciliation now there would be no democracy.

"Many white South Africans are afraid of the future. You cannot just ignore it. If we do so, we will be invit-

ing a white backlash which will make the worst that Unita could do to the MPLA government in Angola and the worst that Renamo could do to the Frelimo government in Mozambique look like child's play."

The majority of South Africans wanted a modern, Western-style multi-party democracy. Inkatha rejected the politics of coercion, the need for the continued isolation of South Africa and the continued application of economic sanctions.

Buthelezi said the ANC, like the National Party, had sought to become the sole arbiter of what South Africa would be like and where it would go.

Like the NP, the ANC was having to adjust to the fact that it was not a monolithic power.

The ANC had also made an error in committing itself to a socialist future. "Clearly, like the NP, it will have to abandon its previously held ideological positions," *Sapa*.

3041

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, November 21 1990

3

Zach: SA needs two-way trade

TIM COHEN

such production would have to be sought outside.

One of two important statistical reports released in recent weeks concerned the economic growth rate.

"... The average South African is getting poorer at the rate of more than 4% a year," De Beer said.

If a ray of light could be found, it was in October's trade figures. Exports soared to R6,25bn and imports were roughly constant at R5,9bn.

This might indicate the SA economy was beginning to adjust structurally to the demands of the future.



DP leader Zach de Beer at the S.A.-German Chamber of Commerce luncheon in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

DP LEADER Zach de Beer yesterday warned that violence in townships and informal settlements where the bulk of SA's population lived could not be allowed to continue.

And, addressing the S.A.-German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg, he said if the new SA was to prosper it had to trade with and attract investment from foreign and domestic sources.

"There must be perceived stability in our society. The continuation of violent conflict in SA could destroy all our hopes."

There was no doubt that manufacturing capacity would have to grow rapidly and that markets for

Sta 21/11/90 304A

Govt doubts ANC sincere over peace

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Negotiations have reached a critical point as the Government expresses growing doubts about the African National Congress's real commitment to a peaceful political settlement.

The ANC's determination to continue and even intensify its strategy of mass mobilisation and its refusal to stop training and recruiting for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, are causing concern.

In two hard-hitting speeches yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha both cast severe doubts on the ANC's desire to seek a constitutional solution through peaceful means.

And it is understood that the concern in Government goes right up to President de Klerk, who is expected to take it up with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela when they meet on Tuesday.

The ANC and Government will also try to thrash out their differences over the

ANC's mass mobilisation campaign in the joint working group on ANC armed actions which meets tomorrow and on Friday in Pretoria.

Dr Viljoen said last night the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts, intimidation and the building up of military power called into question its stated commitment to peace and had created a great obstacle to negotiations.

Mr Botha, addressing the Hans Seidel Foundation in Munich, said it was "a matter of serious concern" that the ANC could not say it was ready to implement its commitments.

He said that at the Pretoria Minute, agreement was reached on a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the return of exiles while the ANC agreed to suspend all armed actions and related activities.

Mr Botha said that apart from internal dissent, the ANC was also "burdened" by its close alliance with the South African Communist Party.

● Pik's plea — Page 11.

Sta 21/11/90

Forex fraud probe follows suspensions

By Michael Chester

Police confirmed today that investigations had been launched into a suspected multimillion-rand new foreign exchange fraud following the suspension of three listed companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

A police spokesman said the probe was triggered by the Foreign Exchange Division of the SA Reserve Bank.

It was suspected that at least five private sector companies had broken forex control regulations on the movement of overseas currencies in and out of commercial and financial rand business accounts.

Shock waves were caused when the JSE ordered the suspension of three listed companies — the shopfitting firm of Norvic, the Lanchem door manufacturing company and the Osprey gold mine. It is understood the Reserve Bank has also ordered investigations into the affairs of two more companies suspended by the JSE earlier in the year.

● See Page 18.

SA leaders fear transition chaos

Cap 719B 21/11/80 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political and business leaders generally expect a loss of control during South Africa's transition phase, a new strategic planning survey has found.

And, says the report, published yesterday, incidents of arbitrary violence were heightening fears of a chaotic transition and economic decline.

The Political Environment Survey was conducted by Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Five Freedoms Forum president Mr Michael Olivier, Strategy Computer Holdings managing director Mr Michael Charnas and Five Freedoms Forum's press officer Ms Gael Neke.

The views of 100 of the most influential leaders in the political, environmental, cultural and business arenas were canvassed.

The report concludes:

● The closer people are to involvement in the negotiation process, the more optimistic they are. The further away, the more pessimistic and apprehensive they are;

● There is a general expectation of a loss of control during the transition phase. Incidents of arbitrary violence heighten fears of a chaotic transition and a declining economy. In spite of this, the majority of people are optimistic about long-term prospects;

● There is a strong fear of nationalisation;

● There is a general acceptance that privilege will be non-racial but that poverty will remain, for the most part, a black state;

● For business people, a dichotomy exists between approval for President F W de Klerk's actions and their apathy towards political events. Ignorance of politics and political group dynamics increases apathy and distrust;

● Management fears loss of control of business and interference at executive level, while the ANC is aware of its own lack of managerial skills;

● Black business is apprehensive that the ANC has no economic base and no understanding of business and economics. They have taken extensive and positive steps to engage the ANC on economic issues.



Forget the past, Pik urges ANC

Star Foreign Service

MUNICH — In an impassioned plea at an international symposium in Munich, Foreign Minister Pik Botha called on the African National Congress to "let bygones be bygones" and to co-operate with his Government in building a new South Africa.

The Minister appealed to ANC representatives to help the Government arrange a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe. Such a meeting was essential for peace, Mr Botha said.

He also called on the ANC to drop its proposed economic programme, which would frighten European investors away.

"The Germans won't invest, the British won't invest, the Americans won't invest."

Earlier, addressing the symposium organised by the Bavarian Hanns Seidel Foundation, Mr

Botha complained that internal divisions within the ANC and the movement's links with the South African Communist Party were hindering progress towards a political settlement.

"We realise the ANC needs time to transform itself into a political party, but my Government cannot resolve their internal strife," Mr Botha said.

The main ANC speaker, Waledi Tsiki, said the fact that the movement was talking to the Government was proof of its good intentions.

But the ANC would not back down from its demand for a "mixed-market economy" because that was the only system to correct the injustices of apartheid.

Germany's Minister for Economic Co-operation, Juergen Warnke, said the time had come for European governments to drop sanctions against Pretoria. "They are senseless," he said.

SA leaders fear economic decline

POLITICAL and business leaders generally expect a loss of control during SA's transition phase, a new strategic planning survey has found.

The survey, released yesterday, also found that incidents of arbitrary violence were heightening fears of a chaotic transition and economic decline.

The Political Environment Survey was conducted by Idasa director F Van Zyl Slabbert, Five Freedoms Forum president Michael Olivier, Strategy Computer Holdings MD Michael Charnas and Five Freedoms Forums Press officer Gael Neke.

Introducing the report yesterday, Slabbert said business leaders needed a thorough understanding of the trends and pressures driving development in SA to project future scenarios.

Conclusions 304A

The authors combined their skills and contacts in politics, economics, business and technology to analyse the views of some 100 of the most influential leaders in the political, environmental, cultural and business arenas.

Cabinet ministers, MPs, academics, diplomats, educationalists, businessmen, newspaper editors and churchmen were among those interviewed.

The research conclusions include:

- ☐ The closer people are to involvement in the actual negotiation process, the more optimistic they are. The further away they are from it, the more pessimistic and apprehensive they are;
- ☐ There is a general expectation of a loss of control during the transition phase. Incidents of arbitrary violence heighten fears of chaotic transition and a declining eco-

THEO RAWANA

nomy. In spite of this, the majority of people are optimistic about long-term prospects;

- ☐ There is a strong fear of nationalisation and confusion about whether nationalisation threats are real.

- ☐ There is a general acceptance that privilege will be non-racial but that poverty will remain, for the most part, a black problem;

- ☐ For business people, a dichotomy exists between approval for President F W de Klerk's actions and their apathy towards political events. Ignorance of politics and political group dynamics increases apathy and distrust;

- ☐ Management fears loss of control of business and interference at executive level, while the ANC is aware of its own lack of managerial skills;

- ☐ Black business is apprehensive that the ANC has no economic base and no understanding of business and economics. They have taken extensive and positive steps to engage the ANC on economic issues;

"The business sector's uncertainty about the future of SA has a direct impact on business confidence and investment. New pressures evolve virtually daily as individual communities vie to reshape the political and economic future of our country," Slabbert said.

The survey provides input to strategic planning for business growth and survival in a changing SA. In addition to dealing with the implications of government negotiations with the ANC, PAC and right-wing parties on local and foreign trade, it also discusses other topics such as environment, AIDS, labour unions and education.

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JAD	JHB 19-21	JHB 26-30	JHB 18-22	JHB 25-31

COMCON

2 Cape Times, Thursday, November 22 1956

20/14

Political jealousy behind leaks?

Political Correspondent

THERE was speculation in political circles this week that "political jealousy" could be behind press "leaks" that Mr Kent Durr could be removed from the cabinet and transferred to the post of SA Ambassador to London.

Mr Durr has won praise in most circles for his handling of the complex Trade and Industry portfolio and was astonished to learn that he might be removed from his post soon.

But his outgoing and publicity-conscious style has apparently resulted in him stepping on toes in the top echelons of government.

In particular, Mr Durr's high-

profile trips to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are said to have created tensions in Foreign Affairs circles.

The task of forging new relations with formerly hostile nations is seen as the preserve of Foreign Affairs and Mr Durr's recent path-breaking trips have sometimes resulted in his stealing the thunder of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha yesterday declined to be drawn into speculation on the possible intrigue and would say only that the cabinet had not yet taken a decision on who is to replace Mr Rae Killen when he retires as London Ambassador early next year.

The Nationalist press this week characterised the possible shifting of Mr Durr to the "high post" in London as something of a promotion.

But Mr Durr, who is still overseas, reportedly did not sound pleased with the speculation.

Government sources dismissed suggestions that Mr Botha himself might be responsible for floating a "trial balloon" on the sensitive issue to test public and political reaction.

Should Mr Durr leave the cabinet there will be only one English-speaking minister left at this level of government — the Minister of Transport Mr George Bartlett.



Mr Kent Durr

Star 22/11/90 (304A)

FW warns against double-handed politicians

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Protracted violence, intimidation and other forms of resistance should be stopped, President de Klerk said last night.

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Mr de Klerk said all reasonable people would not allow the country to be dragged down by radicalism.

A climate had been created for a peacefully negotiated solution to the country's remaining constitutional problems.

"Certain political actors should start to realise that the game cannot be played both ways. There cannot be a commitment to peaceful solutions on the one hand, and on the

other a call for public disruption.

"It should be realised that nothing can be achieved in this way," he said.

Devoting most of his speech to the economy, he said the inability of the gross domestic product to exceed the population growth was being used in certain circles to criticise the free enterprise system. Ways should be found to overcome that which was hampering the economy, he said.

Although the Government remained convinced of the efficiency of market power, it was not married to unbridled free enterprise.

Funds which had been released for socio-economic de-

velopment as a result of Government cutbacks had been unexpectedly swallowed up by the cost of maintaining law and order in unrest areas.

Mr de Klerk called on the business sector to become more involved in expanding housing, developing pension and medical aid schemes for workers, and devoting more attention to research on environmental degradation.

Even on the constitutional terrain, the business community could make important input without getting directly involved in party politics.

The extent to which this could be done could have a decisive influence on the nature of a new political dispensation.

Call smacks of racism

SIR - As a white South African it horrifies me to read, in the black Press, calls for black unity and calls for "uniting against the enemy."

There are as many differences among blacks as there are among whites and any call for unity smacks of a new racialism (this time black).

It is also an insult to black intelligence.

Being able to think for oneself and express what you think is probably the greatest and most important of all liberties.

And who is the enemy?

Some of my fellow whites are far greater enemies to my hopes and prayers for a just and peaceful South Africa than all the millions of blacks who stand for the same ideals as I do.

There are also blacks who are not yet politically mature enough to accept a fully democratic, peaceful society. Blacks who do not yet accept the fact that the majority of whites think like De Klerk. His sincerity is beyond doubt.

He has taken massive political risks, resulting in an almost immediate change in hopes for

blacks instead of, perhaps, further decades of struggling and eventual bloody destructive revolution. (304A)

Perhaps it was too much to expect other leaders of the same calibre as De Klerk to emerge at the same time on the South African political scene.

It is essential for our future that black leaders come forward to call for unity, irrespective of race, of citizens who have similar ideals and who, in particular, will defend the democratic right of voters to differ democratically,

to say so and to vote accordingly - the essential tolerance of differences.

Only when such rights are accepted by all and when education has given everyone, who works for it, equal opportunities can we call everyone truly free. And only then can we together build a truly great and prosperous future for all.

Please let us have no more comments or blame on "imperialism," "colonialism," "apartheid regime" etc. We are too far advanced to a new South Africa for that sort of silly rhetoric.

Let us rather have calls for unity, for work and productivity, for multi-racial, multi-party democracy in an economic system that helps create wealth for all.

Above all, let us have calls from all responsible leaders for an end to violence - for peace to promote growth and wealth through education, investment and tourism, the concomitants of success.

SOVONG
Cape Town

'Most coloureds will back NP ahead of the ANC'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

President F W de Klerk could count on the support of "the vast majority" of coloured and Indian voters to beat the ANC in a general election, according to an article in the latest issue of SA Dialogue.

The article, headlined "De Klerk's bold campaign to capture the black vote", said the overwhelming majority of coloureds and Indians

would vote for the National Party against the high-profile ANC, thus perpetuating the Nats' vice-like hold on power even in the "new South Africa".

Euphoria

SA Dialogue, which is edited by Gerry Pieterse, said the country's political emphasis had shifted now that "the euphoria of the Mandela myth", which swept across South Africa following Nelson Mandela's release, had abated.

The journal said the ANC was still struggling

to increase its "non-African membership" in the western Cape.

"The movement appears to be attracting little enthusiasm from coloureds beyond those who originally signed up when Mandela fever was at its peak.

"However, even these early converts are no longer flashing their ANC membership cards in polite company.

"Analysts observing the political mood among the coloured and Indian populations have concluded that certain factors have influenced

this increasingly visible shift from 'amandla' politics to *realpolitik*," the journal said.

It quoted two Labour Party members of the President's Council, Peter Marais and Billy Ross, who said the NP stood a good chance of springing a surprise on the ANC in a general election by wooing into its ranks coloureds, Indians and "moderate Africans".

Mr Marais believed coloureds had "everything in common with the Afrikaner and very little with the tribal traditions of blacks".



Forging ties . . . Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

Picture: Stephen Davimes

Moscow ties set to resume soon, says Pik

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Diplomatic links between South Africa and the Soviet Union could be restored within the next six months, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

This had resulted from his visit to central and Eastern Europe, which signified the normalisation of relations, he said.

At a press conference held after he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, he said it was of critical importance that South Africa forged friendly ties with Eastern European countries which would, within the next decade, become the focal point of a unified Europe.

"It is not only a long-term investment, but also short-term sense," he said.

He predicted European bor-

ders could change dramatically before the end of the century.

Southern Africa should urgently prepare itself for the implications of the monumental changes taking place in Europe.

"If we combine our critical minerals and well-developed infrastructures, we can become a junior partner of Europe once it has become a single market."

The Star's Foreign Service reported earlier from Munich that Mr Botha had said: "Consulate-generals will now be opened in Czechoslovakia, Romania, I think soon in Bulgaria, and I am certain of the Yugoslav federal states of Slovenia and Croatia."

He said Pretoria already had a mission in Hungary and hoped to elevate it soon to the rank of consul-general or even embassy.

Negotiations at 'danger point'

Sowetan 24/11/90
SOWETAN Correspondents

NEGOTIATIONS have reached a danger point as the government expresses growing doubts about the African National Congress's real commitment to a peaceful solution.

The ANC's determination to continue and even intensify its strategy of mass mobilisation and its refusal to stop training and recruiting for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, are causing concern.

In two hard-hitting speeches yesterday, Constitutional Devel-

opment Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha both cast strong doubts on the ANC's desire to seek a constitutional solution through peaceful means.

It is understood that the concern in Government goes right up to State President F.W. de Klerk who is expected to take it up with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The ANC and Government

will also try to thrash out their differences over the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign in the joint working group on ANC armed actions which meets tomorrow and on Friday in Pretoria.

Viljoen said that the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts, intimidation and the building up of military power called into question its stated commitment to peace.

The Government was not

satisfied with the present state of affairs, especially in the light of violence in black townships.

Meanwhile Botha said the SA Government was "able, willing and ready" to implement its commitments on the release of prisoners and return of exiles.

"It is a matter of serious concern that the ANC cannot say the same. Indeed we are now almost daily confronted with contradictory statements by individuals from within the ranks of the ANC," Botha said.

Foreign Affairs man lands top Paris post

B10ay 22/11/90
FOREIGN Affairs chief director Marc Burger was yesterday named as SA's new ambassador to Paris, taking up his post in February.

Burger, 43, joined the department in 1968 and became its chief director in 1987.

He was granted credentials as ambassador on special assignment during the same year.

He said yesterday his challenge would be to build on SA's favourable situation and on the common interests SA had with France in Africa.

His new assignment would be primarily concerned with fostering economic ties between the two countries, he said.

Although the key to success in his new assignment would be "what we are doing in our own backyard", Burger said France was probably the country that had the most influence in Africa.

He had worked in the SA embassy in Brussels and was head of the London embassy's political division from 1978 to 1973.

Earlier in his career, he was the SA consul in Reunion and subsequently worked in the department's Francophone

304A
TIM COHEN
Africa section.

He succeeds Hennie Geldenhuys, who will return to SA to retire.

The department has declined to comment on speculation about other ambassadorial appointments, including a suggestion in the Press that Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr could become the next ambassador to London.

Durr was reported to have been taken aback by the speculation.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on returning from his Eastern European tour yesterday that Durr's name had not been forwarded to the Cabinet for approval.

However, informed sources said yesterday President F W de Klerk had allowed Foreign Affairs to choose all the postings, except the London posting, which he would decide himself.

Sapa reports political observers believe the Cabinet, at its regular Wednesday meeting, would approve a number of appointments and an announcement is expected soon.

Soviet ties possible in six months — Botha

SA EXPECTED to have official ties with the Soviet Union within six months, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha said on his return from Europe yesterday.

At a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Botha said he had been well received in central and eastern Europe. Government ties had been forged with Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Consulates in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia would follow soon.

His trip to eastern Europe would pave the way for the southern African region to become a "junior partner" of a unified Europe, he said. *B 10 am 22/11/90*

The region had the resources and the infrastructure to become a successful regional economic grouping.

On ties with the Soviet Union, Botha said there had been a lot of contact between individuals from the two countries, and an official firming of relations could be expected soon.

Acceptance of SA's reform initiatives by most governments was such that he did not believe political changes abroad would affect the general stance towards SA. Sanctions against SA were almost a thing of the past.

304A

Violence

SA had to persuade Europe it had a viable plan for the region; that the money put into it by foreign states could be monitored and was not "going into a bottomless pit".

The ANC's socialist or Marxist policy and the high level of violence was scaring investors.

"I expect funds to come to SA in substantial figures once the violence has stopped."

Of the ANC's credibility abroad, Botha said its links to the SA Communist Party placed the organisation in a situation similar to that of the NP before the resignation of Andries Treurnicht and other conservatives.

"We got rid of our albatross," Botha said, adding that the ANC would increase its credibility abroad "as long as it does not come out with a socialist... credo". — Sapa

BOOKS

SHELAGH GASTROW'S *Who's Who in South African Politics* is in its third edition in five years. There are two reasons for this.

First, because it's the only easy reference on the lives of the country's political leaders and past editions have been in enormous demand.

Second, because the country's political scene is changing at such a rate, its leaders are coming and going far quickly than it takes to write about them.

Of those who have appeared in past editions 92 have not made it into this one — only 11 because they've died. The list of exclusions is littered with political casualties of the process of change — PW Botha, Pietie du Plessis, Kaiser and George Mananzima, Louis Nel, Lennox Sebe, Pat Poovalingham. Many others have simply been forgotten.

What the book does very well is to provide pen sketches of the lives of 131 South African political leaders. As such it provides an ideal reference for journalists, academics, political researchers and activists.

It is also an extremely interesting book for those concerned with the forces and influences which shape the lives of political leaders, and throws up some surprising facts.

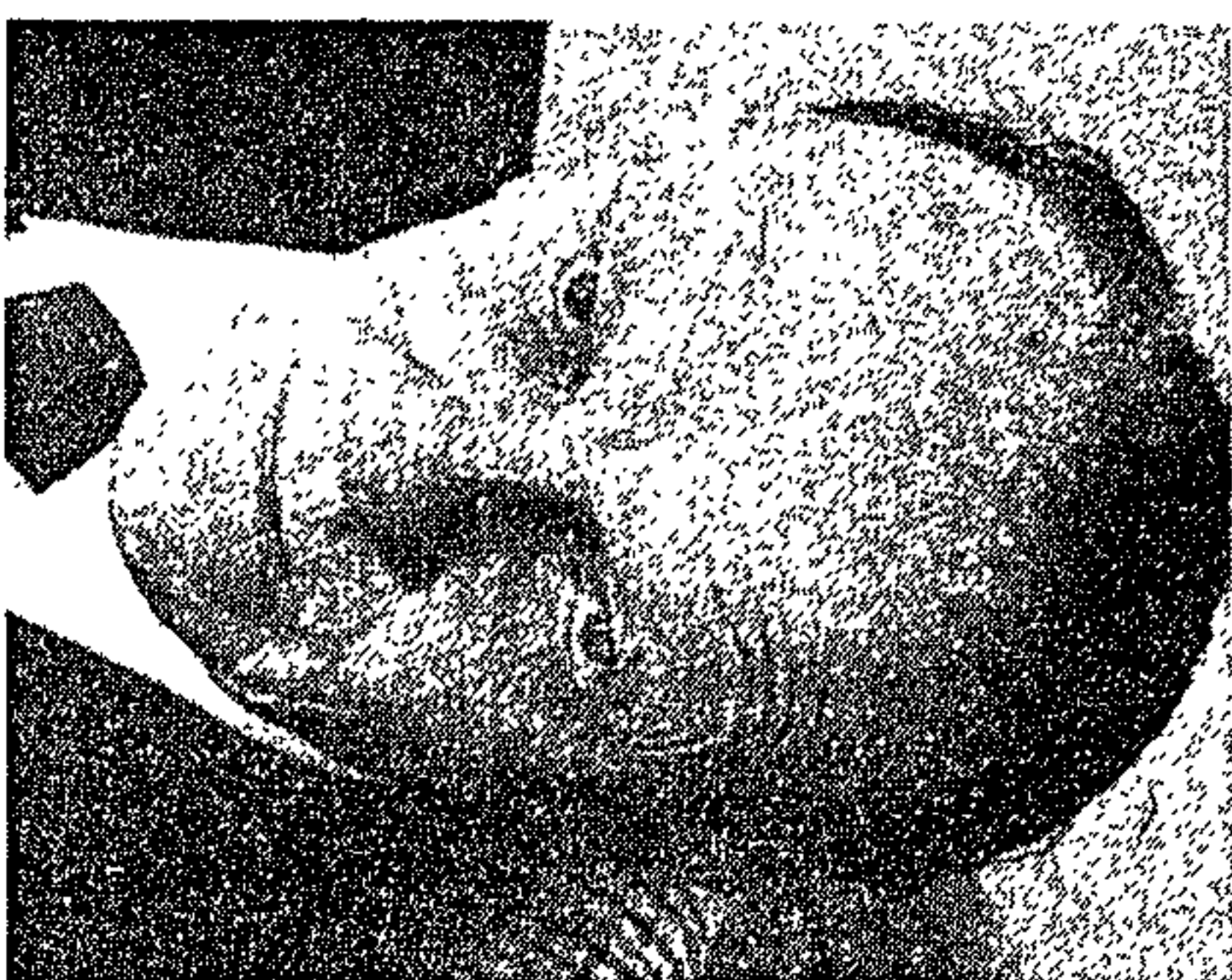
The articulate and urbane African National Congress leader Jacob Zuma, for instance, never attended school. (The book, however, misses the point that he went on to become the movement's chief of intelligence).

The low-profile Lukas Daniel "Niel" Barnard has headed the country's National Intelligence Service since the age of 30 — for almost 11 years.

Among the achievements of former policeman and Western Transvaal rugby player Eugene Terre'Blanche is a play called *Sybrand die Wa-termaker*, prescribed in Cape secondary schools during 1982 and 1983.

The ages of the leaders are interesting, and often surprising. It's hard to think of Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a 62-year-old, or Andries Treurnicht as a man of nearly 70, or Govan Mbeki as an 80-year-old.

Who's who struggling to keep up with SA changes



Out in the cold ... one of those who might have been chosen is Robert van Tonder, Boerestaat Party leader



In ... Musa Zondi, leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, the youngest of those included

WHO'S WHO IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS, Third Edition by Shelagh Gastrow
(Ravan, R49,95)

The youngest of those included is Inkatha Youth Brigade Leader Musa Zondi (30) and there are several in the ANC camp who are also in their early 30s — including Sydney Mufamadi, Cheryl Carolus and Mkhuseleli Jack.

comment.
The difficulty which any author undertaking such a task is to decide who to include, or rather who to leave out.

Gastrow's choice here is balanced. There are few burning exclusions. Still, everyone has his personal preferences or views of who is who.

For my money there are a few who could have made it and a few who could have been left out.

From past editions, for instance, there's Broederbond chief JP de Lange, who certainly wields more influence over the country's politics than he did two years ago, PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo and perhaps Harry Schwarz.

There are others who might have been chosen: Thozamile Botha, Barbara Masekela and Albie Sachs from the ANC, Rommie Kasrils and Jeremy Cronin of the South African Communist Party, Clarence Mlakweithu and Gora Ebrahim of the Pan Africanist Congress, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party, the Transvaal Provincial Administration's John Mavuso, Foreign Affairs director Neil van Heerden, and so on.

There are also some curious inclusions. Ida-sa's Alex Boraine made it into the first edition, was replaced by his son, Andrew, in the second, and is back in the third.

And one wonders whether the likes of David Curry, Rowley Arenstein, Henry Fazzie, Arrichand Rajbansi and Stone Sizani remain significant enough to be included among the chosen 131.

One remarkable feature of the current list is the number of leaders who have been released from prison or have returned from exile since the last edition. But the fact that some are currently in jail or detention suggests there is still a way to go.

An unfortunate exclusion in this edition is a list of the office bearers of political organisations and of government ministers and deputies. But perhaps, in today's political climate, these are likely to change so fast that they would have dated the book before the year is over.

Gavin Evans

NP, ANC get a lashing

Sowetan
23/11/90
304A

NEITHER the African National Congress or the National Party had effective control over its own forces and both had failed South Africa by using violence as a political football, said Democratic Party MP for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle.

In a fierce attack he said both sides had forfeited their claim to high moral ground.

The country was "drifting towards chaos and the NP and ANC must take the blame," he told a report-back meeting in Kenilworth.

No vision

Highlighting problems associated with violence and the campaign to make South Africa ungovernable, the conditions in townships, poor education and controversial local government, Carlisle said of the NP and the ANC: "They have appointed themselves the sole custodians of our future, yet neither has a vision of that future, nor a plan of how to get there."

"Neither has effective control of its forces and when the heat is on they become impotent spectators of the ensuing carnage - and then blame each other."

SOWETAN Correspondent

grassroots level - in school and church groups and ratepayers' associations - that ordinary South Africans could be decisive in shaping the future of the country.

Hostile

"In the end, both see specific advantages for themselves, regardless of the cost to South Africa and display hostile intolerance to those who stand in their way."

"Both are involved in covering-up evidence of the murderous thuggery of certain of their supporters and/or officials."

"The ANC and the NP have massively failed South Africa. From the heady days of February, the situation has steadily become worse and continues to do so."

However, a more positive reflection of change was the decision of white parents to open schools to all. This was the most significant change in attitude in South Africa's history.

And it was at this

Tos Wentzel sets the scene for next week's meeting between F W and Mandela 'Mass action' will be on the agenda

Star 23/11/90

Boyle

TUESDAY'S meeting between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will not exactly be another summit, but its aim will be to remove obstacles to negotiations.

The remaining barriers to the start of exploratory talks on negotiations are the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the question of violence. The latter issue includes the ANC's undertaking to suspend armed action, and the question of what it has deemed to be State violence.

It is this that is delaying progress towards negotiations.

While Mr Mandela has again committed his movement to an end of violence he has also committed himself to intensified mass action as a fundamental principle of democracy. He has also contin-

ued to express concern about what he maintains is the involvement of Government officials in some of the violence.

Mr de Klerk has in turn said that there are no indications of such a sinister "third force", and on-the-ground contact between the police and the ANC has been established in various regions.

The dispute between the Government and the ANC on this issue has been warming up before next week's meeting.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee has called ANC plans for mass action protests against the local government system a ploy to derail negotiations.

ANC spokesman Trevor Manuel called on the Government to stop using "our comrades (political prisoners and exiles) as pawns or

hostages to try and force us into political positions."

Winnie Mandela said that "our commanders" had dug the trenches and stood ready at their bases for the command to fire. The order would be given if the Government misbehaved.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is supposed to be the chief Government negotiator, said that the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts and intimidation called into question its commitment to peace.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said that elements within the ANC either opposed reconciliation or were more interested in their own positions after Mr Mandela had gone.

In answer to the ANC's demands that the present system of

black local government must be scrapped, the President himself this week told a delegation of the United Municipalities of South Africa that the existing structures of local government would be maintained until new structures had been created.

A working group on the question of violence and the suspension of the ANC's armed actions which was established in terms of the Pretoria Minute has been meeting rather irregularly and unsatisfactorily with Chris Hani, the head of Umkhonto We Sizwe, on occasions not turning up. The question is now whether the Pretoria Minute rules out ANC plans for mass mobilisation or action.

It is against this background therefore that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela will meet. □

Continued

Isolation of SA will end in 1991, says Relly

LONDON — Next year should see the demise of South Africa's economic and political isolation, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

In a speech at the Smith New Court Conference, he said bilateral and sometimes multilateral co-operation would prepare the way for greater southern African economic integration.

South Africa's appropriately valued rand, proximity to African markets, regional knowledge, technical expertise in spheres such as agriculture and mining, the common legacy of British systems and practices, and its African identity were all important advantages for trade with Africa, he said.

Expertise

With the focus of the World Bank and other development agencies in Africa moving southwards, and aid to African countries amounting to R40 billion annually, Mr Relly felt that South African expertise could ensure the success of many new projects.

"Opportunities also exist for the foreign investor, either in partnership with South African companies or alone.

"It is the implementation of appropriate political and economic systems which will do most to release the dynamic of the subcontinent," he said.

Mr Relly based his optimistic outlook on the resilience of the South African economy and the abundant entrepreneurial spirit of South Africans.

The major parties had committed themselves irreversibly to negotiating a new constitution, and the trend of thinking on economic matters within the extra-parliamentary movements was more sophisticated and realistic, he added. — Sapa.

Looking to the future

Women must play greater role - Marike de Klerk

THE redistribution of wealth, including land, was not the answer to the South African problem, Mrs Marike de Klerk told a women's gathering at a club in Sandton this week.

She said: "It is a fact that the haves will have to make sacrifices towards helping the have-nots."

"But the redistribution of wealth has failed dismally in Africa and Eastern Europe".

She said society had to realise that people were inter-dependent. There was a great need for expertise, investment and development to promote economic growth.

Sanctions and rapid population growth worked against efforts at improving the economy as they decreased the economically active community.

A new South Africa that looks at the rights and privileges that full citizenship brings would have to address other issues like the strain that

BY SIZAKELE KOOMA

population demands put on natural resources, nature conservation and land for food production.

"Women all over the world are becoming decision-makers in business and in community matters."

Demands

"They are able to cope with demands made on them because of their inherent tenacity, involvement, dedication and enthusiasm."

She agreed that the level of education of women had to be improved.

"The days of wondering whether or not it is sensible to invest in women are a thing of the

WOMAN

past," she said. "Women's contribution both to economic growth and as leaders in the com-

munty is needed more now than it was ever before. "Their education will help them decide on their needs for the future. It would also curb poverty and high fertility".

She urged women to show men the way to achieve peace and help people understand what freedom meant.



MARIKE DE KLERK

MASS ACTION FIM 23/11/90

304A

MARCHING TO PRETORIA

Last weekend's running riot in central Johannesburg illustrates two truths about the state of SA politics.

Both the leading parties to talks on power-sharing have drifted far from their constituencies and both now recognise the need to play to the people who will give them legitimacy — or undermine their ambitions.

In suspending the armed struggle the ANC has had to face serious questions from its followers about the wisdom of that move, particularly as people in the townships have simply gone on to experience successive waves of violence. The SA Institute of Race Relations says 10 people a day are dying as a result of political violence; and there is also disquiet in the townships over the agreement reached between the official working groups into the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The NP has to deal with the radical Right. It also has to face up to the fears of the relatively wealthy whites who are the core of national economic wellbeing. They applaud the steps taken by President F W de Klerk but worry whether he can control events sufficiently to avert disaster.

Both groups of whites are united on one point: mass action increases their fears and they are strongly in favour of police action to stop such demonstrations. A recent Idasa survey of white student attitudes showed that stern action against such protests was favoured by 73,8% of CP students, 60,8% of NP students and 13,6% of DP students.

So while the ANC needs mass action as a mobilisation tool and unifying symbol, and an indicator that the organisation is not going soft on government before apartheid has been removed, the Nats need to show that they will be the arbiters of who marches, when and in what streets.

The problem with playing to constituencies is that tensions are worsened. SA Communist Party spokesman Essop Pahad says the right of peaceful protest is the right of all democratic systems and that mass action will be used even in a future SA. "Government must understand that mass action must continue and they must rely on the organisers to discipline marchers, as happened in Germiston." On the day of the abortive Johannesburg march, a march around the same issues took place peacefully in Germiston.

Pahad questions why only a few weeks back an Inkatha march — where heavily armed members took part — was permitted and allowed to continue with a minimal police presence.

Cas Coovadia, of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), which organised last weekend's march to call for the dismissal of black councillors, says they held

a meeting with senior police officials on Monday. It was agreed to set up links between Cast and the SAP to discuss marches before they take place.

While this appears to be the most positive development, from a fiasco that claimed two lives and terrified hundreds of innocent shoppers and tourists in downtown Johannesburg, the question has to be asked whether or not it will actually function.

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, 96 police officers around the country were seconded to liaise directly with a similar number of ANC officials in the various centres to promote police and community links and to defuse trouble. The system has been a serious failure and little has been done to improve its efficacy. The FM was not able to find one case where the system had been used by any of the 96 officials on either side to defuse any situation. Police claim it is almost impossible to contact ANC people because few have phones and those who do are rarely available.

In August, as violence in Soweto soared, Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok flew into Soweto among clouds of dust and the glare of media arclights to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. The result was an agreement to set up Peace Forums where



Johannesburg ... signs of Beirut

members of the community would meet regularly with police to discuss community issues and grievances and to promote links and understanding between police and communities. The only way violence and anarchy in townships can be quelled is for such forums to be implemented and regularly used.

The Soweto Peace Forum has yet to have a meeting and no others have been established. The concept has disappeared into obscurity.

There is a critical need for township residents and the police to get to know and respect each other; only then will violence and death tolls begin to subside and crime be effectively tackled. Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani tells the FM that

the ANC recognises the need to reintegrate black policemen into their communities. However, the ANC is attempting to do this quietly through union structures. It needs to be done publicly.

The mass action programme is a major cause of friction between government and the ANC. Neither the Groote Schuur Minute nor the Pretoria Minute addresses the issue, though the Pretoria Minute clearly says: "No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place." Government says this includes mass action.

Both sides have constituencies but, more important, both sides have a negotiated peace and a new constitution to work out. Reconciliation is hard work and neither bullets nor rhetoric will make the task easier. ■

CONFESSING TO APARTHEID

MEA CULPA MAXIMUS!

Rightwing opposition leader Andries Treurnicht — who left the pulpit of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk some years ago to pursue a political career — has flung himself into the furor which has followed the public confession of the "sin" of apartheid by a NGK theologian. Next week, he will take part in a hastily convened church conference organised by known CP church members which is expected to denounce the NGK leadership.

However, Treurnicht has yet to condemn CP frontbencher Koos van der Merwe, who last week told a political meeting that "we will, if necessary, do the same with him (President F W de Klerk), as Romania did with Nicolae Ceausescu." Is Treurnicht's silence a sign that "we have to believe that he approves of the Romanian option?" Beeld asks pertinently in an editorial.

Treurnicht is not the only politician who has entered the church fray. Former President P W Botha has said that he phoned newly-elected NGK moderator Pieter Potgieter to voice his dismay over the confession (see *People*). In fact, he telephoned Potgieter twice.

Another former NGK minister turned CP politician, Brits MP Andrew Gerber, also called Potgieter — at home — to complain. Since the NGK began to revise policy under its previous moderator, Pretoria theologian Johan Heyns, four years ago, some members and officials have abandoned the church to form a conservative version, the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk.

At its last general synod in Bloemfontein, the NGK resolved that apartheid had been

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FM 23/11/90 (304A)
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CURRENT AFFAIRS

(304A) FM 23/11/90 (304A)
 sinful. It was this resolution which motivated Stellenbosch's Willie Jonker to personally confess his sins of apartheid at a interdenominational church meeting at Rustenburg. Both Potgieter, who has succeeded Heyns, and Heyns himself, who is still a member of the church executive, said afterwards that Jonker's confession was in agreement with the Bloemfontein decision.

However, this "was a personal confession by Willie Jonker — the church cannot confess its sins," Heyns told the *FM* this week. Potgieter agrees.

According to Potgieter: "Prof Jonker's confession has been welcomed by the various delegates from other churches in a spirit of brotherly love and reconciliation. It led, without doubt, to a remarkable change in conviction (*gesindheidsverandering*) among many delegates . . ."

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was one of the first to gleefully accept Jonker's confession. Tutu, as well as UCT theologian Charles Villa Vicencio, told delegates that English mainstream churches should also confess their part in maintaining apartheid. In a TV interview, Tutu said the Anglican Church had been "racist and discriminatory" and guilty of sexism, as well. And blacks had to confess their "hatreds and animosities . . ." The NGK had a crucial role to play in reconciliation and bringing people together in the new SA, Tutu said.

Heyns, Potgieter, Jonker and others have begun this process. However, former men of the cloth like Treurnicht and Gerber will undoubtedly be using this opportunity to score political points. In so doing they may succeed in dividing the church — just as they did to the NP when they broke away in 1983. ■

No SA, ^(304A) Kiwi accord yet

AUCKLAND - A New Zealand-born Anglican priest who is a member of the African National Congress helped to scotch rumours that the Bolger government would seek to restore relations between South Africa and New Zealand.

The Prime Minister, Mr Jim Bolger, said yesterday that his meeting with Father Michael Lapsley had strengthened his view that sanctions against South Africa must stand until full democracy had been established.

His hope

"Ultimately, I would like to see South Africa rejoin the international community," he said. "I would then foresee the resumption of all trading, sporting, cultural and diplomatic relations with the country."

"However, it is unlikely that as small a country as ours could play much of a role. To start with, we have only one diplomat stationed in the whole continent of Africa."

Sowetan 23/11/90
"The real question which concerns me is how quickly white South Africa can accept and accommodate the changes which must be made as a prerequisite to South Africa's complete acceptance by the international community." - *Sowetan Correspondent*

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MAGGIE'S FALL DRAWS MIXED SA REVIEWS

SOUTH Africans had cause to express great appreciation to outgoing British Prime Margaret Thatcher, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk said Thatcher had consistently shown faith in SA's ability to solve its problems in a democratic way. That faith was being vindicated. *5 Day 23/11/90*

Although Thatcher's resignation gave rise to a degree of uncertainty and concern in SA, he believed developments locally over the past year would be sufficient to ensure that relations with the British government under new leadership remained cordial. *(304A)*

By contrast, ANC information head Pallo Jordan welcomed Thatcher's resignation, saying whoever took her place as Britain's political leader could not be as bad as her. Although Michael Heseltine, tipped to replace Thatcher, had not stated his stance on SA, there would probably be a shift away from present Tory policy.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Patricia

MIKE ROBERTSON
and LINDEN BIRNS

23/11/90
de Lille said Thatcher had consistently acted as a racist in disregarding the oppressed people of SA.

The PAC hoped local racists would learn from her fall that the world was moving into a new era.

DP leader Zach de Beer said Thatcher had been an outstanding prime minister but it now appeared to be the right time for her to go. If Thatcher had resigned a year or two ago, it could have had serious consequences for SA. Now he believed whoever was elected would be sympathetic towards this country.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was in London recently "when the long knives were out. I was impressed by her attitude amid all this," he said. "All she said to me was that these things happen in politics and one must just not be dismayed."

F/M 23/11/90

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OPTIMISM ABOUNDS



Veteran British politician Enoch Powell — a guest speaker at the recent F&M Investment Conference — argues that if South Africans are correct in their optimism, Britain can claim to have contributed to making that a reality. Here are some of his thoughts.

I seized a recent opportunity to spend (for the second time in 15 years) a week in SA. I took with me in my luggage a prejudice and a resolution. By the time I returned, both had deserted me. The prejudice dictated that, as I do not want South Africans coming to Britain to tell us how we can be better governed, I ought not to express — and preferably not form — opinions about how SA should be governed.

The resolution was that, considering the brevity and superficiality of my visit, I would decline to put anything about SA into writing afterwards.

It was the atmosphere of optimism by which I found myself surrounded in SA that broke down my determination. Here were people, consciously faced with the most ap-

palling uncertainties, who nevertheless, with sincerity, assured one another and me that it was going to be "all right on the night."

There is an expression which everybody was using as though it were simple and unambiguous: it was "in the new SA." There was going to be a "new SA," and in it everything would work out all right.

"What will be your electorate?" asks the puzzled inquirer. "How can there not be universal adult suffrage?" He does not understand: there is no majority, no majority party that is to say, which can form a government alone. That is why negotiations have to take place before elections can take place.

Such is the prevalent sense of relaxed optimism and faith in "the new SA" that the inquirer, though he does not fully understand nor share in it, finds himself more than half convinced.

Sanctions are a topic rather like the weather is in England. That they have caused real economic hardship — as opposed to inconveniences and distortions of trade — would scarcely be admitted. "Business as usual" has found adequate ways round the obstacles of sanctions; SA is sure it can carry on with the situation as it is.

That does not mean, however, that sanctions have not been harmful. They have in-

troduced into politics and into thinking about SA the recurrent question: "How will this or that be seen from outside?" It has become a preoccupation.

Interference — and sanctions are such an attempted interference — in the internal affairs of another country is always immoral because in the last resort it is irresponsible.

Whatever happens as a result of their interference or coercion, they can shrug their shoulders and walk away, secure that they will not be held responsible nor share in the consequences: it will be, literally, not their affair.

If South Africans are right in that optimism with which they are viewing "the new SA," and which strikes a stranger so forcibly, Britain will have some claim to have contributed to make that possible and to have atoned for whatever it did amiss in the past.

It is fashionable to represent Mrs Thatcher as being isolated or out of step. But an Englishman who finds himself watching with benevolence to see what "the new SA" will be like is entitled to carry his head high, because Britain's prime minister had the instinct and the courage to hold the ring against irresponsible outside interference in that country's destiny.

Andrew appointed finance spokesman in DP shake-up

MIKE ROBERTSON

KEN Andrew, the MP for Gardens, has been appointed the DP's senior spokesman on finance to replace Harry Schwarz.

Schwarz resigned the portfolio after being appointed ambassador to the US.

Announcing a number of portfolio changes yesterday, DP leader Zach de Beer described Andrew as "one of the strongest of the young democrats" who would in every sense be a worthy challenger to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

Andrew was given the post ahead of DP deputy finance spokesman Jasper Walsh who was given the own affairs financial portfolio, also previously held by Schwarz.

Andrew was instrumental in the drawing up of the DP social market economic document approved at its congress in Johannesburg this year. He was also responsible for compiling the DP's draft budget which was aimed at proving to the ANC that backlogs could be eliminated without resorting to nationalisation.

In other changes announced yesterday, former co-leader Denis Worrall is to take over as the DP's constitutional affairs spokesman. Prior to his appointment as ambassador to London, Worrall was one of

the authors of the tricameral constitution.

Tian van der Merwe, who was defeated by De Beer in the leadership election at the DP congress, replaces Worrall as Law and Order spokesman.

The MP for Wynberg, Robyn Carlisle, replaces Van der Merwe as Home Affairs spokesman while DP leader in Natal, Roger Burrows, will take over from Andrew as spokesman on black education.

De Beer said that in the past the education portfolio had been divided between Burrows (National Education) and Andrew (Education and Training) but the time had come "to eliminate the racist distinction involved". 8-10-77 23/11/96

De Beer said the DP now had four members dealing with economic portfolios. In addition to Andrew and Walsh, Roger Hulley was responsible for Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises while Brian Goodall was responsible for Trade and Industry.

The four, with De Beer, would form a co-ordination committee under the chairmanship of Andrew.

FW-Mandela clash

Political Staff

A MAJOR clash looms on Tuesday between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Amid signs that the honeymoon between them may be over, Mr Mandela told the summit of the Preferential Trade Areas Authority in Swaziland yesterday that the ANC had serious doubts about the government's willingness to continue with the negotiation process.

"I am going to urge him to heed the call for a constituent assembly to determine how a new constitution for South Africa should be drawn up," he said.

"I will also discuss the establishment of an interim government."

He also accused the government of acting in "bad faith" and of attempting to weaken the ANC and reduce its strength to an "all-time low".

"Personally I am finding it increasingly difficult to persuade my colleagues that Mr De Klerk is a man of integrity," said Mr Mandela.

"When I was in prison I had talks with him and other government ministers and persuaded my colleagues that they were men who could be trusted."

He also accused the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence of "orchestrating the slaughter of our people".

Mr Mandela's briefing to Dr Kenneth Kaunda, who was also in Mbabane, depressed the Zambian president and moved him to express doubts about Mr De Klerk's good faith.

'Point of view'

The government is strenuously opposed to the idea of an interim government and against the ANC's campaigns of "mass mobilisation".

Tuesday's meeting also comes against the cancellation by the ANC yesterday of a meeting of the Joint Committee dealing with issues surrounding its undertaking to suspend the armed struggle.

On his return from Swaziland last night, Mr Mandela seemed to take a softer line saying differences of opinion between Pretoria and the ANC could be

expected and would be dealt with as problem arose.

Referring to his demand for an interim government, he said: "We will cross that bridge when we come to it. We will put our point of view and the government is entitled to put its point of view."

Responding to the reported claim by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that Italy, France and other European countries would not invest in a South Africa governed by ANC policies, Mr Mandela said: "Mr Botha must have been asleep when he said that."

Meanwhile, at the Preferential Trade Agreement conference in Mbabane yesterday, several speakers said it was still too early to lift sanctions.

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, chairman of the Organisation for African Unity, said sanctions should remain until apartheid had been completely dismantled.

The outgoing chairman of the Trade Area Authority, Kenyan president Mr Daniel Arap Moi, said he welcomed the positive steps taken by Mr De Klerk towards the elimination of apartheid.

looms

He hoped the current negotiation process would move quickly and seriously towards a non-racial South Africa.

"I look forward to welcoming a democratic South Africa to the trade area."

The ANC should be given the lead in the process to show that blacks were capable of playing a leadership role in the new South Africa.

He said the solution to Africa lay in blacks putting aside their trivial quarrels and dealing with poverty.

But Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe said he was increasingly pessimistic about the political developments in South Africa.

"We are losing our patience," he added.

There was a reluctance by the De Klerk regime to control the violence, some of which was not necessarily inter-party violence, said the Zimbabwean president.

● Swaziland's King Mswati III was elected unanimously as the next chairman of the trade area. — Sapa

If present conditions continue into the new year, a dismal scene will be set for the start of South Africa's constitutional negotiations. Instead of deliberating in a climate of peace and security, the players at the negotiating table may have to begin their crucial talks on the country's future against a backdrop of violence, human despair, tension and a sinking economy. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the prospects and the dangers.

Negotiations are in peril on two fronts

ON all sides it has been agreed that a certain peaceful climate is needed for negotiations. The issues on the table will be complex enough in themselves to allow outside pressures and crises to bedevil decision-making.

Yet the signs are that all but a calm atmosphere will prevail. Crises on various fronts could either derail the talks or turn them into a desperate war of words, followed by desperate decisions. Unless all the key players step in effectively to cool the situation, we may be heading for one of the worst scenarios.

Economists and politicians warned this week that two of the biggest obstacles to peaceful negotiations are the declining economy and continuing township violence. These warnings were underlined by calls from President De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha that violence must stop as it is undermining confidence in the economy and could delay negotiations.

It is clear that a vicious circle is developing: continuing violence drags the economy down, a declining economy leads to more unemployment, poverty and more potential violence, and so it goes on.

Among red warning lights that flashed this week are: predictions by economists that tougher times are ahead, a finding by the SA Institute of Race Relations that the death toll from political violence is already the grimmiest ever this year — with an average of 10 people killed every day; the listing of Cape Town in an international survey as the world city with the highest murder rate; and Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer's warning that the average South African is now getting poorer by more than four percent a year.

While the scene for negotiations is being set in such grim conditions, economists and politicians expect economic issues will have a profound effect on the talks. Not only will such issues have a vital bearing on how and by whom the levers of power are to be operated, but the whole economic system for the "new South Africa" is expected to loom large during the negotiations.

In essence, according to some economists, the country faces a choice between only two economic systems (or a compromise between them): a socialist system and a market-orientated system.

Professor Geert de Wet, head of the department of economics at the University of Pretoria, told Weekend Argus this week that economic issues would be very important and possibly decisive at negotiations for a new constitution.

He sees two key economic issues at the negotiating table — the eradication of poverty, emphasised by the blacks, and the maintenance of efficient production, emphasised by the whites.

These will be crunch issues likely to dominate much of the process of constitutional negotiations. Most analysts agree that if the key economic issues are not resolved, there can be little hope of lasting solutions to the major political problems.



HOWEVER, if negotiations are to progress, at least one serious misconception should be removed. This misconception, according to Professor De Wet, is the belief among blacks that the system to be blamed for their poverty and inequalities is the same capitalist system which benefited the whites and from which the blacks were largely excluded.

What many blacks do not seem to realise is that apartheid with all its central government controls, especially over the lives of black people, was largely a socialist system. The collapse of apartheid, says Professor De Wet, can be seen as another example of the collapse of socialism. Unfortunately the image of capitalism and the free-enterprise system has been tainted through the misconception which equated it with apartheid.

He suggests the time has come for white business to get together to devise "a truly grand scheme" in which the "haves" can help the "have-nots" increase their welfare over the short and the long terms.

"It needs still to be shown that redistribution (of wealth) is possible without government interference, and that the private sector can perform this job much more efficiently than any government could hope to do.

"If this is done successfully, the distribution of poverty issue may dwindle away and the efficiency of the market mechanism may be accepted at the negotiating table. If it is not done in one way or another, the poverty issue may prevail and socialism may win the day."

PROFESSOR De Wet warns that a further increase in violence, unrest and instability could be "disastrous" for the country's economy and would hamper negotiations.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said in an interview he saw a great urgency to proceed with negotiations and to complete them as soon as possible — preferably within two years.

This was particularly urgent in view of the spectre of a declining economy, increasing unemployment, continuing violence and unrest,

and the threat of serious instability.

"The only way out of our economic problems is rapid growth. But growth will not get under way unless there is investment. And investment will not take place unless there is stability. Without a political settlement there will be no stability."

It is clear, therefore, that political and economic issues are interlocked and Dr De Beer believes the economic problems will not be solved until a political settlement has been reached.

DR De Beer says the present township unrest is political rather than economic and is largely due to yet another crisis — that of legitimacy of local government. In almost every black township throughout the country there has been a measure of revolt against local authorities.

The township crisis has become so acute that its resolution cannot wait for a general constitutional settlement as envisaged by President De Klerk and members of his government.

"I suggest it will not prove possible to keep the present black local government structures in position until a new constitution can be implemented."

Dr Ockie Stuart, director of Stellenbosch University's bureau for economic research, sees danger signals that do not augur well for a smooth negotiation process. The most worrying signals are those pointing to more inflation, more unemployment and related unrest in coming years.

IN the period before a negotiated settlement is reached, the country will continue to experience difficulties in getting foreign capital.

According to projections made by the Stellenbosch bureau, the average economic growth rate over the next five years will be only 2,2 percent a year. The population increase will remain about 2,5 percent a year. The average inflation rate will be 13,2 percent.

The message is that unemployment is likely to increase and so will the potential for unrest.

ANC, Govt draw battle lines

2 Saturday Star November 24 1990

Mandela

● FROM PAGE 1.

lifting of sanctions. "We are very keen that South Africa should join the international community in all spheres, including trade. But a political solution must first be reached in South Africa. We are still very far from that," he said.

Mr Mandela urged African states which were considering trading with South Africa not to do so until apartheid had been completely eradicated.

Potential

He said that since Mr de Klerk's February 2 speech, there had been an increase in trade between African states and apartheid South Africa.

He said South Africa's economic potential could only be utilised once apartheid had been removed. And apartheid could only be speedily eradicated if African and international

increase support for the anti-apartheid movements, which should close their ranks and intensify their struggle.

He further appealed to African countries to resolve their internal conflicts, which were diverting resources that should be used for development and the prevention of misery and poverty.

The Kenyan president, Daniel Arap Moi, who is the outgoing chairman of the PTAA, said he welcomed the positive steps taken by Mr de Klerk towards the elimination of apartheid. He hoped the current negotiation process would move quickly and seriously towards a non-racial South Africa.

"I look forward to welcoming a democratic South Africa to the PTAA."

● Sue Olswang reports that Mr Mandela, on his return to South Africa late yesterday afternoon, said one could expect the Government and the ANC to have differences of opinion on the issue of an interim government.

Asked what would happen if the Government continued to oppose an interim government, Mr Mandela said: "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it."

Mr Mandela would not be drawn on his and the ANC's recent criticisms of security measures in South Africa.

Duty

"It is the Government's duty to maintain law and order. They have not done it."

Commenting on Foreign Minister Piko Botha's recent claim that certain European countries were reluctant to invest in a country governed by the ANC's present policies, Mr Mandela said: "Mr Botha must have been asleep when he said that."



Star Taverns of the... Clive Rice (who... von Lochern, singer... of the World).

Mandela will demand interim government

KEN DANIELS

MBABANE — The African National Congress is to call for a constituent assembly and an interim government for its next round of talks with President de Klerk and his Ministers on Tuesday, Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Addressing the ninth summit of the Preferential Trade Area Authority (PTAA), the ANC deputy-president said his organisation was beginning to have serious doubts about the South African Government's willingness to continue the negotiation process.

New constitution

He would be visiting Mr de Klerk on Tuesday to try to get the process back on the rails. "I am going to urge him to heed the call for a constituent assembly to determine how a new constitution for South Africa is to be drawn up. I will also discuss with him the establishment of an interim government for the country."

Mr Mandela said this was a democratic process recognised throughout the world.

Any organ of negotiations should be based on democratic principles and elections should be held to choose a constituent assembly as soon as possible.

He said the ANC had adhered to agreements embodied in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes, but the Government had acted in bad faith. "It seemed intent on weakening the ANC and reducing its strength to a new level," he claimed.

The strategy seemed to be to weaken the ANC hierarchy and support so that it would not be able to emerge from negotiations in a leadership position.

"Personally I am finding it increasingly difficult to persuade my colleagues that President de Klerk is a man of integrity."

"When I was in prison, I held talks with him and other government Ministers and persuaded my colleagues that they were men who could be trusted."

Mr Mandela also accused the National Intelligence Services and military intelligence of orchestrating "the slaughter of our people."

He said the beginnings of a Rhenish movement were now being seen and South Africa and Mr de Klerk and his government had so far not been able to give any satisfactory explanation as to why the killing could not be stopped.

Mr Mandela also said that the ANC demanded a political solution in South Africa before it would recommend the

● TO PAGE 2.

SA-Transkei clash of

DURBAN — Relations between South Africa and Transkei are still tense today because Major-General Bantu Holomisa is refusing Pretoria's demands that he withdraw his call for Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to resign and his claims that South Africa knew of this week's coup in advance.

Mr Rusty Evans, the Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs, was in Transkei for tough talks with the military rulers yesterday. He wanted to address a joint meeting of President Chief Tudor Ndamase and the Military Council.

However, Major-General Holomisa refused to allow this, and arranged for Mr Evans to meet the President alone.

Mr Evans told Chief Ndamase that South Africa was not involved in any way in the coup that claimed 18 lives. He presented the President with a proposal that would allow for Major-General Holomisa to retract his allegations against South Africa's involvement, and his attack on Mr Botha.

Pretoria was today waiting for Major-General Holomisa to respond. There could be no reconciliation until he accepted Pretoria's bona fides and withdrew his call for Mr Botha to resign, South African Government sources said.

Allegations

Mr Botha has called Major-General Holomisa a liar because of his claims about South Africa's prior knowledge, while the military leader called Mr Botha a frustrated old man who should resign. Mr Botha said it was not Major-General Holomisa's prerogative to demand his resignation.

Major-General Holomisa said last night that while he was not at war with South Africa, he would not withdraw the allegations. Umtata would discuss Mr Evans's proposal, but there were too many inferences which pointed to South Africa having prior knowledge of the coup attempt.

Both sides have left the door open to reconciliation, though. Pretoria said the time of "swearing" between the two sides had passed and they were now talking. Major-General Holomisa said he was prepared to work towards reconciliation and would talk to anybody, including Mr Botha, to ensure stability, but he was not going to back down to unreasonable South African demands.

Allegations fly after failed coup

FAROOK KHAN
and MARTIN CHALLENGER

Even on the point of whether it is safe to travel to Transkei, Pretoria and Umtata are divided. Having advised South Africans not to travel to Transkei on Thursday, Pretoria said yesterday it was too early to withdraw the warning, even though South Africa had picked up a lot of flak from Transkei hotel owners who had complained about the effect this had on their business.

Major-General Holomisa said Mr Botha had spread a malicious lie by saying Transkei was unsafe for South Africans, and insisted it was safe for visitors and travellers.

Of the 30 rebels who launched the coup attempt, 11 were killed. Their bodies and weapons went on display in Umtata yesterday. Seven Transkei Defence Force members died, three of them overnight.

An East London businessman who saw Colonel Duli recently said the military government was not popular among the "well-to-do" in Transkei.

"They do not like the power given to the police and the military," he said. Lieutenant-Colonel Duli saw Major-General Holomisa as a communist.

He said he would not be surprised if Colonel Duli had been promised South African Police protection as he may have been a target for assassination.

Support

An Umtata lawyer said it was clear from the thousands of people who flocked to the stadium after the coup attempt that General Holomisa had the support of the average man in the street. Whether this support had come from General Holomisa's association with the ANC he could not say.

By yesterday afternoon, Umtata had returned to normal.

Major-General Holomisa dismissed allegations that Colonel Duli had been murdered. "Colonel Duli was seriously injured and lost both his arms in the violent exchange between his men and the Security Forces. The bodies of the rebels were shown to the media because we do not have anything to hide," said Major General Holomisa.

Major General Holomisa said that five young recruits were killed by the rebels while they slept in their bungalow at an army base. They became innocent victims of a plot which was hatched outside the Transkei," said Major General Holomisa.

Factors which suggested South African authorities knew of the plan, said General Holomisa, were:

- The SABC's Danie Malan was in Umtata as early as 6 am on Thursday
- He (General Holomisa) was unaware of events until the early morning SABC news broadcast — despite his phone lines being free.
- The coup was launched from Queens-town.
- All the conspirators were South African.
- The weapons used were mostly of South African origin.
- Colonel Duli was recently released by South Africa despite being sentenced to four years' imprisonment for possession of arms and ammunition.

Colonel Duli clashed with General Holomisa last year after it became known that the general planned to sack Military Council members, including Colonel Duli. General Holomisa suspended Colonel Duli from the army and had him arrested.



AFTERMATH OF THE COUP: An office in the Botha Sigcau government headquarters built out for eight hours before being killed in a bullet and grenade attack by Transkei forces

SA-Transkei clash of wills

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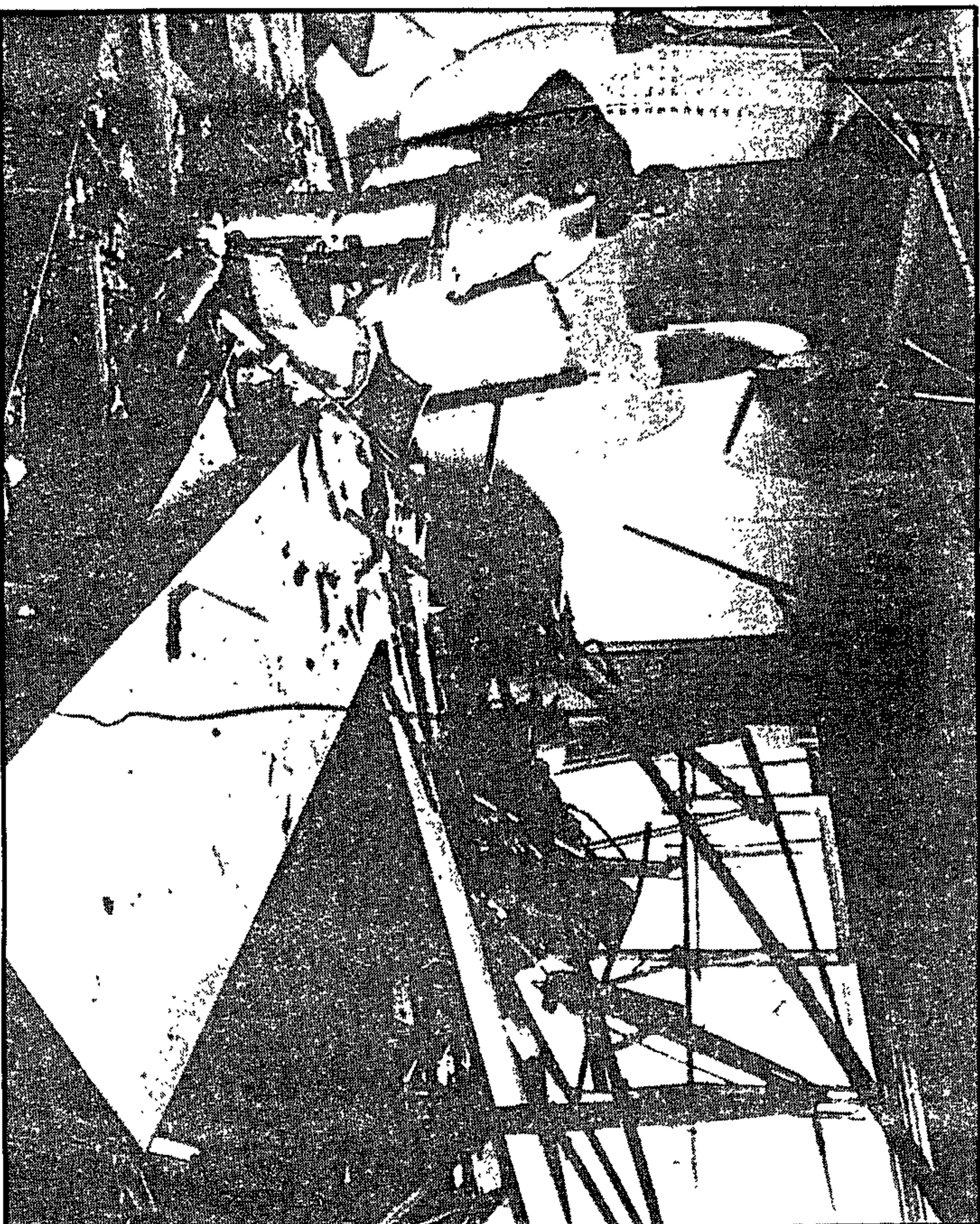
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AFTERMATH OF THE COUP: An office in the Botha Sigcau government headquarters building, Umtata, where coup plotters held out for eight hours before being killed in a bullet and grenade attack by Transkei forces.

● Photograph: Sean Woods.

DP: use top judge as a 'facilitator'

THE Democratic Party's top policy-making body is considering a proposal to establish a "transitional commission" under the Chief Justice to deal with socio-economic problems.

Former party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has suggested the appointment of the Chief Justice as an "independent and neutral facilitator" to provide a focus away from the ANC's demand for an interim government and the government's insistence on an open negotiating forum.

The proposal, under consideration by the DP's national council at a meeting in Cape Town this weekend, also calls for the facilitator to work with a panel of qualified persons — known as the transition commission — which will be appointed on the recommendation of all political parties.

Redressed

The commission's primary task will be to tackle socio-economic disparities by building on the consensus already emerging between the government and the ANC in this respect.

This will allow economic inequalities to be redressed while mainstream negotiations over a constitution are under way.

The commission will also make policy recommendations that the government will be informally obliged to accept and implement.

The commission's contacts with the various parties in negotiations will enable it to draw up a set of constitutional guidelines, in terms of which the participants could make their specific constitutional proposals.

The envisaged effect is that the Chief Justice, who

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

has a tradition of non-partisanship, will inspire public confidence in negotiations, help ensure their success by tackling on-the-ground issues immediately and provide mechanism to break any deadlock.

Dr Worrall is also expected to back a recent suggestion by the ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan that parliament adopts a mini Bill of Rights to govern the transition period.

Other issues to be debated by the DP's national council include an attempt to resolve the troublesome issue of dual party membership.

At present, DP members are allowed to be members of other parties, such as the ANC, only with special permission of the national council.

Fluidity

This weekend the national council must decide under what circumstances it will give that permission and how broadly it will be applied.

Council chairman Dave Gant said that, while dual membership was not normally acceptable, the "special fluidity" of South African politics made it in the interests of the party or specific members.

Some prominent DP members — such as Zelda Dalling, wife of Sandton MP Dave Dalling — have recently joined the ANC without leaving the DP.

Indians pay R500 to dine with FW

MORE than 15 Indian couples paid R500 each to attend President F W de Klerk's National Party fund-raising dinner at Durban's Elangeni Hotel this week.

The bash raised nearly R500 000 for the National Party.

Among the guests were millionaire barman and company director Soobrie Pillay and his wife and furniture manufacturer R M "Bobby" Mahabeer, accompanied by Dr and Mrs M V Ganesh.

The Maritzburg cooking oil dynasty, the Moosas, were represented

By GEORGE MAHABEER

by four family members. The gathering was also attended by hotel tycoon L M Naidoo and his wife and clothing entrepreneur Sadek Vahed and his wife, Zuleka.

Other Indian personalities present were furniture removal company owner Bobby Reddy and his wife, Mr and Mrs N Alwar and M R and A S Essack.

Gopal Naidoo, a plant hire company owner, M Padayachee, D

Rambessessar, Mr and Mrs G Singh, M M Essack and A S Essack were also there.

Mr Soobrie Pillay said he attended the function to show support for President De Klerk's reform process.

"When this dinner came up I did not hesitate in paying R1 000 for my wife and myself to attend. I want to encourage the State President.

"He is a sincere man who can make blacks and whites in South Africa come together and make it a great nation," he said.

Plan for talks leapfrogs

S/Tues 25/11/90

304A

INFORMAL talks between top government and ANC negotiators have laid the groundwork for a breakthrough at Tuesday's meeting between President F W De Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

The leaders will approve a plan to leapfrog the present stalemate and move rapidly towards formal negotiations on a future constitution.

Although some tough issues still have to be resolved — notably mass action and the return of exiles — both sides are optimistic that this week's meeting will make considerable progress.

Consensus

The working group on the armed struggle, jointly chaired by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, has almost completed its report, and one source said there was agreement on 90 percent of the issues.

The prospects for another leaders' summit — before the start of the ANC's national conference on December 14 — have also improved.

One practical outcome of the talks will be the creation of joint ANC/government working groups to discuss specific constitutional issues, such as a constituent assembly and voting systems.

Such "exploratory talks" were already envisaged in the Pretoria Min-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

ute, signed by both parties on August 6, but, apart from informal contacts, no real progress has yet been made.

Spokesmen for both the government and the ANC said this week that reports of deteriorating relations between them are exaggerated and that consensus had been reached on key matters.

These include the training of MK cadres for military purposes and the manner in which stockpiled weapons should be retrieved and controlled by the security forces.

One point of disagreement appears to be the question of recruitment for MK. The ANC's view is that, since MK has been declared a legal organisation, there should be no restraints placed on its recruitment drives, provided the organisation is not mustering forces for military objectives.

Government sources said this week that Mr De Klerk would speak "very frankly" to Mr Mandela on the problem of the ANC's tactics of mass action and the "war talk" coming from certain ANC leaders.

Both Mr De Klerk and Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen warned in speeches this week that actions such as mass rallies, street demonstrations and workers' stayaways could endanger the negotiating process.

ANC executive member Aziz Pahad yesterday said

that his organisation had a strong interest in the process proceeding as quickly as possible.

Mr Pahad also rejected suggestions that the ANC was "stalling on negotiations" because it had difficulty in getting its organisational house in order. ANC director of information Pallo Jordan also dismissed claims of an ANC go-slow as "a load of rubbish".

"What possible reason can we have for retarding the process?" he asked.

Mr Mandela is expected to raise ANC concern over what it perceives as "government foot-dragging" on the return of the estimated 22 000 ANC exiles.

Anger

There is a growing anger inside the movement over the regulations governing the return of exiles, which were recently published by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Senior ANC members say they differ "in at least five places" from the agreement reached in Pretoria.

The main bone of contention is that the regulations make the return of exiles and the release of prisoners dependent on the progress made by the Vlok-Hani working group.

"They are clearly two separate issues that have now been thrown together by Mr Coetsee," said Mr Pahad.

"We are going ahead with arrangements for the return of exiles... but that does not mean that we accept the linkage."

TIM COHEN

SA WOULD normalise relations and establish a presence in five key "power points" in Africa, including traditionally hostile Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya, within a year, Foreign Affairs deputy director Rusty Evans predicted yesterday.

Evans said SA was concentrating its diplomatic efforts on southern Africa because of limited resources and the need to increase the region's use of under-utilised infrastructural links. *Bipam 15/11/90*

But the department would work hard on normalising relations with Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Nigeria and Kenya and expected to have "some sort of presence" in those countries within a year. Relations with other African countries would be nor-

Diplomats target 5 key African states

malised as a result.

Ultimately, normalisation of relations with the key countries would mean the establishment of full diplomatic ties.

Evans disclosed that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak had told President F W de Klerk, when they met during the Namibian independence celebrations, that he wanted to completely normalise relations between SA and Egypt.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Butros Ghali told Evans this would take place the moment the Gulf crisis was over.

"Certain steps" had been taken already, said Evans.

All parties will have talks with Govt soon, says prof

By Kaizer Nyatsumba,
Political Staff

All major political parties, including the Conservative Party and the PAC, will soon get involved in constitutional negotiations with the Government, according to conflict-resolution expert Professor WH van der Merwe.

Professor van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Inter-group Studies, said there was no doubt all the major political parties and organisations would soon accept the Government's invitation to discuss the country's constitutional future.

This, he said, would include organisations and parties presently op-

posed to negotiations, such as Azapo, the PAC and the CP.

Professor van der Merwe, who has close contact with most of the organisations, said he believed real negotiations would get off the ground early next year, and he was optimistic that South Africa would have a new non-racial constitution by the end of 1991.

"I believe that the CP, the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha will soon join the negotiation process.

The ideal outcome of negotiations, he said, would be the attainment of a settlement which would be just to all South Africans. It was such an outcome which would lead to a stable new dispensation.

Professor van der

Merwe expressed concern about the shortage of good negotiating skills among the country's political organisations. He said South Africans were "far behind" with political negotiating skills.

He said while the situation was a lot better than it was a decade ago, and while the National Party and the ANC had done well during their talks so far, there was still a great need for political leaders to receive training to hone their negotiating skills.

The UCT academic said mediators could make "a meaningful contribution" in the negotiation process. They would be able to bring different parties together when deadlocks occurred.

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SA may reduce aid to Transkei

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The South African Government is expected to put pressure on Transkei's President Tutor Ndamase this week to establish a civilian government in his country — or face a squeeze on the R1,8 billion a year aid which Transkei receives from South Africa.

President Ndamase is due to meet President de Klerk early this week to review Transkei/South Africa relations, which plunged to their lowest level with Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa's persistent accusations that South Africa was behind last Thursday's abortive coup attempt.

South African Government sources said today that relations with General Holomisa had been effectively suspended and the Government was advising South African citizens not to travel through Transkei — although the borders were still open.

It was now up to President Ndamase whether relations with Transkei itself continued and how much aid the country continued to receive.

The sources said it was no longer possible to deal with General Holomisa, as he was clearly not competent to run the country financially.

"President Ndamase will be told to find another way of establishing an effective representative government."

One proposal would be that President Ndamase recall the suspended Transkei parliament and re-establish it as the ultimate authority

in the country.

If he was unable to offer an alternative to General Holomisa, South Africa would have to consider "rationing" the annual R1,8 billion in foreign aid.

This would mean paying money only for essentials. South Africa could not in good conscience cut off all aid, as this would mean, for instance, that nurses in hospitals would not be paid.

On the other hand, the South African Government had a responsibility to the taxpayer to ensure his money was spent responsibly.

The sources said General Holomisa was not financially competent and constantly flouted recommendations of the South Africa/Transkei joint financial adjustments committee.

Guidelines

This body set guidelines for spending of South African aid. One example was the 79 percent salary increase he gave to some civil servants.

They said Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans, who met General Holomisa and President Ndamase on Friday as an emissary of President de Klerk, had not threatened to cut diplomatic relations or suspend aid.

He had requested a meeting between President Ndamase and President de Klerk to review relations. However the termination of relations and support were options that were being considered by the Government.

DP suggests 'commission of wise'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A transitional commission of "wise people" has been proposed by the Democratic Party to oversee the negotiation process.

The procedure has been suggested to the Government by the party's national council, which met in Cape Town at the weekend.

The council said in a statement after the meeting: "The

procedure envisages an independent, neutral facilitator, possibly the Chief Justice, who with a panel of 'wise people' would form a transitional commission.

"The commission would propose an all-inclusive negotiating process and would on the basis of evidence submitted to it draw up constitutional parameters.

"All proposals would be made public and be subject to general public scrutiny."

FW will deliver keynote address to Labour Party

Sowetan 26/11/90
(304A)



FW DE KLERK

STATE President FW de Klerk is to deliver the keynote address at the 25th annual congress of the Labour Party in Cape Town on December 28.

LP spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse, confirming De Klerk's acceptance of an invitation to speak at the congress, also said the party was awaiting a reply from Mr Nelson Mandela, who had been sent a similar invitation.

Hendrickse said the congress would deal with a new constitution for a future South Africa and the role of the Labour Party. - Sapa

CONFLICT

between government and the ANC over mass mobilisation campaigns and police behaviour, and over appropriate forums for negotiations and transitional government, has been widely interpreted as meaning that the negotiation process is in trouble. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What SA is experiencing now is the crucial preliminary phase of that process, with each side angling for advantage as the rules of the game are devised.

One way to describe the present phase is as the period during which a level playing field for the negotiation process is established. But the precise angle of the field is measured more by the eye of the beholder than by any objective criteria.

In SA where the main actors are more or less evenly matched, mutually acceptable "rules" have to be established. But with the future shape of SA at stake, it is hardly surprising that each of the opposing forces would choose to seek whatever advantage it can.

And the fact that the situation can be described in sporting analogies does not mean the methods used are sporting.

Detentions and sometimes highly aggressive police behaviour remain part of government's arsenal. Tough talk and the mobilisation of mass power are undisguised features of the strategy of the ANC and its allies.

That both the ANC and government have in their ranks hawkish leaders only complicates this situation — it is not a full explanation for it.

Part of the strategy on both sides includes occasional warnings that the others' actions are threatening the negotiating process, and/or may leave "us" with no choice but "reluctantly" to use less gentle methods.

But what is usually hidden from the spectators — the anxious public which includes the supporters of the contending parties — is the fact that, whatever the level of genuine anger, both have steered well clear of actions which actually would seriously endanger the negotiation process.

It looks rough, but negotiations are still on track

ALAN FINE

Neither government (which insists to the world that the process is irreversible) nor the ANC (for whom there is no other feasible path) can afford it.

None of this is to say that these points of conflict can carry on unresolved. Government is genuinely unhappy with the ANC attitude towards mass mobilisation. Civil unrest makes it even more difficult for the NP to carry its constituency, and is preventing a return to international financial confidence in SA.

The ANC, for its part, correctly sees that if the NP continues as the sole governing power during the transitional, negotiation period, this would give the NP a huge advantage in the process of shaping SA.

Uncreative and sometimes out of proportion though the ANC's proposed actions may be, it is in this light that the organisation's continued support for otherwise seemingly pointless mass action should be seen.

That the ANC employs the same strategy for crucial longer-term issues, such as an interim government, as for immediate ones, such as the timing of the release of political prisoners, may simply be a sign of its inability to devise a proportionate response to different circumstances. Or it may be easier to mobilise the masses on an immediate issue of prisoners' freedom than on a com-

plex constitutional question.

Either way, mass mobilisation techniques are less about dismantling apartheid than about seeking a more powerful position in the negotiating phase.

As Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer puts it: "The negotiating process cannot just be about a future constitutional model; it has to be about transition too."

The logical corollary of this is that one should expect a clear inverse relationship between the extent of militant mass action and the degree of incorporation of the ANC into the transitional governing process. The row over the timing of the release of prisoners is an example — the ANC has no formal say on this question so feels obliged to challenge government's prerogative.

An extension of this argument is that government will have to decide on the optimum balance between mass action and sharing power during negotiations. Government is opposed to a formal interim government but is also seriously concerned about mass action campaigns.

This explains why the ANC is intent on keeping up the pressure and why government is now becoming so

agitated about it. Part of this pressure involves keeping expectations of the masses high — a useful tactic now but one which the ANC will later come to regret if and when it becomes the party expected to deliver on them.

In any event, it is becoming increasingly clear that agreement on rules of conduct for mass action (from the side of both the protesters and the state) will be a crucial subject for discussion as talks about talks continue.

A second key area in the talks about talks is local government. The ANC's goal is obviously to undermine potential NP-supporting councillors and to replace their system with — as the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) has proposed — interim local government structures while moving towards a system of single, racially integrated city administrations.

The third, as mentioned, is to do with the negotiating forum and government during the transitional period.

The ANC position is still in the realms of sloganeering — support for a constituent assembly as a negotiating forum and increasing talk of an interim government. Its scope for compromise on these structures does not appear yet to have been fully debated. The view one gets depends

on which ANC leader one is talking to — it ranges from an uncompromising attitude to anticipation that the potential for finding common ground is assured.

Government, on the other hand, is already formulating a position on the shape of government during the transition. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said it out last Tuesday in an address to the American Chamber of Commerce. There will be no instant joint government of the country, he said, and added: "It is our conviction that the governing of the country is, and will, during the negotiating process continue to be, the task of the present government...."

"What is true, however, is that there will in fact have to be a special relationship between the government and the negotiating body.... The negotiating forum, which will in fact include all parties, clearly will have an authoritative status."

Viljoen's approach now is to sell the idea of a negotiating forum whose advice on political, and perhaps economic, issues government will give serious attention to.

So far he has not proposed that this body's powers or status be entrenched in law. Nor has he attempted to reassure the ANC that the NP will not attempt to use the all-comers' approach to negotiations unofficially to strengthen opposition to the ANC. This could be done, for example, by insisting that conservative black leaders be permitted representation, influence and status way beyond what their popular support justifies.

This is one of the ANC's greatest concerns and the primary reason behind the demand for an elected constituent assembly.

This is not to say that Viljoen and his advisers have given these matters no thought. But no negotiating party discloses its bottom line before it becomes necessary, and Viljoen's views — call them proposals — are an early statement on the subject.

The real bottom line, though, whatever anyone's rhetoric may suggest, is that, however difficult the next few weeks and months, however angry the exchanges between the ANC and government, the negotiation process is truly at work.

LETTERS

Pik and Durr spearhead thrust into new-look Europe

PRETORIA — Government is in the midst of an intensive campaign to lay firm foundations for a greater diplomatic and economic penetration of central and eastern Europe, government sources said at the weekend.

Investment from and expanded trade with the industrialised and developed European countries, especially after Europe unites in 1992, are prime targets.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha returned last week after top-level talks in Czechoslovakia which will lead to an exchange of delegates at consular level. He is also confident of a diplomatic exchange with the Soviet Union in the next six months.

He had talks with senior government figures in Germany, Czechoslovakia, the UK, Romania and Yugoslavia.

Trade and Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr's current mission has taken him to Paris, London and Prague. Earlier he visited Poland, Hungary and Russia.

In Paris he spoke at a seminar organised by the influential Rothschild Bank. This was followed by discussions with top members of the French government and senior government officials.

In London he addressed the UK SA Trade Association, where he stressed the investment opportunities in SA.

He also stressed SA, with its sophisticated infrastructure and professional and skilled manpower, was a more likely channel for investment than the liberated East European countries.

In Prague, Durr said Czechoslovakia, as

the most developed of the central European countries, offered tremendous opportunities for bilateral trade.

And on Friday, Durr spoke at the opening of a Satour office in Vienna. Senior government tourism officials from Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia attended.

Economists said at the weekend the efforts being made to expand trade in Europe, and to prepare for a potential increase after unity in 1992, would stall unless continued and significant progress was made in removing the residue of apartheid legislation.

3048 Violence

DP trade and industry spokesman Brian Goodall, who had just returned from the US, Canada and the UK as a member of an SA parliamentary delegation, said the DP supported Durr's efforts to the hilt.

But in his talks with businessmen, US Congressmen and Canadian MPs it was apparent that until violence decreased, much foreign investment that would have come into SA would be withheld.

"Not only will there have to be an end to serious unrest but we will have to show a structured viable and stable political system," Goodall said.

Until this happened SA would have to continue to operate internationally in a sanctions environment.

GERALD REILLY

Big 2 talks likely to be tough

CM 7/13 27/11/90

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Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Tough talking is expected here today between President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC.

But while they are expected to clash over the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, which the government feels is a violation of the Pretoria Minute, there are hopes here that last-minute moves behind the scenes can at least avert a full-scale confrontation.

Government sources agree, however, that the continuing violence and deaths which seem to accompany the ANC mass protests and the intimidation of black local authority councillors must end.

One encouraging indication that a complete breakdown in negotiations between the government and the ANC can be avoided came at the weekend from Mr Mandela himself. He said at an ANC rally that he was not aware that he and Mr De Klerk were about to be involved in a fight.

This could indicate there is some hope of a compromise between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela over the sensitive issues of mass mobilisation and the ANC's call for an interim government and constituent assembly to work out a new constitution.

Other sources indicated yesterday that Mr De Klerk would try to persuade the ANC to choose finally to act as a conventional political party rather than a liberation movement.

Mr Mandela has argued that mass mobilisation is a democratic right, whereas the government contends this is in conflict with the Pretoria Minute.

There is still no clarity on the form the talks will take but the president's office confirmed yesterday that they would take place at the Union Buildings, starting at 4pm. This seems to indicate there will not be full-scale delegations and that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela could spend much of the time talking alone.

Crucial meeting for FW, Mandela

ANC, govt seek to break talks logjam

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela today will seek to reach agreement on what constitutes a related activity of "armed action".

Their crucial one-on-one meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria is aimed at ending the logjam in the negotiating process.

Mandela will also raise the ANC's demand for the establishment of an interim government and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

Government's attempt to define mass mobilisation as a related activity of armed action and the ANC's rejection of this has bogged down the work of the working group set up to resolve questions arising from the ANC's decision on August 6 to suspend armed action.

Talks between the ANC and government on how negotiations should be structured have been put on ice until the working group completes its report.

At a meeting on Thursday ANC and government members of the working group agreed that they were making no progress and cancelled all further meetings until the two leaders had met and agreed on an interpretation of clause 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

The sentences are: "As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will take place"; and, "Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quick-



● MANDELA

● DE KLERK

ly as possible".

Government believes that continued recruitment by MK falls under the definition of "related activities".

The ANC argues that recruiting people to be trained overseas with a view to their incorporation into the military in a new SA in no way contradicts the Pretoria Minute.

Government has also argued that "mass mobilisation" which leads to violence and the intimidation of officials is a related activity of armed action. Officials also say the ANC's continued commitment to mass mobilisation does not tie in with its commitment in the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC, in turn, has argued that the holding of marches and rallies is part of the normal democratic process.

It has also harshly criticised police conduct during mass marches and rallies and

□ To Page 2

Logjam

Mandela has said alleged security force involvement in violence against black people would be high on today's agenda.

ANC and government members of the armed action working group also anticipate the two leaders will seek to agree on some "code of conduct" for mass action and the security forces' response to it.

Although Mandela has said he wants to raise the establishment of an interim government and the holding of a constituent assembly election at today's talks, government, which rejects both ideas, has argued that such discussion is premature.

Spokesmen say these issues should form part of talks on how negotiations should proceed. Without the armed action working group having completed its work and removed the final obstacles to negotiations, such discussions cannot take place.

Government has steadfastly rejected the holding of a constituent assembly election and the establishment of an interim government, but with the PAC at the weekend having endorsed Mandela's call for a united front to demand a constituent assembly it is coming under increasing pressure to review its position.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen last week hinted at a possible compromise on some form of interim government when he told the American Chamber of Commerce the negotiating forum would have "authoritative status".

ANC national executive committee members and the Cabinet committee on negotiations met late into last night to prepare contributions to today's meeting.

● Comment: Page 8

SW 12/11/90 (S) (3044)

Soviet diplomats due in SA today

The first official Russian trade delegation to visit South Africa in many years is expected to arrive today for meetings with officials and businessmen.

The visit will be headed by Russian Republic Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Yastrenko, informed sources said yesterday.

But they believe officials of the central Soviet government will also be in the delegation. It is scheduled to hold a conference with South African trade officials and businessmen tomorrow morning.

The delegation is being hosted by the Department of Trade and Industry and the visit follows Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr's recent visit to the Soviet Union.

— Political Correspondent.

Star 27/11/90 (153) 304A

Pik 'gave warning about Duli'

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Foreign Minister Pik Botha had warned Transkei Military Council chairman Major-General Bantu Holomisa as early as 1987 that his friend and colleague, Colonel Craig Duli, was planning to oust him, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) said in a statement yesterday.

In yet another denial of South Africa's involvement in the failed coup attempt last Thursday, the DFA said Mr Botha had warned General Holomisa in December in Cape Town that Colonel Duli was planning to "get rid" of him.

Mr Botha had called General Holomisa aside to tell him this after a meeting in the Minister's office, which Colonel Duli had also attended.

"(General Holomisa) took it amiss that the Minister could attach any weight to such rumours, saying that Colonel Duli was his most loyal friend and confidant," the DFA statement said.

This revelation comes amid widespread speculation that President de Klerk will put pressure on Transkeian President Tutor Ndamase when they meet on Thursday to establish a civilian government

in his country or face a squeeze on the R1,8 billion annual aid Transkei receives from Pretoria.

The DFA said that just as South Africa had not been an accomplice in the overthrow of former prime minister Stella Sigcau by General Holomisa and Colonel Duli, it was also not involved in the latest coup attempt.

It said further comment on the matter would be withheld pending the outcome of the meeting between President de Klerk and President Ndamase.

General Holomisa could not be reached for comment.

Russians on visit to forge trade links

THE first official Russian trade delegation to visit South Africa in many years is expected to arrive today for meetings with trade officials and businessmen.

The visit, which is being regarded as a breakthrough in contact between two former arch-enemies, will be headed by Russian Republic Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Yastrenko, informed

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sources said yesterday.

But they believe officials of the central Soviet government will also be in the delegation.

The Russians are scheduled to hold talks with South African trade officials and businessmen tomorrow.

They are being hosted by the Department of Trade and Industry and the visit follows that of Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr's to Russia a few months ago.

The visit is being seen as another milestone in relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa which have been slowly thawing over the past 18 months.

A few months ago Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden visited Moscow to discuss establishing relations and last week Foreign Minister Pik Botha predicted that relations would be established in six months. - Sowetan Correspondent.

4 youths in court for allegedly killing an Inkatha supporter

FOUR Soweto youths appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday in connection with the killing last month of an alleged Inkatha supporter at Naledi railway station.

The case was postponed to Thursday at the request of the defence team.

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

The youths, all from Naledi, were not asked to plead. Applications for bail will be heard when the case resumes.

The youths are Andrew Xaba (21), Mr Thabiso Jacob Mofokeng (19) and two minors, who cannot be named.

ESKOM power for Orange Farm

ESKOM has for the first time started with providing electricity to an informal settlement in the PWV area. Sowetan 27/11/90

According to Eskom spokesman Mr Johan du Plessis about 25 structures at Orange Farm, near Evaton in the Vaal area, have been provided with electricity through an overhead distribution system which made it affordable for low income households.

Unrest area

A pre-paid metering system is used to enable households to budget for electricity consumption and cards, in units of R10 to activate delivery, is being sold locally by Eskom.

Du Plessis said Eskom had the ability to provide similar cheap distribution systems to other communities but the provision of pre-paid metering systems was at present inhibited by the limited local production of the system. - Sapa.

Mandela, De Klerk meet today

306A
Dowlen
27/11/90

TODAY'S meeting between State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to ease the strain in the relationship between the two leaders - but not before some hard and straight-talk.

De Klerk is "upset" over the ANC's continued predilection for mass action, but, as the State President has said on countless occasions, he is committed to the negotiation process, according to Government sources.

It is largely believed that the delay in negotiations can be attributed to the ANC's intensifying of

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

mass action in the form of protests, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts directed at black local government, the homelands and other institutions.

Government has also indicated that the status of the ANC's military wing is also a huge problem area.

Government wants MK to stop training and recruiting members while the ANC insists with equal force that it is a legal force and is entitled to continue its non-aggressive activities.

Mandela has also expressed explicit indignance over what he called police "intimida-

tion" of ANC marshalls and officials. He did say though, that he did not expect to "fight" with De Klerk when they meet later today.

The ANC will however not discourage mass action. In terms of the Pretoria Minute, it has agreed to suspend its armed struggle and not popular protest, an ANC spokesperson said.

"We will not, not even in the new South Africa under an ANC government, discourage mass (people based) action. It cannot be stopped," she said.

The only foreseeable obstacle between the two would be the ANC's continued call for a constituent assemble and an interim government.

ALISTER Sparks, the former editor of the Rand Daily Mail whose writings in the Washington Post help inform this city's increasingly anachronistic views on SA, is subjected to withering scorn in the November 26 issue of The New Republic, a respected weekly noted for its strong-minded liberalism.

"Sparks' account is a fairy tale," says the magazine's review of his new book, *The Mind of South Africa*. "It begins with 'Once upon a time' and it ends with 'They lived happily ever after.'"

What especially galls the critic is Sparks' infatuation with "the pop anthropology of ubuntu" and his related idealisation of SA before whites arrived as a veritable utopia in which democracy and the rule of law held sway and dissent against ruling chiefs was actively encouraged.

Equally risible, in the reviewer's eyes, is the suggestion that, so long as whites withdraw into the shadows, ubuntu will lead to happy reconciliation for all under an ANC-governed "nonracial society".

"Sparks' book refuses to come to terms with any of the issues SA itself is now attempting to confront. In large measure, his refusal to meet the hard tasks of accommodating majorities and minorities, of setting straight history that has gone wrong, of trying to produce fundamental change without sliding into violence, of constructing democracy, derives from Sparks' failure to approach either Africans or Afrikaners as people with human aspirations and failings."

No minced words there, but Sparks at least has the consolation of knowing he will soon be able to respond in kind. The writer who panned him is Donald Horowitz, professor of law and political science at Duke University, and author of the forthcoming study *A Democratic SA? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*.

Horowitz, whose monumental 1985

Taking issue with the fairy-tale ending to all SA's problems

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304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

study, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, is regarded as the standard text in its field, is anything but optimistic that the question posed in his title will be answered in the affirmative. His doubts are compounded by what he regards as the refusal by Sparks and others "to think seriously about measures to conciliate SA's growing ethnic conflict".

Apartheid, he contends, has made it next to impossible to define the problems a new SA constitution must address, if it is to be genuinely democratic, without violating the bounds of ideological propriety.

Left unaddressed, as hitherto they have been, those problems will lead to the very outcome apartheid's apologists have so long decried in the rest of Africa. Ethnic divisions, no longer bridged by the supervening need for solidarity against the racial oppressor, will come to the fore. Indeed, the process has already begun, despite the best efforts of the ANC and its allies to attribute the resultant conflict to apartheid's legacy and white manipulation.

Such rationalisations miss the point, says Horowitz. It matters not one whit whether or not the divisions are the product of white rule. "In many parts of Africa, there are ethnic groups whose identity can be

traced to official policies, mission-ary categorisations or encounters with other groups. These 'artificial' creations are often significant political actors." Having been invented, they cannot be wished away.

"Eliminate white domination, and intra-African differences will be particularly important... To ignore them in planning for a future SA would be to repeat the same fallacy of assuming in the 1950s and 1960s that an inclusive 'nationalism' would be the universal solvent of differences, a fallacy for which many people paid dearly."

Equally fallacious is the notion, long held by the ANC and many of its rivals, that ethnic fault lines can somehow be replaced by class ones. To the contrary, Horowitz noted in his earlier work, nothing better demonstrates "the permeative character of ethnic affiliations" than "the tendency of avowedly non-ethnic parties to be captured by one or other ethnic constituency".

In Sudan, for example, the communist party has been dominated by Ansaris, by Javanese in Indonesia,

and by Chinese in Malaysia. When there was party competition in Congo (Brazzaville), the socialists were principally Mbochi, in Guinea they were Fulani. Likewise, Xhosa-speakers dominate the leadership of SA's two major "pan-ethnic" organisations, the ANC and the PAC.

Part of the reason is that "class"-based ideologies, while attractive to the educated elites who tend to cherish them, have less pull in the trenches than other, more mundane, loyalties and cleavages. In SA, as elsewhere, no taboo on discussion or research can turn the conflict into "what some of its more organised and articulate participants think it is about".

Such taboos can, however, help ensure that any new constitutional arrangement contains the seeds of its own undemocratic and possibly very violent demise. Whatever new dispensation is arrived at must be based on the SA that exists rather than the one whose mention causes least discomfort.

Horowitz has his doubts that the various actors can even bring themselves to agree on the right questions, let alone reach an enduring consensus on the answers. If the first hurdle can be crossed, he urges serious consideration of electoral

mechanisms which, while firmly based on the principles of majority rule and one man, one vote, one value, oblige competing parties to look for votes outside their basic ethnic, racial or ideological constituencies.

He suggests a federal system, with state boundaries drawn to ensure a heterogeneous electorate, alternative voting, in which voters indicate second and third choices to be counted in the event that no candidate receives an outright majority, and the separate election of a president, who would be required not only to win at least a plurality of all votes cast, but a sufficient share of the ballots in each region or state.

Such techniques, Horowitz believes, would reward moderation and compromise, penalise ethnic and racial exclusivism, promote fluid majorities, and at the same time provide strong incentives to include minorities in decision making. The overriding goal would be to "institutionalise uncertainty" by ensuring that no group or party could be certain that having won one election, it would win the next.

There is, unfortunately, a strongly eschatological element to the ANC's thinking. From the Freedom Charter on, the movement has promised a secular millennium. Any organisation that asserts all dreams and aspirations shall be fulfilled when it takes power does not leave much room for confidence that it will submit to democratic uncertainty.

Horowitz believes that if the ANC does submit, it will probably be by a sort of accident. He posits that the more trade-offs the ANC and government make at the centre, the stronger the rejectionist flanks to left and right will grow. The black flank, in which he places the PAC and Azapo, may well become powerful and confident enough to seek to test its positions at the polls.

At which point, the ANC might finally realise that hegemony is not a viable option and begin to see real merit in conventional politics, coalition-building and a system designed to defuse conflict rather than guarantee to exacerbate it.

US-based constitution 'could be model for SA'

304A

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — A new constitution based on the American model could be in place in SA by mid-1993, followed by an election in mid-1994, British businessman, politician and columnist Lord Chalfont said at the conference opening yesterday.

This, he speculated, was the scenario most likely to follow serious negotiations among all political groups at the end of this year and an interim solution in 1991 which would include some compromises.

At the same time, SA would begin the process of reintegration into the international community and by the end of 1992 — when the European single market was born — economic relations with the West would enable the development of the southern African region to take shape, he told delegates.

Chalfont said there was evidence that the American constitution, which assured the rights of minority groups, offered the most attractive political model.

Turning to economic matters, Lord Chalfont reiterated that economic growth and prosperity would decide the final outcome of the political transition.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the conference the fear of a future one-party state, in which there would be no democratic checks and balances, was singularly the most difficult political hurdle whites faced, Sapa reports.

Unless the country worked for reconciliation during the final phase of eradicating apartheid — and in the first phase of establishing a democracy — there would not be the national will necessary to maintain the kind of democracy in which the guarantee of individual rights was sufficient.

Buthelezi said he wanted negotiation by co-operation.

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Demos: ANC-govt stalemate

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday identified the main problems creating a logjam in negotiations.

However, after their two-hour summit here, they remained in disagreement on whether mass mobilisation falls under the definition of "related activity" to armed action referred to in the Pretoria Minute.

They agreed to meet again to resolve this and other problems creating obstacles to negotiations.

It is understood that both are in possession of an initial report by the "armed action working group" appointed in terms of the Minute. The report still has to be approved by both sides.

The April 1 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles is still on track.

Before the meeting, government

spokesmen said the main issue President De Klerk would raise was the ANC's continuing commitment to "mass mobilisation", as the government believed coercive aspects of mass mobilisation qualified as a related activity of armed action.

Afterwards, the leaders declined to discuss the meeting.

● Meanwhile, Mr Mandela arrives in Cape Town today to receive two honorary doctorates, attend a concert in his honour and participate in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's peace summit.

An honorary doctorate of laws will be conferred on him tonight at the University of the Western Cape by the chancellor, Archbishop Tutu, and on Friday, he will receive a second honorary doctorate, this time from the University of Cape Town.

The list of participants at tomorrow's peace summit has not yet been released. The Inkatha Freedom Party has already stated that it will not participate.

Star 28/11/90 (3041)

PAC denies it plans to join negotiations

The Pan Africanist Congress has quashed reports that it plans to join negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

In a statement yesterday the PAC said it would only join talks within the framework of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

"The PAC regards the current talks as a betrayal of the letter and spirit of the UN resolution of December 14 1989 which demands that F W de Klerk meet all pre-conditions unilaterally

before a climate for talks can exist."

There was also no possibility of the PAC joining "monitoring committees" with the security police.

The PAC rejected recent reports that unity between the PAC and the ANC was more possible since the death of its president Zeph Mothopeng.

"Mr Mothopeng was seeking unity and repeatedly called for peace," the statement said. — Sapa.

No agreement on mass action, but govt and ANC will meet again

28/11/79
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MIKE ROBERTSON
and ALAN FINE

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday remained in disagreement on whether mass mobilisation falls under the definition of "related activity" to armed action referred to in the Pretoria Minute, but they agreed to meet again to resolve this and other problems creating obstacles to negotiations.

However, it is understood the principals of the two parties were in possession of an initial report by the armed action working group appointed in terms of the Minute. And the April 1 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles

was still on track.
The report still had to be approved by both sides.

Prior to the meeting, government spokesmen said the main issue De Klerk would raise was the ANC's continuing commitment to "mass mobilisation".

Government, they said, believed coercive aspects of mass mobilisation qualified as a related activity of armed action.

On August 6 the ANC agreed to suspend armed action and "related activities".

Another issue which government spokesmen said De Klerk would raise was continued recruitment by Umkhonto we

Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the men reaffirmed the importance of the special relationship between them in advancing the negotiating process. They would not elaborate on their discussions.

Although Mandela and De Klerk also refused to disclose the points of difference between them, their firm commitment to meet again and their expression of faith in peaceful negotiations is an indication that

both leaders realised the process has reached a point at which they have no alternative but to continue talking.

Mandela said the atmosphere of the meeting had been "cordial as always". This was seen as significant, as in recent weeks there had been a series of increasingly vitriolic exchanges between the parties.

It is understood De Klerk and Mandela were mandated to facilitate further talks between government and the ANC on disputed issues, rather than to attempt to solve all the problems in yesterday's encounter.

"It was foreseen they would probably

have to meet again from time to time in the coming weeks and months to deal with these issues or to make arrangements for them to be dealt with at other levels," a joint statement said.

Significantly, it added: "In this regard the value of personal contact between leading figures in political movements involved in the process was emphasised."

There is unlikely to be a further government/ANC meeting before early 1981.

Next week's special Cabinet meeting and the ANC's consultative conference will be used to clarify positions on questions identified by Mandela and De Klerk.

Until yesterday's discussions between government and the ANC, a noticeable deterioration in the relationship between them appeared to have occurred which threatened to delay further, perhaps even to rule out altogether, any early start of negotiations on a new constitution.

This deterioration had much to do, in the eyes of many whites, with a conflict which seemed to be raging within the ANC itself, between pragmatists on the one side and strategists and revolutionary ideologists on the other, over leadership and the nature and direction of the liberation struggle.

In broad terms, pragmatists on both sides of the NP-ANC divide can be defined as those committed to a negotiated way out of the SA political cul-de-sac because they have come to accept that the country cannot afford another 10 years of economic stagnation. This would be assured by further violent confrontation and sanctions.

Negotiations mean an eventual government of transition in which the NP and the ANC have to be the senior, although not exclusive, partners.

Both strategists and ideologists reject this view. For them, the party opposite, whether the ANC or the NP, remains an enemy eventually to be destroyed. What differentiates them, therefore, is only a matter of degree. Strategists will use the negotiation process to first weaken before crushing the other.

Ideologists remain committed to crushing directly through a deliberate use of force. Revolutionary ideologists on the ANC side (Ronnie Kasrils & Co?) remain committed to the conviction that all that is needed is a little more of a revolutionary shove to push the minority state into the abyss.

White racial ideologists remain convinced that white minority domination can be perpetuated if whites are prepared to use the state force that they still have at their disposal without restraint or apology.

The now public acceptance by Nelson Mandela himself of "mass mobilisation" as a centrepiece for action (in the place of "armed struggle") represents a victory within the ANC for strategists and ideologists over pragmatists.

Trying to discredit the ANC is a short-sighted ploy

Biday 28/11/90

RONNIE BETHLEHEM

It is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side also. If it did, it could push De Klerk further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a discrediting of the ANC (which such ANC posturing necessarily involves with large numbers of whites and others) he will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual open election.

That would be a dangerous delusion. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution, just as it is only the NP that could do the same with whites. (That in no way detracts from the importance of others — Inkatha, PAC, CP, DP, Labour Party or Solidarity — to the negotiation process.)

There are four realities about the ANC with which De Klerk and, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indulging in thoughts about its future dispensability.

First, whether they like it or not, the ANC is big stuff. It does have mass black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Outside Natal, 80% of blacks identify with the ANC or ANC-orientated organisations. Even in Natal it is large and growing. Hence the conflict with Inkatha.

Second, and this is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms



□ BETHLEHEM

with, it is nowhere near being ready to govern. It can even be argued that it is not yet properly ready for a partnership role in a government of national transition.

The continuing confusion of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public utterances of its leading spokespeople, the inability of

senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers, and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalised, often violent, rank and file, confirm its unreadiness.

In short, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its huge, deprived constituency something realistic and meaningful regarding poverty and inequality, and having to reflect radicalism from below in order to maintain its authority or credibility.

Third, and for whites this is very important because it is contrary to all the beliefs most of them have about the organisation, in its top leadership, and also in its middle strata, the ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle class. Its non-racialism, its anti-sexism, its obsession with the wrongs of domination of all kinds (though some would want to remind it of its inclination often to slip into a domination mode itself) are not only honourable and decent, they are values all should want for SA.

In short, in terms of what it stands for beyond its policy on the economy, its advocacy of interventionism etc, the ANC is really no more out of step with the NP and the DP than Neil Kinnock is with Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major, or George Bush is with Michael Dukakis. This should provide grounds for hope about the future.

However, the fourth reality about the ANC which De Klerk and whites generally need to come to terms with, the most important reality of all, is that they need the ANC, and need it badly. One could almost say that if the ANC did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

Rather, therefore, than being bent on its discrediting or destruction, which is what the strategists and racial ideologists on the government side are still preoccupied with achieving, they should be doing as much as they can to prevent it from falling apart.

A falling apart of the ANC could have disastrous consequences for SA, for it would only happen in the worst of all possible circumstances and would, therefore, most likely presage a lurch into heightened violence and disorder.

After nearly 30 years of exile and internal banning during which time government did all it could to break down the ANC, it would have been a lot to expect that the organisation establish itself in a short time with an unchallenged authority among followers. Now it must be helped to achieve coherence and maturity.

Control over the black dimensions of SA society has been lost by government and the business community, and both need a credible partner with whom they will be able to work to bring about the political transformation that has become an essential precondition for a liberation of the economy.

If SA can be stabilised socially and politically, there are few countries that will hold a candle to it in terms of real economic performance in coming decades, if a reasonable expansion of the global economy can be sustained. SA is rich in resources and it will be starting from a low base. But it has to get its own house in order first and the ANC will have to have a share, and a big share, in that.

So when next you feel tempted to tell an anti-ANC joke, so much the vogue in certain white circles at present, think twice. And when next you watch TV and witness the continuing portrayal of government as the only good guys, and the ANC as the most frequently bad, or the spoilers, think yet again.

□ Bethlehem is group economics consultant at JCI and author of *Economics in a Revolutionary Society*.

Leaders' 'silence' provokes critics

Political Staff

President de Klerk and African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela have been criticised by other political parties for saying so little after their crucial two-hour meeting in Pretoria yesterday, in the face of widespread public interest in South Africa's political future.

The criticism was voiced in spite of Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela apparently having put the faltering negotiation process back on track at a "productive and very cordial" meeting at the Union Buildings.

Democratic Party constitutional development spokesman Denis Worrall said the joint statement issued after the talks was "extraordinarily bland and ridiculous", because "quite frankly there were very important differences in public over the past few weeks" between the Government and the ANC.

Their statement "is not good enough", he said.

They had an obligation to the general public who were trusting them, to other political parties who were very eager to start making their contribution to the process and to the business community, to take them into their confidence.

Ismail Omar, MEC, national chairman of Solidarity, described the statement as "non-committal".

He felt it "brings us back to a year ago" as it was a repetition of the statement Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela issued after their first meeting nearly a



Pressed for answers . . . Nelson Mandela speaks to reporters after his meeting with President de Klerk.

year ago.

"We have made no progress in 12 months," Mr Omar said.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse said: "I believe it is important that the State President and Mr Mandela tell the nation exactly how they see the immediate constitutional developments."

After yesterday's two-hour meeting, it was clear to politi-

cal commentators that substantial differences still separated Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A brief joint statement said: "Having reaffirmed our commitment to the peaceful negotiations, we expressed our concern about developments threatening this process."

"The meeting was used to agree on the priority of issues calling for early attention.

"It was foreseen that we would probably have to meet again from time to time in the coming weeks or to make arrangements for them to be dealt with at other levels."

Most sources have suggested that the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, and its insistence on the right to continue recruiting and training people

for its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), were problems for the Government.

The ANC was concerned that security forces were destabilising black townships and accused the Government of bad faith because it had made the release of prisoners and return of exiles dependent on the ANC suspending mass action and the training of MK cadres.

that was meted out to our children".

Venda's Brigadier

CP MP *Sowetan 28/11/90* justifies attack *(304A)*

LOUIS Trichardt residents had dismissed the Government's integration policy and anyone breaching the town's decision in good faith, should suffer the consequences, said Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Thomas Langley.

This follows a savage attack by knobkierie and sjambok-wielding rightwingers on a black Sunday school outing in a Louis Trichardt park on Saturday.

Police confirmed 30-40 men of the Blanke Bevydingsburo had attacked 200-300 children, aged between six and 14, from the Apostolic Faith Mission Church at Danzani in Venda. At least five children were taken to hospital with dozens injured in the attack.

Sapa

A

ANC 'debating decentralisation'

By Lesley Lambert

CAPE TOWN — The ANC, proponent of a strong central government, was debating the need for decentralisation of political power, its legal and constitutional department director Zola Skweyiya said yesterday.

"There is a general feeling that although central government must have some control over the issues that are vital to the conduct of national policy, regional and local authorities must be given some leverage on exercising a choice among competing priorities," delegates at a conference on regional and local government heard.

"The need for relating governmental powers and decision-making closer to the people is being recognised," he said. However, his assessment of government's constitutional proposals was less encouraging in an environment of negotiation.

He said proposals by president F W de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen were attempts to entrench white privileges while appearing to concede some power to black communities.

"This they hope to achieve by principally ensuring that the future of SA will be as a capitalist state in which class will balance race in a system of checks and balances."

He said the proposals embraced a weak parliament stripped of effective power by the devolution of authority, a constitution which institutionalised privatised apartheid and maintained inequalities, the entrenchment of powerful economic privileges and a judiciary to defend this arrangement.

30/11/90 Sovereignty

The ANC proposed a unitary SA based on popular participation at all levels. "In terms of this conception, there can be no original, only derived powers for regions and local authorities, on major issues such as political power, land, economy, health, education and housing policy," he said.

In its constitutional guidelines issued in 1988, the ANC emphasised the need to vest sovereignty in "the people as a whole" through one central legislature, executive and administration.

By disclosing that there was a "lively debate raging within the ANC on the need for decentralisation", conference delegates said Skweyiya indicated increasing flexibility in the ANC's stance on central control.

The conference, held against the conflicting backdrop of government's recently released Thornhill Report and the ANC's demand for immediate dissolution of black local authorities, served largely to define the massive divide between the parties involved in the debate.

Many delegates interpreted Skweyiya's disclosure as an indication that there could be consensus on two crucial issues: that regional and local government was necessary, and that negotiation for a new system of local government should start as soon as possible.

DP outlines plans for a major recruitment drive

by Day 28/11/90 (304A)

PRETORIA — The DP, which has less than 60 000 members, aims to increase its membership to 150 000 by the end of 1993 and wants to win 12% of the vote in elections under a new constitution, a DP national council document states.

The document, accepted by about 65% of national council representatives in Cape Town at the weekend, stated the DP's long-term objective should be to create a powerful, liberal grouping in non-racial elections.

The DP would begin a major recruitment drive.

It had set its sights on 80 000 members by the end of 1991 and hoped to obtain a membership of 110 000 by the end of 1992.

Its national interaction programme would set up contacts between the DP leadership and other organisations to promote acceptance of its policy.

It accepted that mergers, alliances and other realignments were likely and desirable during the next two to four years.

However, the party was committed for the moment to being a separate political party as it was too early to assume that either the NP or the ANC was committed to the DP's values.

EDYTH BULBRING

The NP's commitment to non-racialism and true democracy remained suspect, and the prospects for non-racial democracy would be harmed if whites were seen to be "ganging up", it said.

The NP did not have an ethos that respected the right to dissent, the rule of law and the inherent worth of each individual.

In rejecting the possibility of a merger with the ANC, the document said the ANC

had unacceptable, vague economic policies and had not yet shown democracy within its own structures.

The ANC had at times displayed a coercive style of mobilisation and a rhetoric which did not promote peaceful change or contribute to stability and socio-economic development.

And at the same council meeting a proposed budget of R1,25m for the DP head office for the forthcoming year was presented.

Soviets back possibility of ties with SA

ZILLA EFRAT

OFFICIAL ties between SA and the Soviet Union could be established in the next few months, Soviet Council of Ministers member Andrei Chernuchin told delegates at a Pretoria seminar yesterday.

It emerged during the seminar that SA could be involved in sending aid to the Soviet Union for the victims of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

At a Press conference before the seminar, held to brief a top-ranking Soviet Union delegation on SA's business environment, delegation leader Chernuchin said he agreed with Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement last week that official ties between SA and the Soviet Union could be established in the next six months.

However, there were certain limitations as the Soviet Union, along with other countries, had signed a convention against SA.

Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr said the visit marked a step towards improved relations between the Soviet Union and SA, and that there was no reason for the two countries not to have a more productive relationship.

SA set a high premium on renewing relations with the Soviet Union. There was room for substantial growth in the countries' relationship. Low-level trade was already taking place, and correspondent

□ To Page 2

Soviet ties

banking relations had been established. Chernuchin said the delegation was in SA to discuss mutual co-operation in the economic arena, such as Chernobyl. It would meet representatives from the private sector and the ANC's leadership.

The Soviets realised that in time, limitations to the work that could be done between it and SA would be removed.

A special programme had been formulated to develop mutual co-operation between the two countries.

This had been discussed with President F W de Klerk on Tuesday.

Of Chernobyl, Chernuchin said: "The situation is such that if by next year, we do

not relocate 2-million people living in the area of the disaster, the world community will feel the guilt for years and years." Relocation would require development and infrastructure, and the Soviet Union was looking for help in areas like medicine. Time was being spent on this problem as it was seen as a way of building up a relationship and contact with SA.

Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) director-general Stef Naude yesterday quashed rumours that the DTI had provided aid to the Soviet Union to help Chernobyl disaster victims. None was being considered either, he added.

● See Page 3

□ From Page 1

Nigeria will welcome birth of new SA

LAGOS — Nigeria will welcome the birth of a new SA, Foreign Minister General Ike Nwachukwu said at a conference of the Nigerian Society of International Affairs.

The minister noted Nigeria's policy towards SA should be based on realities but at the same time be cautious. Sanctions would not be lifted until racism was eliminated.

"Nigeria should show its backing for the democratic forces, including the Democratic Party... and even President F W de Klerk with a view to encouraging a transition to a multi-party government," Nwachukwu said.

He insisted on recognising the Afrikaans- and English-speaking white South Africans as part and parcel of the ethnic mosaic of SA.

Nwachukwu said that Africa needed long-term regional economic co-operation and the consolidation of regional economic organisations, such as the East African Economic Community and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, to be joined in the future by SA. — ANO

Apartheid is the exact antithesis of capitalism

Title: South Africa's War Against Capitalism.

Author: Walter Edward Williams.

Publisher: Juta and Company Ltd.

Price: R34.95.

THE author is a Black-American professor of economics at George Mason University in Fairfax.

He has lectured at various institutions and to academics in 1986 in South Africa. He wrote the book because "blacks have had their liberty and property violated by the state" and because "the anti-capitalist assault on

blacks goes back centuries".

The book provides a brief history of South Africa focusing on its racial and ethnic diversity. It examines racially discriminatory legislation and some of the challenges faced by the Government since establishing those laws.

Focus

It also focuses on the historical forces behind the development of racially discriminatory labour legislation. It analyses apartheid in business and the labour market, bringing to light market challenges to apartheid and the Govern-

Book Review

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

ment's response - or lack thereof.

The primary purpose of the book is to address the all-too-popular theme that apartheid and capitalism are bedfellows - apartheid is the very antithesis of capitalism, the author argues.

The author contends: "For denying blacks the vote and institutionalising racism, South Africa deserves condemnation. However, moral condemnation will not produce long-lasting solutions to the problems the

country faces." 29/11/90

Too often the conflict is portrayed as a struggle between blacks and whites. The reality with its wide ethnic mix is quite different.

Like Americans, South Africans can benefit from this diversity by devising a system to accommodate their ethnic/racial difference in a non-issue manner.

Williams is author of "America; A Minority Viewpoint, The State Against Blacks and All It takes is Guts. He has written over 60 monographs, articles, reviews and writes a syndicated column carried in over 90 newspapers.

Rightwing thugs can derail peace process

South 29/11/90 - 5/12/90 3048

SOUTH Africa has always been characterised by its unique racist laws. Now, as the country painfully edges away from its apartheid legacy, an alarming trend of rightwing violence has emerged.

In the most recent incident of racially-motivated violence, a group of black schoolchildren were attacked by sjambok-wielding white thugs in the Conservative Party stronghold of Louis Trichardt.

Understandably, mass democratic movement leaders in the area have said the attack has strengthened the black community's determination to continue a consumer boycott of white-owned shops.

Rightwingers also attacked members of the National Union of Mineworkers last weekend.

In Robertson, a young boy was killed by a white shopowner when police dispersed a crowd of 30 people heading towards the town.

The ANC has called for an independent judicial inquiry to investigate the causes of violence in Bolland towns which has claimed the lives of about 10 people this year.

The roots of the conflict lay in white attitudes which has not kept pace with changes in the country.

White people saw political change as a threat to their livelihood and had no respect for the dignity of black people.

The ANC has made repeated attempts to reassure whites fearful of their future under a black government.

The authorities need likewise to reassure black people that their safety will be guaranteed.

All South Africans need to know they can walk the streets without fear of assault.

Regrettably, the authorities have not been noted for taking swift action against rightwingers.

During the height of the recent Transvaal violence, the police had difficulty in arresting the white perpetrators of killings of township residents.

Yet, when four white people were killed in the Orange Free State a few weeks later, police made arrests within hours.

Understandably, this has raised questions about whether this is a deliberate strategy on the part of the police.

Random rightwing attacks, coupled with sinister reports of a third force operating in the townships, can only raise the already high temperature in the country.

These attacks can only be viewed as terrorism of the worst kind and, unless the authorities act swiftly, rightwing attacks are likely to evoke a strong response from the black community.

Happy birthday, Cosatu

South 29/11/90 - 5/12/90

THIS week marks the fifth anniversary of the launch of Cosatu, the country's largest trade union federation.

The formation of the federation from unions affiliated to its predecessor, the Federation of South African Trade Unions, and a range of other unions, was one of the turning points in South Africa's labour history.

Since its inception, Cosatu has played a leading role not just in the labour arena but also as a key political actor.

Over the past five years the federation has faced severe challenges both from within — where affiliates with different traditions clashed sharply over political differences — and from employers and the state.

The restriction of Cosatu from playing a political role and the introduction of the Labour Relations Amendment Act were perhaps the most serious obstacles the federation had to face.

That it did so is a sign of the determination of unionists and workers to prevent a return to the dark ages before the birth of industrial unions in the early 1970s.

As South Africa enters a new political era, the federation faces immense new challenges and some old ones as well.

A key question that remains is the formation of a single trade union federation in line with Cosatu's policy of one union, one federation, one country.

Cosatu's input on worker rights in a future constitution and on economic policy will be of critical importance to the shaping of a new South Africa.



DP aims for compromise on issue of interim govt

304A

B Day 29/11/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

THE DP is expected to put forward compromise proposals aimed at overcoming NP objections to an interim government when it meets President F W de Klerk and members of his negotiating team today.

DP communications director James Selfe said yesterday that a 10-member delegation would meet De Klerk at the Union Buildings.

The DP delegation will be led by party leader Zach de Beer. Among those with him will be DP constitutional affairs spokesman Denis Worral, Law and Order spokesman Tian van der Merwe, finance spokesman Ken Andrew and foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglin.

De Klerk will be assisted by Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen and other members of the Cabinet committee on negotiations.

Selfe said the DP would present its view on factors bedevilling the negotiation process and put forward constructive suggestions to facilitate negotiations and the transition process.

He would not elaborate on what these proposals would entail but at the weekend the DP national council approved a document which calls for a "transition commission".

In essence the DP is proposing the appointment of a committee of "wise

men" who would be authorised to investigate and make recommendations on various socio-economic issues as well as the management of key state functions like security.

Ultimate executive power would still be vested in Cabinet but it would be more or less obliged to implement committee recommendations.

Functions

The document approved at the weekend reiterates earlier DP calls for the appointment of the Chief Justice as an independent and neutral facilitator. It adds that a panel of about 12 specialists in the constitutional, social and economic fields should assist him. Apparently the specialists the DP has in mind are people like former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo.

This transition commission would not only facilitate and supervise negotiations but would also focus on socio-economic issues such as housing, education and health as well as key state functions like security.

The DP argues that appointing such a commission would ensure neutral supervision of the negotiation

process as well as neutral management of key state functions during the interim period.

The commission, the document says, should have the power to appoint working groups to investigate various socio-economic problems. Government, it adds, should be "more or less under an obligation to accept and implement policy recommendations" emanating from these groups.

Prior to making recommendations the committee should consult parties across the political spectrum.

The DP argues that such an arrangement would be an acceptable compromise between the ANC's demand for an interim government and the NP's rejection of such an idea.

On a constitutional negotiation level, the DP suggests that the commission — drawing on its contacts with various political parties — should draw up a set of parameters in terms of which proposals for a new constitution would be received.

Political parties would be invited to submit their proposals to the facilitator for processing and publication.

The document also calls for the facilitator to draw up a procedure for the writing, adoption and legitimisation of the new constitution for submission to government and all parties involved in negotiations.

Durr to be ambassador to London

TRADE and Industry Minister Kent Durr is to be SA's new ambassador to London. (304A)

TIM COHEN

President F W de Klerk said yesterday the appointment of a Minister of Durr's calibre to the Court of St James, was testimony to the importance which government attached to the post.

De Klerk said Durr has been active in public life for 17 years and had rendered "esteemed service" to the country.

Durr will continue to serve as a Cabinet Minister and will remain a member of Parliament until next year to provide him sufficient time to prepare for his new office.

Durr declined to comment last night, referring all enquires to the State President's office.

The move will force a by-election in the Maitland constituency, which Durr won in 1977. He won the seat again in last year's general election by 1 405 votes, standing against a DP candidate. The CP did not contest the seat.

His seat is expected to be offered to former Namibian Administrator General Louis Pienaar, who was recently appointed to the Cabinet.

DP worry over negotiations

CAPT 7-4-89
30/11/90
36 VA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A top DP delegation yesterday told President F W de Klerk it was seriously concerned that the climate for negotiations had deteriorated in recent months.

In general, it said, this was because government's conciliatory attitude towards the ANC was not shared by its officials at grassroots level.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer led the delegation, which included MPs Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Ken Andrew.

Government was represented by Mr De Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrie Viljoen and deputy ministers Mr Tertius Delpont and Mr Roelf Meyer.

"The townships are in crisis with regard to local government, as well as housing, services, finance and health matters. Black education is in chaos," a statement issued after the meeting said.

"The relationship between the people and the security forces is still thoroughly unsatisfactory. Yet trust and stability are the prerequisites of successful negotiation."

The DP delegation proposed a compromise between the ANC's insistence on a constituent assembly and an interim government and government's rejection of these demands.

DP slates Govt attitude to ANC

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has told the Government its unconciliatory attitude towards the ANC at grassroots level is the reason for the deterioration of negotiations since earlier this year.

Dr Zach de Beer announced this yesterday after leading a 10-person delegation that met President de Klerk and advisers in Pretoria for talks about negotiations.

Confidence

He said the delegation had presented the Government with proposals for a facilitator and a transition mechanism to depoliticise the country and create confidence in the transition period.

The Chief Justice should be the facilitator, who, with a committee of non-political "wise persons", should make proposals for the government of the country during the transition period.

The DP also proposed that a referendum or constitutional convention be held to legitimise a new constitution — not a constituent assembly, as proposed by the ANC.

Townships were in crisis over local government, housing, services, finance and health. Black education was in chaos and the relationship between the people and the security forces was "thoroughly unsatisfactory".

While moving towards a new South Africa, the Government could not

afford to maintain apartheid structures. These would have change.

Dr de Beer said the Chief Justice as facilitator and his panel would identify urgent socioeconomic tasks, call for proposals for a new constitution and recommend procedures for the drafting of the constitution.

This could include the creation of multiparty working groups to address a wide range of issues. These proposals were a compromise between the ANC and Government positions on a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Dr de Beer said the present Government could not simply hand sovereign power to an appointed group accountable to no one.

On the other hand, all practical measures should be taken to ensure that during the transitional period, government was conducted according to the broad wishes of the people.

Vital

The DP agreed that the new constitution should be legitimised by the general populace but this should not be done by a constituent assembly which was seen as a government-in-waiting.

It was vital to distinguish the legitimising process from the governing process. Legitimation should take place through a referendum, a suitable constitutional convention or a combination of both.



MESSAGE FOR THE FUTURE . . . Sir Laurens van der Post during his address to a capacity audience at yesterday's Cape Town Press Club function in the city.

Picture: DANIEL SIMON

Vd Post miffed at Mandela's 'cliches'

MR Nelson Mandela had brought no vision of the future to South Africa, only tired and worn-out cliches, Sir Laurens van der Post said yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, the world-renowned author said he had searched through the speech Mr Mandela made in Cape Town on the day of his release, but nowhere had he found what he had expected to find — a vision, a dream.

"All I heard were slogans and cliches which I had heard already . . . the moth-eaten clothes of the spirit," Sir Laurens said.

South Africa was on a "good road" to stability and all its people should help create a new constitution which would guarantee that the abuse of political power never occurred again.

"The road has been presented suddenly and unexpectedly. We must all help Mr (F W) De Klerk to do a decent job. I do believe he needs help from everybody," Sir Laurens said. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

DEPUTY MINISTERS

- (g) **Mr Roelof Petrus Meyer** as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and for Information Services.
- (h) **Mr Jacob Albertus van Wyk** as Deputy Minister of Finance, of Water Affairs and of Land Affairs.
- (i) **Dr Jacobus Tertius Delport** as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs.
- (j) **Mr Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers** as Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Dr Christoffel Johannes van der Merwe retains the portfolio of Education and Training. Mr Eugene Louw retains the portfolio of Home Affairs and will continue to be responsible for the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The name of Mr Hermanus Jacobus Kriel's portfolio changes to Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

No. 2792

30 November 1990

304A

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

The State President has requested the President's Council in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), to investigate and make recommendations on possible adaptations to and updating of the Government's Strategy on Urbanisation, following evaluation of the course and consequences of the process of urbanisation thus far and with a view to the future.

The request has been referred to the Committee for Economic Affairs of the President's Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit relevant memoranda, not later than 15 March 1991, to the Secretary to the President's Council, P.O. Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000. Further information can be obtained from Mr D. G. Truter at telephone (021) 45-5541.

The Committee may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,

Secretary: President's Council.

GENERAL NOTICES**NOTICE 978 OF 1990****DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS****AMENDMENT OF THE TARIFF FOR
TELECOMMUNICATION SERVICES**

It is hereby made known, in terms of section 2B (3A) of the Post Office Act, 1958 (Act No. 44 of 1958), that the Postmaster General, acting under section 2B (1) (e) of the said Act, has determined that the fees, rates or charges set out in the Schedule below are to be demanded or received in respect of the services concerned.

ADJUNK-MINISTERS

- (g) **Mnr. Roelof Petrus Meyer** as Adjunk-minister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling en vir Inligtingsdienste.
- (h) **Mnr. Jacob Albertus van Wyk** as Adjunk-minister van Finansies, van Waterwese en van Grondsake.
- (i) **Dr. Jacobus Tertius Delport** as Adjunk-minister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling en van Provinsiale Sake.
- (j) **Mnr. Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers** as Adjunk-minister van Wet en Orde.

Dr. Christoffel Johannes van der Merwe behou die portefeulje van Onderwys en Opleiding. Mnr. Eugene Louw behou die portefeulje van Binnelandse Sake asook die verantwoordelikheid vir die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie. Mnr. Hermanus Jacobus Kriel se portefeuljebenaming verander na Beplanning, Provinsiale Sake en Nasionale Behuising.

No. 2792

30 November 1990

PRESIDENTSRAAD

Die Staatspresident het ingevolge artikel 78 (1) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die Presidentsraad versoek om ondersoek in te stel na en aanbevelings te doen oor moontlike aanpassings en bywerking van die Regering se Strategie oor Verstedeliking, na evaluering van die verloop en gevolge van die proses van verstedeliking tot op hede en met die oog op die toekoms.

Die versoek is na die Komitee vir Ekonomiese Aangeleenthede van die Presidentsraad verwys.

Belanghebbendes word uitgenooi om tersaaklike memoranda nie later nie as 15 Maart 1991 aan die Sekretaris van die Presidentsraad, Posbus 3601, Kaapstad, 8000, te stuur. Navrae kan gerig word aan mnr. D. G. Truter by telefoon (021) 45-5541.

Die Komitee kan besluit om mondelinge getuienis aan te hoor indien verdere inligting oor memoranda verlang word. Indien wel, sal betrokkenes in kennis gestel word van die datums waarop en plek waar getuienis aangehoor sal word.

J. WEILBACH,

Sekretaris: Presidentsraad.

ALGEMENE KENNISGEWINGS**KENNISGEWING 978 VAN 1990****DEPARTEMENT VAN POS- EN
TELEKOMMUNIKASIEWESE****WYSIGING VAN DIE TARIEFLYS VIR
TELEKOMMUNIKASIEDIENSTE**

Hiermee word ingevolge artikel 2B (3A) van die Poswet, 1958 (Wet No. 44 van 1958), bekendgemaak dat die Posmeester-generaal, handelende kragtens artikel 2B (1) (e) van genoemde Wet, bepaal het dat die gelde, tariewe of koste uiteengesit in die onderstaande Bylae ten opsigte van die betrokke dienste geëis of ontvang moet word.

STATE OF THE NATION FIM 30/11/90

MAKE IT SAFE

304A

President F W de Klerk's sunny courage and Nelson Mandela's stature among blacks have often combined this year to offer the country some hope. Whenever the negotiation process — still at the "talks-about-talks" stage — falters, enormous significance is invested in meetings between the two men and their senior advisers.

The pattern was confirmed on Tuesday: as the FM went to press, there were high hopes that the latest meeting between De Klerk and Mandela would resolve obstacles such as the definition of "mass action" and the role of the security forces. At the very least, it was hoped that talks would continue.



De Klerk

Whatever the outcome, it has been clear for some time that the gap between what is happening at the top and "out there" has been steadily widening — and this will not be remedied in a few days. Smiles and rhetoric are wearing thin.



Mandela

On the government side, it is inexplicable that police still resort to ammunition, rubber bullets and birdshot when dealing with demonstrations, instead of teargas, water-cannon, baton charges and sneeze-machines. In addition, after months of tolerance, government appears to have become impatient with protest marches.

Then there have been several chilling incidents of rightwing terror and intimidation. The nastiest was in Louis Trichardt, where white thugs appear to have attacked 300 black children who were on a Sunday School outing in a park. The children's ages ranged from seven to 14; many were injured and some were treated in hospital.

The allegation by a clergyman that the police were present but did nothing, was widely reported. Whether this is entirely accurate is beside the point: the perception that elements of the SAP are not on the side of blacks has been reinforced. Now a consumer boycott of white shops has been called in Louis Trichardt.

The police say they are investigating and there is no reason to believe that they will not attempt to take action. But it is instructive to speculate on the reaction from government if

organised black thugs had openly attacked white children on an outing.

Such allegations about police partisanship are too persistent to be ignored. They may be exaggerated or simply wrong in many cases — but they produce perceptions, and politics is more about perceptions than reality. Whatever else De Klerk has achieved, it could all be negated if he does not create the conditions under which people can feel safe.

On the ANC side, there has been an alarming amount of double talk. The approach to black local authorities is a neat example: protestations of non-violent protest in one breath and threats of "destruction" in the next. It is also difficult to take seriously the claim by Mandela that the "slaughter of our people" is simply the work of government agents.

Even sophisticated observers are becoming impatient with the nitpicking by both sides over just who is responsible for the lack of action on exiles and political prisoners.

President De Klerk has to keep moving. Having held the high ground for so long, he could be in danger of losing it.

There are increasing signs of unity among black organisations. The ANC is now involved in formal talks with all homeland leaders and has the support of significant numbers of tribal chieftains. It is moving closer to working links with Azapo, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement. Hopes are high that productive talks will soon take place with Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It would be a sad indictment of the NP if it found itself facing a united black alliance simply because De Klerk could not get his police to do their job — and be perceived to be doing it. Above all, there needs to be repeated public acknowledgement from De Klerk, Mandela and their lieutenants that the problems — education, housing, poverty, unemployment, racism — which underlie the violence will be with us for a long time.

Confessions of past sins and handshakes are all very well. What we need is a Churchillian touch, an admission that it's going to be tough for a long time yet.

TRANSKEI TENSION SIMMERS

While the most constructive outcome of last week's violent, bungled coup attempt in the Transkei might be the meeting between State President F W de Klerk and Transkei President Tutor Ndamase, it really is military leader Bantu Holomisa to whom they should be talking.

FIM 30/11/90

Despite relations between Umtata and SA's Department of Foreign Affairs hitting an all-time low this week, as accusation followed counter-accusation with a lot of "off the record" propaganda coming from both sides just to raise the level of hostility, Ndamase does not have executive powers in the Transkei and will not stray far from any briefing he receives from Holomisa's Military Council.

Of more immediate concern is the apparent personal acrimony between Holomisa and SA officials. Events surrounding last week's coup were only a further example of a hostile relationship which has been building up ever since Holomisa decided to go it alone — unbanning and forming a close relationship with the ANC; announcing a referendum on returning to SA; and spending SA taxpayers' money in the way he considered best, contrary to the decisions of the Joint Financial Advisory Committee, which is meant to allocate the Transkei's R1,8bn aid.

The official reason for the bad blood between SA and the Transkei is the spending of this money, according to Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans.

"Our concern is that countries receiving budget aid, from SA taxpayers' money, should administer those funds in a competent and responsible way. These issues have been raised through the proper channels, but we are still alarmed at the way money is spent in the Transkei and the competence of some people in key government departments."

Certainly Holomisa has been spending SA money as he sees fit — a recent example being the increase in civil servants pay. He justified that on the grounds that it was an attempt to bring pay levels on a par with civil servants in other homelands and SA.

There is also little doubt that Transkei's Department of Finance is in serious trouble. A private report on the department says the current skills gap stands at about 90%, and as it presently stands the department cannot do its work.

Valid complaints, no doubt. Yet the former Transkei government, while toeing Pretoria's line and apparently spending at least some of its financial aid as it was told to, also wasted large amounts on bribery, corruption and a couple of outrageous projects. Foreign Affairs complaints did not seem as vocal then.

However, Evans denies there is any vindictiveness on the part of Foreign Affairs towards Transkei.

But another reason for the acrimony is SA's desire to see the Transkei return to civilian rule — something which Holomisa claims he is working towards.

Certainly his reasons for hanging on to

Fate decrees that old friends join hands in new job

Schwarz has an ally to build SA-US relations

Sowetan 30/11/90

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WASHINGTON - When Mr Harry Schwarz takes up the position of South African ambassador to Washington early next year he will be joining an old friend and political ally, fellow Young Turk Mr Horace van Rensburg.

Van Rensburg has been a counsellor at the Washington embassy since August 1987. A few months before coming to America he shared a front bench in Parliament with Schwarz.

The two men have been together in various capacities for many years, and now fate has decreed that for at least a few months they will share the job of building relations between South Africa and the US.

Van Rensburg and Schwarz were two of four Young Turks which shook the old United Party in the 1970s.

Guided

Their movement, led by Schwarz, had attempted to reform the then Official Opposition from within but the Old Guard, as those set in their ways were termed at the time, would have none of it.

Schwarz led a huge and debilitating break-away from the UP after he was personally expelled from the party and he went on to found the Reform Party.

Van Rensburg was one of his chief lieutenants.

Together they guided the Reform Party into a merger with the Progressive Party, and the resulting Progressive Reform Party went on to displace the UP as Official Opposition.

Today, so much of what Van Rensburg and Schwarz stood for over all their years in opposition politics has been taken over by the Government that they find themselves able and willing to represent the new South Africa abroad.

Schwarz becomes the first opposition Parliamentarian to be appointed an ambassador for South Africa (most important countries

of the world have ambassadors of varying political backgrounds).

He has agreed to take up the position because of President F W de Klerk's reforms and commitment to negotiate a new constitution with the legitimate leaders of all the country's people.

Van Rensburg says he felt able to join the Foreign Service in 1987, in the PW Botha era, because he could already perceive fundamental changes ahead.

Van Rensburg has impressed his colleagues in Washington with his enthusiasm and enormous appetite for work.

While he largely defines his own role, he forms part of the Embassy's team which lobbies Capitol Hill and he assists the communications section with numerous media interviews.

In an interview in his Embassy office, he said one of the busiest periods for him and the embassy was the three months after De Klerk released Mr Nelson Mandela and unbanned the African National Congress.

Interest in South Africa was so high that he was swept off his feet, working late into the night on a regular basis.

In those three months he addressed scores of groups, gave close on four dozen media inter-

views (many of them impromptu radio interviews from his home at all hours of the day and night).

One of Van Rensburg's most successful activities in Washington is his programme of receptions for Americans at his official residence.

There, he and his family have entertained groups of up to 60 people at a time, using the relaxed setting to get in some intensive lobbying and PR for South Africa.

Van Rensburg's wife, Pat, is a former Randburg deputy mayor and chairman of the management committee. She gives groups lectures on African arts and crafts and ethnic lifestyles.

Tough

The Van Rensburgs do all the catering themselves, with Horace cooking the meats, Pat making the desserts and their children, Michelle and Andre, helping out with drinks and other aspects of the dinner parties.

Van Rensburg is delighted that his long-time friend is coming to take up the leadership of the embassy.

"I know Harry as a tough, highly intelligent leader with the ability to work very hard. I worked with him when he was UP leader in the Transvaal Provincial Council.

"It was the best party caucus I have ever been a member of. Harry's leadership was dynamic and brilliant," he said.

Harry and Horace shared a

front bench in Parliament from 1981 to 1987.

"Harry was a workaholic in Parliament. He had an incredible ability to analyse information and prepare amendments and questions," Van Rensburg said.

Together they made a formidable team, Schwarz with incisive speeches that left Government MPs looking troubled, Van Rensburg with rapier-like interjections that left them squirming in embarrassment.

The two men parted ways briefly when Van Rensburg left Parliament, after resigning from the PFP.

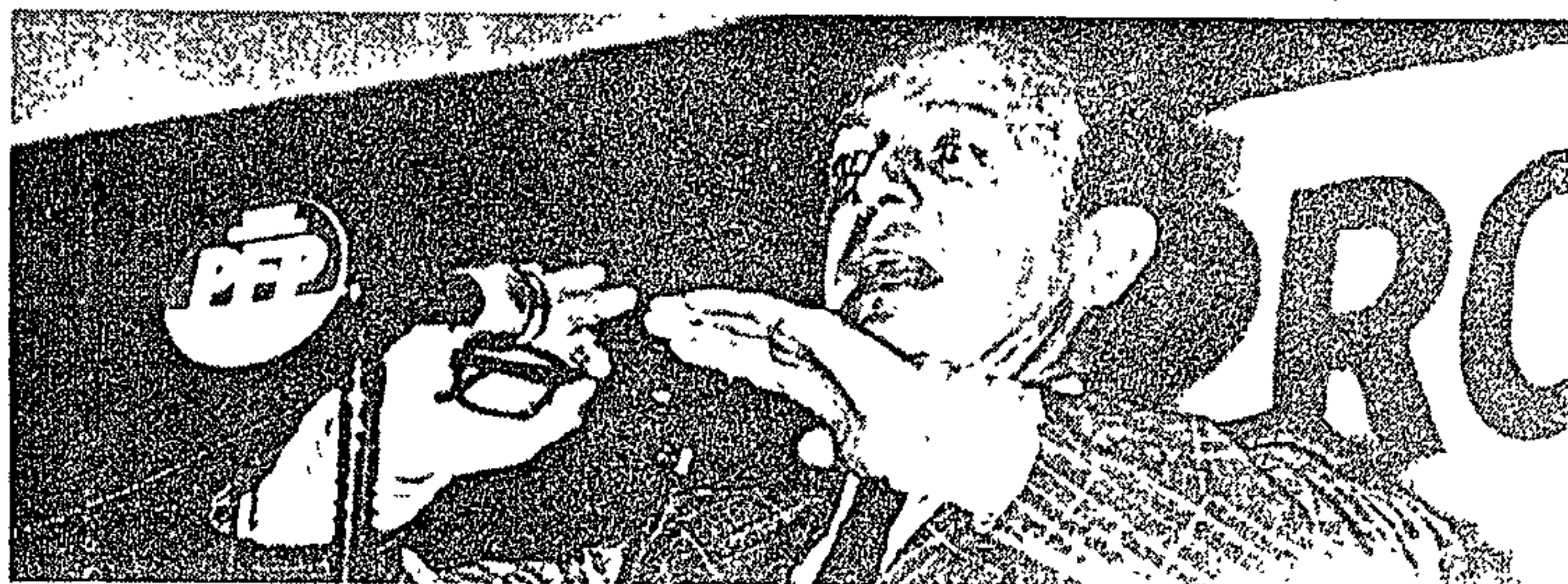
Shortly afterwards Van Rensburg was offered the Washington job, unknowingly preceding Schwarz by a few years.

"My biggest regret is that I will be here for only a few months of Harry's tenure. My four-year posting runs out towards the middle of next year.

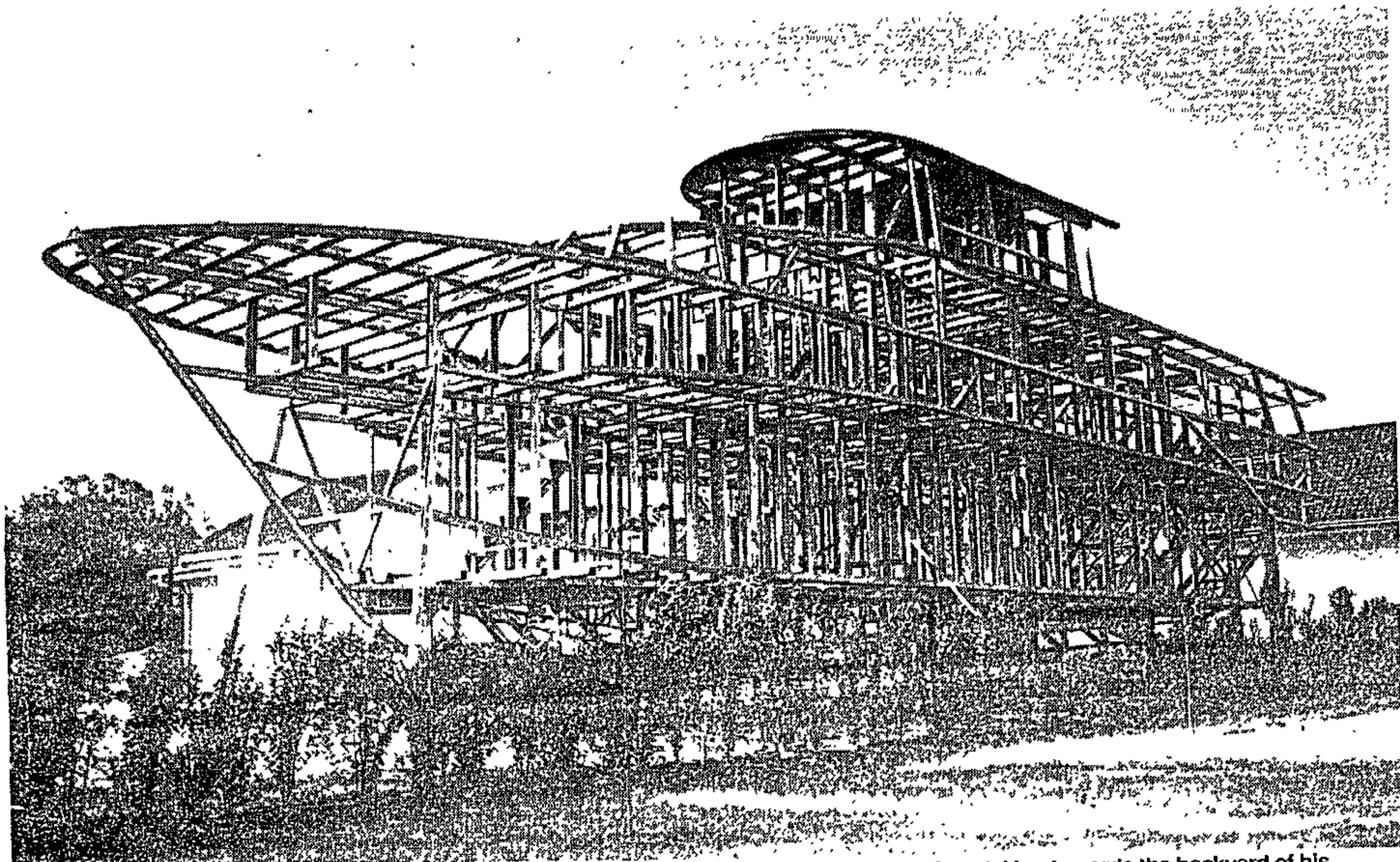
"Still, I am delighted at the prospect of working with Harry again. I am convinced that he will be a very successful ambassador in America and that the US will find him a stimulating and valuable member of the diplomatic corps," he said.

Van Rensburg (55) hopes to contribute to South Africa's negotiations process when he returns home next year. He has not thought through the details of this but says he will be available to assist in whichever capacity he can.

- Sowetan Correspondent



HARRY SCHWARZ... taking leadership of the embassy.



The volk's speedboat ... like an ark floating above the dust of Meyerton, Ed Bernardo's experimental boat guards the backyard of his smallholding
Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

All aboard the ark of Orandia

MOST gardens in the Vaal Triangle town of Meyerton contain shrubs, gnomes and children's toys.

Yet in the backyard of one smallholding the steel superstructure of a three-storey high 30m-long ark looms above the eucalyptus trees like something out of a science fiction novel.

The owner and builder of the otherworldly construction, Orandee Ontwikkelingskorporasie (Orandia Development Corporation) president Ed Bernardo, is very secretive about his ark lookalike. "People steal your technology," he says leaning across the neat wooden desk in his office. "So, all I can say is that we are going to use it as a speedboat to transport people between harbours on the Cape west coast."

His "we" are the people who believe in the Orandia Volk state idea. They are in the process of another great trek to the northern Cape to occupy a 700 000 square km area which will soon be South Africa's newest neighbour, Bernardo claims.

Orandia — sprawling on two Koki pen-marked maps against Bernardo's office wall, from the southern border of the Karoo to just south of Windhoek, from west of Kimberley to the Cape west coast — has an underdeveloped infrastructure, he says.

"Especially on the west coast we do not have a good railroad system," he says. "That is why I have been building this boat for the past four years so we

Afrikaners unwilling to remain in South Africa under a black government have plans to turn the northern Karoo into a *volkstaat*, Orandia. **CHARLES LEONARD** spoke to the man who is building an ark-like speedboat for transport along the Cape west coast

can use it to swiftly transport people in the coastal towns, say from Port Nolloth down to Saldanha Bay and back."

Bernardo, a serious man, gets an intense light in his eyes when he says: "The OOK is one of the most realistic organisations you get. We are as level-headed as you can find. We are hoping to finish the boat before the end of this decade. Anyway, there are many people around the world building similar systems. I cannot understand the fuss about our experimental boat."

Next to the map hangs a picture of the father of the Orandia idea, right-wing academic Professor Carel Boshoff. "Oom Carel is our spiritual leader and he will most probably be Orandia's first president," Bernardo says.

But how obtainable is Orandia? "We do not think we will establish Orandia, we know we will," he says with the conviction of a recent convert.

"It will become one of the richest countries in Africa. It has the Orange River running right through the centre; it has rich diamond fields and it has the sea. But it will take a lot of hard work and sacrifices. We in the OOK are patient and prepared to work hard."

Orandia is being established because "any person who studies the course of Africa will know that very soon South Africa will become Azania and there

won't be much place for white people there. Orandia is the only short-term solution whereby whites can retain their language, culture and religion. The white Afrikaner will get his freedom there. Not only that, the Orandians will also have a much higher living standard than in Azania."

Like many right-wing movements the OOK vehemently denies being racist. Bernardo leans back in his chair, tilts his head slightly to the right and articulates: "The Orandians do not plan to chase the coloureds and blacks out of Orandia." He gesticulates with a finger in the direction of the thin black line down the left-hand side of the Orandia flag on another of his spacious office's walls: "Do you see that line? That is to prove we accept blacks. God has created everybody and we respect the work of God. We are not fanatical."

"Look, the blacks in Orandia can live like their forefathers used to live. They were much happier that way, anyway."

The OOK has good links with the separatist-inclined Rehoboth Basters in Namibia, he says. "Walvis Bay should be incorporated into Rehoboth. They will fall within our protection area."

Bernardo claims Namibian whites have started moving south so they can be incorporated into Orandia. About 200 families have already settled in

places like Olifantshoek and Upington and hundreds more are going up in December to look at prospects, he says.

The OOK hopes that the *volkstaat* will have self-governing status by the end of next year and will be fully independent in 1997.

Orandians will have their own identity documents and passports by next year. Most of the people, "about 99 percent", who have shown interest in Orandia are professionals. "There is room for about 300 000 people in Orandia and there are lots of work opportunities. Our trek will populate the de-populated platteland again."

In January the OOK plans to establish its own information office, bank and estate agency in Upington. "Upington will be the capital of our new country. We have 26 other places earmarked for similar facilities. Unfortunately, we can not disclose which places."

He also stays vague about plans to dredge the Orange River for more irrigation schemes, dams and harbours. "In March next year we will have a congress where we will disclose our plans in more detail."

Although they plan to be totally independent from "Azania" the *volkstaat* will have an "outward-looking economic policy".

Orandia will not accept any foreign investments, because it just makes you dependent on other countries, Bernardo says. "We have enough capital anyway," he says like someone whose ship has come in already. "We hope to see you there in 10, 20 years' time."

DP tells FW of concerns

PETER DELMAR

A TOP DP delegation yesterday told President F W de Klerk it was seriously concerned that the climate for negotiations had deteriorated in recent months.

Government's conciliatory attitude towards the ANC was not shared by its officials at grass-roots level, the DP said.

DP leader Zach de Beer headed his delegation, which included MPs Denis Worrall, Tian van der Merwe, Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew. Government was represented by De Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and deputy ministers Tertius Delport and Roelf Meyer.

"The townships are in crisis in regard to local government, as well as housing, services, finance and health matters.

"Black education is in chaos," a statement said.

"The relationship between the people and the security forces is

still thoroughly unsatisfactory. Yet trust and stability are the prerequisites of successful negotiation."

The DP delegation proposed a compromise between the ANC's insistence on a constituent assembly and an interim government, and government's rejection of these demands.

The DP said that the Chief Justice, acting as a facilitator, assisted by a committee of "wise persons", should make proposals on governing the country during the transitional period.

Government could not be abolished, but it also could not afford to keep apartheid structures alive.

A new constitution should be legitimised either by a referendum or a constitutional convention, or a combination of both, the DP said.

● Comment: Page 12

Ami Venter tipped as likely to succeed Durr

3049

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MIKE ROBERTSON

NEWLY appointed Regional Development Minister Ami Venter was yesterday tipped as most likely to replace Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr, who takes up his appointment as Ambassador to the UK next April.

Venter, who has experience as a deputy minister in the department, assumed responsibility for part of Durr's portfolio in the Cabinet reshuffle.

Senior government sources yesterday confirmed a degree of tension had arisen between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Durr over the latter's visits to various Eastern and central European countries. However, they rejected suggestions by DP leader Zach de Beer that this had been the reason for Durr's appointment as ambassador.

President F W de Klerk, they

said, had decided to appoint more high-profile personalities to top ambassadorial posts. As such Harry Schwarz was going to Washington and, prior to falling ill, former Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh was the favourite for the London job.

At a Cabinet meeting at which various ambassadorial posts came up for discussion, De Klerk apparently gave Botha the go-ahead to decide on all posts except London, declaring he had a special appointment in mind.

Officials said Durr's experience in the Trade and Industry department made him a suitable candidate to represent SA in London at a time when the creation of a single European market would have important ramifications for SA.

Durr was also an English speaker and the CP would have little

chance of scoring an upset victory in his Maitland constituency when a by-election is held. National Education Minister Louis Pienaar will contest the seat for the NP.

Government officials are expecting that Durr's departure for London could be accompanied by a major Cabinet re-shuffle.

Senior ministers involved in negotiations have already shed part of their workloads and officials expect that key figures like Gerrit Viljoen and Stoffel van der Merwe could withdraw from the Cabinet to concentrate exclusively on negotiations.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Gert Kotze had been relieved of responsibility for the environment and the expectation is that he will retire from the Cabinet. Officials speculate that he could be accompanied by Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Manpower Minister Eli Louw.

Life sans Maggie. But South Africa will survive

By Philip, deal with her, would you?" Thus spoke Margaret Thatcher, turning her back.

She was in Sutherland, in winter about the chilliest spot in South Africa, applying the Thatcher freeze to a *Cape Times* reporter.

We at the newspaper always remembered the 1973 incident. It was a handy guide to the Iron Lady's progress up and down the greasy pole of British politics. She attracted little warmth.

In Sutherland, she was 46 and on the way up. As minister of science, she had come to South Africa to open the new astronomical observatory. Reporter Susan Duncan was dispatched 360km across the Karoo. She asked: "I wonder if I could talk to you for a few minutes; I am from the *Cape Times* newspaper."

She recorded (*Cape Times* March 21 1973) that Thatcher looked her up and down, turned to Philip Halsey, her secretary, and uttered the six curt words, adding: "I am not giving exclusive interviews". Duncan found Halsey's attempts to answer her questions "better than nothing" and drove back to Cape Town.

It was some years later when, sitting in an aircraft on the Heathrow tarmac, I heard the news: Thatcher had knifed Heath and taken over as Tory leader. She was ascending the greasy pole.

Soon came her instant deification in the Falklands conflict, which caused Union Jack-waving in some strange quarters in South Africa. Her showdowns with the unions, her at-

tachment to free-market economics, her anti-sanctions stance and her sheer guts earned her great praise, particularly among the blimpish.

Yet, on closer inspection, South Africans would see a growing divergence between British and white South African interests which not even Thatcher could stem — with Britain being tugged closer to Europe, and Commonwealth and other influence stepping up British pressure against apartheid.

Nevertheless, Thatcher was the idol of many South African whites — and some of the tanner blacks. To many here, she was the British archetype: old-fashioned values, lecturing manner, answering conservatism, a grocer's daughter, a husband like Dennis. The rest of Britain, of course, was going to the dogs.

Thatcher towered over South African politics for a decade. Right to the end, in an enthusiastic crush, leaders like F.W. de Klerk (thrice in 15 months), Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, even an admiring Ian Smith, beat a path to her door. Nelson Mandela took his time after his February release — leaving it till July 4.

The honourable secretary of the South African branch of British Conservatives Abroad, referring to the secret Tory weapon of the expatriate British vote, exulted from Doornfontein, near Pretoria: "People come to me and say: 'I want to vote for Maggie'." Thatcher's political longevity was clearly of vital interest. There was confidence that she could go on

She went out on a limb over South Africa, earning the respect of many. Now she has gone. But will Margaret Thatcher's demise affect the political course this country takes? Not much, argues **TONY HEARD**, former editor of the *Cape Times*

indefinitely — despite warning signals over Europe and the souring British economy which culminated in Heseltine's monkey-rope swing at her.

Now she is (we think) gone, in the savage manner of modern British Toryism, and just as she dealt with Heath. She went with disbelieving tears, recrimination and support from daughter and hubby, relief among bruised Tory MPs and shock/horror/dismay among *die mense daarbuite* in the United Kingdom — not to mention Pretoria.

It should be noted that she handled her exit performance with flair and uncharacteristic warmth, which was redeeming.

Coverage of the event in much of the establishment media was, predictably, that reserved for a state funeral. *Die Burger* gratefully thanked her for standing along against "massive assaults aimed at bringing South Africa to its knees". At the end of the funeral, in July, Thatcher had told the Johannesburg

newspaper, *The Star*: "It is true that I have had to go out on a limb over South Africa." She praised "courageous" Buthezi for standing out against sanctions and not agreeing to violence.

She had somewhat more critical remarks for Mandela — whom she clearly respects, yet managed to describe his call for British government talks with the Irish Republican Army as "absolutely and utterly appalling, a great mistake".

Then the lecture: "As I said to Nelson Mandela: If you want prosperity, you drop your nationalisation!" The Nationalist press headlined her criticism.

She was the uncrowned queen of many white South Africans — even some who had spent their lives striving for a republic.

This uncritical clinging to apparently friendly Western quarters — whether Senator Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan or Thatcher — and denouncing mild critics such as Neil Kinnock, Jimmy Carter or (New Zealand's) David Lange, says something about the insecurity of white South Africans.

To many whites, there is immense relief when Western leaders seem, rightly or wrongly, to give the impression that they "understand" about having to live among all those blacks; and there is hostility towards those who will not get the message, despite winks. Life sans Thatcher will take getting used to.

The shield of Boadicea has been removed. Although De Klerk's early reforms made that shield less necessary, things will not be as secure for whites hoping to hang on to privilege, nor a government glossing over death squads and security forces abuse.

It is probably true that British policy is unlikely to change much, even under a Labour government. But the atmosphere will change. And occasional over-helpfulness — for example, over the Birmingham arms case when South Africa, in cynical legal default, got away with murder — could end. Pretoria will get less personal consideration from the top.

It was reported recently that Thatcher would play a key role over the constitutional talks coming up in South Africa in 1991; if true, no more. Already "Maggie's man" here, Sir Rob in Renwick, personally trusted by her and most able diplomat, is moving to Washington DC as British ambassador.

Her impact on British politics has been assessed by others. But Southern Africa can thank and damn her. Thanks for far-sightedly putting Smith's Rhodesia out of its misery and pressing hard for Mandela's release; no thanks for making white Nationalists feel more secure than is healthy for all.

The old lesson is learned after her fall. South African problems will be resolved here, by South Africans. Foreign influence, whether judged helpful or critical, is always secondary — and transitory.

SA GOVT. & POLITICS

1990 DECEMBER

Plan for mini-summits

STIMES 2/12/90

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela have agreed to a series of private "mini-summits" in coming weeks to resolve political stalemates.

This is the upshot of this week's two-hour meeting in the Union Buildings which was afterwards described in a joint statement as "productive and very cordial".

However, sources say the discussion was of a very general nature and that the "real issues" were only briefly touched upon.

A series of private meetings between the two leaders is planned for the coming months. Talks on substantive constitutional issues through joint working groups will also begin soon.

President De Klerk and Mr Mandela decided on this strategy through go-betweens before their meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Sources say the talks are expected to begin soon, and a number of meetings are likely before the ANC's national consultative conference starts on December 14.

Among the matters to be resolved are:

- Differences on the definition of "related activities" included in the Pretoria Minute in the light of the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Boycotts

The government argues that the definition also includes mass action, marches, boycotts and stayaways, while the ANC claims these are the only methods available to broaden its support base.

- Clarity on whether the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will be allowed to recruit new members. The ANC claims

there is nothing in the Pretoria Minute that forbids this.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
and LESTER VENTER

The question of recruitment is the only matter left unresolved by the joint government/ANC working group (called the Vlok-Hani committee). It can, however, be expected that the ANC will come forward with a proposal that will state clearly that recruiting should not be used to propagate violence to change the political order.

(304/1)
Confident

- Hitches in attempts to grant indemnity to ANC prisoners in jail and members in exile. ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad said a decision by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that the return of exiles should hinge on progress in the suspension of the armed struggle "was totally unacceptable".

However, senior ANC members were this week confident that the negotiating process was still firmly on track.

"The big problem was infrequent contacts and gaps in communication," an ANC source said. "Once meetings take place on a regular basis, most of the friction points can be removed."

THE fundamental problem of the various regions in South Africa is how to ensure they will have power and influence in central government without losing regional autonomy.

Each region must have a constitutionally guaranteed place in central government from which it can argue the merits of its needs. At local level what is needed is maximum autonomy.

The form of government that best provides for both of these is the federal one.

A unitary constitution may provide for devolution of power to local level, but that devolution is always subject to the whim of the ruling party.

Citizens of the regions (in Ciskei, the Border, Venda, or the Marico) would be ill-advised to feel secure with any such devolution within a unitary state. They would be no more secure than the provincial councils were under the Botha government.

A unitary arrangement in South Africa will guarantee that the regions get relegated to the bottom of any future government's list of priorities. For the truth is that unitary constitutions promote strong national parties.

Trouble

Such parties have to cater to their major constituencies, which are located in urban centres. In South Africa, this would be the PWV area (and to a lesser extent the other cities).

Unitary governments must also cater to the constituencies which, if neglected, could cause them the most trouble. These, too, will be in the cities.

It is obvious that any future South African government is going to be strapped for cash. The demands made on it will far outstrip its capacity to satisfy them.

What this all means, then, is that in a unitary state the government will concentrate its resources on the densely populated, high employment, trade unionised, easily mobilised urban constituencies. The regions will come last.

Both key actors in the present constitutional negotiations, the



by Mervyn Frost

Rescuing the rural areas

ANC and the National Party government, have in the past rejected federal options. Their reasons for doing so no longer apply.

The ANC rejected federal proposals because it feared the inherent conservatism of such constitutions, that they would involve a "divide and rule" strategy on the part of the whites, and would impede the power of central government to embark on redistributive programmes.

When what was on offer was a racial federation, these fears were well founded. But a racial federation is no longer a viable political option. It would be rejected by a majority of South Africans and by the international community.

A regional federation, though, is quite different. It would not dilute the power of the majority; rather that power would be indifferently constituted. The majority would have power, but that power would be regionally spread in a constitutionally guaranteed way.

The central government would still be far and away financially the most powerful branch of government, but the regions would be guaranteed their input at the centre and autonomy at home.

The central government would be able to redistribute revenue, but it would be blocked from doing this in ways which ignored

the interests of the federated units.

National Party opposition to federal proposals sprang from a slightly different source. The NP feared, quite correctly, that a federal arrangement would dilute its political power. Unitary states have the effect of maximising party political power at the national level.

South African citizens in the regions need to discover their common regional interests now, before the constitutional negotiations get going in earnest.

In all areas, whites and blacks share a common interest in the prosperity of their region.

Overload

Poverty in a subsection (such as a homeland) would soon spill over into neighbouring areas, producing refugee and crime problems. Infrastructural breakdown in one part would overload the infrastructure next door.

If the regions do not mobilise now to secure a federal constitution, within a year they may find themselves worse off than the Bantustans currently are. They will be forced to go cap in hand to a government which has more pressing priorities.

□ Professor Mervyn Frost is head of the department of politics at the University of Natal, Durban.

‘If the regions do not mobilise now to secure a federal constitution within a year, they may find themselves worse off than the Bantustans’



Rest in peace . . David Tshoga, an official of Actstop who died during a demonstration in the city centre on November 17, yesterday became the first black person to be buried at West Park Cemetery in Johannesburg. Picture: Alf Kumalo.

Mandela ignores Govt, vows to intensify ANC 'mass action'

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia and Monica Nicolson

The ANC vowed yesterday to intensify its "mass action" campaign in spite of Government threats that it could hamper negotiations.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela was addressing more than 400 mourners at the funeral of Actstop official David "Oupa" Tshoga (26), who died during a demonstration in Johannesburg on November 17.

Mr Tshoga made history as the first black to be buried at the West Park Cemetery, made possible by the city council.

"In a country where the majority don't have the vote, live under oppressive conditions and are killed daily, the Government cannot expect

the ANC to call off its mass campaign," Mr Mandela said.

A well-founded perception was that the Government and its security forces did not respect the life of a black person.

"The freedom struggle is filled with massacres. Blacks have been slaughtered by Government agents, so much so that the masses believe the slaughter to be a part and parcel of their existence," he said.

It was difficult discussing peace with the Government when it did not take steps to end police violence.

He had met Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to discuss alleged torture of detainees and the treatment of recently released detainees such as SACP official

Mac Maharaj.

Not a single action had been taken against the police, nor had the Government instituted investigations of the alleged torture of detainees.

Much of Mr Mandela's speech extolled the virtues of his wife, Winnie.

He commended Actstop for passing a resolution which articulated total support for his wife, and accused the press of finding her guilty before she had appeared in court to prove her innocence. He condemned the State and its security forces for her political persecution.

"My wife has been true and loyal to me for 27 years. While I was in prison I could not protect her, but now I'm out," Mr Mandela said.

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Star 3/12/90

Nats plan to revamp Transvaal branch

Star 3/12/90
The National Party leader in the Transvaal, Barend du Plessis, has released details of a comprehensive plan to restructure the branch.

In a statement, Mr du Plessis said a comprehensive management plan had been approved by the head council of the Transvaal NP on Saturday. It will be implemented next year.

Chairman

The chairman of the new management council is Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer and the chief secretary is Gerhard Koornhof. Other members are Dr Org Marais, Dr Piet Welge-

moed, Gerrit Bornman and Deon Swanepoel.

Other appointments are: Attie van Tonder (secretary: personnel and administration), Coetzee Bester (assistant chief secretary: training, youth matters and liaison) and Chris Macpherson (assistant chief secretary: organisation).

"The NP is now, more than ever before, ready to take up the challenges and opportunities of a new decade.

"Several important successes have already been achieved, of which the Randburg parliamentary by-election and the Delareyville town council elections are but two telling examples," Mr du Plessis said. — Sapa.

SA's UN envoy hopeful about apartheid debate

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Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — South Africa's chief UN delegate, Jeremy Shearar, has had discussions with a top US State Department official about strategy for this week's annual General Assembly debate on the apartheid question, the ambassador said on Friday.

The meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen took place at the US mission to the UN. Mr Cohen accompanied Secretary of State James Baker to New York for the Security Council meeting on the Gulf crisis.

Mr Shearar said they discussed the US approach to resolutions likely to be submitted, which both men hoped

might be "less strident" this year than in the past.

"The time has come to start taking note of realities and not to take down last year's resolutions, dust them off, change a few words and then pass them," the ambassador said in an interview.

Lavish

A number of member states, including some African countries, were looking for a shift in emphasis that would take account of the changes under way in South Africa. This was particularly evident from recent statements by European Community members, the Nordic nations and Japan, as well as the US.

"We have seen more

calls for a greater realism and we hope this will come out in the Assembly," Mr Shearar said.

Demonstrating the new cordiality in relations between Washington and Pretoria, the chief US delegate, Thomas Pickering, and Mrs Pickering were among the guests who attended a lavish dinner given by the Shearars and the South African mission in the UN restaurant on Thursday evening.

"They stayed late and obviously enjoyed themselves," one of the hosts remarked.

The guests drank South African wine which, because of the voluntary embargo, is not normally available at the UN.

ANC members could get posts

Campaign to recruit black diplomats

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MIKE ROBERTSON

THE Foreign Affairs Department has embarked on a rigorous campaign to recruit black South Africans into the service, and is not ruling out the possibility that members of the ANC and other organisations active abroad could be appointed to positions.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said in an interview yesterday that the foreign service would have to become representative of the population and political realities of SA.

While the foreign service had to serve the government of the day, it would also have to open doors to other organisations which were active abroad.

Van Heerden said he did not foresee an amalgamation of the foreign service and ANC international representatives. Rather, he added: "We will be talking to all the parties — expanding contact with all parties in the extra-parliamentary arena."

In addition to this the department had embarked on an active recruiting campaign to draw black South Africans into the service. These appointments would not be at the beginners level only. There would also be "lateral entries" into middle and senior positions.

In the past year, and especially since February 2, the number of countries with which SA had diplomatic ties had grown by a third. In order to staff these new missions the department had received additional funds from government's R2bn contingency fund. It had also rearranged priorities and some missions, like La Paz, Reunion and Sydney, had been closed.

Van Heerden described as "miraculous"

the extent of the thaw in SA's relations with the international community.

The most remarkable breakthroughs had been achieved in Eastern Europe. SA already had a mission in Hungary and missions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and Bulgaria would be operational within six months.

Compatibility between the economies of SA and Eastern European countries would not be achieved overnight, he said. However, the political realignment of these countries would fundamentally affect the operation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The non-aligned group, with these central European countries at the fore, had hitherto formed an effective anti-SA bloc in dealings of bodies such as the UN and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

He said there were concrete signs that the Soviet Union wanted to have diplomatic ties with SA. However, given the remaining ideological framework within which the Soviets worked, it was difficult for them to do so. Developing ties between SA and the Soviet Union would be a long, steady process, although there had already been a number of commercial deals.

Since February 2, SA had also achieved a number of significant breakthroughs into Africa and the department had been given funds to open new missions in Madagascar, Mauritius and the Ivory Coast.

Van Heerden said it was difficult to put a time frame on when SA would develop diplomatic ties with large African coun-

□ To Page 2

Diplomats

tries like Kenya and Nigeria. He added, however, that as with sanctions resistance in the OAU to developing links with SA was being eroded.

There would be important contact with Nigeria when SA jurists visited the country to study its constitution. The Nigerians had invited the jurists as they believed SA could learn something from their federal constitution.

He was not able to provide figures but said there was an enormous escalation in trade with Africa. In many countries SA was replacing France as the main supplier.

While economies of countries like Ango-

la were in a poor state, they had commodities like oil, which SA needed, which would enable them to pay for imports from this country. The same applied to countries producing tea, coffee and hard woods.

While President F W de Klerk's visit to Morocco had been an important breakthrough in contact with the Arab world, little other progress had been achieved. This was not because SA did not want greater access to the Arab world, but because of its close ties with Israel.

It was hoped De Klerk would pay a visit to the Far East next year. The main focus of this trip would be Japan and Taiwan.

He said China had just announced that SA tourists would be welcome to visit.

□ From Page 1

Momentous year for South Africa

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WASHINGTON - It was the year that the United States was supposed to get really tough with South Africa, but in the event 1990 was a period that caused Americans to pause and think.

Seen from the US, 1990 was a truly momentous year for South Africa. It all began with President F W de Klerk's bold decisions to unban the African National Congress, release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and start the process of negotiations towards a new constitutional future for the country.

The speed and depth of De Klerk's initiatives took the wind right out of the sails of America's anti-apartheid activists, and a series of proposed laws which sought to intensify sanctions against South Africa fell right off the Congressional agenda.

Speech

The changes in South Africa enthralled the US, coming as they did so close to the toppling of the wall that divided Berlin and to the collapse of East European dictatorships. What was happening in South Africa were seen as part of a new spirit of freedom and democracy sweeping the world.

When Mandela walked to freedom in early February much of America watched the proceedings live on the major television networks. The major newspapers published special supplements on the event. Many in the US media celebrated both De Klerk and Mandela as men of vision who had come together to save their nation.

President Bush added to the drama by telephoning Mandela and De Klerk to invite them separately to visit him in the White House.

Ten months after Mandela walked out of prison the mood in America is still one of hope, but much of the euphoria of earlier this year has gone. The ongoing violence in South Africa has cast an increasingly darker shadow

FOCUS

By DAVID BRAUN
Sowetan Foreign Service

over the perceived prognosis for the country.

Still, 1990 can be said to have been one of the best years for South Africa's image in America.

Four high points during the year were the release of Mandela, Mandela's grand tour of the US, De Klerk's successful visit to Washington and the publicity given to the violence in South Africa.

For the Bush Administration, the events of 1990 vindicated its policy of constraint and encouragement. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Hank Cohen had last year warned that unless certain minimum results were achieved by mid-1990, the US Government might be prepared to reconsider its policy of opposing sanctions.

However, Cohen insisted he was confident that the South African government would move sufficiently in the right direction so that it would be possible not only to stave off further sanctions but also to make it possible to start lifting some punitive measures.

The unbanning of the ANC and all other organisations and the release of Mandela and others took even the Bush Administration by surprise, and the US Government started exploring ways to reward Pretoria.

The anti-apartheid activists in Congress, poised to increase sanctions against South Africa if Cohen's optimism turned out to be groundless, suddenly found themselves fighting a rearguard action on the issue. The debate shifted overnight from whether sanctions should be increased to whether

sanctions should be reduced. The debate surged back and forth until Mandela visited the US and gave a rousing speech to a



Mandela during his United States visit.

joint sitting of the Congress that sanctions must not be lifted until change in South Africa had become truly irreversible.

Mandela and his ANC delegation blazed across the US in late June like a brilliant comet. In New York City an estimated one million people lined the streets to get a glimpse of him. He was honoured with a ticker-tape parade, two or three hundred thousand people gathered to hear him in Harlem and in a capacity-filled Yankee Stadium.

Pressure

Throughout his 10-day, eight-city tour Mandela exhorted Americans to keep the pressure on South Africa by not lifting sanctions prematurely.

The impact of the Mandela tour on US grassroots public opinion was profound, and the politicians in Washington were mindful of it.

In September, it was De Klerk's turn. In contrast with the huge media hype of the Mandela tour, De Klerk chose to make a low-profile but very intensive working visit to the US political leadership.

His meeting with President Bush was hugely successful, and the US leader said afterwards he was now convinced that change in South Africa was irreversible.

Bush said sanctions would not be lifted until the US legal requirements had been met, but he warned that those requirements were to be interpreted broadly rather than narrowly. There would, he said, be no shifting of the goalposts.

On Capitol Hill, De Klerk made a good impression, convincing senators and congressmen of his sincerity. However, a hardcore of both houses of Congress remained unconvinced that change in South Africa was irreversible. De Klerk might say it was irreversible, but events could prove him wrong and the initiatives he had started could be overturned, they said.

De Klerk's visit nonetheless gave new impetus to moves in Washington to lift sanctions. The debate began to focus on which requirements of the US 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) for the lifting of sanctions were being met.

The South African government had clearly met some of the requirements: the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the lifting of the state of emergency. It had partly met others: the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and the repeal of apartheid legislation. There was a difference of opinion as to whether the requirement of entering into good-faith negotiations with the representatives of the black majority had actually been met.

The worsening violence in South Africa began to colour the debate on South Africa, particularly a perception in some quarters that the South African government was somehow or other behind it and trying to exploit it for its own gain.

Former US ambassador to South Africa, Mr-Herman Nickel, said 1990 was a momentous year for South Africa. The initiatives of De Klerk in February were a turning point, but towards the end of the year there was some concern that the process of negotiations was not going fast enough.

SA solutions seen as beacon to all

By James Tomlins
Star Foreign Service

PARIS — South Africa's solutions to its many problems might well serve as a beacon light for many other countries, it was suggested in Paris recently.

Glenn Babb, MP and former ambassador to Canada, noted that "South Africa is a microcosm of the entire world. Creative ideas in solving its problems could be useful for its 'mother countries'".

Mr Babb, guest speaker at the annual reunion of the France-SA Association, said President de

Klerk had to avoid at all costs the "traps into which other African rulers had fallen".

These traps were "suppressing minorities, pro-government courts, arbitrary rule by life presidents, fraudulent elections and centralised, socialist economies".

Mr Babb, who spoke in French, warned that pessimists of the South African scene viewed it with what he called an "unidimensional" regard.

These pessimists said that "all that Mr de Klerk is doing is to carefully prepare the way for Mr Mandela to take

over, and then, just as elsewhere in Africa, the whole structure will collapse like a house of cards".

In fact, Mr de Klerk had managed to jerk old conceptions from behind their Maginot Line, and there was growing optimism in South Africa that the country was strong enough to tackle and solve its problems.

He quoted Victor Hugo's famous line "France, France what would Europe be without you", and concluded that perhaps one could ask "Pretoria, Pretoria, what would Africa be without you?"

Cabinet sitting daily in end-of-year push

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet, which normally meets weekly, is meeting every day this week in an effort to complete its legislative and budget planning and its negotiation strategies for next year.

After these meetings, Ministers will go on holiday until they meet again in Cape Town after mid-January.

Civil-service salary increases, cutting the Budget down in real terms, measures to replace the Group Areas Act, the repeal of the Land Acts, whether to allow M-Net to broadcast news, and ways of dealing with the ANC's decision to intensify pressure on negotiations through mass protest action are all expected to be on a wide-ranging agenda.

and that all posts will be frozen. The Government is hoping to cut the Budget in real terms while still finding more money for social and economic development.

Decision

A major decision to be made is what sort of measures should replace the Group Areas Act. Apart from non-political steps to maintain physical standards and prevent overcrowding, for instance, Mr de Klerk has also promised

measures to "protect our own community life". This has aroused fears of a discrimination returning via the back door, and some Government members are believed to be pushing for the Act simply to be scrapped.

Speculation in the Natal press suggests that the Cabinet might also discuss for normal sessions until the possibility of establishing today in the Union Building a multiracial second-tierings, and from tomorrow governments in the nine ec-

Speculation

Yesterday Dr Tertius Delpert, Deputy Provincial Affairs Minister, dismissed the speculation. He said this sort of proposal implied fundamental constitutional changes. President de Klerk had made it clear that such changes would be made only through negotiations.

Wooing the world

South 6/12 - 12/14/90



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KENYA's President Daniel Arap Moi's words to industrialists in his country shortly before Foreign Minister Pik Botha arrived in Nairobi last week promises an end to the cold war between the South Africa and the rest of the world, specially Africa.

South Africa would soon become part of the African community and he would work with it, Moi is reported to have said.

As the thaw in international relations with Pretoria sets in, it's becoming increasingly urgent that concepts for a post-apartheid foreign policy be formulated.

Contested

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, has raised various questions on the issue in a working paper published by the Centre.

Until now, Pretoria's foreign policy has been described as being concentrated in the hands of a few senior officials and ministers with the rest of the country — specially blacks — having little or no say in its formulation.

"As in economic policy, a post-apartheid foreign policy will be contested ground," says Vale.

Whites would probably urge strong links with Europe, the United States and Australasia because of fraternal and family ties.

Aversion

"Unaccustomed to Africa and sensitised by minority propaganda to its woes, they have an aversion to the continent.

"Quite the opposite set of forces may influence blacks, in particular those who have been in exile.

"Many of them have strong family ties on the continent and have a different interpretation of its problems."

Vale believes the prospects for a

South Africa can look forward to having new international friends once it has rid itself of apartheid. As the country heads for a new era, it must begin to plan and structure its post-apartheid foreign policy. NOEL BRUYNs reports on some initial thoughts raised by University of the Western Cape academic, Prof Peter Vale:

struggle on Africa policy seems inevitably, specially if South Africa will be both receive and provide aid.

But he does not foresee that foreign policy-making under the ANC — whom he believes will govern the country ("not unconditionally") — would differ much from the present method.

"Almost by definition the making of foreign policy is an elitist exercise: efforts to draw villagers into the process, for example, have elsewhere been largely unsuccessful..."

Debate

The public, nevertheless, should be engaged, and Vale suggests the South African Institute of International Affairs and the African Institute be transformed.

Both institutions have "strong resources which might be deployed in an effort to encourage a truly wider, more representative debate on foreign policy issues".

Vale points out that essential areas of foreign policy have not been available for public scrutiny and debate because it has been against the law to discuss them.

"The most dramatic and interesting is the question of the country's nuclear capacity."

Laws would have to change for de-

bate on foreign policy issues to start and flourish.

Vale believes schools have an important part to play in achieving a new appreciation of foreign policy.

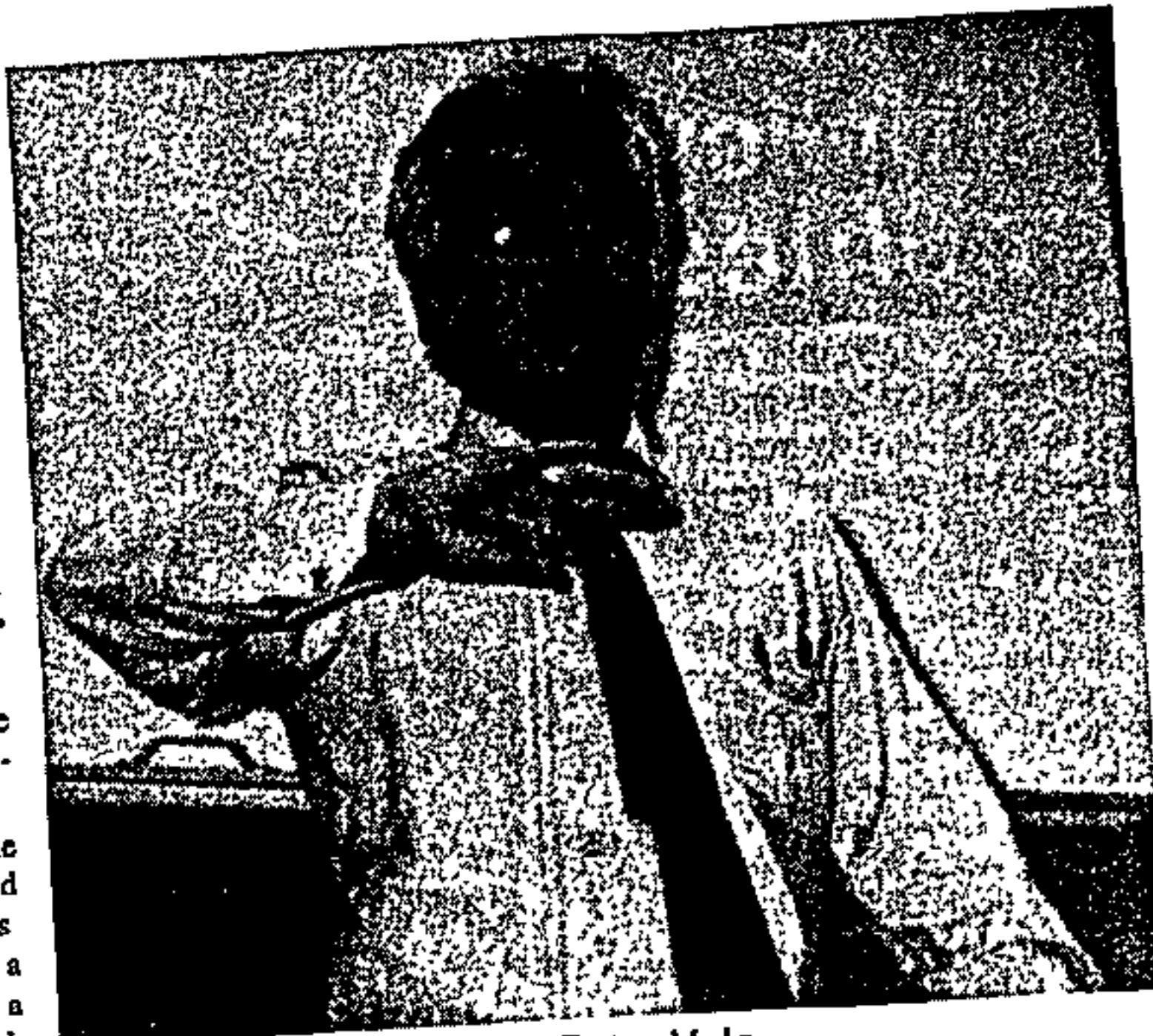
"Almost all roads to the new South Africa lead through education: foreign affairs is no exception.

"International isolation has powerfully isolated South Africa's whites.

"Blacks, on the other hand, have been prey to the capacity of the minority government to deny them formal access to the international community," says Vale.

Those in exile, however, had been able to open and develop strong independent international linkages.

"The school level, however, is the place where a new image of the world has to be fashioned for South Africans. A priority for the development of a sound, informed discourse will be a serious rewriting of the text books which deal with international issues," says Vale.



Prof Peter Vale

South Africa and its neighbours after apartheid

South Africa - 17/12/90

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SOUTH Africa's neighbours fear her economic domination.

It would therefore be "disastrous" for a post-apartheid South Africa to try and end the life of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and reassert the "prevailing economic dependencies around South Africa".

This is the opinion of Prof Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

An economic community of Southern African states — with weaker economies wed to the muscle of a stronger South African economy — would also perpetuate the uneven spread of economic development in the region.

"Long-term economic growth in-

Southern Africa lies in developing the region as a whole and not focusing attention on one centre of economic power alone," says Vale.

"A helpful course of action may be to ensure that SADCC's independence is sustained by special provisions within a regional trade agreement between South Africa and its neighbours.

"This might ensure that infant industries in these countries are protected and that their agricultural sector is not swamped by South African products."

Vale admits this would not be easy.

But the region would develop "in a more rounded fashion rather than simply reinforcing the colonial patterns of dependency" only by allowing for significant redistribution of resources from South Africa to its neighbours.

Communique

"There are strong indications that this path is favoured by the ANC," Vale points out, quoting a communique following a recent ANC economic workshop.

Cahora Bassa remained the most effective and efficient electricity network in sub-Saharan Africa. The war in Mozambique had made access to the scheme almost impossible.

However, in a nonracial and democratic South Africa, it was possible that lines would open from Tete Province.

"Drawing on this dependency, South Africa will have to recognise that, in ways which have not been thought possible, it is dependent on its neighbours," Vale says.

A similar set of arguments could be made with regard to the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme.

"Contrary to popular understanding, dependency in Southern Africa is a two-way street. Its recognition can smooth the recharting of regional relations."

Vale suggests that economics is only one dimension of South Africa's interaction with its neighbours. Security and constitutional dimensions also need to be considered.

"South Africa's armed aggression has devastated large parts of the sub-continent and has caused huge social hardship.

"A deep-seated fear among its neighbours is that a nonracial and democratic South Africa will still harbour forces which are capable of devastating the sub-continent.

"They argue, for example, that rightwing elements can strike out in the region in revenge for unacceptable conditions at home."

Spiked

Vale quotes Mozambican intellectual and journalist Carlos Cardoso, who argues that "South Africa's guns should be spiked through multilateral control.

"He suggests, for example, that Armscor — which spearheaded the South African weapons drive — might be placed under joint regional control.

"Further, he argues that a suitable mechanism might create a regional defence force."

Vale believes some creative thinking needs to be done along the lines of establishing a conference for both security and economic development in Southern Africa.

A post-apartheid South Africa would lead to one of the most important African migrations of modern time in which perhaps millions of people would be drawn to South Africa in an effort to advance life chances.

Aids

Incentives should be set in surrounding countries to keep migration to acceptable limits in the interest of the economy and development.

"Linked to the migration issue is, of course, Aids," Vale points out.

"The ending of the struggle against apartheid could enable a truly international effort to be mounted against the disease in which South Africa's comparatively well-endowed medical system would play a pivotal role," says Vale.



KENYA'S DANIEL ARAP MOI: Friendly sounds towards Pretoria



ZIMBABWE'S ROBERT MUGABE: An influential figure in the region

Govt 'bush summit' today

Blom 6/12/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT acknowledged the democratic right of peaceful protest by way of marches, but could not allow mass action to deteriorate into violence and intimidation, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Government had acknowledged the right to hold peaceful marches last year and rejected accusations it was against any form of peaceful and democratic protest, he said after Cabinet completed a marathon three-day meeting.

Ministers, deputies and other senior government members will gather at a "bush summit" outside Pretoria today to arrange priorities for the approaching parliamentary session.

The Ministerial Committee on Negotia-

tions has met regularly over the past month to finalise the NP's constitutional proposals and to figure out ways in which to break the logjam in negotiations. Government concern that the ANC's commitment to mass mobilisation was contributing to instability and violence was expected to receive high priority.

Government was concerned about the disruption and conflict that appeared to go hand-in-hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

It was also concerned about certain political leaders' inability to get their followers to behave in a disciplined manner.

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Bush summit

Blom 6/12/90

"An atmosphere of dangerous political intolerance has set in towards persons and organisations expressing and promoting divergent political views," Viljoen said.

"If wanton destruction, physical intimidation and violence are indeed not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, and if these organisations in fact reject such conduct, then they should display much greater care and responsibility in ensuring orderly and lawful action.

"The government has repeatedly emphasised that genuine negotiations for a new constitution can only take place if they are accompanied by a parallel pro-

cess of maintaining good government and sound administration according to existing laws and constitution."

It was generally accepted that existing structures would be replaced by new ones after peaceful negotiations.

At the bush summit, government is also expected to consider a document outlining future options for NP alliances following its decision to open its ranks to all races. Priorities to be addressed in next year's budget are also expected to come up for discussion, as is a report on measures to protect "own community life" after the Group Areas Act has been scrapped.

● See Pages 3 and 8

□ From Page 1

TWO major problems confront Cabinet and other senior members of government at their "bosberaad" which starts today: how to break the negotiation logjam and how to convince other participants that the NP's constitutional proposals are not yet another, more sophisticated, attempt to maintain white privilege.

Renewed Reef violence and increasingly belligerent public slanging matches between government and the ANC give an impression that the negotiation process is in serious jeopardy.

One thing prevents a breakdown — both government and the ANC have so much invested in the peace process that they have no alternative but to keep talking.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen admitted as much when he said recently that it would be an admission of failure to start negotiations without the ANC. A similar admission came from the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa when he told a recent Press conference that the organisation's response to government's persistent rejection of calls for an interim government would be to keep trying to persuade the NP that it was necessary.

However, while there might be no alternative but to keep talking, time is becoming of the essence. The fortunes of government and the ANC, implacable foes though they might be, are inextricably linked to the success of the negotiation process. The longer the present stand-off continues, the more they stand to lose.

Government is seeking to extract from the ANC a set of rules for the conduct of its mass mobilisation campaign.

To get this it will have to give way in some form on demands for an interim government. In a speech to the American Chamber of Commerce Viljoen hinted at a possible compromise when he suggested the negotiating forum could somehow influence decisions in Parliament.

This falls far short of what the ANC is demanding and at the bosberaad government is going to have to come up with far more specific pro-

NP must prove it no longer stands for white privilege

MIKE ROBERTSON

posals if there is going to be any chance of reaching a compromise on this issue. A proposal which could be considered is the Democratic Party's suggestion that an interim commission composed of the Chief Justice and other persons of stature be appointed and that government be obliged to accept and implement its recommendations.

Another key issue which the bosberaad will have to address is the composition of the negotiating table.

The NP, to date, has suggested that all parties with proven constituencies be allowed to participate. The ANC, PAC and others are demanding that a constituent assembly election be held. To get around this the bosberaad is likely to consider a compromise of both ideas, which has been put forward by some in government. This would entail a negotiating forum consisting of all parties working out the broad parameters of a new constitution prior to the holding of a constituent assembly election. Those elected would then fill in the detail.

A large part of the problem in getting negotiations going stems from distrust of the NP because of its past policies. The NP has more or less finalised the broad outlines of its constitutional proposals, removing in the process any suggestion of racial protection. What the Ministers will have to address at the bosberaad

is the difficulty the NP has in convincing other parties that its recent support for democratic mechanisms it has rejected for years is not a new ploy to maintain white privilege.

The NP, sensing a possibility that it could attract sufficient support to enjoy a share in the new government, has dropped its former insistence on group or minority protection through separate parliamentary chambers or voters' rolls.

Having abandoned race as a basis on which to define groups, it initially believed religion or language could be substitutes. These, however, proved impractical and the NP now believes you can protect minorities by "protecting" political parties, decentralising power and limiting the authority of the executive. It is also looking with new favour on proportional representation, not just in Parliament but in the Cabinet.

First and foremost the NP is suggesting that in a new SA the Supreme Court should have the power to test and reject laws passed by Parliament.

This Supreme Court would become a guardian of the new constitution and a bill of rights.

The new constitution, the NP will argue, should contain a number of

entrenched clauses.

These would include internationally acceptable clauses stipulating the lifespan of Parliament and that SA should be a multi-party state. But in addition to this the NP is proposing new ideas such as limiting the taxation powers of central government and stipulating the manner in which security forces should be managed.

In a new SA the NP appears to envisage a three-tier system of government — central, regional and local — with a maximum devolution of power.

Thus President F W de Klerk at an administrators' conference in Natal suggested that under such a system local government spending as a percentage of total government spending would grow from the present 10% to 46%. Regional government spending would grow from 16% to 23% while central government spending would fall from its present level to 31%.

Such a change in spending patterns would indicate that control of major spending departments such as health and education would be transferred from central government to regional and local government.

At central government level the NP appears to favour having two Houses of Parliament. A lower House would be elected on a one man, one vote proportional repre-

sentation basis. All the parties in the lower House would have equal representation in a Senate. All Bills would have to be passed by both Houses. Attempts to change the bill of rights or constitution would have to be passed by a two-thirds majority in both Houses.

Whereas De Klerk now has virtually unlimited power, the NP is suggesting that in a new SA the president's powers be sharply curtailed.

The suggestion is that there be both a president and a prime minister.

The latter would be elected by the lower House and would be a prime mover in government. The president would be elected by the Senate and would serve as a guardian of minority rights and act as mediator when the two Houses disagreed on issues.

The Cabinet, the NP will suggest, should reflect on a proportional representation basis, the composition of parties in the lower House. Alternatively the NP will propose that it consist of non-parliamentary Ministers in much the same way the US cabinet.

As can be seen from the above the NP has gone a long way in removing elements of race from its constitutional proposals. Democratic mechanisms which it now favours such as devolution of power, federalism, proportional representation and a Supreme Court which can test parliamentary decisions are all worthy of consideration by the negotiating forum.

The trouble is that they are also the very mechanisms which the NP has rejected or abused since it came to power in 1948 and other parties could be forgiven for greeting the new proposals with a degree of scepticism.

Removing that scepticism is going to be a long and difficult task. However, it could be made a lot easier if the bosberaad this week comes up with realistic proposals on a form of interim government. Agreement to share power now would be conclusive proof that De Klerk's NP is totally different from that of his predecessors and deserves to be treated as such.

Pik labels UN's SA debate 'inappropriate'

Star 6/12/90
30447

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has criticised severely this year's United Nations "Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid" in New York for reflecting outdated prejudices of past decades.

In a letter addressed to UN president Guido de Marco, Mr Botha maintained the UN General Assembly "has no jurisdiction in terms of the UN Charter to discuss this subject".

The debate has been marked by criticism of mainly Western countries for reportedly not adhering strictly to existing UN resolutions on sanctions.

During the debate President de Klerk's reforms received acknowledgement, but delegates said he still had not done enough to justify the lifting of sanctions.

Indian Foreign Minister Vidya Charan Shukla said talks between the South African Government and the ANC had produced "some good results", but he endorsed the assessment of Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar that the process of change was at an early stage and there was a long way to go.

Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, said: "There is no doubt that the South

African authorities have indeed taken a number of positive steps.

"Nonetheless, they fall far short of the minimum measures necessary to create a climate for negotiation."

Unreasonable

It was premature and unreasonable to rush to relax the existing measures against the Republic or establish relations with it, he said.

Mr Botha said in his letter: "I say in all earnestness that this debate is inappropriate, uncalled for and counter-productive. Things have changed in South Africa.

"Is the Assembly inca-

pable of adjusting to change as we in South Africa have done in recent months?" Mr Botha asked in his letter, which he requested be circulated as an official document of the Assembly.

He claimed this year's debate, which is still continuing, "echoes the ANC". The letter carries a detailed review of the course of developments in South Africa since September last year when Mr de Klerk assumed the presidency.

This is followed by an outline of what "President de Klerk has made abundantly clear" and what the Government is striving for in a new South Africa.

ple, the broad restrictions

for M-Net — Page 25

Low at the Brixton Murder
yesterday morning, look on while ambulance personnel remove

'Govt out to crush ANC'

Key elements in the Government had set out to foster carnage to halt mass action and to paralyse the ANC, Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at alliance talks being held at Natal University between the National Union of South African Students and the SA National Students Congress, Mr Mandela said the country was entering a time of hope.

Excluded

However, elements in the Government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that the positive actions which the Government had made were not something it had done without pressure.

The ANC had spearheaded the struggle to produce that pressure, he said.

The Government had to be further pressured into removing the obstacles still in the way of negotiations.

Mr Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised for today. He said the ANC's position was clear.

"We are excluded from democratic participation; mass action is our only alternative."

However, in a statement yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said that indefinite continuation of mass protests over political demands was no longer necessary as the Government was committed to solving a number of problems.

The Government was not against peaceful and democratic protest, including marches and public meetings, but it was concerned

about "disruption and conflict" that appeared to go hand in hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

The inability of "certain political leaders" to ensure responsible conduct by their followers was also an area of major concern to the Government, Dr Viljoen said.

If destruction, violence and intimidation were not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, they should take greater care to ensure orderly and lawful action.

There was "clear proof of intimidation" where the public had been forced to take part in mass action.

Dr Viljoen said no responsible government would allow mass action to deteriorate into acts of violence, destruction and intimidation.

We'll flatten you, AWB warns ANC

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

LOUIS TRICHARDT — Clear battle-lines were drawn here last night by AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche when he issued a third warning to the ANC regarding its planned mass protests.

"I say to you — let one white be injured in one of your protest marches, and we will flatten you (ons sal julle gelyk vee met die aarde)." (304A) (235)

The atmosphere at the AWB rally was extremely militant. Many young men carried batons, and Mr Terre-Blanche's personal bodyguards carried firearms.

Defending the actions of the white men arrested in connection with an alleged assault on black Sunday school children in the town, the AWB leader said they had simply shown that they would not become anyone's puppets.

He insisted that the men had acted within their rights, as they had not acted in anyone else's territory.

Herstigste Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais shared a platform with Mr Terre-Blanche.

Slovo and Winnie to lead march

Staff Reporters
and Own Correspondent

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, are among those due to lead the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" march being held in Pretoria today.

Pretoria Chief Magistrate P A J Burger has given permission for the march.

The organisers said no stayaway had been called. However, people had been urged to take leave for an hour or two.

The march, which is scheduled to start at noon from Cosatu House in Brown Street to the Union Buildings, is to be preceded by a mini-rally outside Cosatu House from 10 am.

● In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at

the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed in at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square, where a memorandum will be handed to police.

● In Bloemfontein, the Chief Magistrate has granted permission for a march today.

304A
8 Nov 6/11/90

The obstacle to change in South Africa is not the whites, argues *The Economist* **Mandela, not De Klerk, may need goading**

FOR an exceptional moment, South Africa was full of hope. From the day Nelson Mandela walked free in February to the night he suspended his movement's armed struggle in August, black and white South Africans were moving towards peace. Since August the road has been blocked by township slaughter, the security forces' misconduct, and recrimination on all sides. Political violence is killing 10 South Africans a day — three times as many as in past years. Mr Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk on November 27 was the surest they have had.

Outsiders need to decide who is to blame for this impasse as they consider whether their sanctions against South Africa should be continued. The European Community may lift some sanctions — perhaps the ban on new investment? — at the EC summit that begins next Thursday. The United States and the Commonwealth may follow suit next year. Official sanctions matter, not least because they influence where private money goes.

It has not been going into South Africa: lower exports and capital flight have kept real GDP growth below the 5 percent a year the economy needs to absorb all the young blacks pouring into the work force.

The only argument for imposing this degree of pain on South Africa — and disproportionately on South African blacks — has been that it was needed to prod whites into serious moves towards sharing power.

Mr de Klerk has made these moves. In particular, he has done the three things *The Economist* recommended six months ago as the condition for dropping sanctions: he has lifted the state of emergency, agreed to free political prisoners, and begun to let black exiles return.

He has also promised to rescind the Land Act (which reserves 86 percent of the land for white owners) and the Group Areas Act. The only argument for prolonging sanctions is that, ungoaded, Mr de Klerk will backslide.

Mr Mandela argues that he will. The African National Congress is starting to wonder, he says, whether Mr de Klerk has really abandoned apartheid.

He cites the President's insistence that, in return for permitting black exiles to come home, the ANC must stop organising demonstrations.

He points to the security forces, saying they shoot when blacks demonstrate and look the other way when whites beat up black schoolchildren.

He laments Mr de Klerk's refusal to hand over to a government of transition, or to accept the ANC's proposal for a constituent assembly.

Mr Mandela's complaints are not persuasive. Peaceful demonstrations are a normal democratic right, but in abnormal South Africa they often turn lethal. The security forces are regarded in many quarters as a menace, but Mr de Klerk is trying to control them, and often succeeding.

An interim administration sounds reasonable, but the Government already consults Mr Mandela's people frequently, and the ANC is shy of the responsibility even that brings.

A constituent assembly raises the question of how to elect it — and an answer would go to the heart of the constitutional issue before the assembly even met.

The surest guarantee of Mr de Klerk's genuineness about negotiations is that he has no way of turning back.

By uncorking black politics, he has destroyed the old white monopoly.

He must call an election within four years. If he has not first created a new security, based on reconciliation, the white voters will probably boot him out.

In fact Mr de Klerk has embarked on a more thorough change than the ANC has.

Whereas he swiftly persuaded his party to accept non-white members, the ANC agonised about whether it really has given up its armed struggle (which, anyway, was a token).

The Congress has also delayed a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, without which the end of township violence and the start of negotiations seem impossible.

Instead, the ANC talks of intensifying its (unarmed) "struggle", which includes the disruption of townships until sewage leaks on to the streets.

Perhaps it is Mr Mandela who now needs the goading.

The ANC sympathisers plead for time. If Mr Mandela moves too quickly, they say, hardliners will undermine him.

Yet dithering probably threatens him even more. Plenty of blacks are sick of demonstrations and boycotts. Far fewer are attending the ANC's rallies; on some estimates, the crowds are down to a tenth of their old size.

Some of the disillusioned may have joined the radical Pan-Africanist Congress. But more — judging from the scanty evidence — now back faster reconciliation, in the shape of Mr de Klerk.

The ANC's slowness is caused in part by simple disorganisation. It is understandable that, after years of exile, banning and prison, the ANC wants to get its act together before taking on Mr de Klerk's negotiators, who bristle with fax machines and car phones. It is understandable but not forgivable: South Africa's blacks have no time to spare.

As the days slip by more of them get killed; more nurse vendors; tribal harmony becomes ever more remote.

And more blacks get poorer. Violence and dithering scare off businessmen, who are deciding whether the new South Africa is a good bet.

By the late 1990s an ANC-led government will be praying for investment. Which is another reason to scrap sanctions now.

Economist News Service. □

of what is going on inside the hotel this week.

Nobody seems to have referred to the fact that the only technological pool of any size south of the

Right-wingers' bail application opposed

B12M 7/12/90

304A

TENS of thousands of right-wing supporters of Orde Boerevolk (OB) members Piet Rudolph and Henk Bredenhann were waiting for their release to resume the OB's armed struggle for independence under their leadership.

This opinion was stated by Maj Johannes Lodewikus Pretorius of the SAP security branch in Sandton during the bail application of the two OB men in the Johannesburg Magistrate's court yesterday.

The bail application hearing for Rudolph and Bredenhann, who are to appear on several charges of terrorism in the Johannesburg Supreme Court early next year, continues today.

Pretorius, in charge of the branch's continuing investigation into white right-wing terrorism in SA, opposed the bail application because, among other major reasons, two thirds of the SA Air Force weapons allegedly stolen by the OB in April had not yet been returned by Rudolph's supporters — in spite of the latter's public call to do so.

Bredenhann had told the court earlier that the stolen weapons under his control had all been returned to the State prior to the general indemnity date of October 31.

Pretorius said there had been a very

marked increase in right-wing terror incidents since June 1989, with scores of bomb attacks and arrests of right-wingers under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Rudolph and Bredenhann still "stubbornly clung to their political convictions", refused to provide him with details of the OB's organisational structures or of its membership, and would provide no details of operational plans codenamed "Mandela", "Sjambok" and "Slingervel".

The mysterious plans were mentioned in OB documents police had recovered during Bredenhann's arrest. Pretorius feared that, once released on bail, the two men might carry out these plans.

He believed that once they were out on bail, their supporters would hide and protect them and help them take up the armed struggle once more. They would not appear for their terrorism trial.

This time, Rudolph would be impossible to catch because of his massive country-wide support base and greater knowledge of police search methods.

Pretorius said that during the five-month police search for Rudolph this year more than 200 people had actively and knowingly helped him to escape justice. — Sapa.

KENT DURR

LEAVING LOTS TO DO

3044 ~~2524~~
FIM 7/12/90

In the end, Kent Durr's meteoric, 15-month career as minister of trade & industry may have been his undoing; politicians — and especially fellow ministers — do not take kindly to being shown up by a relative newcomer.

While the London ambassadorship he's headed for is uniformly seen as an important posting, there is a measure of disquiet over Durr's sudden departure from his portfolio as minister. Industry leaders are upset that Durr is leaving the department just when he had established a high profile in business.

"I am very sorry that Durr is moving out of his important position," says Barlow Rand CE Warren Clewlow, who chairs the State President's Economic Advisory Council. "He has created a very strong and positive relationship with the private sector. And during our recent visit to the USSR, I wit-

nessed the strong impact, high credibility and good working relationships he established with our Soviet hosts."

Raymond Parsons, the SA Chamber of Business director-general, says: "Durr has been a very approachable minister who understands business language and relates very well to business issues. We have developed an excellent working relationship with him. His leaving the ministry is a sad loss to the business community."

Parsons hopes Durr's departure will not result in the department being downgraded.

Politics may be the best explanation for Durr packing his bags for the Court of St James. His success in opening new markets for SA in previously closed countries such as the USSR, Poland and Hungary may have tread on some sensitive toes in Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's department. And his easy contacts with top bankers, industrialists and political leaders in France, the UK, Italy and elsewhere may have caused unease among Cabinet colleagues.

But Durr discounts these rumours, saying that he and Botha are "good friends and work on the same team; all my visits abroad were done in close association with him and I benefited from his visits abroad."

Durr did clash directly with the powerful protectionist lobby at the Board of Trade & Industry (BTI), where chairman Lawrence McCrystal's influence over industrial policy was undermined by Durr and his officials. The demise of the board's cherished structural adjustment programmes may also have upset some powerful industry lobbies.

Durr leaves a briefcase full of issues and tasks that will not be easy for his successor to pick up in mid-stream. Some of these are:

- The formulation of government's new tariff policy, which was submitted to the Cabinet after a study by the Industrial Development Corp;
- Defining the new role of the BTI, which may become focused solely on tariff and import policy;
- Complicated negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Durr's department has submitted a list of 4-700 proposed tariff changes to GATT officials as part of the current Uruguay round of talks which is scheduled to end this week;
- Europe 1992, which is destined to have a major impact on SA (about 50% of all SA trade is with Europe, which has a direct impact on 25% of SA's GDP);
- The department's promotion of manufactured exports to maximise investment, job creation and export receipts; and
- Co-ordinating economic policy with the top "econocrats" in Cabinet.

One result of Durr's stint at the depart-

ment has been his success in raising its previously low public profile. The important role of this department in SA's economy (job creation, adding value to exports, broadening the base of the economy, increasing domestic competitiveness) is now generally accepted.

President FW de Klerk must now find someone who can take up Durr's mantle. It might have been easier to find a different candidate for ambassador to London than to fill Durr's boots at the department.

The most prominently mentioned candidate for the job so far has been little-known western Transvaaler Amie Venter — who was recently given the task of overseeing industrial decentralisation policy. Hopefully this is not a sign of a return to the bad old days when regional development and protectionism were the cornerstones of SA's barely existent industrial policy. ■

TRAIL OF REFORM



Kent Durr had a sizable impact on trade and industry during his whirlwind ministerial career of just over a year. Here are some of his achievements:

- Led moves to deregulate the tourism industry;
- Encouraged the local manufacture of autocatalysts;
- Streamlined and rationalised SA's foreign trade offices;
- Removed entrance barriers to the Estate Agents' Board;
- Proposed reforms to the Board of Trade & Industry;
- Simplified national building rules;
- Helped to improve relations with Poland, the USSR, Hungary, Italy, France, Romania and Czechoslovakia; and
- Proposed numerous tariff reductions.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

RESCUE DELAYED

FIM 7/12/90

Two months ago it seemed a done deal. *The Weekly Mail* and Caxton group had said an agreement was signed that would save the *Mail* and allow Caxton to recover most of the money the *Mail* owes it (*Business* September 14).

But the deal was not signed. *Mail* co-editor Anton Harber says that the deal is pivotal to the paper's success. He blames technical problems for the hold-up. "For instance, we have only just finalised the balance sheet of *The Daily Mail* (now defunct.) We had to have that in place before we could work out the best way to pay off our debts."

Says Caxton financial director Edwin Jankelowitz: "Any plan to rescue a publication that has been in trouble needs to start from a firm position." For one thing, Caxton is concerned that the continuing case against the *Mail* by Lothar Neethling, head of police forensics, could ruin the publication. Neethling is suing the *Mail* for R500 000.

Under the deal, Caxton — which printed *The Daily Mail* and continues to print *The Weekly Mail* — would recover a portion of the *Mail's* debts. In return, Caxton would supply business and marketing advice to the *Mail* in an effort to make the five-year-old alternative paper viable. Neither party will disclose how much Caxton is owed.

One reason for the delay may be tax implications of the deal. "It would be possible to structure the deal tax-effectively from Caxton's point of view, and allow *The Weekly Mail* to keep its independence," says Chris Frame, Price Waterhouse's national tax con-

FIM 7/12/90

POLITICS OF DIPLOMACY

304A

WILL THE ECONOMY SUFFER?

The point business must keep in mind about Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr's sudden exile as ambassador to London (even if it be voluntary), is whether it means that the strong Cabinet economics team, assembled only last year, is being broken up — and whether that, in turn, means a downgrading of economic policy.

After all, privatisation has clearly been abandoned. Wim de Villiers is trying to buck market trends by controlling the electricity price and this week saw the first crack in Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals's resolve over interest rates. Maybe it puts a new complexion, too, on Harry Schwarz's appointment to the Washington embassy.

In economic terms, Durr is in a key ministry. He is a man to whom businessmen can relate and he patently understands what makes markets work. His department requires a minister of firm commitment and energy, for it has been responsible for a great deal of the bureaucratic regulation of the past. And the fear must be that without a minister committed to deregulation now, it could lapse back too easily into its past interventionist mould.

It is too easy to argue that with Stef Naudé as director, that won't happen. The fact is that he is a public servant and can without much fuss be moved elsewhere.

If President FW de Klerk's recent ministerial appointments are any guide, businessmen are not going to be confident that Durr's replacement will be a man of similar ability. For even counting Louis Pienaar, De Klerk is choosing grey men of limited if any political significance or manifest ministerial ability. Maybe, in the approaching order of things, he does not expect them to be around long.

The best ministerial talent in parliament today is without any doubt in the Democratic Party, where there is weighty political experience. Indeed, if Schwarz's appointment to Washington is not also a form of banishment (it cannot be comfortable for the Nats to have in opposition someone who knows more about the national accounts than they do themselves), then it is clear from where the new Trade & Industry minister should come.

Another question that remains unanswered is why Durr agreed to go to London. It was an appointment that appears to have been sprung on him. Having been SA's ambassador to the Court of St James, important though

the position may be, is not necessarily an automatic springboard to rapid advancement back home in the National Party. That, at any rate, is the experience of previous incumbents. Dawie de Villiers is an also-ran in the Cabinet and the magnificently eloquent Denis Worrall a country solicitor.

Of course, Durr may have wanted to go. He is known to be upwardly socially mobile and a bit of a Flash Harry (if the titfer in the *Sunday Times* is anything to go by). In the approaching order of things, he may feel that an English-speaking Nat's life will be limited. Or he may have felt that the petty Cabinet jealousies over his trade missions abroad and more radical market-orientated policies that have upset some powerful lobbies at home, are no longer worth the candle — or at least not when the alternative is to hobnob with the *haut monde* at St James's.

Having said all that, it is also true that the diplomatic corps is sadly in need of resuscitation. The appointment of the late Tertius Myburgh from the editorship of an opposition liberal newspaper to become a Nat envoy in Washington suggests that De Klerk realises that some drastic action needs to be taken. According to retired diplomats, the root of our ambassadorial malaise is the egocentricity of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. The result is that he runs the best diplomatic kindergarten in the West. But he can field few, if any, heavy hitters from within his own department.

There are those who will interpret Schwarz's appointment to Washington as being merely a substitution. But Myburgh and Schwarz were men of such profoundly differing dispositions that the banishment theory to which we have already referred will find some credence, too.

So spare a thought for Pik. With the ambitious and energetic Durr in London and the combustible Schwarz in Washington, what anxiety may he have clutched to his bosom?

The plain fact is that Durr's exile (voluntary or otherwise) does not augur well for the formation of market-orientated trade and tariff policies in this country. For he brought to his post at Trade & Industry an intellectual appreciation of the totality of the policies under his stewardship and had a sure eye for what needed to be done. It is difficult to identify similar characteristics in any other junior minister. ■



SA will learn from Africa's mistakes

304A
Sowetan
7/12/90

WASHINGTON - South Africa had the dubious honour of being the last country in Africa to be liberated, but this enabled it to learn from the rest of the continent's mistakes, former kwaZulu/Natal Indaba chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo has said in the United States.

He was addressing a conference of the Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies in Washington on Wednesday.

He said the US could help South Africa develop a successful post-apartheid society by providing the training and encouragement necessary to inculcate the spirit of democracy in the people of the country.

The history of Africa since decolonisation had shown the survival of democracy on the continent could not be taken for granted, he said.

Peace may be shortlived

304A

7/12/90

By MONK NKOMO

SOUTH Africa is moving towards a settlement that will only buy peace for two years and then collapse, according to Mr Eugene Nyathi, a political analyst.

Referring to negotiations between the Government and the African National Congress, Nyathi said the ANC should not have rushed to the negotiation table because they were not ready to negotiate.

"They should have asked the Government to give them at least 10 months to prepare themselves".

Nyathi was speaking at the first anniversary of the Pretoria Media Club on Tuesday night.

"We are headed for a settlement that will buy peace for two years and then collapse."

He said ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, needed dispassionate competent advisors and not "viva brigades".

WE CASH CHEQUES

AWB Sends chilling warning to Mandela

Political Reporter

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche has warned ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela personally that the AWB's commandos would "deal with you fast and efficiently" if the ANC were to march over "Boer territory".

In a letter which was faxed to the ANC's Johannesburg head office, and which was released to the media, Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB reserved the right to defend itself in view of continued "blatant intimidation". The letter was faxed for the

attention of Mr Mandela of SACP leader Joe Slovo or ANC and SACP executive member Mac Maharaj.

Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB was in possession of a copy of the ANC's directive to branches which noted that "the strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared".

In a chilling warning to the ANC and SACP, Mr TerreBlanche said: "(We) wish to inform you that you cannot scare the Boer people in their own country."

"Should you dare to inflict harm on any member of our nation, and the SAP and SADF are unable to defend us due to the disloyalty of the Government to their nation, then our commandos

will deal with you fast and efficiently."

"The territory on which you intend to march is the property of the Boer nation."

"Promises and expectations created by the De Klerk Government are not recognised by the AWB as they are acting without a mandate from the electorate."

"We reserve the right to defend ourselves when you continue with this kind of blatant intimidation."

"We are aware that your marches are nothing but rehearsals with the intent to start your communist-inspired bloody revolution against our nation in their own country. You have been warned."



On the watch . . . AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and his commandos look on as a protest march goes by in Welkom earlier this year.
Picture: Herbert Mabuza

SA is on 'a knife's

edge'

RAMSAY MILNE

NEW YORK

Playwright Arthur Miller, who this week visited South Africa to take part in a television documentary for the BBC, which will include a lengthy interview with Nelson Mandela, has formed some strong impressions of the country — awarding both good and bad marks to South African whites and expressing great enthusiasm for Mr Mandela.

In an interview published in the New York Times yesterday, the noted writer says he has found South Africa suffused with the same frailties and follies that he has explored in his plays.

Hypocrisy

"All the wrong choices were made right down the line and now the birds have come home to roost," he told the newspaper's correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren.

Miller leaves with mixed feelings



ARTHUR MILLER: Impressed by Mandela.

As an American arriving from New York, he said he had found "there's less hypocrisy about racism" in South Africa perhaps. But, among South African whites "there's a sense that their eyes stop seeing".

Miller said he was struck by the opulent lifestyle that many whites enjoyed. "I have seen some of the most expensive homes across the road from a garbage dump where people are consigned to live. It's like a play where people are blind to what's around them. In a way, it's the worst of your dreams."

"They live a wonderful life. But you pick up the paper and there's an advertisement for razor

wire in your home. The fear is an inch below the surface. I've found less of it among blacks."

His impression of Mr Mandela, he said, after spending 2½ hours talking to him at his Soweto home was that the ANC leader was more pragmatic than his more militant speeches suggested.

"Had he been born into a peaceful society, he would have been a judge," said Miller.

He said he sensed that Mr Mandela was trying to distance himself from the ANC's pledge to nationalise major industries. "I said: 'You don't have a fixed ideological position?' He said: 'Absolutely not,'" Miller reported.

Miller said he had asked Mr Mandela whether the ANC wanted the white community to come up with its own proposals for a more equitable distribution of wealth and Mr Mandela replied that he did.

"He said: 'All we want is jobs and houses and the rest of it ... Whatever method will bring us that is what we want'."

After meeting a group of South African businessmen, Miller said he believed they wanted to adjust to political change. They were, he said, "absolutely committed to a new way of life, and I think they mean it."

Of the factional black violence taking place in and around Johannesburg, Miller said he thought this presaged a more ominous outcome.

Paralysis

What Miller had seen of a changing South Africa did not seem to hearten him. "It's like a dream paralysis where you're reaching toward something and you simply can't extend your arm," he said. "I don't think it's hopeless. I think it's on the edge of a very narrow knife that could go either way."

TALKS IN DANGER, SAYS SLOVO



Joe Slovo ... not "derailed", but proper talks not likely soon.

CIPW
9/12/90

304A

Violence, govt delays the main obstacles

TALKS between the ANC and the government were in danger with negotiations proper unlikely to kick off early next year.

That is the view of leading ANC member and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, who reckoned that the talks have not yet been "derailed".

"But I think there are very serious danger signals," he said in one of the most forthright comments yet from an ANC leader on what are still "talks about talks".

Clearly angered by Pretoria's demand that the ANC stop the use of mass action, the SACP chief said: "I think we have got to make clear to them that we are not a defeated enemy. We are very much alive and we have the power to move towards the transformation - if not by peaceful dialogue, then by other means."

President J.W. de Klerk and his team of negotiators were using the talks process "as a terrain of struggle - a phrase which we have always used to characterise what we should be doing".

But lately, he said, Pretoria had been more effective than the ANC. He pointed out the government had an edge on the ANC in terms of resources and established structures.

Slovo said it was not possible to "begin serious negotiations on the constitutional future with most of our exiles outside, with most of our prisoners still locked up, and with indemnities unreasonably tied to a commitment to cease the political struggle".

There is a growing impatience within ANC ranks over what they see as the government's failure to meet its side of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. And this is likely to be intensely debated at the ANC's three-day consultative conference this week.

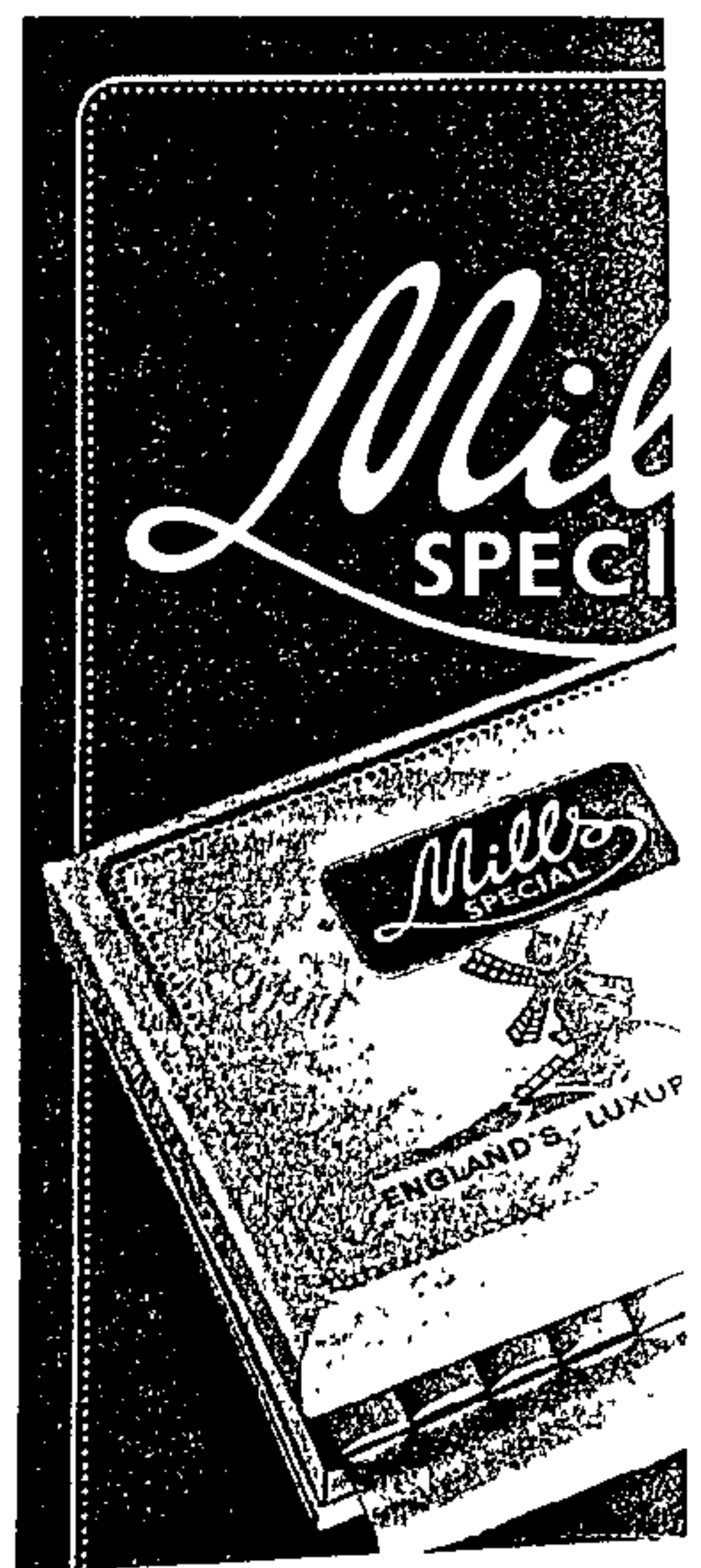
Slovo also reckoned negotiations would founder in the long term if the bloody township violence could not be resolved.

He said Pretoria needed to understand the ANC would not continue the talks if it became "clear the regime is not prepared to do anything about the carnage being perpetrated against our people".

But Slovo said the ANC still believed Pretoria was interested in talking. The government knew, he said, "that without the kind of resolution we are trying to work for, there is no way they will emerge from their crisis". - AIA



She's a winner! Says petite Julia Makgalemele who walked off with the Miss Black South Africa 1990 crown. "I will do everything to contribute to my community." See Page 3. BY PLO TLADIKHUELE



bolts from the deck

'Summit' looks at local government

Billy Paddock 304A

RESTRUCTURING of local government was high on the agenda of the special three-day "bosberaad" attended by Cabinet and other senior government members which ended at the weekend.

Also high on the agenda at the summit — held at an undisclosed venue after a three-day Cabinet meeting — were the state of negotiations and the repeal of the Group Areas Act and replacement measures.

Sources said yesterday government regarded the collapse of black local authorities as a major crisis and was working on short- and long-term strategies to ensure township administration was maintained.

Short-term emergency measures already in operation in some areas included the appointment of administrators.

Sources said this could be expanded further as an interim measure.

They said the formulation of new legislation, to be introduced early next year, was well advanced and government was considering provisions for the joint administration of black and white councils.

Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said last week government agreed in principle that black local authorities, as currently constituted, had no place in a new SA.

Government was considering new models for local government and wanted this high on the agenda for negotiations of a new constitution.

□ To Page 2

Local govt

Sources said the new models, along the lines of joint councils, could be in operation early in 1992, and to make this possible the Electoral Act would have to be reformulated.

The framework government was using for its models was the so-called Thornhill report which the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, chaired by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, had accepted in October this year.

It is believed a possible Cabinet reshuffle — expected early next year — came up for discussion at weekend.

It is likely that the changes will happen in April to coincide with Trade and Indus-

try Minister Kent Durr's departure to take up an ambassadorship in London.

Senior Cabinet members such as Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe could be freed from their posts to enable them to represent the NP at future negotiations.

MATTHEW CURTIN reports Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Piet Wilken said yesterday the TPA intended launching a campaign to extend administrative cooperation between black and white town councils.

Such a scheme was already operating between the Klerksdorp and Jouberton town councils, Wilken said.

□ From Page 1

Violence:

Star 10/12/90

Mandela,

FW meet

(204) (10) (304A)
President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on Saturday held an urgent meeting to discuss the continuing violence plaguing black townships.

In a joint statement, the leaders said the meeting focused on the continuing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property as well as the destabilisation of communities.

"Significant progress was made. We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis, we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps," the statement said.

It said that of primary importance was the need to focus on the resolution of outstanding problems regarding paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute states: "In the interests of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed action with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place."

"It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed that no further public statements would be made on the issue. — Sapa.

Mugabe talks bluntly about De Klerk

By Gerald L'Ange
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has sent a blunt message to President de Klerk. He admires his courage and reforms, but will not meet him until he is satisfied the abolition of apartheid is irreversible.

In an interview at State

House in Harare, Mr Mugabe said he had deliberately avoided meeting Mr de Klerk because he did not want to be seen bestowing acceptance on him until the main issue of removing apartheid had been resolved in South Africa.

He described his attitude towards Mr de Klerk as "warding him off and not giving him the comfort that

he is already completely acceptable to us — he's not, and he will not be until he has resolved the issue".

Mr Mugabe's refusal to meet Mr de Klerk is being maintained in spite of the growing move among black African states to deal openly with South Africa and that several African leaders have met him.

However, his decision to

grant an interview to a South African journalist, believed to be the first of this kind he has given in 10 years, is seen in diplomatic quarters in Harare as a significant indication of a desire to communicate his views across the Limpopo.

Asked whether he was prepared to follow the example

● To Page 3

Mugabe speaks bluntly

● From Page 1

of other African leaders and meet Mr de Klerk, he said: "Deliberately we have avoided him, not because we don't admire what he is doing — we do very much.

"We hope, however, that he will step up his efforts in getting the various parties in South Africa to meet at a round table so they can finally resolve the whole political issue.

"And we encourage him, but we do not want to be used now, opportunistically, for purposes of attaining other goals which are divorced from the main theme (which) is internal: the resolution of this whole apartheid issue and the creation of a democratic state."

On Mr de Klerk's reforms, he said: "We admire Mr de Klerk. He really has done the unex-

pected.

"All of a sudden, there emerged in South Africa a man who was very courageous, who had the courage to denounce a philosophy that for quite a long time had been criticised and denounced by the international community, the philosophy of apartheid, and to try to redirect the thinking of his party and his people.

"We are happy that this event has occurred. It's a revolution."

Asked what further actions were expected from Pretoria before Harare would abandon its refusal to deal with it at Ministerial level, Mr Mugabe said that the fundamental issue was whether political power had been given to the people.

He said he could see no reason why a dispensation recognising the oneness of a community

should not be a good one for South Africans.

"If anything, our experience has placed on record that whites and blacks can live in harmony with each other, and that past differences will not really persist and be allowed to affect the new philosophy of oneness, and I would want to believe that what we have experienced, and still are experiencing in Zimbabwe, could very well be the experience of South Africa."

Mr Mugabe conceded that in the beginning whites in South Africa might feel anxious about their position under black majority rule. But he did not believe the ANC or the PAC would want to see an all-black parliament or an all-black government.

● 'A view from a distance' — Page 13.

F A tottering drunk tries to pick a fight, the wiser course is not to humour him but to shut up and get out of the way. In reacting to the UN General Assembly's annual rant about apartheid last week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha chose the less wise course.

Instead of treating the exercise with the aloofness it properly deserved, Botha fired off a lengthy missive to the assembly's president complaining that the "debate" was "inappropriate, uncalled for and counterproductive". Of course it was, but what could possibly be gained from saying so?

The only party with a real stake in the outcome was the ANC, whose foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki was on hand throughout the week trying to coax just one more worthless bit of paper out of the assembly to maintain the illusion of the congress's international standing.

That the movement feels obliged to place so much reliance on the Assembly scarcely reflects well upon its relative potency. The forum is, in essence, a losers' club, one of the few places where the failed get to play on equal footing with the successful, and no questions are asked about the reasons for their failure.

The Foreign Minister's first mistake was to take the proceedings seriously. His second was to panic. Somehow, he got it into his head that the US and the Europeans were going to betray him and, as they had done in December last year and again in September, support yet another "consensus" resolution based in the views of the ANC.

He telephoned US Secretary of State James Baker to complain. Baker and his team were not amused by the imputation. They thought they had been clear on the subject. Their resident had called the process of change in SA "irreversible"; therefore they were not about to vote for any UN text which contradicted that. Did the Minister doubt their word? Next time he wished to take up the

Pik Botha should have stayed aloof of UN debate

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SIMON BARBER in New York

secretary's time, he had better have a solid reason.

Now, to be fair, government has domestic grounds for fearing another one-sided UN "consensus". It is clearly anxious to show its more jittery constituents that its policies are earning the international rewards they merit and that the outside world does not intend to stack the deck permanently in favour of the "liberation movements".

The problem lies in government's selection of benchmarks to demonstrate the progress it is making abroad and in its desire for symbolic victories — nicer words from the UN, for example — when practical ones are not only more abundant, but altogether more significant as well. Frankly, it matters not one whit what rhetorical formulae the General Assembly finally adopts this week or even whether or not there is consensus on them. Nor is there any point in worrying about what the EC heads of government may decide in Rome on Thursday.

They may agree to lift sanctions. They may agree to lift more than a pat on the back. Perhaps they will listen to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and choose to maintain "existing measures" for a few more months.

The point is that the ANC can have all the pretty verbiage it wants. What counts is reality, and the reality is that UN resolutions on SA are worthless and the "existing measures" of the EC are becoming increasingly non-existent. Italy, in fact, has ended virtually all sanctions and reportedly intends to say so if the other 11 don't agree to follow suit at this week's meeting.

Little noticed amid the hot air swirling around the General Assembly last week were the sheaves of supporting documentation dumped into the hopper by the UN's vast anti-apartheid bureaucracy. Unconsciously or not, all told but one story: the sanctions edifice is crumbling and there is nothing anyone can do about it.

The UN special committee against apartheid's annual report contains a litany of countries in all corners of the globe that are violating or ignoring every sanctions resolution — from the arms and oil embargoes on down the list — the UN has ever advocated or sought to impose.

The committee is particularly pained to observe the burgeoning of

SA's diplomatic and economic ties with Eastern Europe and Africa. Madagascar, the Ivory Coast and Zaïre are singled out, the latter two as "springboards" for "the establishment of depots to handle the flow of SA exports to surrounding countries".

"There is a perceived contradiction," the report notes mournfully, "between, on the one hand, the vigorous condemnation of apartheid by these countries, and on the other hand, their practical conduct."

When the committee has sought to remonstrate with individual sinners, the responses are increasingly of the you-know-where-you-can-put-it variety. Mauritius, for example, was asked whether it intended to let its citizens take advantage of relaxed SA visa requirements for trade and tourism purposes. The reply came back: "Mauritius is a democratic country and Mauritians are free to travel anywhere."

The Soviet Union was queried on its agreement to provide five years' diamond production to De Beers in return for a \$1bn loan. The Soviet permanent representative insolently replied: "There is no question of a transaction with a South African company. The fact that the company's name is associated with the

name 'De Beers' cannot be the basis for regarding that transaction as contravening UN decisions."

The reactions of oil producers accused of breaking the oil embargo are particularly sublime. In the course of last week's debate, the Israeli representative quoted Norway's minister of foreign affairs as telling his parliament that "95% of the oil supplied to SA comes from Arab states in the Persian Gulf, one half of this in direct shipments".

Kuwait's envoy rose to challenge this assertion as "unfair and insincere". On what grounds? Well, the Norwegian official who had made the statement in question was not the foreign minister and therefore could not have said such a terrible thing in parliament.

That being the level at which the General Assembly operates, what reasonable person can place much store by its deliberations?

The ANC is desperate for a consensus document calling for the maintenance of "existing" pressures. The only logical explanation is that it soon intends to face facts and ask for the suspension of sanctions while there are still some left to be suspended and for whose removal it might be able to demand something in return.

It also wishes to argue that the international community supports its view that government is foot-dragging on such issues at the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

More generally, it yearns to be able to say that the world takes its side in negotiations on a new constitution. In short, it is looking to the UN for certification as the true and only master of SA's fate.

The irony is that by relying on the General Assembly to achieve this, it actually succeeds in demonstrating quite the opposite of what it intends. Whatever resolution is finally adopted this week, and regardless of who supports it, the ANC will have betrayed not its strength, but its weakness. The General Assembly and its resolutions are the last refuge of the hapless.

Sowetan 11/12/90

Nats indaba bolsters hopes for changes

(304A)

SPECULATION was rife in political circles yesterday that major changes could be in the pipeline following the Cabinet's three-day meeting last week followed by a two-day "bosberaad" which ended at the weekend at an undisclosed venue.

The bush indaba, attended by the entire National Party caucus outside Pretoria, is believed to have discussed a number of thorny issues, notably the Government's approach to negotiations which are expected to get off the ground next year.

CP vows to fight interim govt plan

Sowetan 11/12/90

304A

THE Conservative Party has vowed to fight an interim government which includes the involvement of the ANC in governing structures, CP deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in a statement yesterday.

Hartzenberg said the CP was shocked at reports government had decided to set up an alternative negotiating team which would negotiate on behalf of the National Party, while the government would operate as "a sort

of arbiter".

"It is clear that this is an attempt to reach consensus with the ANC's demand of an interim government," Dr Hartzenberg said.

"The result would be that the ANC would in certain aspects be absorbed into a government structure with elements of an interim government.

"The CP would fight such an interim government with determination," the statement concluded.

Mugabe's hopes for South Africa

304A

Sowetan
11/12/90

QUESTION: As South Africa moves closer to throwing off apartheid, members of the ruling white minority are giving serious thought to what political system should replace it. Some, fearing being swamped by the black majority, favour a division of political power in some form of federal system.

Your government, which instituted a policy of racial reconciliation on gaining power, favours a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state in South Africa, which means black majority rule, as in Zimbabwe. What reasons for accepting majority rule in a unitary state would you give to South Africans looking for guidance?

ANSWER: Let me begin by clarifying our position on South Africa *vis-a-vis* the political system that South Africa should have in the event of a negotiated settlement being reached.

We have no right to dictate to the South Africans what system they desire. It is up to South Africans to determine that system. We can only advise them if that advice is sought.

But certainly the issue of the nature of the political system is one that the South Africans themselves must seek to negotiate.

I would want to believe that some ideas have already been given or thrown about by both sides, the blacks as represented by the ANC and PAC and others and then the white side as represented by President de Klerk.

But our distant view, if it means anything, is that South Africa must work to preserve its oneness.

It's a oneness that is historical and if it has been found workable and better to have a South Africa that is integrated in a unitary system all along, why should it be allowed to disintegrate merely because the blacks are now recognised as having a role to play in the future of South Africa?

It would be a pity if it was allowed to disintegrate. If the South

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe at the weekend gave an interview to a South African journalist. This is an edited version of his talk with GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of *The Sowetan Africa News Service*.

Africans prefer now a federal system to a unitary one it's up to them but our belief is that a unitary system is better.

Our own view regarding Zimbabwe is that Zimbabwe is one. We are a small country and perhaps our example may not be one South Africa would want to follow in regard to a political system, that is, in regard to its being unitary or federal.

QUESTION: Could you give white South Africans any reassurance, from Zimbabwe's own experience and from its influential position in Africa, that they would benefit from accepting a dispensation similar to that in Zimbabwe?

ANSWER: Sure, I don't see any reason why a dispensation like ours, namely one which recognises the oneness of the community, the oneness of the people, should not be a good one for the South Africans.

If anything, our experience has placed on record that white and blacks can live in harmony with each other and that past differences will not really persist and be allowed to affect the newer philosophy of oneness.

I would want to believe that what we have experienced and still are experiencing in Zimbabwe could very well be the experience of South Africa.

QUESTION: Many white South Africans are looking at Zimbabwe as an example of what South Africa might be like under a simple majority rule system.

Some argue that whites in Zimbabwe have ended up without political influence and therefore dependent on people of a different cultural background to look after their interests. Could you comment on this view?

ANSWER: I don't think that

the whites have ended up without influence. The whites still have a tremendous amount of influence in the country. We have three (white) Ministers in government who are playing a very vital role in helping to shape the destiny of the country and they are highly regarded and respected by the white community.

But, of course, we regard them not just as representatives of the whites but as representatives of the entire Zimbabwean nation.

This is the concept which I think in the long run will help us consolidate this nonracial oneness which we have created and would also, in circumstances in which South Africa would follow our experience, help it also to consolidate that oneness.

If the view is maintained that whites, because they are white or because they have a different cultural background, should be treated as whites, then you will have to do that in respect of the other groups and you might have to sub-divide the whites.

Why should the whites be considered as of one culture merely because of the colour of their skin? You have Germans, you have British and Afrikaners, you have Jews, you have Portuguese and should all those now be sub-divided into little categories each deserving its own treatment? Otherwise we end up with a society that is really torn up rather than united.

And if it is unity that people are aiming at then there should be a move towards integration, integration, mind you, that will not be compelled but which will have its parameters well spelled out by way of enunciated policies.

There are certain things that can be compelled, of course. We



ROBERT MUGABE

should never tolerate discrimination, for instance.

I personally believe, and I think this is also the philosophy of many progressive forces in South Africa including, of course, the ANC and PAC and the progressive white groups, that a man should be recognised just as a man, a human being and that's it.

But if we are going to recognise that other members of the human race have better qualities than others merely because they are of that race then we continue to maintain a backward philosophy and it will be apartheid in another form.

I do concede that at the beginning the whites might feel a bit nervous and anxious about their own position given the political history that South Africa has had and even here they had that fear. Now you have whites being returned (to Zimbabwe's parliament) on the same basis as everybody else.

I have three whites in the Cabinet. And I think that is welcomed by all members of our society and I would want to believe that the ANC, PAC, the black community, would not want to see an all-black parliament.

It would be a disgrace if that happened. Nor would they want to see an all-black government in the country in which you have such a substantial number of whites and so the whites should not be afraid.

It's a sell-out, claims CP

Star 11/12/90

Political Staff

The Conservative Party yesterday expressed shock at the revelation that the Government was planning to appoint a special negotiating team of senior Ministers, saying the Government was now giving in to the ANC's demand for an interim government.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg denounced the revelation — which has been dismissed as "mere speculation" by a spokesman in President de Klerk's office — claiming it was another example of the Government selling whites out.

Dr Hartzenberg said it was with shock that the CP had learnt that at the weekend the Government had, in principle, accepted to appoint a team of senior Ministers to negotiate on behalf of the National Party while it operated as "some kind

of an arbiter

"It is obvious that this idea is an attempt to meet the ANC's demand for an interim government," said Dr Hartzenberg. "The result will be that the ANC will, to a certain degree, be brought in to Government structures with elements of an interim government."

He also said the joint statement by Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela condemning violence after their meeting in Pretoria on Saturday contrasted sharply with the statement by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani on Sunday that the armed struggle had to be intensified.

Dr Hartzenberg said the two leaders' joint statement also contrasted with police intelligence information provided to the media in the past about the ANC's plans to engage in a "big scale revolution".

304A

Working group talks on armed action still stalled

B. L. Paddock

2/12/90 BILLY PADDOCK

304A

THE government/ANC working group on armed action has not met for three weeks because President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have not been able to agree on what constitutes activities related to "armed action".

Sources said yesterday the target date for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles agreed to by both sides was now in doubt unless a breakthrough was reached soon.

This was because of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's decision that the return of exiles should be linked to progress made in resolving matters relating to the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle.

The ANC accuses government of tardiness in implementing other sections of the Pretoria Minute, such as the release of political prisoners, and is unwilling to compromise further than it has to on "related activities" until it sees progress in the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

The working group's task bogged down over government's insistence that mass mobilisation and recruiting for the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were related activities to armed action and contrary to the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, and the ANC's rejection of this.

Both parties decided three weeks ago to suspend their work until the two principals had reached agreement on the definition of a related activity.

The sentences of paragraph three of the minute which are in dispute are: "As a result of this, no armed actions or related activities by the ANC and its military wing MK will take place"; and "Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

SA was right to have its say

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3 DUH

PIK BOTHA Foreign Affairs Minister

I DO not want to quarrel with Simon Barber about his article "Pik Botha should have stayed aloof of UN debate" published yesterday. After all, he will always have the last word. And there is a lot I can agree with, particularly as regards the UN's vast anti-apartheid bureaucracy which could now be called the "pro-apartheid" bureaucracy because of its vested interest in prolonging apartheid. In any event, I find his style captivating and his contributions thought provoking.

But Mr Barber has missed the point in suggesting we should have ignored the debate on SA in the General Assembly.

The fact is that we have a positive and persuasive message to convey to the world, and we believe we should use every available opportunity to do so. Since we are barred from participating in proceedings of the General Assembly, the only way we could get that message across was by means of a letter to the President of the General Assembly. In normal circumstances, our representative would have participated in the debate and Mr Barber would have thought nothing of it.

Many countries, and particularly

their representatives at the UN, have great difficulty in coming to terms with the changes which have taken place here, and persist in repeating the assertions and accusations which characterised their public statements of past years. This was again evident in the debate in the General Assembly last week. We learned that some of them were propagating the inclusion of provisions in a working draft of a resolution on SA which were reminiscent of resolutions adopted during the darker days of apartheid. The Western nations were resisting these attempts in behind-the-scenes discussions and trying to insert in the working draft some acknowledgement of the changes which had taken place in SA.

We also detected a greater readiness on the part of some of our past adversaries to be more flexible and forthcoming in passing judgment on us. This was a new phenomenon. Should we have sat back and ig-

nored all these circumstances, relying on others gratuitously to do our lobbying for us? For once SA had a few significant protagonists at the UN trying to ensure that the proceedings reflected an honest assessment of SA. In our opinion, the least we could do was to support their efforts with a reaffirmation of government policies, undertakings and commitments. However worthless Mr Barber might consider the General Assembly and its proceedings to be, the governments and representatives of many notable countries thought the proceedings sufficiently important for them actively to oppose the attempts of some to portray an SA which no longer exists.

Whatever may or may not have been achieved by our initiative, we

could not possibly have damaged our case at the UN by writing the letter. Our impression is that it served a useful purpose. And, inasmuch as it represents an accurate and detailed presentation of government policy and objectives, as well as the progress achieved on the way to realising those objectives, it now forms a part of the record of the proceedings of the General Assembly in all six official languages of the UN and is available in virtually every capital city of the world to students and historians researching SA history.

We could not allow our case to go by default. When one has a good product one markets it. Why should we allow the proceedings to turn out negatively for us when we are in a position to influence the course of events to our advantage, as I believe we have done, not only by writing the letter in question to the President, but also by the action we took earlier in the year of fully informing governments of developments here?

Perhaps it did not occur to Mr Barber that my Department and I had received advice from a number of responsible governments to ensure that the UN was properly informed of the latest developments in SA in order to enable their representatives to counter harmful allegations which had been presented to delegates at closed meetings.

It is wrong to say that I telephoned Secretary (of State James) Baker to complain. I telephoned him in the first instance to convey certain sentiments of President (F W) de Klerk to President (George) Bush on the situation in the Middle East. Mr Baker appreciated this message. We then discussed the debate in the General Assembly.

I did not for one moment have any doubt about the US's position. I wished to alert him to certain activities behind the scenes in New York, and also supplied information on events in Africa which I knew he would find useful and interesting. The conversation was brief, friendly and mutually rewarding. He thanked me for the call and followed it up with a letter which I received three days after our telephone conversation.

LETTERS

Call for constituent assembly

3048
12/12/90

POLITICAL pressure is expected to mount on government negotiators in the new year over demands for a constituent assembly as the ANC and PAC prepare for talks to create a united political front.

Another key movement, Azapo which has long campaigned for black unity - would also be expected to be drawn into the process.

Demands for a constituent assembly would form the basis of unity, according to a senior ANC source.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo insist that the only way to create a new constitution is to give all people an equal vote on a single non-racial voters role to elect a

constituent assembly. On this basis, these organisations argue, a new constitution drawn up by the assembly would reflect the democratic choice of the country.

The government argues that a constituent assembly would render negotiations unnecessary and the result would not be acceptable to all. It says that only the most powerful organisations in such an assembly would get their way.

The commitment to a constituent assembly could effectively unite both those organisations that have become involved in the present round of negotiations - including certain homeland leaders - and those who have so far resisted invitations to talks.

But disagreement could arise over matters such as economic policy.

The ANC source also cautioned that unless there was a clear basis of accountability within such a front, it would not be effective.

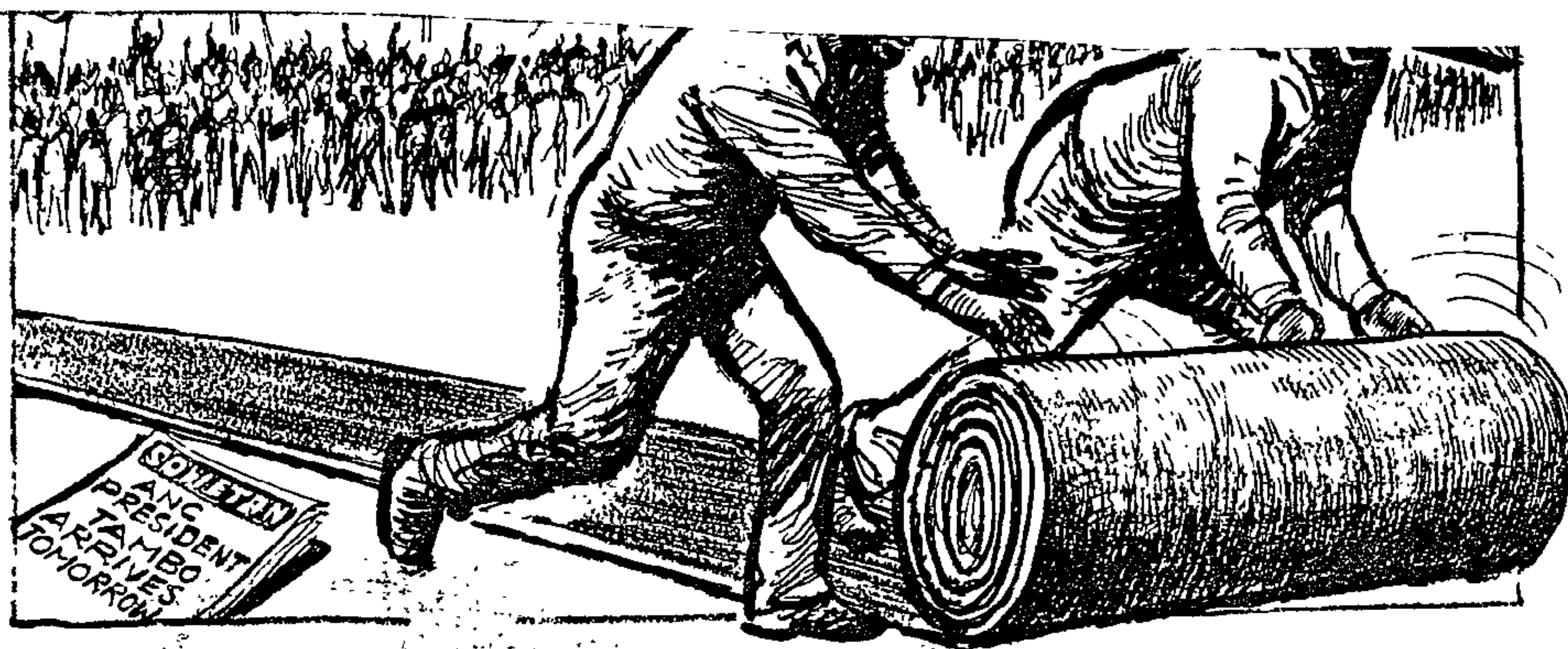
PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a decision in principle to form a united front was taken at a meeting in Kampala in Uganda in September this year between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC vice-president (former external chair) Johnson

Mlambo and Organisation of African Unity president Yoweri Moseveni. A date for the meeting had not yet been set.

This had been endorsed at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies; and that the PAC would influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front.

While rejecting participation in the present round of negotiations, the PAC was prepared to discuss the logistics of establishing a constituent assembly.



Bringing whiffs of Verwoerdian dreams

304A
Sowetan
12/12/90

PRESIDENT de Klerk caused some surprise by creating a new Ministry of Regional Development under Mr Amie Venter when he shuffled his Cabinet last month.

This seemed a strange move in the new South Africa. "Regional development" inevitably whiffs a little of the Verwoerdian dream of artificially developing regional areas to turn the tide of blacks away from "white" South Africa.

Furthermore, one of the chief policy tools of the new ministry will be industrial decentralisation incentives.

These were much discredited in the past because they were used to attract industries to the borders of the homelands - in pursuit of grand apartheid and often regardless of the economic costs.

The old industrial decentralisation scheme was put on ice in July this year because of its many failings and because it simply ran out of money.

Now a new, revised scheme is to be launched under the new ministry of regional development

next year.

Are these signs of a revival of decentralisation policy in the service of a new National Party political ideology?

Is it mere co-incidence that the new ministry has been created just as the NP is drawing draft plans for a federal system - with the nine economic development regions as second-tier states?

System

Confirming NP thinking, deputy Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Andre Fourie said in a speech this month that if the Government decided on a federal system, the most logical federal units would be the nine development regions.

If that is so, then the Government's constitutional plans could be served well by increasing the wealth, the population and thus the political clout of the nine regions.

Mr Coenie de Villiers, deputy director-general, Planning, and Mr Meyer du Toit, chief director of Development Co-ordination, in the new office of Regional Development, deny that the new

Did President de Klerk create the new Ministry of Regional Development to lay the foundations for a political federation based on the development regions? Senior officials say they don't know - but that the ministry is justified on purely economic grounds anyway, writes **Sowetan Political Correspondent**.

office has been given any political brief.

But they cannot rule out the possibility that the Government may have had some constitutional goal at the back of its mind when it created the new ministry - although they regard this as "speculative."

They also agree it is possible that by promoting the economic development of the nine regions - their basic goal - they might also indirectly be pursuing another goal of laying the economic foundations of a political federation.

Transport

They are adamant, though, that one does not need a political motive to justify regional development.

Mr de Villiers points out that there are gross imbalances among the different regions in popu-

question of developing the whole country to the advantage of all."

An area like the Northern Cape has not been developed to its full potential and is "exporting" jobs and wealth.

But the PWV area could also, in theory, receive development attention, through the provision of housing and shelter.

In fact, though, one of the main aims of regional development will be to create magnets to try to attract people to the secondary urban areas.

The aim will be to create alternative metropolises and prevent over-crowding in the present metropolises.

Wealth

The main "magnets" will not be a plethora of border "growth points" as in the apartheid past, but cities such as East London. This way industrialists will still be offered the advantages of economies of scale.

Both officials dismiss the popular idea that it is inherently cheaper to create a job in the metropolises than elsewhere, arguing there is no

proof of this - and some to the contrary.

They say that development in the metropolises has been artificially stimulated over the years by many "hidden incentives" such as transport subsidies.

They also believe that the unhindered free market does not always regard the overall development picture.

For example, industrial growth in the Western Cape is going to devour much more valuable farmland, unless development is deliberately routed up the west coast, says Mr du Toit.

Mr de Villiers says the new incentive scheme will not repeat the mistakes of the old scheme.

It will have to meet these general conditions:

*It must aim for optimal urbanisation outside the metropolises - rather than creating scores of growth points, a major fault of the old scheme.

*Existing infrastructure must be used as far as possible - rather than creating new.

*The aid must be minimal. In the old scheme, companies got the full package of aid measures, even if they didn't need them.

*It must be cost-effective. Beneficiary companies must eventually become self-sufficient, so the scheme pays for itself in tax revenue. (Mr de Villiers points out that even in the discredited old scheme some 85 percent

of beneficiaries became viable).

*It must promote productivity by providing incentives more on the output than input side.

*It must favour new investment such as relocation from overseas.

*It must primarily create new jobs rather than re-locating them domestically.

*It must be easy to implement.

Running the incentives scheme will be the main function of the Chief Directorate of Industrial Development in the new ministry.

This chief directorate has been taken over from the Department of Trade and Industry.

There will be two other chief directorates, taken over from the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs; the Chief Directorate of Regional Economic Planning and that of Development Co-ordination.



PRESIDENT DE KLERK

Star 12/12/90

Right wing will recall Blood River

South Africa's many white right-wing organisations this weekend will commemorate the Battle of Blood River, which ended in defeat for the Zulus after a pitched battle with the Voortrekkers on December 16 1838.

The Day of the Vow, named after the religious vow taken by Voortrekker leaders shortly before the battle, is seen by much of Afrikanerdom as their holiest day, although the more liberal section usually celebrates without any religious connotations.

The Boerestaat Party and Boere Weerstandsbeweging commemorate the event this Sunday with a braai, religious ceremony and day-long boeresport and boeremusiek at the farm Sandspruit, 12 km north of Randburg.

March

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche will address a meeting at Berg-en-Dal at Belfast on Saturday morning.

Shortly after this, his commandos will hold a mass demonstration and march through the streets of Middelburg.

The Afrikaner Volkswag, whose leaders are Professor and Mrs Carel Boshoff — she is Dr Verwoerd's daughter — will form a laager at Donkerhoek, about 30 km east of Pretoria.

Celebrants, wearing Voortrekker dress, will camp in caravans and tents.

There will also be gatherings at Pietersburg, Vereeniging, Bellville, Burgersfort and Natal's Blood River monument.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, formed in 1969 by Afrikaners disaffected with the National Party, will commemorate the Day of the Vow at Rooihuiskraal, Pretoria. — Sapa.

...with the they will have to keep
Seychelles meant higher fares at the present price
fares, but added: "There structures."

Graham Linscott discusses South Africa with a Kenyan academic

Trying to do two things at once

Sp 13/11/90

1990

THE other evening I met a professor on a pilgrimage. He was Professor Ali Mazrui, one of Africa's leading scholars, torch-bearer of democratic values in this continent and a man whose writings are familiar to thousands of South African political science students.

He was on a brief lecture tour and it was also a pilgrimage because, as he explained in his Durban hotel, every African has two homes — the place he was born (in his case Kenya) and South Africa.

How does he find his other home? Professor Mazrui appears to have mixed feelings.

Race relations are a lot better than might have been expected, he says. Attitudes are much more relaxed than they were in Zim-

babwe just after independence.

But he is bemused by the intricability of the political question. Are the whites prepared to give up power? Will President de Klerk hold on to his leadership of the white group?

South Africa is attempting to achieve simultaneously what the rest of Africa is trying to achieve in two stages — with a 30-year time interval. The stages are decolonisation and democratisation.

Apartheid merely internalised colonialism, he says. African states are groping toward democracy, having decolonised all those years ago. South Africa is attempting both processes at once.

He wonders whether this is possible without hideous violence in

which the African community would suffer most. He does not believe there will be free elections here before 1998.

Professor Mazrui studied at the University of Manchester, Columbia University and Oxford before taking up his first professorship at Makerere University in Uganda, one of Africa's leading seats of learning until it was devastated during the Idi Amin years.

He was there recently and says Makarere is re-asserting itself.

He is a visiting professor at two American universities and has conducted research on behalf of the World Bank.

Professor Mazrui has always been uncompromising in his criticism of corruption and nepotism in Africa. Calling recently for

public accountability of political leaders and protection of human rights, he published a checklist:

- How many prisoners have been convicted of political offences in the past five years?
- How many detainees are in prison right now?
- How often have educational institutions been closed for political reasons in the past 10 years?
- How many leaders of the regime have been tried for corruption in the past 10 years? (He notes wryly that "no trials for corruption" usually means people are getting away with it).
- What proportion of revenues are spent on armed forces as against education and other social services? □

'Establish a basis for talks' — FW

CNA-Tufs
14/12/90
308A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE biggest challenge for 1991 would be to establish methods and criteria for negotiations and get them working, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"This, in my opinion, should include representation for all political parties with proven support, the establishment of the basis on which decisions during the process will take place, and agreement on the relationship between the negotiation process and the process of government."

He also said the necessity for ending the fragmentation of local government on racial lines was accepted and was being urgently investigated.

"There has already been much progress in the planning of a new system which will recognise the concept of 'one city, one rate base'," Mr De Klerk said at the University of Stellenbosch where he received an honorary doctorate.

His speech indicated government confidence that the negotiations will in fact get off the ground next year.

"The political process has been irreversibly placed on a new road.

"We have broken out of old grooves and we are busy creating new horizons.

"South Africa will never be the same again."

This year had delivered a maelstrom of political ideas, positioning, conflict and tension, but it had also brought positive progress.

"We come to the end of 1990 with the

profound expectation that multi-party talks with the goal of constitutional talks will get off the ground in 1991.

"The focus has now started shifting from stumbling blocks to solutions. The phase for all political parties to participate constructively in the constitutional negotiation process is before us."

Remaining discriminatory legislation would be repealed and both the Group Areas Act and the Land Act would receive attention during next year's session of Parliament.

Security legislation was being revised to ensure the free political participation of everyone and as a result, the Internal Security Act would be amended in 1991.

The government would also meet its commitments with regard to security prisoners and exiles with the understanding that other parties would also meet their commitments.

Mr De Klerk said a clear and purposeful vision of the new, just South Africa was necessary and the system of values in line with the democratic and prosperous countries of the world would be the compass on this difficult road.

He also called for a halt to "futile and senseless" disruption of community councils, which was causing much pain and misery in black communities.

"Stop fighting and threatening something which, in any case, is going to disappear."

The strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures at local government level had to stop, Mr De Klerk said.

'One city, one tax base'

3048

New deal for local govt is near — FW

8/09/14/2/90

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk said yesterday government had accepted the need to abolish separate, racially defined local authorities and said considerable progress had been made towards creating a system of local government based on "one city, one tax base".

De Klerk appealed to opponents of black local authorities "to stop fighting and making threats about something which is going to disappear anyway".

Much work had been done in this direction and further announcements would be made in due course, De Klerk said after receiving an honorary doctorate in philosophy from the University of Stellenbosch.

De Klerk added the plans for a new system of joint-local government were at an advanced stage and that full-scale constitutional negotiations were imminent.

The negotiation of a new system of local and regional government has emerged as a priority as campaigns to dismantle existing black local authorities have exacerbated and, in the case of Khayelitsha, been a cause of township violence.



DE KLERK

LESLEY LAMBERT

De Klerk appealed to those opposing black local authorities to stop fighting and "get ready to enter incisive discussions and negotiations on a new local government system — soon".

Government recently released broad proposals for a new system of local government in the Thornhill report and many local authorities have been pressing for local negotiations to start ahead of national constitutional negotiations. ANC constitutional spokesmen have recently indicated an increasing acceptance of decentralised government.

De Klerk also used the opportunity to declare the way open for a multiparty constitutional summit next year.

He said the focus of negotiations had started to shift from obstacles to solutions and the time had come for all political parties with proven support to enter the constitutional negotiation process.

Government would continue to honour its agreements on security prisoners and exiles on the understanding that other parties honoured their obligations, he said.

De Klerk said the major challenge of 1991 would be to determine and implement methods and criteria for negotiation. These would include:

- ☐ Inclusion, or representation, for all parties with proven support;
- ☐ Determination of the basis for decision-taking during the process; and,
- ☐ Agreement on the relation between the processes of negotiation and government.

SA will never be the same says De Klerk

Sowetan 14/12/90

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday declared the way open for the next exploratory phase on the way to negotiations on constitutional reform.

He said multiparty talks with a view to a constitutional conference would start next year.

De Klerk also indicated that the present local government system would soon make way for joint, nonracial structures.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony of the University of Stellenbosch where he received an honorary doctorate degree, De Klerk said moves towards negotiations were imminent.

He also confirmed that discriminatory legislation would be repealed in the coming session of Parliament and that security legislation was being reviewed.

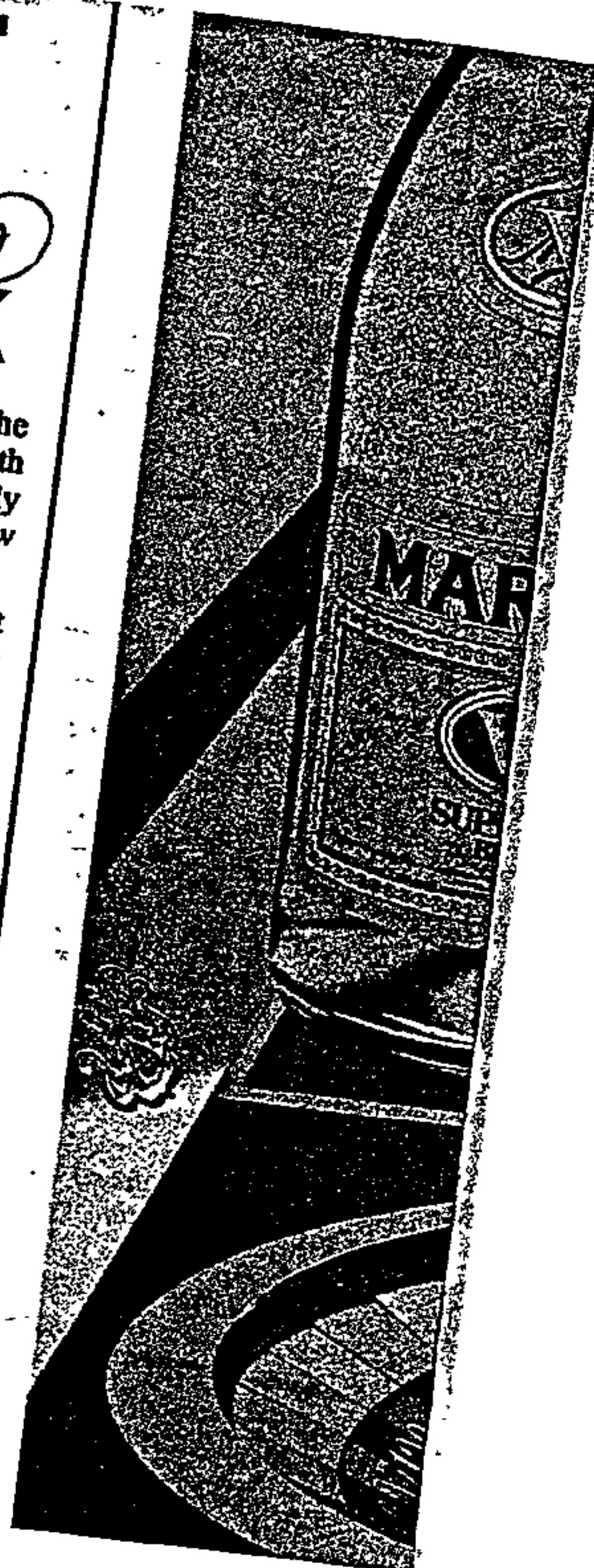
De Klerk said the political process in South Africa had irrevocably been placed on a new road.

"We have broken out of the old grooves and are busy creating new horizons. South Africa will never be the same again.

Hope

"If a new South Africa must provide hope and lasting peace for all its people then it must be characterised by the best and finest we believe in; it must be cleansed of what is unjust, racist and oppressive.

It must open the doors to representation, freedom, prosperity and progress for all South Africans; it must avoid what has failed here and elsewhere," said De Klerk. - Sowetan Correspondent.



Political Correspondent Peter Fabricius looks at the new Regional Development portfolio

Edging towards a federation?

Spur 14/12/90

(304A)

~~STEF~~ ~~STEF~~

PRESIDENT de Klerk caused some surprise by creating a new Ministry of Regional Development under Amle Venter when he shuffled his Cabinet last month.

This seemed a strange move in the new South Africa. "Regional development" inevitably whiffs a little of the Verwoerdian dream of artificially developing regional areas to turn the tide of blacks away from "white" South Africa.

Furthermore, one of the chief policy tools of the new ministry will be industrial decentralisation incentives.

These were much discredited in the past, because they were used to attract industries to the borders of the homelands — in pursuit of grand apartheid and often regardless of the economic costs.

The old industrial decentralisation scheme was put on ice in July this year because of its many failings and because it simply ran out of money. Now a new, revised scheme is to be launched under the new ministry next year.

Are these signs of a revival of decentralisation policy in the service of a new National Party political ideology? Is it mere coinci-

dence that the new ministry has been created just as the NP is drawing draft plans for a federal system — with the nine economic development regions as second-tier states?

Confirming NP thinking, Deputy Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Andre Fourie said in a speech this month that if the Government decided on a federal system, the most logical federal units would be the nine development regions.

If that is so, then the Government's constitutional plans could be served well by increasing the wealth, the population and thus the political clout of the nine regions.

Deputy director-general, planning, Coenie de Villiers, and chief director of development co-ordination, Meyer du Toit, in the new Office of Regional Development, deny the new office has been given any political brief.

But they cannot rule out the possibility that the Government may have had some constitutional goal at the back of its mind when it created the new ministry — although they regard this as "speculative".

They also agree it is possible that by promoting the development of the nine regions — their basic goal — they might also indirectly be pursuing another goal: laying the economic foundations of a political federation.

They are adamant, though, that one does not need a political motive to justify regional development. Mr de Villiers points out that there are gross imbalances among the different regions, in population and wealth.

The four main metropolitan areas accommodate 30 percent of the country's population, but create 62 percent of its wealth.

The secondary cities and larger towns contain 28 percent of the population and create 33 percent of the nation's wealth.

The "deep" rural areas accommodate 42 percent of the population and create only about 5 percent of wealth.

"We say we should try to take some development to those areas — without any bias to any political theory," Mr de Villiers says. "That is the basic motivation for regional development. The ideological thing is part of the past. The principle is not to prevent

people migrating to the cities. It is not a question of rural versus urban development. It's a question of developing the whole country to the advantage of all."

An area like the northern Cape has not been developed to its full potential and is "exporting" jobs and wealth. But the PWV area could also, in theory, receive development attention, through the provision of housing and shelter.

In fact, though, one of the main aims of regional development will be to create magnets to try to attract people to the secondary urban areas.

The aim will be to create alternative metropolises and prevent overcrowding in the present metropolises. The main "magnets" will not be a plethora of border "growth points" as in the apartheid past, but cities such as East London. This way industrialists will still be offered the advantages of economies of scale.

Both officials dismiss the popular idea that it is inherently cheaper to create a job in the metropolises than elsewhere, arguing there is no proof of this and some to the contrary. They say development in the

metropolises has been artificially stimulated over the years by many "hidden incentives", such as transport subsidies. This means the market mechanism has not been operating freely — and part of the objective of Government intervention through measures such as decentralisation incentives will be to compensate for these historical imbalances.

They also believe the unhindered free market does not always regard the overall development picture.

For example, industrial growth in the western Cape is going to devour much more valuable farmland, unless development is deliberately re-routed up the west coast, says Mr du Toit.

Mr de Villiers says the new incentive scheme will not repeat the mistakes of the old scheme. It will have to meet these general conditions:

- It must aim for optimal urbanisation outside the metropolises — rather than creating scores of growth points, a major fault of the old scheme.
- Existing infra-structure must be used as far as possible — rather than creating new ones.

- The aid must be minimal. In the old scheme, companies got the full package of aid measures, even if they didn't need them.
- It must be cost-effective. Beneficiary companies must eventually become self-sufficient, so the scheme pays for itself in tax revenue. (Mr de Villiers says even in the discredited old scheme some 85 percent of beneficiaries became viable).
- It must promote productivity by providing incentives more on the output than input side.
- It must favour new investment such as re-location from overseas.
- It must primarily create new jobs rather than re-locating them.
- It must be easy to implement.

Running the incentives scheme will be the main function of the Chief Directorate of Industrial Development in the new ministry. This chief directorate has been taken over from the Department of Trade and Industry.

There will be two other chief directorates, taken over from the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, the Chief Directorate of Regional Economic Planning and that of Development Co-ordination. □

Tos Wentzel, political staff, reflects that FW de Klerk said it very loud and clear

It'll never be the same again

sfw 17/12/90

304A

NEAR the end of the year, President de Klerk has given some indications of what he expects to happen in the new year. In his speech in Stellenbosch he expressed confidence that in 1991 good progress could be made on the way to negotiation.

on this issue first, but that there will be interim steps in the meantime. President de Klerk used the intriguing term, "one city, one tax base", and also spoke about "interim steps and negotiation initiatives aimed at the speedy institution of joint local management between all the communities of our towns and cities".

He urged those who are protesting against the present system to "stop fighting and threatening about something that is in any case going to disappear soon".

He also disclosed that considerable planning had already been done on what appears to be plans for common local government structures for all race groups.

Apart from the question of violence in the townships, the breakdown of the black local government system is the most serious problem the Government has faced lately. It has eclipsed the moves towards negotiations and it in fact threatens attempts to get negotiations going.

Black local government has

broken down all over the country, there have been wrangles between the Government and the ANC on the latter's "mass protest" actions on this issue and Mr de Klerk's indication of interim steps prior to negotiations indicates the serious light in which the Government views the matter.

In the past year, Mr de Klerk has built up a reputation, both in South Africa and abroad, for his credibility. He was therefore entitled to say: "We do what we say. We have constantly kept our word."

He did so when he confirmed that remaining discriminatory legislation, mainly the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, would be dealt with during next year's session of Parliament.

Mr de Klerk also referred to "agreement on the relationship between the negotiation process and the government process" as one of the criteria for negotiation.

Opposition groups have said the Government cannot be a player and the referee at the negotiation process, and there will therefore

have to be a division between the role of the Government and the National Party.

What Mr de Klerk therefore appears to have in mind is that the National Party will be one of the negotiating partners at the constitutional forum while the Government will continue to run the country.

This may eventually lead to prominent Ministers such as Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee withdrawing from the Cabinet to become full-time negotiators.

Government sources in Pretoria said this week that speculation about another Cabinet reshuffle soon was premature at this stage, but it may well come to this.

They point to the example of 1981 when the first President's Council to explore the present constitution started and when Cabinet Ministers such as Alwyn Schlebusch left the Cabinet to serve on the new body.

The Government remains implacably opposed to the idea of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Its argument is that it is recognised, internationally, too, as the legitimate, albeit minority, government of a sovereign South Africa and that the situation is not the same as in a country such as Namibia where the country was becoming independent.

Another argument against a constituent assembly is that its members will be bound by mandates obtained in elections and there will therefore not be much room for the give and take of real negotiations.

There is also concern about such a body doing its work in public, because this could lead to posturing and "grand-standing" to the various constituencies looking on.

Instead, there is the possibility of a constitutional forum liaising with the Government and that some interim proposals and changes can be brought about while negotiations are still in progress.

It now appears as if most of the first part of next year will be taken up with talks on how a constitutional forum should be composed and how it should function. There may have to be some cut-off date for such exploratory moves when those who do not want to participate will have to be left out.

There is concern in Government circles about the way in which the ANC does not appear to be able to get its act together. Some factions in the movement have misgivings about the leadership making too many concessions to the Government or about being outmanoeuvred by Mr de Klerk.

As some of his advisers and Ministers see it, Mr de Klerk now faces a year largely of consolidation.

As he, himself, put it in Stellenbosch, the political process in South Africa has irrevocably been placed on a new road and the country will never be the same again. Now it is on to the next big steps to the new South Africa. □

There could be further indications from Mr de Klerk in his last speech of the year at the Labour Party's congress in Cape Town on December 28. On that occasion he is also expected to talk about the possibility of alliances between the National Party and other parties on the way to a new South Africa.

Mr de Klerk has now made it clear that, in addition to his hopes for multiparty talks in the new year with a view to getting a constitutional forum going, the Government's top priority is to sort out the mess in black local government.

It even appears as if the Government would like to negotiate

TerreBlanche 304A threatens cleric on Day of Vow

Star 17/12/90
BELFAST — AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche was in a politically belligerent mood yesterday when he recalled how Afrikaner historian Professor Floors van Jaarsveld was tarred and feathered and went on to warn he would "get to" the "coloured" NG church minister, the Rev Russel Bothman, for suggesting the Day of the Vow be removed from the calendar.

Mr TerreBlanche levelled the threat during a Blood River memorial service at a Boer monument near Belfast.

He was referring to an incident on March 29 1979, when a group of AWB members, led by Mr TerreBlanche, had tarred and feathered Professor van Jaarsveld, who was delivering a speech questioning the religious nature of the Day of the Vow.

Pleaded

Mr TerreBlanche was fined R600, and nine other men were fined R300 over the incident.

This is the kind of treatment Mr TerreBlanche now wants to mete out to Mr Bothman, who had pleaded during a TV debate last week for the abolition of the Day of the Vow.

"I am just warning this coloured (church) minister to keep his mouth away from the Boers' holiday," Mr TerreBlanche said.

About 400 armed and uniformed AWB commando members and their families attended

the day's proceedings.

Mr TerreBlanche also called on Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to abolish Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He said this law had been introduced by the late Prime Minister, B J Voster, for the purpose of destroying communism.

"However, since the Government has now made friends with the communists ... the Act has not yet been abolished, even though Vlok should have done so. Instead, it is now being used in the most cruel fashion to lock up, without any access to law, Boer freedom fighters."

He warned once again that "the day the NP hands over power to the ANC, we Boers will take over the Government by force and implement our own Boer State".

● With the Vierkleur flying, about 70 Boerestaat Party supporters gathered yesterday near Randburg on the farm of their leader, Robert van Tonder, to commemorate the Day of the Vow.

The "Transvaalse Volkslied" was sung as a lament at the loss of the nation's freedom.

Asked why so few people had supported the event, Mr van Tonder smiled and said his only regret was that Andries Pretorius had defeated the Zulus during the school holidays. Had it been any other time of the year he was sure that more people would have been present. — Sapa-Staff Reporter.

FW set to hit back

Capt Tink 18/12/90

304A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to respond in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight to the ANC's threat to break off talks.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said yesterday the president would speak on matters facing the country, including the threat at the weekend by the ANC to withdraw from talks unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April 30.

The obstacles to negotiations the ANC wants removed are the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which Mr De Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night.

In his address after the 8pm news Mr De Klerk may respond to other hardline resolutions adopted at the ANC's consultative conference, including the decision to form self-defence units in the townships.

Government sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline had already been agreed to by both parties in the Pretoria Minute and it was expected that Mr De Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule.

A spokesman for the president also said last night that no request had been received from ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo to meet Mr De Klerk.

Mr Tambo returned to South Africa last week after being out of the country for 30 years. The two men have never met.

Group Areas

The United States State Department yesterday criticised the ANC's threat to suspend negotiations with the government if its conditions are not met as "regrettable" and said it may confuse South Africans about the organisation's intentions.

But the ANC's decision to endorse and continue its negotiations with the government was significant.

Referring to sanctions, a US spokesman pointed out that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1988 still governed US policy.

The act had laid down five conditions which South Africa had to satisfy before sanctions could be lifted.

Three of the conditions had already been met.

Those not yet satisfied were the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts.

● There is widespread fear among police, churches and political parties that the recent violence is the precursor to an all-out battle over the Christmas period.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, responding to the ANC weekend conference decision to form defence units, said the government would not tolerate private political armies or vigilantes usurping the functions of the police.

"Even the largest police force in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other," Captain Kotze said.



ROMEOS AND JULIET. ... Visiting Italian to the international grand prix, Riccardo Scarlatti, hoist Delene Taylor, 23, of Newlands, aloft after she won a

From page 1

"We can only deal with the symptoms of the violence and try to keep the parties away from each other. The underlying causes must be negotiated by the feuding parties and the police endeavours are only a holding action," he said. CAPT TINK 18/12/90

● The Pan-Africanist Congress has come out in support of the ANC on the continuation of mass action and said Mr De Klerk should be isolated internally and internationally. 304A

● The Democratic Party's spokesman on constitutional affairs, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday it would be a mistake for whites "to head off for a white political kraal" in response to decisions taken at the ANC conference.

"What the ANC rank-and-file showed over the weekend is that they don't accept that whites are committed to an apartheid-free and non-racial South Africa — hence the cynicism and suspicion.

"And the only way whites are going to break this down will be from a democratic vantage point or by throwing their lot with black organisations like the ANC or Inkatha, and so influencing them from within," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Nelson Mandela was correct in saying that the National Party could not be the referee and the party to the negotiating process, Dr Worrall said.

An independent facilitator was needed, key state functions like security and SATV had to be put under neutral supervision and multi-party commissions had to get cracking on major issues like housing, health, education and land reform.

● At Ulundi Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's weekend "war talk" and said the escalation of black-on-black violence "presents probably the gravest threat to peaceful negotiations that exists". "Violence must be de-escalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated for this to happen."

He said the ANC had given the impression it was being opportunistic about its involvement in the negotiation process.

"South Africa wants to know that the ANC will enter negotiations and abide by the consequences of agreements reached which are endorsed by the population, either in a referendum or in an election."

"To present either/or ultimatums to the South African government about the release of political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the ending of repressive legislation is just not called for in any objective political terms," Chief Buthelezi said.

Minister breaks the ice with Cameroon

TIM COHEN and EDYTH BULBRING

MINERAL and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers returned at the weekend from a four-day visit to four West African countries, during which he became the first SA cabinet minister to meet members of the Cameroon government in an official capacity. 31 Oct 1990

The visit to Cameroon, at the invitation of that country's government, has been hailed in government circles as a diplomatic coup for SA, in the light of Cameroon's past anti-SA stance.

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans said he and De Villiers also visited Ivory Coast, Sao Tomé e Príncipe and Congo.

He said De Villiers met heads of state and government ministers in all the countries and identified areas of future economic and technical co-operation.

Co-operation in the field of mining featured prominently in discussions and oil production was also discussed.

Meanwhile, the Lusaka meeting today between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was expected to deal with peace in the southern African region. On the agenda would be ending the Angolan war and areas for co-operation between SA and Zambia.

The meeting will be the second to take place between Kaunda and Botha in recent months. Botha last visited Lusaka in November when he accepted an invitation from Kaunda to attend a prayer meeting along with representatives from the Frontline states.

Local government system gets thumbs down

WHITE RIVER — The local government system in SA was rejected in a joint statement yesterday by the ANC, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and chambers of commerce in the Lowveld towns of Nelspruit, White River and Hazyview.

Their statement backed nonracial local government with wider powers.

The statement, faxed to Sapa, said a joint forum had been formed during yesterday's meeting between the eastern Transvaal regional committee of the ANC and representatives from the Nelspruit Business Chamber, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Nelspruit and White River, and

the Hazyview Chamber of Commerce.

In a joint statement after the meeting, they said:

- ☐ The forum took note that government and the ANC as well as the majority of other parties rejected the present system of local government in SA;
- ☐ The forum rejected this system and insisted that this rejection form part of the negotiation process on a new constitution;
- ☐ It insisted that local government be non-racial, as should all levels of government;
- ☐ Moreover, local government should have much wider powers than at present so it could be truly democratic and represent the will of the people;

☐ It condemned any violence, harassment or intimidation of any kind such as was happening in certain areas in SA; and

☐ All forum participants agreed that the forum had a positive effect and urged other communities to follow their example by forming similar forums, thus avoiding conflict.

The Lowveld ANC/businessmen's forum also noted that the consumer boycott in White River, Nelspruit and Hazyview was "not on" — pending the outcome of the talks.

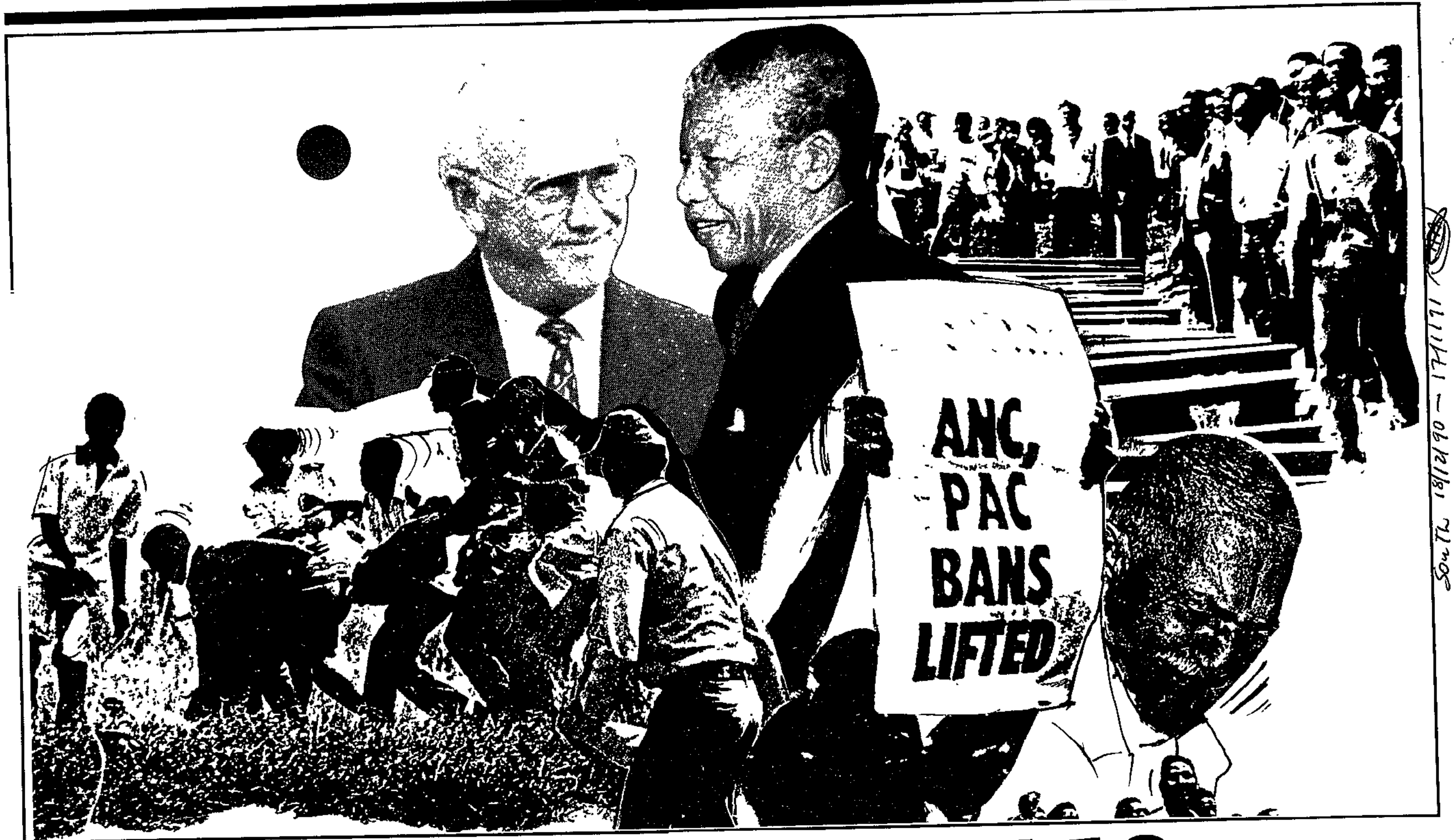
The combined forum is to meet again on January 17 at Nelspruit. — Sapa.

18/12/90
Sapa

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1990 — Year of Triumph and Tears



NO word is repeated more often today in South African politics than "transition".

What is this transition that we are meant to be going through? If its not revolution from below or reform from above, then what is it?

A transition becomes possible when a old order cannot survive and the revolutionary forces opposed to it are not strong enough to replace it by force.

FW de Klerk's choice was whether to put a new sugar coating on PW Botha's old bitter pill, or to throw that pill out altogether.

In essence, the deal for the NP was simple: agree to a fundamental transition to a non-racial democracy on condition it maintained control of the terms of this transition.

The liberation movements were caught off guard. With the adoption of the Harare Declaration by the OAU and the passing of the UN resolution on negotiations that followed, the ANC held the moral high ground until February.

Since then, it has been scrambling to catch up to the NP.

"The greatest historical mistake they can make now is to fail to achieve what is possible today because their efforts are directed at goals that cannot be achieved tomorrow."

The basic choice that faced the liberation movements was whether to reject FW de Klerk's commitment to a transition, or to accept it and enter the contest to control the terms of this transition.

There is little doubt that the regime currently holds the strategic initiative. It can do this because it has a huge

Controlling transition

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91 304A

It was the year South African politics was reduced to its essentials — the face-off for power between the African National Congress and the the National Party. A complex battle for strategic advantage developed between the two forces while some of the bit players also vied for attention. MARK SWILLING analyses the watershed politics of 1990:

well oiled administrative machinery, an effective policy-making capacity and intelligence system and control of most of the media.

Furthermore, the NP is not a democratically organised structure and so leaders can make decisions without mandates.

The major liberation movements cannot match the NP in these fields and are additionally burdened by the democratic processes that are their strength.

Internationally, the ANC has never been weaker. Pik Botha must have jumped for joy when the ANC Consultative Conference passed a resolution in favour of the maintenance of sanctions on the same day that the European community decided to lift a key aspect of international sanctions.

What can the ANC do to seize back the strategic initiative and so regain control of the transition?

Firstly, its organisational structures will have to become more coherent.

No party in South Africa could have managed what the ANC has achieved since February. To establish a country-wide branch structure capable of providing mandated representatives to a consultative conference inside the coun-

try just eight months after it was unbanned is a feat of truly impressive proportions. But huge problems remain.

Secondly, the relationship between the leadership and the base must be reorganised. Communications, however, is the key.

Thirdly, the ANC still does not have a coherent policy making capacity. Policies for the post-apartheid South Africa are formulated on an ad hoc basis by dispersed groups with little or no training in how the policy formulation process works.

Fourthly, mass action will have to be escalated but with specific objectives in mind.

Fifthly, the ANC's negotiating capacity will have to be upgraded. Mistakes at the national negotiating table could be avoided if the national negotiators drew in the highly skilled negotiators from the union and civic movements.

Finally, a clear conception of the link between local-level negotiations and the national negotiation process will have to be found.

As far as the future is concerned, the Constituent Assembly is clearly going to be the centre-piece of our politics. It

will be the unifying focus for all the liberation movements and will mark out where the new goal posts are going to be.

The NP, for obvious reasons, has rejected it. If, however, the ANC plays this card skillfully, it could be the strategy that turns the game in its favour. This includes making the Constituent Assembly attractive to the NP.

By passing an act to legalise a constituent assembly, the tri-cameral parliament simultaneously dissolves itself and declares the Constituent Assembly the new legislature.

This can then be followed by the first general election for this legislature on the basis of procedures that the (probably re-named) Constituent Assembly will determine.

The NP, however is not intact and probably cannot survive the collapse of the negotiation process. The NP, in short, needs a deal. This must be exploited.

The ANC, however, has the opposite problem. It may survive a breakdown of the transition, but the power of the oppressed may not. This means the ANC cannot push things too far because it stands the risk of destroying the only

organised force in white politics capable of delivering the rump of white support into the new South Africa.

In addition, it could overestimate its own power and risk a critical battle it could lose.

This weakness is already being exploited by the NP and business.

"FW de Klerk's choice was whether to put a new sugar coating on PW Botha's old bitter pill, or to throw that pill out altogether."

So, in short, the balance of power is very complex. Tremendous skill is required from the liberation movements over the next six months to swing things around in favour of the oppressed.

The greatest historical mistake they can make now is to fail to achieve what is possible today because their efforts are directed at goals that cannot be achieved tomorrow.

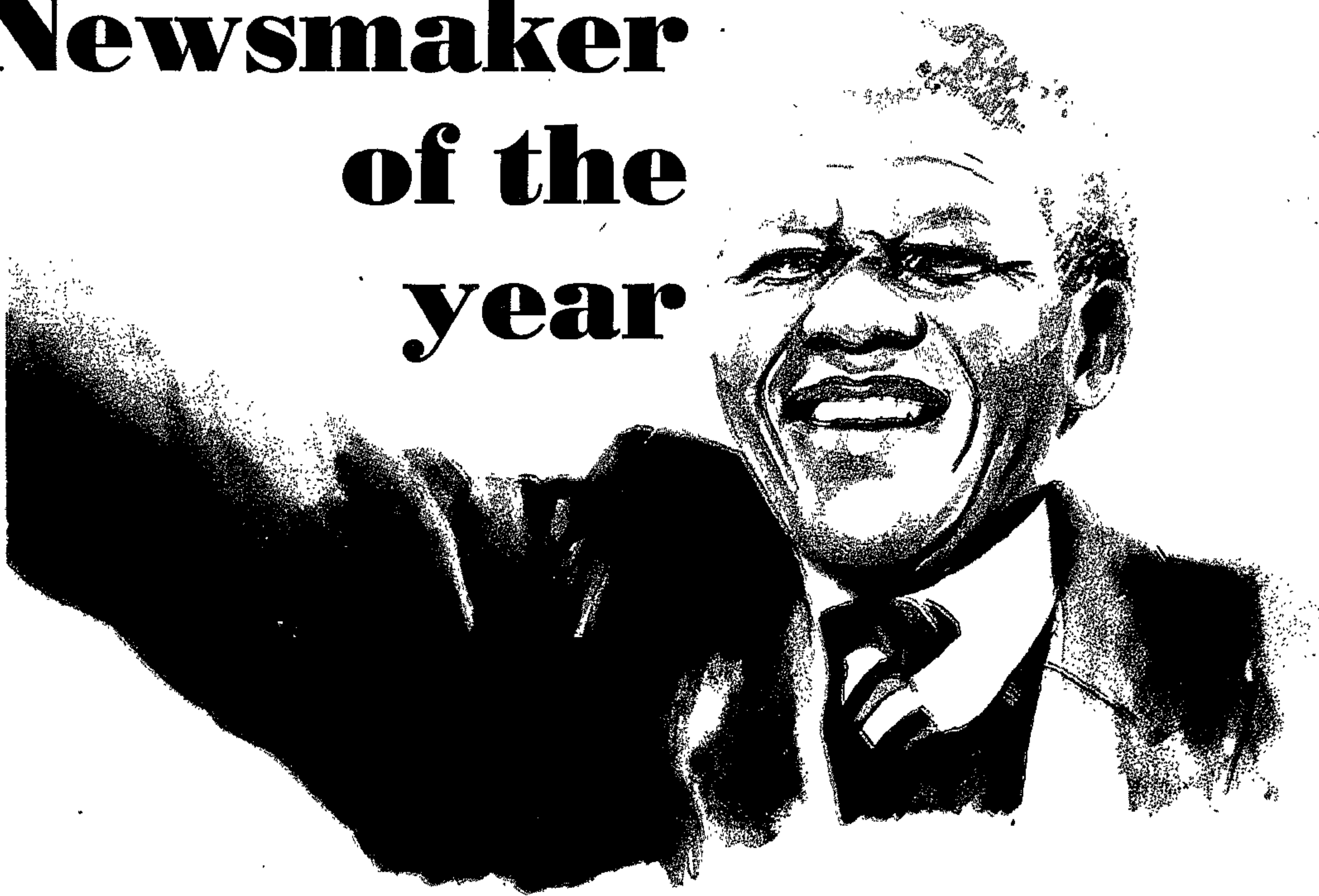
As the NP knows full well, a pragmatic approach to the realities of power is the only way of gaining control of the terms of the transition.

The alternative is an idealistic purity that leaves behind lost opportunities and dashed expectations.

1990 — Year of Triumph and Tears

Newsmaker of the year

South 18/12/90-17/1/91



HE was the darling of the world's press, the sweetheart of international leaders and the legend who became a man for millions throughout South Africa and the world

Nelson Mandela was the symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle and the fighting spirit of the ANC.

The man, who no one except his jailers and a few recent visitors had seen for 27 years, became the hottest news story of the decade on his release and before anyone even knew what he looked like.

South 18/12/90-17/1/91 **NELSON MANDELA**

The expectations of millions of people were high: Mandela was going to force the government to negotiate; Mandela was going to end unemployment in South Africa; Mandela was going to stop the violence in Natal.

But soon after Mandela's release, reality hit home. He was not a god or a miracle maker, but a dedicated member of the ANC who followed instructions from his organisation.

Besides, in the first few months after his release, Mandela had little time to work miracles. An exhausting whirlwind tour of Europe and the United States began — a fitting tribute to the world's foremost freedom fighter.

From ticker tape parades in New York, addresses to the United Nations and congresses to music concerts, the world celebrated the release of Mandela in a way few other leaders have received adulation from foreign countries.

Although it is the message not the man and the organisational structures and membership on the ground which forms the ANC, Mandela is still regarded both inside South Africa and abroad as the lynchpin of the ANC.

and the others who made the news

FW

DE KLERK

HE was the man who took South Africa across the Rubicon and back into the world's centre stage.

In a momentous speech in February, State President FW de Klerk unbanned long-silenced political organisations and announced his government's intention to free political prisoners, allow exiles to return, lift the state of emergency and media curbs and suspend the death sentence.

Later the same month, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela walked free and the scene was set for talks about talks.

Tributes to De Klerk poured in from around the world and, despite the ANC's protestations, South Africa began the slow climb back to international acceptance.

De Klerk vied with Mandela for international attention and jetted off to foreign climes to win the support of world leaders for his reforms. South Africa began developing links with Eastern Europe, the USSR and the rest of Africa.

By the end of 1990 — despite the vast difference in vision of a future South Africa between the ANC and the Nationalists, the growing violence in the country and the continued existence of

apartheid — De Klerk had managed to convince most of the world that South Africa was on an irreversible path to democracy.

At home, however, his opponents are still waiting for him to deliver most of his February 2 promises. Critics charged him with deliberately stalling on political prisoners and exiles and tinkering with apartheid laws.

The security forces were repeatedly linked to the violence which racked the townships, increasing doubts about the government's sincerity.

CHRIS

HANI

WHEN the Pretoria government finally opened its doors to the leaders of the ANC and other liberation movements earlier this year, the same doors were shut in certain individuals' faces.

These included Mr Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto weSizwe; Mr Ronnie Kasrils, senior ANC NEC member; Mr Mac Maharaj, South African Communist Party strategist — which immediately placed them a "cut above the rest" of the ANC's leadership.

Hani was dubbed the "ANC's most militant man" when he said the ANC might have to seize power if talks broke down.

In anticipation of this, he said,

Umkhonto weSizwe cadres would have to "remain in their trenches, awaiting orders from the ANC".

The government cited these utterances as an act of "militating against the spirit and word of the Groote Schuur Minute".

The withdrawal of his temporary indemnity was followed by him vowing never to leave South Africa.

GATSHA

BUTHELEZI

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha leader and chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, featured prominently in media coverage of township wars.

When ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela called for Natal ANC members to "throw your weapons into the sea", many expected a similar call from Buthelezi to his followers.

When this was not forthcoming, it became clear that Buthelezi's interests lay with the protection of Inkatha members rather than ending the war. His insistence that Inkatha members have the right to "defend themselves" from attackers dented his image further.

Apart from township violence, other controversies featuring Buthelezi this year can be summed up as follows:

● Buthelezi's insisted on Ulundi, Inkatha's powerseat, as the only venue for Inkatha-ANC negotiations talks. At

the ANC wanted a neutral venue, this position was seen by most commentators as a bid to thwart the peace efforts.

● The familiar scathing attacks on the ANC/UDF/Cosatu for what Buthelezi termed a "concerted campaign to ostracise Inkatha".

● The Inkatha leader's public embrace of Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, a move seen by many as a desperate attempt to secure a place at the negotiating table.

● The refusal to attend any unity talk involving major political organisations in the country. This included Archbishop Desmond Tutu's indaba and the ANC-initiated summit of homeland leaders.

WINNIE

MANDELA

THE South African who received the unkindest media attention this year was undoubtedly Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Her "trial by media" regarding the circumstances surrounding the death of activist Stompie Moeketsi Sepei had her tried and convicted before she had been charged.

The "Mother of the Nation", who had long been admired for her stoic and dignified suffering during years of repression, banishment and single parenthood was vilified and scorned in the media.

Mrs Mandela maintained...

lence throughout, showing the backbone which had once made her the most admired woman in South Africa.

ALLAN

BOESAK

WHEN Dr Allan Boesak announced his resignation from church leadership from the pulpit of his church on July 8 it marked the end of an era for one of South Africa's most charismatic church leaders.

Within a few shattering weeks, Boesak moved from president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and moderator of the NG Sendingkerk to lay member of his church.

The circumstances surrounding the exposure of Boesak's friendship with TV producer Ms Elna Botha are still mysterious, but its effect was devastating.

Yet, despite the absence this time round of "We Stand by our Leaders" rallies and T-shirts, Boesak still maintained the support he had gained in the years that he was the most outspoken critic of apartheid and repression. Despite the upheaval in Boesak's personal life, invitations for him to address rallies and meetings continued streaming in.

Boesak has yet to join a political party, but all indications are that he will continue to enjoy recognition as a leading democratic movement.

President will respond to ANC threats

De Klerk to address the nation tonight

304A
B 10am 18/12/90

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will respond to the ANC's threat to break off talks in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight.

A spokesman for De Klerk said yesterday the President would speak on matters facing the country, including the weekend threat by the ANC to withdraw from talks unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April 30.

The ANC wants the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles speeded up.

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which De

● See Pages 3 and 6

Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night.

In his address after the 8pm news, De Klerk will respond to other hardline resolutions adopted at the ANC's consultative conference, including the decision to form self-defence units in the townships.

Government sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline had already been agreed to by both parties in the Pretoria Minute and it was expected that De Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule.

De Klerk is also expected to say what government plans to do during the next parliamentary session to speed up the reform process.

With township fighting flaring again in

BILLY PADDOCK

recent weeks, he will call on feuding parties to make an extra effort to stop violence.

There is widespread fear among police, church and political parties that recent violence is the precursor to an all-out battle over the Christmas period.

Meanwhile, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze, responding to the ANC decision to form defence units, said government would not tolerate the formation of defence units that tried to carry out the functions of the police.

"The SAP as an impartial and apolitical force strongly disapproves of the formation of private political armies," he said.

He said this was a recipe for heightened conflict in the communities that would result inevitably in opposing armies being formed and lead to further confrontation and ultimately to civil war.

Private armies were totally unnecessary and police would take action against any political groups that tried to form vigilante groups such as those advocated by the ANC.

He said police could not solve the problem of violence by themselves and called for a dramatic change in attitude by feuding parties.

"Even the largest police force in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other.

"We can only deal with the symptoms of

□ To Page 2

De Klerk

010am 18/12/90
304A

the violence and try and keep the parties away from each other. The underlying causes must be negotiated by the feuding parties," he said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described decisions taken at the ANC conference as "killing talk".

He said any threat to resume the armed struggle "is war talk and is killing talk among sectors of the population in which violence and killings have been used for

political purposes. Violence must be de-escalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated."

The DP said yesterday it was discouraged by decisions taken at the conference because they would postpone the start of the constitution-making process.

The party's constitutional affairs spokesman Denis Worrall said the decisions showed the ANC had not made the transition from liberation movement to political party "operating in a domestic environment".

Up to 200 000 people rallied in Kishinyov, capital of the Soviet republic of Moldavia, on Sunday to reject Moscow's proposed new treaty designed to hold the crumbling union together. Demonstrators carried placards saying "Down with the Russian Empire". Picture: REUTERS

Zimbabwe discreetly edging closer to SA, say diplomats

010 am 18/12/90

HARARE — Zimbabwe has ignored SA's diplomatic drive to make friends with long-hostile black African states, but diplomats say Harare is discreetly moving closer to its powerful neighbour.

"Certainly Zimbabwe is more reluctant than the other frontline states to have a high-profile relationship with SA. But there has been a distinct, if gradual, improvement," a senior Western diplomat said.

Zimbabwe is the only southern African country still giving SA a wide berth, although it has maintained a trade mission in SA for the past 10 years.

Diplomats cite a lingering bitterness over the way SA backed Ian Smith's white minority Rhodesian government. They also point to fears that SA will swamp relatively prosperous Zimbabwe's recent attempts to open up its economy to foreign competition.

But one Western diplomat said there were signs of an easing in tensions between the two countries. He said Zimbabwe was being steered in its policy towards SA by ANC deputy

president Nelson Mandela.

Another diplomat noted that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe "doesn't attack De Klerk any more, and he no longer minimises the changes taking place."

Links

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Diplomats cited a number of developments to back their argument:

□ A South African radio station, Radio Truth, used to beam propaganda into Zimbabwe denouncing the Harare government, but it stopped transmitting earlier this year.

□ The SA trade mission in Harare was given permission recently to build new premises. The two countries have kept trade missions in each others' capitals since 1980, but Harare does not want full diplomatic relations.

□ SA and Zimbabwe are working on improving trade links.

□ Five SA parliamentarians who visited Harare in October on a private fact-finding mission stayed in a government guest house and met Zimbabwean legislators.

□ SA spy Odile Harrington was freed from a Zimbabwean jail last month, after serving three years of a 12-year sentence for spying on the ANC.

□ Zimbabwe hosted a meeting of African Olympic representatives in November at which SA sports officials invited for the first time agreed to work towards abolishing apartheid.

Analysts say Zimbabwean worries that a lifting of trade sanctions against SA would damage their own economy may be exaggerated.

Zimbabwe's reluctance to raise its profile with SA stems partly from its own history, diplomats say.

"Ministers accept the good faith of De Klerk and Pik Botha because they have been told by Nelson Mandela that he accepts their good faith," said one. "But they may think back to (former Rhodesian prime ministers) Edgar Whitehead and Garfield Todd, progressive liberals who were unhorsed by their own colleagues when they tried to reform the system."

"People here don't want to be made fools of if reform goes wrong in SA. — Sapa-Reuter.

Zimbabwe and SA on a better footing

Sowetan 18/12/90

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FOCUS

Zimbabwe has ignored South Africa's diplomatic drive to make friends with long-hostile black African states, but diplomats say Harare is discreetly moving closer to its powerful southern neighbour.

"Certainly Zimbabwe is more reluctant than the other frontline states to have a high-profile relationship with South Africa. But there has been a distinct, if gradual, improvement," a senior Western diplomat said.

South Africa's reformist President F W de Klerk launched a massive diplomatic offensive this year to sell reforms which he says will bring about a non-racial democracy to replace the internationally abhorred apartheid system.

De Klerk and his Foreign Minister Pik Botha have put great efforts into wooing black Africa, which has campaigned strongly for many years for tough economic sanctions to force Pretoria to end apartheid.

Impressive

They have notched up an impressive list of meetings with the leaders of Kenya, Angola, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Cape Verde and Morocco.

Zimbabwe is the only southern African country still giving the Pretoria leadership a wide berth, although it has maintained a trade mission in South Africa for the past 10 years.

Diplomats cite a lingering bitterness over the way South Africa backed Ian Smith's white minority Rhodesian government in its losing battle against the guerilla groups which now rule Zimbabwe.

They also point to fears that South Africa will swamp relatively prosperous Zimbabwe's recent attempts to open up its economy to foreign competition.

But the Western diplomat said there were signs of an easing in

tensions between the two countries.

He said Zimbabwe was being steered in its policy towards South Africa by African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela, who is negotiating with De Klerk.

Another diplomat noted that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe "doesn't attack De Klerk any more and he no longer minimises the changes taking place".

The diplomats cite a number of developments to support their argument:

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Analysts say Zimbabwean worries that a lifting of trade sanctions against Pretoria would damage their own economy may be exaggerated.



PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE

"Large chunks of the economy - tobacco farming, other agriculture and mining - would either be unaffected or would benefit," said a Harare-based economist.

"There would be both gains and losses in industry. Some components would become cheaper if Zimbabwe dropped its present policy of not sourcing imports from South Africa unless it's inevitable.

"Some industries are already exporting to South Africa: the cheaper end of the footwear market, textiles and clothing. Others would be put under extreme pressure.

"There are both opportunities and risks, and it's hard to say exactly how it would work out, but the idea that the Zimbabwean

economy would be squashed flat is overplayed."

Zimbabwe's reluctance to raise its profile with Pretoria stems partly from its own history, diplomats say.

"Ministers accept the good faith of De Klerk and Pik Botha because they have been told by Mandela that he accepts their good faith," one diplomat said.

"But they may think back to (former Rhodesian prime ministers) Edgar Whitehead and Garfield Todd, progressive liberals who were unhorsed by their own colleagues when they tried to reform the system here.

"People here don't want to be made fools of if reform goes wrong in South Africa." - Sapa-Reuters.

Hope continues to raise its head

S/4 18/12/10

(304A)

It was a dizzyingly exciting year for South Africa, one in which the people's mood soared with hope one week and plummeted in despair the next.

Standing back, however, it seems that, nearly a year after President de Klerk's venture into the new South Africa, optimism outweighs pessimism.

The state of mind of most South Africans is perhaps best reflected in the metaphorical allusion about the light at the end of the tunnel.

Under Mr de Klerk's tough-minded, itascible predecessor, P W Botha, that light was undoubtedly the oncoming train.

Under Mr de Klerk it might signal the end of the long journey through darkness.

The year began with a great deal of speculation about Mr de Klerk's pending speech to Parliament on February 2. Most pundits anticipated that he would announce major changes.

But he surprised even the most seasoned of observers: instead of merely unbanning the United Democratic Front as a prelude to the unbanning of the African National Congress, he lifted the prohibitions on all outlawed organisations, including the ANC, its ally, the South African Communist Party, and

its implacable foe, the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Mr de Klerk simultaneously announced that the unconditional release of South Africa's most famous prisoner, Nelson Mandela, was imminent. Nine days later, to the acclaim of the world and the joy of most South Africans, he fulfilled this promise.

In his February 2 speech Mr de Klerk proclaimed his willingness to negotiate a settlement with black leaders of all political persuasions. The freeing of Mr Mandela showed he was serious. It gave South Africans hope that an end to the long, bitter conflict was in sight.

The next two stages were marked by the talks in May at Groote Schuur between Mr de Klerk's Government and the ANC, and in Pretoria in August.

In those four months huge strides were taken. Both sides committed themselves to peace. The ANC agreed to suspend its armed struggle and the Government undertook to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

But progress was slowed by violence. It took two forms: clashes between security forces and crowds, epitomised by the gunning down of 11 black protesters at Sebokeng in March; pitiless conflict between rival black organisations, with the major fighting taking place in Natal between pro-ANC forces and loyalists of Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party.

But the March-August setbacks were minor compared to the storm ahead. Fighting again broke out after August. Again it was mainly between ANC-aligned forces and those linked to Inkatha. There were major differences, however.

The epicentre of conflict moved from Natal to townships around Johannesburg, where it assumed a tribal dimension.

In Natal the combatants were nearly all Zulus and battle lines were drawn on ideological criteria. In the Transvaal the conflict was essentially tribal at its cutting edge. The fiercest clashes were usually between Zulu migrant workers and Xhosa-speaking workers.

Hundreds died in savage battles which often pitted the poorest of people against one another.

Political writer PATRICK LAURENCE (right) assesses the roller-coaster events of 1990, arguably South Africa's most significant year since Union in 1910. He concludes there is more cause for optimism than for pessimism.



are complex and still the focus of much debate.

The ANC blames the security forces, accusing them of inciting Zulu migrant workers against Xhoss and of secretly helping them on the battlefield.

Some observers, however, contend that the ANC's campaign against Chief Buthe's Inkatha and the "Kwazulu bantustan," while maintaining a cosy relationship with the Xhosa-speaking "Transkei bantustan," was perceived by many Zulus as anti-Zulu and was thus itself a cause of the violence.

Another factor was the apartheid-generated political culture of intolerance, in which opposition forces were seen as foes to be crushed rather than rivals to be opposed according to prescribed rules.

Those who wanted to dwell on the depressing state of affairs had little difficulty in finding further causes for despair.

- A declining economy — the anticipated economic growth rate for 1990 is, at best, zero
- A rapidly growing black population, with an alarmingly high proportion of unemployed and alienated young black people
- And a rising inflation rate.

But there were still grounds for cautious optimism: the relationship between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela remained friendly; their hold over their followers seemed to be firm; and the threat to Mr de Klerk's reformism from the Right appeared to have been contained.

Organisation, was demanding the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

They were opposed by Mr de Klerk's National Party, with the backing of Chief Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party and a whole range of smaller parties.

Even as they tussled over the shape and size of the negotiating table, the main forces were looking ahead to the first post-apartheid election.

The National Party, having opened its ranks to all races, was casting about for coalition partners across the colour-line for its envisaged grand alliance.

Mr de Klerk's constitutional negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, boasted towards the end of the year that the proposed alliance could defeat the ANC at the polls.

For its part, the ANC, having long since opened its membership to all South Africans, was campaigning for card-carrying members across the racial spectrum and seeking to establish community-rooted branches in every nook and cranny.

It promised an exciting future election, in which, again, there was justification for cautious sangularity: the political dividing lines would be determined by ideology, not race. □

The Star's readers would elect ANC

By Helen Grange

If a general election was held in the near future among readers of The Star, the ANC would come to power.

This is the finding of a survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research into the likes and dislikes, political and otherwise, of a broad cross-section of The Star's readers.

According to the survey findings, the majority (over 30 percent) of readers would vote for the ANC over other political groupings.

The National Party would be close on its heels, but would outstrip the ANC only in the event of a coalition between the NP and the Democratic Party.

Inkatha

About 4 percent of The Star's readers are Conservative Party supporters and the remainder of the political parties or organisations (SA Communist Party, Inkatha, Pan Africanist Party, Black Consciousness, AWB, Azapo and others) would not receive votes of any significance.

The survey shows that there are more white supporters of Inkatha than black supporters — although total support stood only at 1 percent.

There are also more black supporters of the NP than white supporters of the ANC.

The AWB enjoys only 0,3 percent of readers' support.

In gauging how hopeful The Star's readers are for South Africa's future, the survey found that 52 percent feel very hopeful while 39 percent are not

very hopeful.

A similar survey conducted with readers of The Sowetan shows that 59 percent of readers are very hopeful, while 29 percent are not very hopeful.

It is almost certain that since February 2, the day of president de Klerk's landmark reform speech, blacks have become more hopeful about their future, the survey maintains.

Asked how confident they felt about a happy future for all races, readers differed substantially.

White readers were more confident in 1977 about this issue than they are now. However, they are far more optimistic now than in 1986, the climax of their pessimism.

Conversely, the confidence of black readers for a racially harmonious future is higher now than it has been for more than a decade. Black readers showed they were most pessimistic in 1977 and 1985, the height of the P W Botha era.

The most important issue to be dealt with, according to readers of The Star and The Sowetan, is apartheid and the equality of blacks and whites.

Eleven percent of both readership groups believe violence and intimidation are the most crucial issues in securing a hopeful future.

The topic most readers feel they would like to see more of in The Star is education.

There is also a demand for more life skills information, according to the survey findings.

White readers still ask for more humour, although this is not a priority for black readers, many of whom see the newspaper as a more serious medium.

President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela may have good reasons for saying little about their talks in Pretoria this week, but there is one thing they cannot hide — a looming showdown on demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government to take over power. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

What they can't hide

ONE hurdle to constitutional negotiations stands out like a sore thumb in spite of the almost total silence by President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela on the outcome of their talks of nearly two hours in the Union Buildings this week.

Besides the urgent problem of continuing township violence, a huge bone of contention between the government and the ANC is the question of how to set up the negotiating table and what to do with power during transition to a "new South Africa".

These are issues that can make or break negotiations. They can determine whether there will be peace or conflict. They have much to do with the perceived legitimacy of a new constitution. The key question, in the language of negotiation politics, arises from ANC demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government, and the government's adamant rejection of these demands. Here the gulf between the two sides appears to be unbridgeable. Each side has publicly expressed a total commitment to its viewpoint.

HOWEVER, some leading analysts believe this problem can be overcome with a little more realism on all sides — and a little less of present hardline attitudes.

One view is that the government will have to learn to live with the idea of a constituent assembly or something similar, while the ANC and its allies will have to accept that it is not for now but for much later in the constitution-making process.

Professor Hennie Kotzé, head of the department of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, foresees a serious power struggle if an interim government and a constituent assembly were to be established before a new constitution is drawn up.

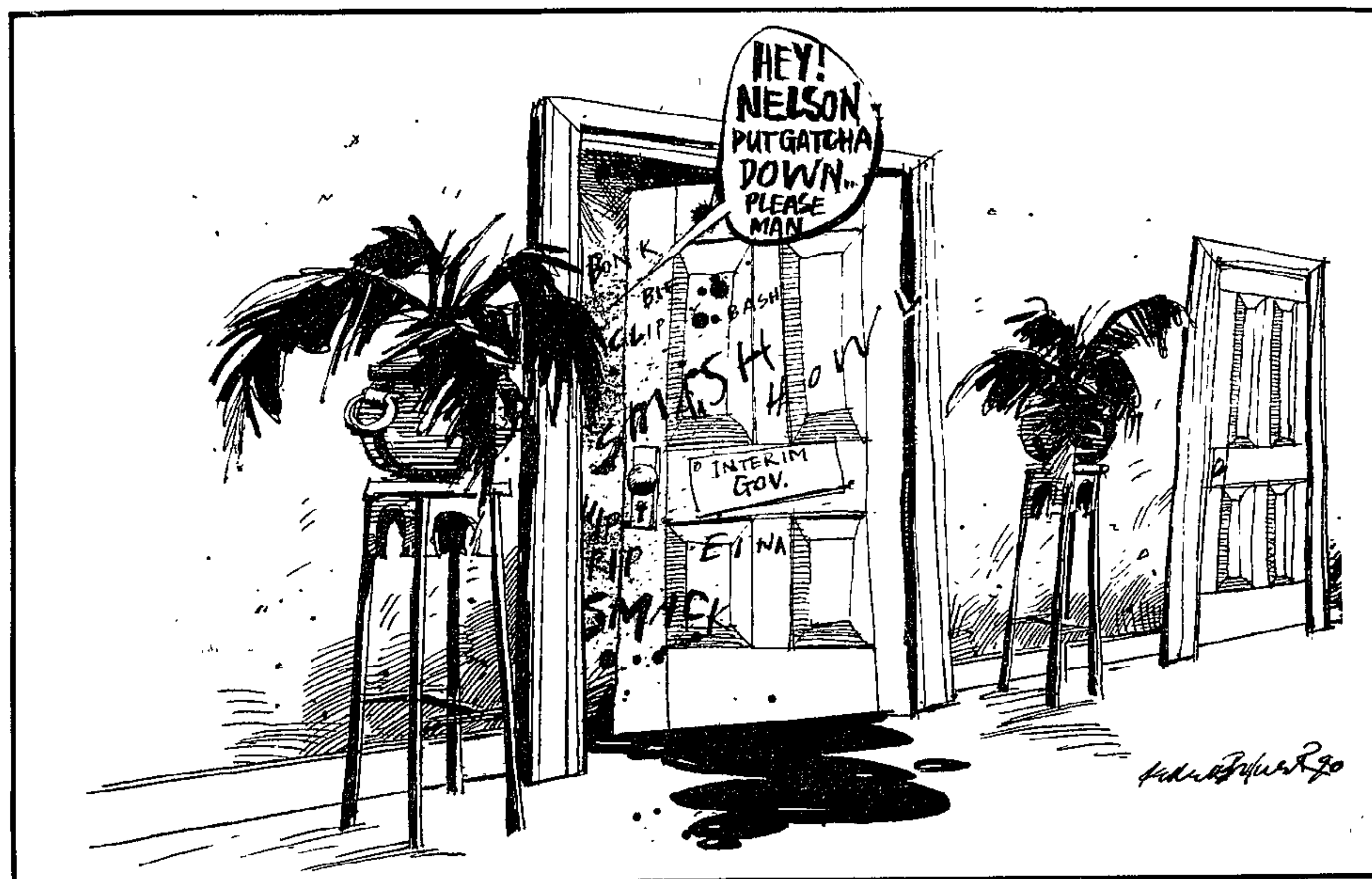
"What it amounts to, if we look at the Harare Declaration, is that power is to be transferred before agreement is reached on the rules of the game."

Professor Kotzé warned in an interview this week that the power struggle likely to take place in such circumstances could derail the whole negotiation process.

AT this stage, however, it is not clear what the ANC and others are asking for. If they want the kind of structures proposed in the Harare Declaration, an interim government will be formed to supervise the drawing up and adoption of the new constitution, to govern and administer the country during the transition period, and to effect the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

In terms of the Harare Declaration, the interim government need not necessarily be elected — it can be formed by agreement between negotiating parties.

Professor Kotzé suggests such a government will have no legitimacy and could even be used by the ANC and its allies as a method for taking over power before a new constitution has been negotiated. He believes there is no easy road to democracy and notes that most of the international authorities on transition to democracy do not rate constituent assemblies as necessarily the best way to achieve democratic government.



ROW LOOMS ON CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

HOWEVER, if there has to be a constituent assembly there is another way to go about it. That is the Namibia-type procedure with its Resolution 435 setting out broad guidelines for a new constitution and for the setting up of a constituent assembly to write the constitution according to the agreed guidelines.

Constitutional law specialist Professor Marinus Wiechers, of the University of South Africa, says he cannot see how the demands for a constituent assembly and interim government to take over power can be accepted at this stage.

This would not make sense now, but there were indications of "greater realism" entering the debate.

At some stage of the negotiation process, however, an authoritative body would be needed to bring constitution-making to finality and to ensure acceptance of the legitimacy of the new constitution.

PROFESSOR Wiechers says he sees a possibility of setting up a constitutional conference or a national convention — if not a constituent assembly — to put the final stamp of legitimacy on a negotiated constitution. But this would have to come at the end of negotiations and not now. So, too, a referendum would have to come at the end.

The Namibian experience had shown it was not an easy process. It took nearly 12

years to bring that country's transition and constitution-making to finality since guidelines were provided by UN Security Council Resolution 435 in 1978.

On the issue of who will sit at the negotiating table, Professor Wiechers says the best approach at this stage is for all the present players to try to make the first round of negotiations as inclusive as possible. It is unrealistic to expect the government to hand over power at this stage to an interim government. In any event, it would be impractical to enter into elections under a new electoral system at a time when the country was not even near to consensus on the basic principles of a constitution.

WHO will decide about a new electoral system? And how can control simply be handed over to a caretaker government when there are political forces that have not even been given form? Professor Wiechers asks.

In recent weeks Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and the government's chief negotiator, has repeatedly rejected demands for a constituent assembly, saying it was "unacceptable". He also said there was "no question" of the government handing over power to an interim government before or during negotiations for a new constitution.

One of the grounds on which government spokesmen rejected such demands was that a constituent assembly at this stage would make constitutional negotiations meaningless.

The idea has also been rejected by Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Yet, on another side of the spectrum, various organisations are getting together in a united stand for demanding a constituent assembly. The organisations include the PAC, Azapo, Nactu, the New Unity Movement (NUM) and Sacos.

More recently there have been moves for the ANC, the PAC and associated groupings to join forces over demands for the government for a constituent assembly. ANC and PAC leaders agreed to form a united front against the government, following calls for unity by heads of several African states at last week's summit meeting in Mbabane.

Mr Mandela's argument, as outlined at the summit, is that the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly is a democratic process recognised throughout the world. He says elections should be held as soon as possible to choose a constituent assembly.

HOWEVER, Mr Mandela's view is not shared by American constitutional expert Professor Albert P Blaustein who believes a constituent assembly in South Africa's circumstances will be a wrong move.

He writes that it will produce "a hodge-podge/mishmash of contradictory provisions in the vain attempt to be all things to all men."

Instead, Professor Blaustein, a consultant and adviser on more than 20 constitutions, recommends a national constitutional commission composed of representatives of all recognised political parties.

Violence is

19-12-90 ARGB

CONT

This is the full text of President De Klerk's address to the nation on television last night



MY message tonight is addressed to all South Africans — to you who are following this broadcast in Kathlehong or Tokoza, in KwaZulu or Queenstown, at the seaside or in your homes; to farmers in Pietersburg; to factory workers in the Western Cape; to housewives in Constantia; to all the people who make up the rich fabric of our society; to all South Africans.

We are approaching the end of one of the most significant years in our history. The developments since February 2 1990 will continue to affect all our lives and the lives of all of our children. This has been a year filled with achievement and promise, but also with disappointment.

Above all, it was the year in which we managed to break out of most of the constrictions of the past — a year during which we as South Africans started talking to each other across historical barriers.

In only one year:

- The political process has been normalised. All political parties can operate freely.

- All political leaders can participate in the developing national debate.

- All ideas and ideologies are openly examined and dissected in the full light of free discussion.

- Leaders, who previously stood back, are now important or prospective participants in the search for constitutional solutions.

These and other developments have helped to change international perceptions of our country. We have taken major strides in our efforts to break out of international isolation, as was illustrated by the latest decision by the European Community on financial sanctions.

In short, we have made remarkable progress across a broad front since the beginning of the year. I want to

thank all those who have worked so hard, risked and given so much during this year, to help our country on its way into the future.

At the same time, the opening up of our society has aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears among some, and dangerous and unrealistic expectations among others. The high level of social unrest has all too often erupted in violence. It has unleashed emotions threatening the progress we have made. Our successes have driven some elements, not interested in peaceful change, to step up their efforts to disrupt society.

- A state of fear has descended on many of our black townships.

- Since the beginning of the year, more than 3 000 people have died through violence.

- Millions of Rands in damage have been caused by the vandalising of schools, universities, homes and vehicles.

- For hundreds of thousands of young people, a whole year's education has been lost.

- In some areas, local government has ground to a halt. Elected councillors have been intimidated. Funds have run out because of services boycotts.

- Basic services have been disrupted, causing hardship to many thousands and disrupting the lives of whole communities.

- Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified.

- Political leaders at the radical fringes provoke confrontation and threaten violence.

- Crime has reached unacceptable levels.

There can no longer be any excuse whatsoever for such

behaviour. Genuine grievances can now be democratically aired and the road to negotiation is open.

The government has no intention of allowing these destructive developments to continue unchallenged.

The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable.

The first duty of any responsible government is to protect the lives and property of all its citizens. This is the most basic of all human rights. Upon it rests all the other rights.

The government is accordingly determined to take whatever further action (which) may be necessary to maintain law in order throughout our society.

At the same time, we dare not allow these negative tendencies to force us from our course. Problems are there to be solved — and that is precisely what must happen in 1991.

When I say this, I am not underestimating the seriousness of these problems. There is, indeed, reason for serious concern over these matters. However, concern and distress alone will not bring us anywhere. We must grasp the nettle and take action to correct those things which are wrong; to make sure that the new, just South Africa, towards which all reasonable South Africans are striving, is not sabotaged by radicalism and chaos.

With this in mind, the government has already taken far-reaching steps, including:

- The strengthening of the police force;

- The utilisation, where necessary, of the South African Defence Force;

- The declaration of unrest areas and;

- The establishment of a R3-billion fund to tackle socio-economic problems.

More progress was made with negotiations than would have been thought possible a year ago.

It is, however, clear that, with regard to both security action and positive initiatives, even more must be done.

In this regard certain additional steps and initiatives

unacceptable'



President F W de Klerk makes his address to the nation on television last night.

will shortly be taken.

This will include the intensification and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in affected areas. Even more effective prevention of crime, disorder, unrest and intimidation is the goal.

We also intend to stabilise local government to enable us to resume basic services to all black communities.

It is, however, clear that we will not be able to achieve our objectives solely by stepping up the activities of the police. If we are to succeed in this endeavour, we will need the support of all South Africans of goodwill and particularly of all major political and other organisations.

It is not only the government that is concerned about the factors which I have mentioned. Nearly all major parties have called for an end to the intimidation and violence; for a return of schoolchildren to their classrooms and for the promotion of genuine democracy.

The time has now come for the organisations involved to put these worthy objectives into effect. It is essential that we should reach agreement on what is acceptable in our society and what is not. I say:

● Violence is unacceptable. There can no longer be any excuse, whatsoever, for vio-

lence. No-one has the right to use violence against others to advance their political objectives. Those who have political differences should resolve them through negotiations.

● Intimidation is also unacceptable. No-one has the right to terrorise others or to force them to act against their will. Intimidation is completely irreconcilable with the principles of democracy.

● The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as "one settler, one bullet" and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable. South Africans should not tolerate those who fan the fires of racial hatred.

● The non-payment for services is unacceptable. In no society in the world the organised non-payment for services will be tolerated. Without revenue some communities will soon be confronted with the total collapse of essential services.

● Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence, is unacceptable. Such mass action breeds confrontation and conflict. Some of those involved imagine that they can dictate the future of South Africa by inflammatory mass mobilisation.

that is the road to disaster.

● The increasing incidence of crime is unacceptable. Citizens have a right to feel safe in their homes, on the streets and in their vehicles.

● The current role of the radicalised youth is unacceptable. Many of the problems which I have mentioned have been caused by, or greatly inflamed by, radicalised young people. These young people belong in their classrooms, not in the streets. Young people must be involved in programmes that will get them back to school and which will enable them to play a constructive role in society.

None of these unacceptable trends has anything to do with genuine democracy. They have no place in preparing the way for the new South Africa. They will not be tolerated by any South African of goodwill. All South Africans who want a peaceful and prosperous future should become involved in combatting them.

It is for this reason disappointing that some political movements are still caught up in these undemocratic and unacceptable strategies and methods. It is also disappointing that at its recent conference the ANC appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that form the flames of confrontation.

● They continued to talk of the transfer of power, while they know that the purpose of the proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interest of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided.

● They continued to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government — thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiation and constitutional process.

● They continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods, knowing full well that these militate against a true commitment to peaceful solutions.

● They refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa — this despite

the fact that for the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic.

The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solution; or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?

I want to reassure all peace-loving South Africans who are reaching out to a new era of peace and prosperity:

The government shall not allow a state of anarchy in our country.

We will not capitulate to radical pressure.

We will not shrink back from using all available resources to ensure stability.

In 1991 we will steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation. There can be no compromise on the protection of basic democratic and civilised values.

We will continue to build a new South Africa in step with the free world — a new and just South Africa which will assure peace, prosperity, progress and political participation for all our citizens.

During this season of goodwill I should like to appeal to all South Africans and to all political parties and movements to rededicate themselves to the peaceful solution of our country's problems. I call on them to reject all forms of violence and intimidation and to join us in the New Year in constructive and peaceful negotiations. That is the demand and the prayer of the silent majority of all our people.

May you all experience in this festive season the peace and reconciliation which is the true message of Christmas.

And may God guide us in 1991 towards progress and stability for our country and all our people.

Let us move forward with determination. There is much to be done.

FW vows to crack down on violence

CAPL Tm K 19/12/90

304A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night slammed the African National Congress for fanning the flames of confrontation and said the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable.

In a state of the nation address on television Mr De Klerk said he would:

- Intensify "impartial policing activities" in troubled areas.

- Stabilise local government — the main target of the ANC's "mass action" campaign — so that basic services could be restored to all black communities.

Mr De Klerk's widely awaited address basically repeated the government's commitment to fundamental reform as well as to law and order.



ON TV President FW de Klerk in his address to the nation last night

ANC between the leadership and rank-and-file members, Mr De Klerk asked: "Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

Mr De Klerk said he would not allow the tactics of political opponents to divert the government from its course.

"In 1991 we will steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation."

He said virtually all major political parties had called for

- An end to intimidation and violence.
- A return of schoolchildren to their classrooms.
- The promotion of "genuine democracy".

Intimidation was unacceptable, as was the incitement of racial hatred and slogans such as "one settler, one bullet" used by the Pan Africanist Congress.

Anarchy

The speech was apparently brought forward in response to the ANC's militant weekend conference and took the place of the usual 8pm newscast, which was delayed by 15 minutes.

Speaking firmly, Mr De Klerk challenged the ANC to decide what they wanted — their leaders' commitment to peace and negotiated solutions or a reversion to the confrontation and conflict of the past.

Vowing to crack down on violence, intimidation and anarchy in 1991, Mr De Klerk warned that he would not hesitate to marshal even more resources to guarantee stability.

He said that at the ANC's consultative conference at the weekend the organisation "appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation".

The ANC, he said, continued to talk about a "transfer

of power" when it was aware that the objective of proposed negotiations was aimed at sharing power and avoiding domination.

He criticised the ANC for trying to pre-empt the negotiation process by continuing to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC was guilty of advocating outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods in the knowledge that these militated against a true commitment to peaceful solutions, he said.

"They refused to acknowledge (at their conference) that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa — this despite the fact that for the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic."

Suggesting that there were strong divisions in the

Young people

The non-payment for services, mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which might result in violence, the increasing incidence of crime, and the current role of radicalised youth were also unacceptable.

Mr De Klerk said: "Many of the problems which I have mentioned have been caused by, or greatly inflamed by, radicalised young people."

"These young people belong in their classrooms, not in the streets."

Mr De Klerk said 1990 had been one of the most significant years in South Africa's history and had been filled with achievement and promise, but also with disappointment.

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P.T.O.

From page 1

In only one year, the political process had been normalised and all political parties could operate freely, all political leaders could participate in national debate and all ideas and ideologies were openly examined and dissected. ~~HA 244/304A~~

This had helped to change international perceptions and major strides had been made away from international isolation. *Griff 19/12/90*

The opening up of society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears as well as dangerous and unrealistic expectations.

A state of fear had descended on many black townships, more than 3 000 people had died in violence, millions of rands' damage had been caused, hundreds of thousands of young people had lost a whole year's education and in some areas local government had ground to a halt.

"Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified."

● Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer last night described Mr De Klerk's speech as "motherhood and apple pie".

"He says a great many entirely supportable things, and when he wishes us a merry Christmas, I am sure we all respond positively."

The DP leader said the recurring theme of the president's message was that the incidence of crime was unacceptable.

"Of course it is — every politician can confirm that the people are crying out for crime to be brought under control. But it is not the task of the DP to stop the crime. It is not the task of the ANC or of the Conservative Party."

"As long as Mr De Klerk runs the country it is his responsibility and that of his government."

It was all very well for the president to say that claims for an interim government or a constituent assembly must not be substituted for the negotiating process.

"We largely agree with him, but it is his responsibility to get the negotiations off the ground and running."

'ANC must choose peace or conflict'

304A

Mass action is unacceptable, says De Klerk

B Day 19/12/90

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night challenged the ANC to choose between supporting the commitment of its leaders to peaceful negotiations and reverting to the old order of confrontation and conflict.

In a hard-hitting televised address to the nation, De Klerk rejected the ANC's programme of mass action as one of a number of undemocratic and unacceptable strategies employed by the organisation.

The ANC had refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in SA. However, "For the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic," De Klerk said.

He said the ANC continued to talk about the transfer of power while it knew the purpose of the proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.

The organisation was trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiations and constitutional process by its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

De Klerk said the ANC continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods "knowing full well that these militate against a true commitment to peaceful solutions".

He said it was disappointing that some political movements were still caught up in undemocratic and unacceptable strategies and methods.

"It is also disappointing that at its recent conference the ANC appeared to have re-

BILLY PADDOCK

verted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation."

The government would not allow a state of anarchy in the country, would not capitulate to radical pressure and would not shrink back from using all available resources to ensure stability, De Klerk said.

He said government would steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation next year, but there could be no compromise on the protection of basic democratic and civilised values.

"We will continue to build a new SA in step with the free world ... which will assure peace, prosperity, progress and political participation for all our citizens."

TIM COHEN reports that an ANC spokesman said last night that the organisation stood by the decisions of its consultative conference, but that it would provide "clarification" of these decisions.

The spokesman said the ANC had taken note of the points raised in De Klerk's address.

If government required clarification or more information about conference decisions, it would be provided. The spokesman would not comment further.

De Klerk said strategies that were undemocratic and unacceptable were:

- ☐ Violence to advance political objectives;
- ☐ Intimidation to terrorise others or to force them to act against their will;
- ☐ The incitement of racial hatred and slo-

☐ To Page 2

De Klerk

B Day 19/12/90
gans such as "one settler, one bullet" and slogans urging violence against black South Africans;

- ☐ Non-payment for services;
- ☐ Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence. "Such mass action breeds confrontation and conflict. Some of those involved imagine that they can dictate the future of SA by inflammatory mass mobilisation. That is the road to disaster," he said.

Also unacceptable were the increasing incidence of crime and the role of radicalised youth who had caused or greatly inflamed many of the problems.

De Klerk spent a large part of his message addressing violence. He said while great strides had been made, the opening up of SA society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears among some, and dangerous and unrealistic expectations among others.

The high level of social unrest had too

often erupted in violence.

He said there was no excuse for such behaviour and genuine grievances could now be democratically aired with the road to negotiations open.

To ensure that progress to a new and just SA was not sabotaged by radicalism and chaos, government had already taken far-reaching steps, including strengthening the police force, the utilisation of the SADF, the declaration of unrest areas and the establishment of a R3bn fund to tackle socio-economic problems.

But it had become clear that more had to be done in the area of security action and positive initiatives and additional steps would shortly be taken, De Klerk said.

He said government would not be able to achieve its objectives solely by stepping up the activities of the police. "If we are to succeed in this endeavour we will need the support of all SA's of goodwill, and particularly of all major political and other organisations."

☐ From Page 1

\$10m 'democracy' plan on hold

WASHINGTON — The US administration's plan for allocating the \$10m voted by Congress in April to promote democracy in SA has run into a storm of criticism on Capitol Hill, indefinitely delaying the dispersal of funds. 310 am 19/12/90

The criticism comes from Republicans and Democrats who argue the administration has taken inadequate steps to ensure the money will be spent properly.

Entitled the Transition to Democracy Project, the plan provides \$3.73m for the ANC, \$1m for Inkatha's Action for Democracy, and \$225 000 for the Wits Centre for Policy Studies, with the rest going to US organisations' projects in SA.

The major complaints are contained in a letter from senior Republican member of

304A
SIMON BARBER

the House of Foreign Affairs Committee Congressman William Broomfield to the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID).

Broomfield, with an effective veto over such programmes, blasted AID and the US embassy in Pretoria for failing to make a "preliminary examination" of the ANC's and Inkatha's "administrative capability" and capacity to use the funds efficiently.

In briefing committee staff, AID and State Department officials admitted that such an examination was necessary but could not identify what organisation would do such an assessment.

● See Page 3

Kaunda breaks new ground by praising FW

8/Day 19/12/90

3048

TIM COHEN

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday publicly praised President F W de Klerk for his political courage, during a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the State House in Lusaka.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman hailed the meeting with one of SA's most outspoken critics as a breakthrough and said the department was "very pleased" with the way the trip had gone.

Botha has now visited Lusaka twice in two months. His first visit was to attend a prayer meeting along with representatives of the Frontline states last month.

Botha, accompanied by senior officials of his department, visited Lusaka for a day and was received by Zambian Foreign Minister Benjamin Mibenge, according to an SA government statement.

Kaunda acknowledged and thanked De Klerk for bringing about a new era in SA and assured Botha of his support during the period of transition, the statement said.

Kaunda said he appreciated the difficulties which would be encountered, but urged De Klerk to continue with his reform initiatives.

Botha thanked Kaunda for his statesmanship in recognising it was in the interest of the region that SA take its rightful place at the table of southern African states.

In private discussions with Kaunda, matters of concern, particularly regarding the peace process in Angola and elsewhere in southern Africa, were addressed.

A fruitful exchange of views took place on how peace could be further promoted, the statement said. A department spokesman said, however, that specific trade projects were not discussed.

Botha told Kaunda the SA Cabinet had taken a final and irreversible decision to repeal the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Racial discrimination was no longer a consideration as the NP had formally decided to open its ranks to all South Africans.

Who gets what via US Congress grants

6/20/90 19/12/90
SIMON BARBER

304A

WASHINGTON — The US State Department and the US Agency for International Development have provided a breakdown of who will receive grants in a proposal to spend the \$10m set aside by Congress to promote democracy and negotiation in SA.

Nine grant requests were selected from 44 submissions for a total of \$140m. The US embassy in Pretoria was chiefly responsible for making the choices.

The ANC receives \$3,73m to enable its department of legal and constitutional affairs "to establish itself in SA". The funds are to be spent on a year's rent for the ANC's national headquarters, professional and administrative salaries, equipment purchases, conference costs and travel expenses.

Inkatha's Action Group for Democracy gets \$1m for a research and information department dealing with economic and constitutional policy, training in "management, political communications and election organisations", and office rent.

The National Republican Institute for International Affairs, a branch of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), receives \$1,2m to conduct public opinion surveys, draft rules for the functioning of parties under a new constitution, and provide "political party training and infrastructure assistance".

Its sister group, the National Democratic Institute, gets \$1,2m "to enhance public awareness and understanding of the negotiating process".

The US Information Agency gets \$500 000 for projects providing "expertise" and "practical information", while the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is allotted \$500 000 to administer a conference in SA on policy alternatives.

The Washington-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law gets \$400 000 to help set up a legal and constitutional advisory committee in collaboration with the ANC, and to establish a constitutional law library at "a selected SA institution".

The Wits Centre for Policy is granted \$225 000 to "identify the social and political processes required for a negotiated transition".

The NED's Free Trade Union Institute receives \$45 000. It will assist the Co-operative for Research and Education to develop a workers' charter based on internationally accepted standards.

In addition, \$700 000 is set aside for a reserve fund "primarily to support the infrastructure requirements" of parties not yet eligible for funding because they "have not ... chosen to participate in negotiations" and have not renounced violence. If this money is not applied for by February 28, most of it will be reallocated to the ANC and Inkatha.

The NED, which is to oversee the transfer of funds, gets \$500 000 for administrative costs.

'Great challenge' for new envoy

A HAPPY director of liaison for Foreign Affairs Pieter Swanepoel confirmed yesterday he had been appointed SA's next ambassador to Portugal. 304A

"I am really looking forward to the post — an important one, especially as Portugal is held in such high regard by SA and there are an estimated 600 000 Portuguese immigrants living in SA," Swanepoel said. 19/12/90

President FW de Klerk has visited Portugal twice this year, demonstrating the importance to SA of that country. 19/12/90

Swanepoel said it was a great challenge being in Europe at such an exciting time, with major developments taking place in the EC, with its latest position on sanctions, and with Portugal's role as a mediator in the Angolan peace plan.

Swanepoel, 42, who succeeds Carl Wessels, will leave for Lisbon in mid-January.

BILLY PADDOCK

Wessels is returning to SA to head the Canada/South America desk.

Swanepoel, who was born in Johannesburg, graduated from Pretoria University with an honours degree in administration.

He joined the Information Department in 1970 and was on the African and Eastern desk.

Later he went to the foreign guests section.

In 1973 he was posted to Australia as information attaché. In 1977 he went to the SA embassy in London.

He returned to SA to head the North American desk in Foreign Affairs in 1979, before being posted to Washington as counsellor (information).

He returned to Pretoria in 1987 as communications planning director. During 1988 he was at the UN General Assembly before taking up the post of liaison director.

Botha stuns Comores

sowetan 19/12/90
FOREIGN Minister P. W. Botha has stunned the Comores by saying that the South African government never wanted to give refuge to mercenary leader Bob Denard and called on France to "take him off our hands".

Botha's bombshell came during his visit to the island last Thursday, in a speech at the Comorian Presidential palace broadcast by state radio and reported by the BBC.

(304A)
He told Comorian president Abdul Djohar and others at a banquet that South Africa had only accepted Denard in order to "avoid a bloodbath" after Denard and his mercenary band failed to take absolute control of the country following the assassination of president Ahmed Abdulla Aderemane last November. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

FW

**Government will
not capitulate
to radicals
- De Klerk**

304A

Sowetan 19/12/70.

Warns ANC



FW DE KLERK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night warned that the Government would not "capitulate to radical pressure".

He said this in a message to the nation on TV.

From his address it was clear that as far as he was concerned the time for the mailed fist had come, and he would not hesitate to use it.

In a tough and uncompromising stance, he said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want.

"Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to a peaceful and negotiated solution; or do they want to revert to the con-

By THAMI MAZWAI

frontation and conflict of the past?"

He said his Government would not hesitate to use "all available resources to ensure stability".

He said in addition to measures the Government had taken this year - such as declaring unrest areas, strengthening the police force, using the SADF "where necessary" and the establishment of the R3 billion fund to tackle socio-economic issues - it would shortly announce more measures in regard to both security action and positive initiatives.

In a blunt warning to the PAC, he said slogans such as "one settler one bullet" were unacceptable.

This is the first official reaction

by De Klerk to decisions taken at the recent ANC and PAC congresses, and to a renewed campaign of mass mobilisation by the ANC.

He singled out seven areas which he said were unacceptable.

These were:

- * The countrywide violence;
- * Intimidation, which he said was irreconcilable with democracy;
- * The incitement of racial hatred through such slogans as "one settler one bullet". He said South Africans should not tolerate those who fanned the fires of racial hatred;
- * Non-payment of services and rents. He said some communities may be faced with the collapse of services;

● To Page 2

P. T. O.

Govt warns

From Page 1

Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence.

"Young people must be involved in programmes that will get them back to school and which will enable them to play a constructive role in society," De Klerk said.

In a direct reference to the ANC conference, he said the organisation had reverted to "outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation".

He said the organisation: *South African 19/12/90*

* Continued to talk of a transfer of power, while they know that the purpose of the proposed negotiation is to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.

* They continued to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government, thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiations and constitutional process.

* They continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods, knowing full well these militate against a peaceful solution.

* They refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa - "this despite the fact that for the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic".

Commenting on De Klerk's address, ANC spokeswoman Miss Gill Marcus said the organisation had "taken note of the points raised in the statement".

The recent consultative conference of the ANC took a number of decisions that clearly state the position of the movement on critical issues.

"If there are areas or issues in those decisions on which the Government needs clarification or more information, such clarification would be provided in contact with the Government at the initiation of either party," she said.

It was the best of times and the worst of times for South Africa in 1990, and the country enters the new year on a razor edge.

Unprecedented political freedom was granted to the black majority but the worst violence in modern history ensued, endangering a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy.

As the winds of change blew hot and cold, analysts swung wildly from high optimism to deep pessimism, some full of hope for a negotiated end to 350 years of white supremacy, others gloomily sure the death throes of apartheid were uncontrollable.

President FW de Klerk has dominated the year with rapid fire reforms which revolutionised domestic politics and transformed South Africa's place in the world.

He freed Nelson Mandela, figurehead of the black liberation struggle, legalised black opposition, scrapped a draconian state of emergency and swept away petty apartheid laws while promising to demolish grand apartheid soon.

Positive

"It's been a phenomenal year. No one 18 months ago would have envisaged this in their wildest dreams," enthused one Western diplomat.

"We end 1990 in an extremely positive position and with the prospect, for the first time in many years, of a political settlement."

Some political experts predict full-scale negotiations between the white government and black groups on a non-racial constitution will begin before the middle of next year.

For others, the dark side of South Africa hangs like a pall.

At least 3 500 people have been killed this year - 1 000 more than in Lebanon's civil war - mostly in street fighting between followers of the giants of black politics, Mandela's African National Congress and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

South Africans face a razor edge

304A Soweto 19/12/90

FOCUS

Between 200 and 300 were reported killed by white-led security forces acting to quell unrest.

The slaughter spiralled as the year turned, with more than 1 000 shot or hacked to death in black townships around Johannesburg, the business heart of the nation, since August.

Township residents accuse white provocateurs, mainly in the police, of trying to preserve apartheid by setting black against black. The Government blames a black power struggle.

The fighting has undermined the authority of Mandela and De Klerk, the best hopes for guiding a peaceful transition.

Violence rules the townships, polarising the majority of South Africans who live there, and souring the trusting atmosphere that last May launched exploratory peace talks between the Government and the ANC. By year's end, discussions had stuck in a sandstorm of suspicion and recrimination.

Angry denunciations of De Klerk echoed at a major ANC conference shortly before Christmas that adopted a string of militant policies including renewed backing for sanctions.

The ANC said it would consider suspending the peace process unless De Klerk carried out key promised reforms, including the release of all political prisoners, by April 30 1991.

The movement also planned to consider resuming the guerilla campaign it suspended in August unless De Klerk acted to halt township



FW de Klerk ... dominated.

violence. No deadline was set for this, however.

"The situation is very much on a knife edge," said ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus. "The peace process is almost becoming irrelevant. You can't tell people a peace process is under way when they are being killed."

Mandela, on a pre-Christmas peace mission to embattled Tokoza township, was chased off by jeering Zulu migrant workers.

ANC followers spit hatred of Inkatha and demand that their leader refuse to meet Buthelezi.

Leaders

Militant ANC youth say their venerable leaders have given up their armed struggle against apartheid with nothing from the Government in return.

Veteran political analyst Willem Kleynhaus blames the results of apartheid - black poverty, appalling housing, bad education, huge unemployment - for the township rage and says he fears no South African can control it.

"The situation is irreparable," he said. "There is no stopping black people giving vent to their frustrations. Whites don't realise the damage done by apartheid."

Rich white communities are reeling from a violent crime

wave of unprecedented proportions as hundreds of thousands of blacks, no longer restricted by pass laws, rush to cities which have few jobs or prospects to offer.

De Klerk also knows he must watch his right. The year has seen a rise in white extremism with blacks shot and beaten up by white marauders and public places bombed.

National Government moves to desegregate are often thwarted by conservative municipalities. One filled a swimming pool with dirt rather than allow blacks to use it.

Some critics of the Government say they suspect the white establishment seeks to preserve its power more subtly than in the past by moving just far enough to win international approval and the lifting of economic sanctions and attract much-needed investment.

After the ruling National Party, creator of apartheid, opened its doors to non-whites this year, Government figures began talking confidently of building a ruling coalition of whites, Zulus, Indians and people of mixed race.

This would leave the ANC and more militant black groups to fight over the remainder of the population.

De Klerk is resisting ANC demands for an interim multi-racial government and constituent assembly to oversee a transition to black rule. The white government says it will not step aside before an agreement on a new constitution.

The ANC and other black groups seek a transfer of power while the Government plans only to share power. Analysts say the main question is whether apartheid and its legacy of bitterness has left room for compromise. - Sapa-Reuter

Mass action plans and rhetoric slated

ANC direction a path to disaster, warns FW

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

State President FW de Klerk last night accused the ANC of continuing to advocate "outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods", and warned that the organisation's plans for intensified mass action campaigns next year would lead the country to disaster.

In his end-of-the-year address to the nation, broadcast on TV, Mr de Klerk expressed disappointment at the course taken by the ANC at its first consultative conference in South Africa in 30 years.

The weekend decisions appeared to be a step back towards "outdated rhetoric" and would fuel the flames of confrontation.

However, he indicated that the Government was aware that the ANC's top leaders, in adopting a hard-line attitude, had bowed to the pressure from militants.

Mr de Klerk said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they really prepared to follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions; or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

He sternly warned that intimidation, violence and the disruption of municipal services would not be tolerated.

Mr de Klerk further criticised the ANC for:

- Continuing to talk of the transfer of power, while the organisation knew that the purpose of proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.
- Continuing its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government, thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiation process.
- Refusing to acknowledge that fundamental changes had taken place.

Stressing that the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable, Mr de Klerk said the Government was determined to take "whatever further action may be necessary" to ensure peace.

He announced that impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in violence-ridden areas would be stepped up shortly.

The Government also intended stabilising local government to enable the resumption of basic services to all black communities.

Responding to the speech last night, the ANC said should the Government need any clarification on decisions reached at the organisation's consultative conference at the weekend, it would be given.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had "taken note of the points raised" in President de Klerk's address.



No longer a stowaway . . . Eastern Province cricketer Luvuyo "Shot-gun" Gceezengana is the most talked about star of the Permlazer Junior Cricket Week, which ended in Johannesburg yesterday.

Zimbabwe planning to 'confiscate' land

HARARE — Multinational companies with farmland holdings in Zimbabwe would have them confiscated by the government in terms of the controversial new land programme, senior sources in the ruling Zanu (PF) Party said yesterday.

They quoted Witness Mangwende, the Minister of Agriculture, as telling the Zanu (PF) central committee at the weekend that legislation being drafted aimed expressly at taking the multinationals' land.

The sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the decision was part of the government's new land policy which held that foreigners should not be allowed to own land.

The proposed legislation

follows parliament's approval last week of an amendment to the constitution which adds to the government's powers of confiscation by allowing it to choose its own price for compensation — and stops affected landowners from contesting the payment in court.

A Harare lawyer, Robin Hartley, said land values could be fixed at something substantially less than the market value and could cause banks to lose huge amounts owing to them which were unsecured and not payable.

A financial source said the main threat would be to the farming community as lower land values would greatly reduce bank loans to farmers. — Sapa.

TED matric examination results posted at schools tomorrow

Transvaal Education Department (TED) matric results will be posted at schools from 3 pm tomorrow.

The Star will publish a special matric supplement

with all the results in all editions on Friday.

A special telephone service will also be available at The Star from midnight on Thursday. For TED results, phone 633-2505 or 633-2293.

'Shotgun' aims to be a big hit

By Graeme Joffe

The cheerful stowaway they call "Shotgun" is on target to become one of the big hits of the Permlazer Junior cricket week in Johannesburg.

Luvuyo Gceezengana (13) is determined to make it to the top.

Three years ago, the Eastern Province selectors left Shotgun out of the OK Week under-12 side.

Selectors could not believe their eyes on arrival in Port Elizabeth when he climbed out from under a bus seat.

They played him in some of the games and since then he has made his mark as a batsman and bowler.

This is his second year at the Week and with a handful of wickets already to his credit, Shotgun, through the SACU's township scheme, has the opportunity to develop into a top all-rounder.

Eric Gqamane, chairman of the Zwile Cricket Union and Shotgun's coach for the last three years, along with EPCU's Adrian Birrell and Donald Mli, said that cricket had replaced soccer as Shotgun's first love.

"Where always young"



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Hennie Lötter weighs up the merits of a multiparty conference against a constitutional convention

We must all decide on future

8 Apr 19/12/90

304A

THESE seem to be two proposals on how the constitution of the new South Africa should be drafted. One — for a multiparty conference — is proposed primarily by the Government, and the other — for a democratically elected constitutional convention — is proposed by the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

The question is: which would be in the best interest of the citizens of the new South Africa?

The idea of a multiparty conference seems to be attractive to the Government because it will enable it to play the dominant role in the negotiations for a new constitution. Presumably the Government would decide — in consultation with the ANC — which parties would have the right to be part of a multiparty conference.

Furthermore, the Government seems to prefer to be simultaneously in full control of political power and to be a dominant partner in negotiations.

These ideas are not acceptable for several reasons. It is first of all not clear how it will be decided which parties will be invited to take part in negotiations for a new constitution. Would cultural organisations be full participants, as it has already been suggested? Would business organisations also be a part of the multiparty conference, or would only political parties be allowed? Would military leaders have the same status as democratically elected leaders?

How, in any case, did a minority government earn the right to decide on the participants in the drafting of a new constitution? Although the National Party deserves credit for initiating moves to usher in a more just and equitable system, this does not give it the right to decide certain fundamental issues about this country's future.

This right belongs to the people of South Africa — to all its citizens — and thus they should determine who should be the founders of the new South Africa.

There are other problems connected with the idea of a multiparty conference. One of the main ones would be the way in which decisions would be made at such a conference concerning matters to be included in the new constitution.

Would all the parties have an equal vote or would all delegates have an equal vote?

If all the parties had an equal vote it would be unfair to the larger groups, as a party with 50 000 supporters would have the same influence as a party with five million supporters.

If all delegates would have an equal vote, then the question would be how to determine how many delegates each party would have at the conference. The only reliable way — that would not be arbitrary — seems to be by means of a democratic election.

Perhaps a supporter of the idea

of a multiparty conference would say decisions would be made by means of consensus, and not by the counting of votes of delegates. This might work, but it could happen that right-wing groups or military rulers insist on certain compromises that are not acceptable to some of the major parties.

In such a case they could stall — and even wreck — the negotiations and exercise an influence far beyond the support they enjoy.

A further problem with the proposal of a multiparty conference is that the Government wants to stay in power during the negotiations for a new constitution.

What this means is that those in positions of power will be negotiating with those without any formal political power. This seems unfair, as power holders are in a much stronger bargaining position and could make full use of their positions to enhance their influence and to gain support.

A transitional government that would be more representative than the current one, and a constitutional convention with members who hold no positions of power, would be more fair to all those involved in negotiation — and that is all of us.

The last problem I want to mention is the way in which the Government intends to test the support of the citizens for a constitution drafted by a multiparty conference. They are currently suggesting a referendum as the way in which the citizens of South Africa can show their approval or not of this new constitution.

However, South Africans ought to know — if we can remember what happened in 1983 — about the dilemma voters face when presented with a constitution made by a non-representative group of leaders. Instead of the voter being able to vote for a party with policies and principles that he or she can identify with as being the closest to representing

his or her views at a constitutional convention where a constitution is being negotiated, the voter is confronted with a simple "yes" or "no" vote on a very complex issue.

It would be much better if voters could choose the party that appeals to them most and thus represent them in proportion to the support they have gained, so everyone could know to what extent certain policies are supported by the people of South Africa.

This would leave to the representatives of the people the task of working out suitable compromises, acceptable to the vast majority of citizens.

Why should the citizens of this country be subjected to a simple choice of either yes or no to a constitution drafted by non-representative leaders?

● Mr Lötter is a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy at the Rand Afrikaans University. □

Meyer: No poll without blacks

CAP T-11 20/12/90 30411

PRETORIA. — The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, says the government is determined there will not be another general election without black participation.

Mr Meyer made this comment in an interview to be published in January next year in the publication RSA Policy Review. His remarks were released in advance yesterday by the government's Bureau for Information.

"The government is determined that there will not be another general election in South Africa in which blacks cannot participate.

"In view of this it has, in terms of the existing constitution, a term of five years at its disposal, as from September 6, 1989, during which constitutional changes can be negotiated, enabling the blacks of South Africa to participate in the next election to constitute a legislative authority."

A new constitution, he added, would involve power-sharing. — Sapa

FW and Tambo hint at future meeting

Cape Times 20/12/90 Political Staff

304A

A MEETING between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo seems on the cards — although no arrangements for talks have yet been made.

Both leaders hinted this week that a meeting between them is likely.

Mr Tambo, who returned to South Africa last week, told Agence France Press he might be willing to hold talks with Mr De Klerk.

And the president's office, after being asked about a meeting, told the Cape Times: "The president has not had a request to meet Mr Tambo.

"If such a request does come forth, it will obviously be considered."

As Mr De Klerk went on leave yesterday, a meeting is unlikely to take place in the near future.

Although President De Klerk has had a number of meetings with the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, he has never met Mr Tambo.

YEAR IN REVIEW/NEWS

The right reacts: Bombs or songs?

BY CHARLES LEONARD

20/12/90 - 10/1/91

of right-wing terror attacks.

It reached a climax in July when 15 incidents of right-wing violence were recorded, 33 percent of all violent incidents that took place in the country during that month.

And the rightwing did plant bombs. Their targets ranged widely: the British embassy, Mehrose House, the homes of Johannesburg city councillors, the offices of the Food and Allied Workers Union in Rustenburg, the offices of two Afrikaans newspapers, *Beeld* and *Vrye Weekblad*. They attacked National Party offices in the constituencies of two of the government's team of negotiators with the

African National Congress, that of Stoffel van der Merwe in Helderkrin and Roelf Meyer in Auckland Park.

Piet "Skier" Rudolph became the "Boere pimpernel" and the most wanted right-winger in the country after he claimed responsibility for several of these attacks and for an arms heist on Air Force headquarters in Pretoria.

Rudolph's Orde Boerevolk and a similar right-wing group, the Order of Death, were the most active of these groups — until police started arresting several right-wing activists.

The detention of Leonard Veenendaal, Darryl Stopforth (wanted in Namibia for the murders of a policeman and an Untag official), David Rootenberg, Piet Bestier and several others under section 29 of the Internal Security Act left them surprised.



AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche

On September 18 Rudolph was arrested in Pretoria and detained under section 29. After two days on hunger strike he decided to talk. He called upon his men to hand back weapons stolen from the Air Force. During a bail application a conciliatory Rudolph hinted at negotiations and announced his intention to apply for indemnity.

The police were successful this year in solving right-wing terror incidents.

Of the 52 incidents attributed to the right, only eight are still unsolved.

But when the Separate Amenities Act was scrapped, another form of right-wing thuggery reared its ugly head: that of attacks on black people, mostly in small *platteland* towns.

Although this type of action happened throughout the year before the Act was abolished, it was intensified after September.

There are strong indications that De Klerk intends making another significant announcement when parliament opens next year. That might prompt the right-wing to take action again.

If the state president announces some form of transitional government, South Africa might see what TerreBlanche has threatened to do at so many of his meetings: "That night, when they hand power over to the ANC, we will take it back by force."

But if one looks at the lack of unity among rightwingers and Rudolph's quick retreat to the white flag after a few days in detention, one cannot help but believe that the only bombs the rightwing will plant in future will be symbolic ones — in song.

W

HILE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche inspected a guard of honour, about 500 supporters in the Louis Trichardt showground hall sang a perverted version of *Vanaand gaan die volkies koring sny* (Tonight the farmers are going to cut corn). Laughing naughtily they sang: *Vanaand gaan die Boere bonne plant* (Tonight the Boers are going to plant bombs).

This meeting took place two days after 13 rightwingers appeared in the Pietersburg Regional Court in connection with an alleged assault with sjamboks, knobkerries and sticks on a group of black Sunday school children in a park in Louis Trichardt.

The song and the incident raise questions about the actions the rightwing is going to take now. Will they plant more bombs, or will they resort to localised inter-racial violence to try to reverse the trek to a new South Africa?

The unbanning of the liberation movements on February 2 by State President FW de Klerk triggered an alarming and unprecedented increase

Nigerian call for peace in SA

LAGOS — Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has urged black leaders in SA to end factional fighting which he called "the shame of Africa" (304A) (2-23)

He said he was disappointed by the fact that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mangosuthu Buthelezi had yet to meet to stop the "fratricidal carnage that has been the shame of Africa", he said in a speech made available yesterday.

He called on the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, as well as other anti-apartheid groups, to "bury their pride and sink their differences". (10am) 20/12/90

Babangida made the comments in a speech last weekend to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in Abuja, which is to become the federal capital of Nigeria.

More than 3 000 people have been reported killed this year in SA's factional fighting.

The ANC has accused Inkatha, and government, of stirring the unrest to undermine its strength in the urban areas. — Sapa-Reuter.

YEAR IN REVIEW/POLITICS



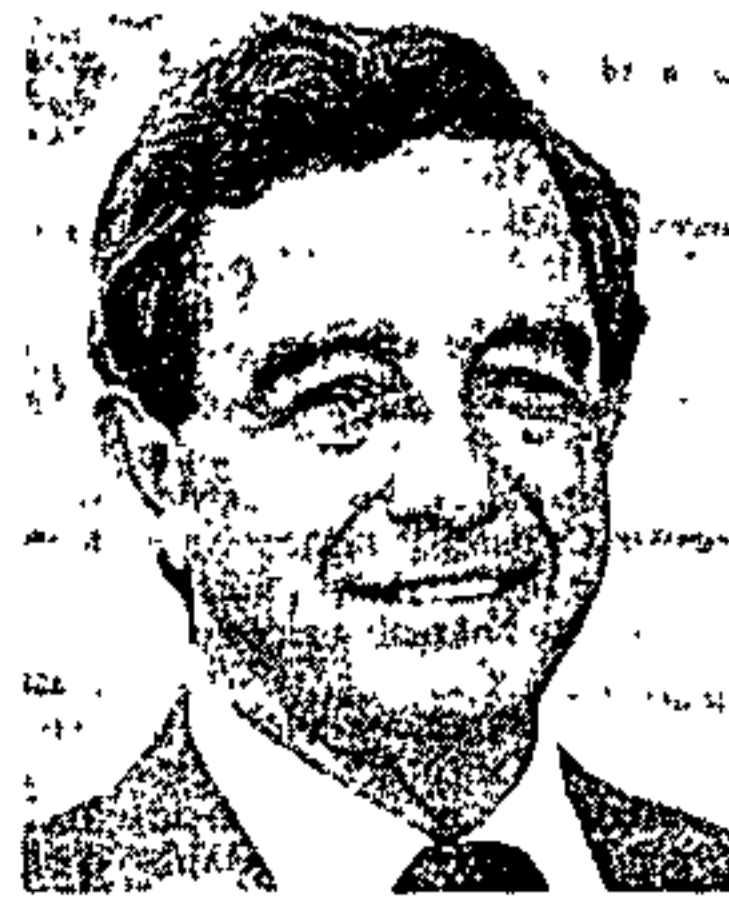
SACP's Joe Slovo



CP's Andries Treurnicht



PAC's Clarence Makwethu



DP's Zach de Beer



Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi

IF this year's negotiations were a game of Monopoly, the National Party would be buying up hotels in Park Lane, the African National Congress would be struggling for a house in Old Kent Road and most other parties would not have passed Go.

But the game is a long one, fortunes can change as new players become adept at the rules, and the outcome is still up for grabs.

In the year under review, this is how the main protagonists have fared:

THE NATIONAL PARTY

When President FW de Klerk announced the new rules on February 2 he took everyone by surprise and has successfully traded on the goodwill this generated among potential friends and the disarray among erstwhile enemies ever since.

Initial predictions that the changes would tear the NP apart proved to be off the mark. Most of the key movers and shakers among yesterday's securocrats have buckled under. The bulk of the NP caucus (with some exceptions like MPs Louis le Grange and Johan Steenkamp) have also gone along.

De Klerk's credit balance — and that of the party, government and state he heads — is looking pretty healthy even though there are several unpaid bills:

- He has given the world the impression that apartheid is dead. The government has scrapped the Separate Amenities Act, made it clear the Group Areas Act will go next year and the Population Registration Act will be negotiated away. But the education system remains separate and unequal, the homeland system is still running, and the defence force, police and civil service remain white controlled and, in some cases, segregated.

- De Klerk has received kudos for lifting the State of Emergency and doing away with the National Security Management System — yet the Internal Security Act is still used to detain opponents from left or right without trial, hundreds of political prisoners are still behind bars, and political trials are still in progress.

- He is basking in the glow of international approval at unbanning the ANC and allowing its leaders to return, although the vast majority of exiles have not yet been allowed back.

- When it comes to talks with the ANC the government has held most of the aces and has known how to use them. It put the ANC in a position where it had little option but to suspend the armed struggle — but in return has offered only vague promises which it is showing tardiness in keeping.

But De Klerk and the NP face a number of pressing problems:

- Increasing ill-will has been created by elements in the security forces going their own way. While police routinely deny they are partial to Inkatha (or to anyone else), others in a township battle zone will tell you differently.

- So far De Klerk has shown he is either unaware of the extent of the problem or unwilling to make waves among his security forces.

- The NP has failed to find alliance partners of substance. Most of the black councillors have resigned under pressure from ANC-aligned civic groups, while the Urban Councils Association of South Africa has split into two opposing factions. With the exception of kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, the homelands have shied away from support for the government, while the likes of Solidarity and even the Labour

In the game of politics, the NP is streets ahead

Wim van der Merwe 20/12/90 - 10/1/91

THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS/ BY GAVIN EVANS

304A



Key player ... President FW de Klerk

Party have slipped into irrelevance. The NP has also shown little sign of putting its decision to open its ranks to all races into practice.

THE ANC

Nelson Mandela's release 10 months ago gave the movement an enormous boost. For a few months it was swept along by the euphoria which this created, before being confronted by a sea of troubles which sometimes threatened to overwhelm it:

- It would be unfair to place the bulk of the blame for the Natal and Transvaal violence on the ANC. At least in the Transvaal, in most instances it was ANC-supporting communities which were under attack.

- But the ANC response has often not been adequate. The July stayaway and campaign to isolate Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi probably contributed to the decision by anti-ANC forces to unleash the violence in the Transvaal. Certainly the leadership of the ANC, Congress of South African Trade Unions and United Democratic Front underestimated the ability of Inkatha and "Third Force" elements to wreak havoc in its own hunting ground.

- It also may have been wiser for the ANC not to have delayed indefinitely a meeting between Nelson Mandela and kwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And the situation was not helped by the differing tones of statements made about Inkatha by various ANC leaders.

- Other than its local authorities campaign, few mass action openings were taken. There was little in the way of campaigns around fertile issues such as the return of exiles or the release of political prisoners or the remaining vestiges of apartheid.



Key player ... ANC leader Nelson Mandela

- Within the "talks about talks" the ANC made few clear gains recently. It has suspended the armed struggle but still has thousands of members in exile, jail or on trial.

- Part of the problem has been that the government's working group negotiators are more experienced and better prepared — a situation compounded by the fact that the ANC's team are people newly returned from exile.

- Shortly after the ANC was unbanned it predicted it would recruit a million members by the end of the year. Sources within the movement now concede the figure is less than a quarter of this.

- And while it has succeeded in attracting thousands of white and Indian members, its support in the white community is negligible and there are signs that its Indian support is falling.

- The movement's fledgling bureaucracy has not been efficient, and the speed of changes has meant that internal democracy has often suffered. Members inside and outside the country complain they read about decisions in the newspapers. For those in exile, particularly in military camps, the sense of isolation has been marked and contributed to strong criticism of several in the current leadership.

- A related problem has been the difficulty some members have had with decisions taken by the leadership. For many the suspension of the armed struggle was a shock, and when the lifting of sanctions was proposed at the Consultative Conference the delegates balked at the idea — despite evidence presented that sanctions were failing. Compromises on issues such as the ANC's call for a Constituent Assembly could be even tougher to secure.

- On the positive side ANC supporters can point to several developments

which augur well for its future:

- Despite tensions and differences within its ranks the ANC has shown no signs of splitting or splintering.

- It has managed to make major changes in policy and strategy — on issues as important as how to win power and the nature of a future South African economy — without losing the bulk of its support.

- Following its Consultative Conference there appears to be a more upbeat mood among its members. Delegates seemed hopeful that the problems in internal democracy could be resolved and were satisfied with the determination to resume mass action on a more concerted national scale.

- In setting April 30 as the deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles (failing which it will withdraw from the talks) the ANC may have succeeded in putting the government on the spot for the first time in months.

THE SACP

A major problem facing the South African Communist Party is the key word in its name has been discredited internationally.

The party has yet to come up with clear answers of what socialism, let alone communism, is or might be. Its current membership ranges from hard-line socialists to closet social democrats.

Another challenge has been to define its relationship with the ANC and to move from being a clandestine party to having a mass membership.

In the five months since its public launch the SACP has maintained a high profile, launched six regions, held large rallies, and in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape has begun to set up branches. It has gone some way towards countering the claim that it is a

secret, white and Indian-led group by announcing the names of 106 national and regional leaders of whom 90 are men and 16 women, 74 African, 12 white, 11 coloured and nine Indian.

But already there is a large overlap between the SACP leadership and its "Revolutionary Alliance" partners, the ANC and Cosatu. Difficulties for the party could arise when challenges to the ANC leadership are made from below, or when SACP members want it to take positions not only distinct, but different from those of the ANC.

The pressure on the ANC (from friends and foes at home and abroad) to distinguish itself from the SACP will be another factor prompting more than a tactical separation.

The party experienced a setback with the Operation Vula arrests in July. Though "Vula" was an ANC project, at least three of those on trial are SACP leaders — Mac Maharaj, Billy Nair and Pravin Gordhan.

THE PAC

Despite its initial promise of taking the ground from under the feet of the ANC, 1990 has not been a happy year for the Pan Africanist Congress.

Within the country it has claimed baroque membership figures, on flimsy evidence. Though it has built structures in most major centres, in several areas it seems to have little presence.

Its rallies have failed to attract large numbers — even the funeral of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng drew a crowd of only 3 000 — and it has shown virtually nothing in the way of mass action against the state.

Its leaders have spoken of armed struggle as the "principal form of struggle" but there is scant evidence of the Azanian People's Liberation Army doing much in this respect. It has not been helped by the tendency of its members to use overtly racist rhetoric. For many PAC members there is no pretence that they are other than anti-white.

Outside the country the predicament is even more severe. The PAC is desperate for funding and is losing the support of one of its key frontline backers, Zimbabwe. The arrest of the PAC's Zimbabwe deputy chief on charges of using his host country as a launching pad for Mandrax sales hasn't helped.

In terms of policy its stress on worker shareholder schemes has attracted kudos from elements in business, and its strong stand on the return of the land to the people may yet win it support in the rural areas.

Though there are significant divisions within the PAC, what emerged from its congress was a strong stand against negotiations. What is not clear is where it can go from here or how it intends to put its rhetoric into effect.

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

In the course of 1990 Inkatha announced it was becoming a non-racial political party.

But its image — internationally and locally — took a dip with revelations about its role in the ongoing war with the ANC which extends from Natal to the Transvaal. Certainly few now take its claim to non-violence seriously and Buthelezi's image as a black liberal is a thing of the past.

And while it attracted a handful of white members, it has remained essentially a party of Zulu nationalism.

But while the violence might have hurt it in many ways, it may also have helped to consolidate its support

● TO PAGE

P.T.O.

Nats streets ahead in the game of SA politics

(11A) ●From PAGE 9 (304A)
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among Zulus in the Transvaal. The war turned previously apathetic Zulu migrants into fighters bent on destroying the ANC. In the collieries in Northern Natal it severely undermined the organised strength of the National Union of Mineworkers, and to a lesser extent the membership of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa on the Reef.

The party suffered a blow when the only other public leader of substance, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, resigned. Others, such as Dr Frank Mdalose, national youth leader Musa Zondi and the militant Transvaal youth leader, Themba Khoza, have taken more of a public role recently. But Inkatha has remained essentially a one-man show devoid of public debate, and united behind the pro-negotiations, anti-sanctions positions of its leader — who remains its key strength and key weakness.

Relations between Inkatha and the state have remained ambiguous. Elements within the security forces have provided direct and indirect support for the war against the ANC but at the same time some Inkatha "warlords" and kwaZulu policemen have been put on trial. Some NP MPs seem to favour a close alliance with Inkatha while others caution for an arms-length approach. The PAC and the Conservative Party have also made efforts to court Inkatha.

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Several opinion polls have shown that support in the white community for the CP has fallen recently. A Markinor poll, for example, found the approval rating for CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht dropped from 14 percent in May to eight percent in November. In contrast white perceptions of De Klerk's performance grew from 70 percent who, in May, thought he was doing very well or fairly well, to 80 percent in November (with the "very well" view growing from 27 to 54 percent).

In by-elections the CP came close in Umlazi but fared badly in Randburg. Where it did show some success was in attracting greater numbers of English speakers.

Veiled threats of violence were sometimes given expression by CP individuals, but the party as a whole preferred the constitutional route.

A campaign of mass action culminating in the Volkskongres in May met with only limited success and has had little follow-up.

Divisions, however, continue to exist between pragmatists like Koos van der Merwe and the Mulder brothers, and hardliners like Ferdie Hartzenberg — and to a lesser extent Treurnicht himself. These extend to attitudes to negotiations (with the hardliners rejecting any talks involving the ANC) and to the prospects for a white homeland within what is now South Africa.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1990 was a tough year for the DP which found itself squeezed by an increasingly *verlig* NP on the one side, and to a lesser extent by a less radical ANC on the other.

In the course of the year it suffered several setbacks: It fared badly in the Umlazi election and had no option but to withdraw from Randburg; co-leader Wynand Malan resigned from parliament; Harry Schwarz was appointed ambassador to the United States and party funds began to run dry.

Despite predictions of splits, the party held together. Zach de Beer was elected leader and immediately embarked on a national tour which helped reassure the party faithful, top up the coffers and consolidate direction.

The party has also gone a few steps ahead of the NP in attracting black members.

Inkatha must be party to talks — Nafcoc

THEO RAWANA

THE future of social stability was at risk if the wish of Inkatha and other parties to be included in the negotiation process was ignored, a top official of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) said yesterday.

Deputy president of the ANC-inclined organisation Archie Nkonyeni said the non-involvement of other key players in the political scene, such as the PAC, could detract from the credibility of a process of negotiation limited to only two players.

"The wishes of the parties that are demanding to be included in the process, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, and others, can be ignored only at the risk of future social instability," he said.

Nkonyeni was delivering a Christmas

message in which he appealed to the business community to play a part in "toning down the expectations of the masses" to avoid disappointment and all that went with it.

Nkonyeni said: "History abounds with evidence of social revolutions that have been hailed as quantum leaps, but have ended in gruesome bloodshed as formerly oppressed people turn against one another in the realities of the aftermath of the revolution."

There was a need for a sense of balance and expectations should be tempered with reason.



The yo-yo year: Its hopes and failures

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W/M 20/12/90 - 10/1/91

From PAGE 7

less: it was no longer aimed directly at the state or the perpetrators of apartheid, but took the form of an ugly internecine conflict between sectors of the black community.

That view of the conflict that saw it simply as tribal atavism was simplistic, but this did not detract from the sense that it was a purposeless battle from which no one, least of all the forces of liberation, could gain.

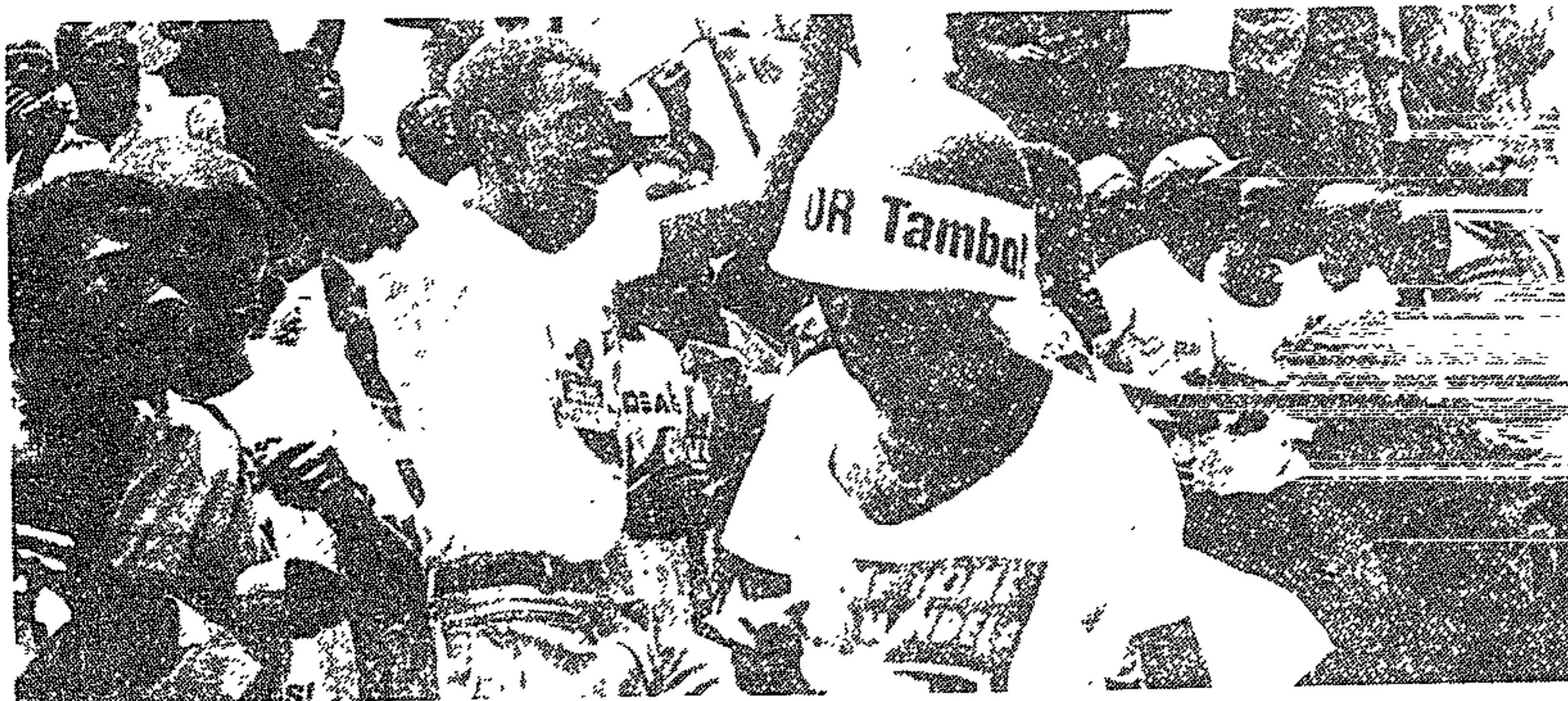
That was just one aspect of the turnabout. It combined with a swift plunge into economic recession with its concomitant rising unemployment and crime rates. Mix in a growing disappointment at the lack of progress in government/ANC talks and the suddenness in which goodwill between the two parties was replaced by bitter recriminations and a mutual swapping of insults. Add the fact that Pretoria-stroika gave way to a renewed spate of bannings, arrests, detentions, curfews and police shootings and the apparent resistance to change among the security forces and other freelance rightwingers. Stir in a realisation that Mandela was only human and the mythical ANC a large, unwieldy or-

ganisation struggling to adjust to change. What emerges is a drastic turnabout in the country's political fortunes.

It was that sort of yo-yo year. In the first half, the country reached heights of optimism it had not known for decades; however, when the mood plunged into pessimism, things seemed worse than ever before.

It was as if one era had ended with the release of Mandela, but nobody was quite ready for the next. We had thought that the new South Africa — that golden era of non-racial democracy, renewed prosperity and regional peace — would begin with Mandela's release. It soon became clear that we had taken no more than the first tentative steps down a long and hard path towards a normal society.

There was progress, but each step forward seemed to be marred: there was joy at the return of Oliver Tambo and his colleagues, but frustration at the lack of progress in bringing others home and freeing political prisoners; celebration at the lifting of the Separ-



Contrasts of the 1990s ... defiance and delight. Top: Violence erupts on the Reef. Below: Tambo supporters joyously await his return to South Africa

Photos: KEVIN CARTER

ate Amenities Act, but anger at the lack of legislation to enforce desegregation and the ability of rightwingers to sabotage it; joy at the admission that white minority rule had to end, but little real change in the daily lives of the vast majority of victims of apartheid.

This reflected an international phenomenon. For years, the world had sought an end to the Cold War, destruction of the Iron Curtain and the reunification of Germany. When it came so suddenly this year, everything seemed so new, so uncertain and so unpredictable that it was frighten-

ing.

The year ends with South Africans facing two key issues: how will negotiations proper get under way and be kept on course; and what will the new South Africa look like?

Last year, the country was still deadlocked on questions such as when and how would Mandela be released, or should the ANC and SACP be unbanned.

Therein lies the real achievement of 1990. South Africans, who for decades have had to put real social concerns on ice because they could not be

addressed without fundamental political change, are now able to take up these issues: how to address massive education, housing and land problems; how to deal with the massive inequalities in wealth distribution; how to construct a government that is fully representative of all its people; how to make peace with our neighbours ...

It is true that nobody has easy answers to these questions and the country is likely to be unstable until we have.

But at least they can now be addressed.

Genial FW sets the tone for a clash with ANC

Wtmail 20/12/90 - 10/1/90

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The state president's festive season message was gilt-wrapped — but it contained a strong warning. **JO-ANNE COLLINGE** reports

DESPITE the Christmas wrapping, President FW de Klerk's festive season message was one of no compromise and pointed to a head-on clash with the African National Congress in the not-too-distant future.

In genial tones, the National Party leader made it clear to his large television audience this week that the "purpose of proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interests of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided".

De Klerk firmly put the ANC's recent reaffirmation that it was striving to secure the transfer of power to the majority beyond the rules of the NP's negotiating game.

The president's speech reinforced the impression created by the ANC's recent consultative conference that 1990 — despite being a year of incredible change — had not fulfilled its early promise. And at a fundamental level, "the more things change, the more they remain the same".

From his bag of observations, De Klerk produced two promises for 1991:

- Intensified police activities to prevent "crime, disorder, unrest and intimidation".

- The stabilisation of local government so that basic services can again be supplied to these areas.

The latter raises speculation whether some form of interim local government — attempting to involve popular organisations and bridge the divide between township and white town — is in the pipeline.

Devoting perhaps a quarter of his speech to a critique of the ANC gathering — which made the continuation of talks conditional upon the government's removal of obstacles to negotiations by April 30 and the continued suspension of the armed struggle conditional upon the state's putting an end to political bloodshed — De Klerk expressed the view that the ANC "continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines".

Playing on the fact that the ANC's renewed militancy emanated from the rank and file rather than the national leadership, the president asserted: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitments at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

The prospects of heightened friction over mass action were confirmed by the president's attitude. In the face of the ANC's assertion at the weekend that 1991 would be a year of mass action for the transfer of power, De Klerk made it clear that the "normalisation" of political activity notwithstanding, he saw

mass action as essentially linked to the disruption of society and the breeding of conflict.

"The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable," he warned.

In a bid to position himself in the "reasonable" middle-ground, De Klerk took a swipe at the political violence which has crippled the Reef in the latter part of the year, empathising with those touched by the "state of fear and terror" (which) has descended on many of our black townships".

Assiduously avoiding identifying the initiators of this bloodshed, De Klerk nevertheless promised an "intensifica-

tion and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in the affected areas" in the new year.

Inkatha escaped the president's critical eye despite its well-documented role in escalating violence, and the main velvet-toned tongue-lashing was reserved for the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ultra rightwing were rapped over the knuckles.

Said De Klerk: "The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as 'one settler, one bullet' and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable."



No compromise ... President FW de Klerk

Single Bill to sweep away Acts

304A

D-Day set for axeing of key apartheid laws

Bl Day 20/12/90

PRETORIA — February 1 has been set as D-Day for the announcement of the removal of all but one of the last remaining pillars of apartheid.

Preliminary drafts of a single Bill scrapping the Group Areas, Free Settlement Areas and Land Acts have been completed and President F W de Klerk is expected to announce the demise of the old laws at the opening of Parliament.

The final nail in the coffin of apartheid will be the repeal of the Population Registration Act which will be axed only once a new constitution has been formulated.

According to government sources, preliminary drafts of the Bill will be presented to Cabinet in mid-January.

The drafts of the new Bill were drawn up by a technical committee handling the Group Areas and Free Settlement legislation and a technical committee dealing with the repeal of the Land Acts.

These committees combined several weeks ago to formulate draft legislation repealing all the Acts.

The committees were asked to consider the implications of repealing the Acts on other existing legislation. Officials said yesterday hundreds of provincial and local government ordinances which were based on these apartheid Acts would have to be scrapped or amended in the coming year.

A number of central government Acts would also be affected by the repeal of the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Officials said the repeal package would provide for the scrapping of the Acts, amendments to existing central government legislation and interim provisions to

EDYTH BULBRING

accommodate a smooth transition to a new dispensation.

However, the repeal of the Free Settlement Areas Act and its "twin", the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Act, presented no problems and would be scrapped without any adjustments to other existing legislation, they said.

Scrapping the Group Areas Act would present certain problems for own affairs administrations and bridging provisions would have to be introduced.

Group areas boundaries would remain in place for the purposes of local government and community development services would remain an own affair for administrative purposes.

The own affairs concept was one of the areas to be negotiated in a new constitution and certain own affairs structures would therefore have to remain in place until a constitutional settlement.

However, the repeal of the Group Areas Act would reduce own affairs functions in some areas like Hillbrow where the racial composition had changed, while other areas would remain largely unaffected.

Officials said opposition to the repeal package could therefore be expected from the own affairs departments.

The repeal package could contain legislation that would ensure the maintenance of living standards.

However, it was under debate whether this legislation should be introduced as a separate bill to avoid any contamination

□ To Page 2

Apartheid

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with the repealed apartheid legislation.

New legislation on slums and urban renewal would enable local and provincial authorities to enforce effective standards and would replace the existing Slums Act and the Community Development Act which were seen as inadequate.

The Black Communities Act, which facilitates the development of residential areas for blacks, would also have to be amended to rid it of its racial references

but the bulk of its provisions would remain in place in order to facilitate development.

The third part of the repeal package, dealing with the Land Acts, would provide for more conventional land ownership rights, but would also retain recognition of tribal lands "for the time-being".

Officials said the dissolution of the SA Development Trust, to be replaced with regional structures, could also be considered and Land Bank finance would be made accessible to all race groups.

Bl Day 20/12/90 □ From Page 1

UN cautiously accepts reforms

UNITED NATIONS - The UN General Assembly, shedding years of strident rhetoric, yesterday cautiously welcomed political reform in South Africa but insisted that current economic sanctions be maintained.

After the annual anti-apartheid resolution was introduced with speeches, adoption abruptly was postponed until tomorrow when more speakers could be heard.

The omnibus political resolution against apartheid will be the first-ever sweeping anti-apartheid document in the annual session to be adopted by consensus and without a divisive vote in the 159-nation body. Narrow

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

resolutions have been adopted by consensus in the past.

The measure was the result of arduous negotiations and compromise between Western countries and African states. The annual package of other anti-apartheid resolutions, ranging from military collaboration to an oil and sports embargo, were expected to be adopted tomorrow by overwhelming votes.

Statement

The South African Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that the United Nations has no jurisdiction over internal affairs, but saying it was "nevertheless encouraged

by the strong stand of a positive nature taken by a number of member states

"It is clear that the U.N. General Assembly accepts that a new South Africa is on the way.



UN takes less hostile line on SA

Stw 20/12/90

304A

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations General Assembly yesterday adopted a consensus resolution against apartheid in South Africa that showed an unprecedented degree of unity on a subject bitterly debated for decades.

The omnibus resolution, the result of long negotiations between Western nations and African states, insists that current economic measures be maintained against Pretoria but does not call for new sanctions.

Contrary to many past measures, the resolution avoids words like "regime" and instead talks about the South African authorities.

Dropped

Phrases such as "condemn" and "demand" are also dropped in recognition of President de Klerk's efforts to scrap apartheid.

The resolution is not the first consensus document on apartheid, but UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said it incorporated a number of items that had eluded full support for decades.

South Africa was expelled from the General Assembly in 1974. It said at the time that the Assembly had no jurisdiction to interfere in its affairs.

General Assembly resolutions are not binding although they reflect international opinion. However, an arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa is considered mandatory while economic and financial sanctions adopted by the Assembly are voluntary.

Last weekend the European Community voted to drop its ban on new investments in South Africa in recognition of President de Klerk's reforms for social change.

On economic sanctions, the omnibus resolution, supported by all Assembly members, called on governments to use

"concerned and effective measures, particularly in the areas of economic and financial relations", aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid.

The resolution calls Mr de Klerk's reforms "significant measures in the right direction" but says that efforts are needed to "facilitate free political activity and foster a climate fully conducive to negotiations."

The document also calls on South Africa to repeal all repressive legislation, end detentions without trial, permit the return of political exiles without restrictions and fully implement all agreements reached with the ANC.

On the continuing violence in the country, the resolution urges South Africa to ensure action is taken against all those responsible, "including vigilante groups" and calls on all parties to contribute to an atmosphere "free of violence".

The resolution also notes the continuing effects of "acts of aggression and destabilisation" committed by South Africa against neighbouring states, particularly Mozambique.

In addition to the main resolution, the Assembly adopted five other substantive resolutions on South Africa, with the United States casting the only negative vote against all.

Abstained

The Soviet Union voted in support and most European nations abstained or voted against some of them.

Britain, which has lifted most sanctions against SA, joined the United States in casting the second negative vote against the oil embargo and military collaboration with Pretoria.

Australia was singled out by Nigerian ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, head of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, for supporting three resolutions and abstaining on a fourth. — Sapa-Reuter.

SEVERAL remarkable events took place during 1990 which saw SA do a political somersault. As a result of the turnaround, a question has arisen — when sanctions are abolished, particularly US sanctions, will foreign investors show an interest in SA?

The events which have led to the opening of this debate are the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations, the negotiations of "talks about talks" and the lifting of the state of emergency — all of which have led to the possibility of fundamental change.

For this, President F W de Klerk and his government must be applauded. However, the political scenario has yet to unfold, and business is as a result showing a reluctance to dive into the proverbial economic deep end.

The situation is now opportune for SA's future leaders to speak to foreign corporations about investment in a post-apartheid SA.

The considerations which arise from these encounters should be built into the medium and long term economic plans of all the major political actors.

The American business sector in SA, despite 154 corporations disinvesting, still has an asset base of about \$2bn. At this point there is no rush by US companies to enter the SA market, although several scouting missions have taken place over the past six months.

Numerous reasons limiting serious consideration of investment include:

1) The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which makes new US investment in SA illegal.

2) The more serious Rangel's Amendment, which is a back-breaking piece of legislation that forces US companies operating in SA to pay double tax.

3) SA has never been a major market for American investors, with seldom more than 1% of both income and assets of a US corporation being invested here.

4) The crisis and violence in the townships suggest the end of apart-

Time to plan for when apartheid is no longer an issue

WAYNE MITCHELL

heid is not synonymous with the ending of violence and the instability.

5) Given the political changes, foreign investors are adopting a "wait and see" attitude as to how a new government will treat local companies, and to analyse what political and social conditions will prevail in the post-apartheid era.

A post-apartheid SA could be attractive to new foreign investors, particularly from the US, as the East European market has been flooded by West European investors, leaving the American investor to look for new pastures.

Unlike Eastern Europe, SA has a tradition of market economies, a stock market, legal structures, bidding and trading practices, a developed banking system and a modern communications and transportation infrastructure, all of which are incomparable on the continent.

It is estimated that an annual \$2bn "post-apartheid dividend" in trade and investment could be added to the gross domestic product through the elimination of sanctions.

This would also add to a more stable economy to which foreign investors could be attracted.

There are investment bargains in SA. While influenced by external variables such as gold, the productive capital of SA, mining and tourism are undervalued in terms of productive capability. Another strong

motivating factor for the foreign investor is the under-served southern African market of 120-million people.

Although capitalism has been synonymous with apartheid, it is essential that foreign investors are encouraged through dialogue.

The objective should not be to reduce the pressure to scrap apartheid, but to lay plans and foundations for the time when apartheid is no longer the issue. These discussions could include the role of the business sector and specifically the foreign investor in the restructuring of a post-apartheid economy.

This debate is very fluid, but there are indications that the economy could become more open and competitive if anti-trust laws similar to those in the US were used.

Such laws would lead to the breaking up of monopolies, and the encouragement of competition. This in turn would democratise the economy, weaken the dominant role of conglomerates and unleash more productive and competitive forces.

It can also be envisaged that a post-apartheid economy would hold foreign investors accountable to wider societal interests.

Investors would have to regard

themselves as full participants in SA's economic life and thus identify with the developmental and planning aspirations of any future government. Corporate philanthropy, manpower development programmes, community development projects and corporate-community relationship programmes would inevitably become the norm.

The relationship between worker and management is another important issue for the foreign investor.

One of the walls which has separated management and labour in SA has been apartheid, with the trade unions focusing on political issues which have diverted their attention away from direct worker interests. When apartheid has gone we will find the unions in an extremely visible role, as they refocus their attention on bargaining for wages and benefits, but most importantly, participate in actual company planning and management.

This should lead to improved trust and collaboration between labour and management, creating a more stable workforce through self-interest, in order to maintain investor confidence and create jobs.

The government of the day will in all probability actively encourage any resolution of conflict between labour and management in order to stimulate the economy so that they can deliver on political promises of

the past.

Few corporations have slammed the door on SA, but few of those which have disinvested will rush back with significant investments. But there are short-term exceptions.

Much of the early investment in mining and tourism, and in high priority areas such as food, clothing, basic consumer goods, small appliances and housing, may be led by African-American entrepreneurs.

Nearly half the US firms which no longer have direct investment have retained licensing, distribution, franchise or buyback agreements which would facilitate their re-entry into the SA market. These companies have maintained visibility and positive linkages through non-commercial activities such as support of black education and community development trusts.

Continued and accepted use of this non-equity mechanism can be expected until the foreign corporate community is confident that direct investment is warranted.

On the positive side for US corporations, the process of investing in a new SA could be less painful than predicted by the pessimists.

US corporations have a wealth of experience with integration at the workplace, coupled with a direct affirmative action programme in community development. Because of this experience, any future SA leadership might openly encourage US companies to enter into joint ventures so that SA companies can learn from their experience.

It will be hoped that many of the forces which exerted influence through corporate disinvestment and sanctions will be just as vocal in their encouragement of corporate reinvestment, but reinvestment will have to be vigorously pursued.

It cannot be based only upon a clear economic risk analysis done by foreign companies searching for new markets.

SA alone can provide the conditions conducive to foreign investment. The opportunity is about to present itself, and if it is not grasped it could be lost forever.

□ Mitchell is executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in SA.

Buthelezi calls on whites to back FW

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged white South Africans to support President F W de Klerk to ensure the success of the negotiation process. (304A)

In a year-end message to whites, Buthelezi said it was the strength of the whites' commitment to negotiations that would prescribe "the speed with which we can begin notching up successes in practical applications of that which is negotiated at local, regional and national levels." 10am 21/12/90

"And the more powerfully they back De Klerk, the more powerfully blacks will seek alliances with them to establish a SA in which we are glad to be with each other as blacks and whites."

He added that he and "many other black leaders" would be working next year to eliminate political violence.

They would be working towards a stabilised and normalised SA in which whites could make their mark as a "party to the salvation" of the country.

PAC message: it is time for education

TIM COHEN

THE misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

Education was in state of crisis, he said. "We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open." 10am 21/12/90

He said 1990 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles.

Violence had been escalating in alarming proportions. While the PAC could not specify a solution, if liberation movements worked together, he was confident an answer would be found.

The PAC had called for a united front.

"We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination, irrespective of political persuasion, to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end."

The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.

FIM 21/12/90 (304A)

was he "surprised" when *Beeld* speculated about the appointment? Durr is overseas on a private visit and unavailable for comment. So we still don't know if he jumped before he was pushed.

While Durr may be cut out to represent SA in the UK with distinction now that the EC countries are having second thoughts about sanctions, his departure will pose a problem at home unless President F W de Klerk can find a suitable (preferably English-speaking) replacement.

Suggestions (again from *Beeld*) that "own affairs" minister Amie Venter has been earmarked to take over from Durr are disturbing.

Venter may be competent, and it is known that he is a close associate of De Klerk, but Durr's successor should be someone with whom businessmen will be comfortable. Most businessmen have not even heard of Venter. ■

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FIM 21/12/90

SMOKE AND FIRE

(304A)

The fog surrounding Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr's sudden and surprise appointment as ambassador to the Court of St James has been partly cleared.

Durr asked for the job, according to a Foreign Affairs spokesman, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha backed his colleague's request, though suggestions have been made of tension (and maybe professional envy) between their departments.



Durr

Beeld's political satirist Lood puts the blame for any rumours of bad blood between Botha and Durr squarely on English-language newspapers by claiming they said he was pushed out of the Cabinet.

What Lood did not mention, however, and may not have known is that senior political colleagues at *Beeld* had gleefully been spreading privately what they claimed was Nat inside information from a deputy minister. They said that only the English press could write the story.

In essence they suggested that Durr gave to the Russians undertakings — as a private businessman and not as a minister — that SA was unlikely to be able to fulfil and that this had been the cause of friction between the departments.

A Trade & Industry spokesman this week denied these allegations. Durr's trip was cleared with Foreign Affairs; he had only offered technical mining assistance; and had not promised millions for low-cost housing in the devastated town of Chernobyl. During his stay Durr was the guest of the Moscow municipality and he also stayed in the *dacha*, now an official guest house, once used by Josef Stalin.

An Aeroflot aircraft was also put at Durr's disposal.

One question is still unanswered. If Durr indeed asked for the London posting why

David Braun of The Star Bureau in Washington reports on the tidal wave of laws that is the US Congress

Most bills on SA get bogged down in arcane

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system

THE US Congress must be one of the most efficient hot-air machines in the world, surpassing even Westminster and the trilateral Parliament in Cape Town. In the two-year life of the 101st Congress, members introduced more than 10 000 bills, and only 650 became law.

Each bill was accompanied by thousands of words motivating the need for it. Each law went through the arcane processes of Congress. Each was debated and commented upon in countless speeches and memoranda. Somewhere in the thicket of the 10 000 bills were just over two dozen items which dealt directly or indirectly with South Africa.

Of these, according to Capitol Hill analysts, only a handful are on their way to becoming law. The others are stillborn or remain bogged down at some or other legislative stage that they were at when President de Klerk started his sweeping reforms.

One "stuck" bill is the proposal to fund emerging democracy in South Africa to the tune of \$10 million (R25 million). While it is expected to become law eventually, it is for the moment not going anywhere.

The \$10 million has been the target of a great many South African and US groups, and administration and congressional officials have been intensively lobbied. The ANC has submitted a list of its requirements, and is pressing for the entire \$10 million.

Inkatha and Dr Oscar Dhlomo's proposed Institute for Multiparty Democracy are both reported to have put in a strong bid for funds. The supporters of the various groups in Washington have tried to intervene. The issue has become a partisan one, with Capitol Hill Republicans and Democrats pulling in different directions.

The latest salvo came in the form of a letter from Capitol Hill to the Bush Administration expressing grave doubts about the administrative ability of the ANC and other organisations to account for the spending of the money.

As a result the matter appears to have bogged down again. Congress is supposed to be reviewing detailed proposals for the spending of the money in South

Africa, but some experts believe the project may be put on hold while the issue is examined again.

The end result is likely to be a formula for the spending of the money, based more on what the parties in Congress can agree to rather than any analysis of what would be best for opposition politics in South Africa.

In practice this is likely to boil down to US money for specific, approved projects. □

Suzman berates black leaders

'Mandela and Buthelezi could have stemmed township violence'

12/11/90

12/11/90



HELEN SUZMAN, former MP for Houghton, is now president of the South African Institute of Race Relations. She has never been known to mince her words. This also holds true for her opinions of players on the political stage. When they were imprisoned, banned or exiled, she fought for their rights. Now she does not hesitate to criticise them if she sees fit. THEO COGGIN interviewed her for Race Relations News.

HELEN Suzman's outspoken views in defence of a just system know few bounds. This became clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

Hansard abounds with speeches and questions from this uncompromising defender of human rights, fighting for improved conditions in prisons, for the release of detainees, and the unbanning of such organisations as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. Helen Suzman has always believed in giving credit where it is due and criticism when it is warranted.

SO, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photo's, she



could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BLACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could

nation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such as

Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the

came clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

Hansard abounds with speeches and questions from this uncompromising defender of human rights, fighting for improved conditions in prisons, for the release of detainees, and the unbanning of such organisations as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. Helen Suzman has always believed in giving credit where it is due and criticism when it is warranted.

So, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman has pertinent advice for black leaders like Nelson Mandela.

"My conviction is that if Mr Mandela spent more time with his own people in his own country and less time abroad it might have been possible for him to stem the violence in the townships."

But her attention is focused not only on Mr Mandela. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also comes in for due consideration from Mrs Suzman. She believes he could have "stopped the violence in Natal when it started some years ago if he had put his mind to it. Now it may be too late."

MRS SUZMAN has a somewhat pessimistic view of the immediate future. She doubts, for example, that total control can be imposed by anybody in the townships while large-scale unemployment continues and so many young people are not gainfully occupied.

The question of black education disturbs her greatly "because it appears that teachers and parents have lost control of the situation while the children themselves have rejected discipline of any kind".

However depressing the situation, Mrs Suzman has no doubt that the system she fought all her life had to be changed. But no one, not even President F W de Klerk,

could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

LACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the "total onslaught" threat.

Mrs Suzman is also convinced of the President's sincerity. "He'd have to be a very good actor to come across the way he does if he did not mean it."

There is no rancour in Mrs Suzman as she reflects on the changes of the past few months.

"I want to make it clear that I do not care who makes the changes or does the work. What is important is that it happens."

Nevertheless, the frightful scenes of the past few months have shown how easy it is for activists to take over if the great mass of people, the silent majority, allow them to do so, she says.

It is in this climate that the South African Institute of Race Relations still has an important role to play.

It is one of the few objective institutions in the country, Mrs Suzman believes. All others seem to have a loyalty to one side or the other, whereas the institute has gained international respect "for the factual accuracy with which it reports developments in South Africa in such publications as the *Survey*, *RR News*, *Countdown* and *Update*".

"We need a steady eye to assess the sit-



uation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people as Rhinall Jones, Ellen Hellmann, Leo Marguard, Z K Matthews, Edgar Brookes and Bernard Friedman.

THE institute's critical role in fighting for universally recognised human rights has not changed since those early days. One of its strengths, Mrs Suzman believes, is that it is not identified with any particular political party.

"This is what gives it its objectivity. It criticises the government and has done so for many years. But, should it occasionally throw a word or praise the government's way, it is not being disloyal to any other political party."

Of her parliamentary days, Mrs Suzman says that the most demanding years were those as the solitary Progressive Party member in the House of Assembly. Yet she did not find the experience intimidating, even though she clashed bitterly with prime ministers H F Verwoerd and John Vorster (the latter also when he was minister of justice) and with Jimmy Kruger as minister of justice. She recalls how she was treated with great fairness by the Speaker.

SHE recalls, too, that the 1960s were a fertile period for the number of new bills, amendments to acts — such as the

Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member of the United Party and ending as a representative of the Democratic Party.

She is forthright about the Democratic Party.

"I have no empathy with the Democratic Party really. Many of the original Progs, such as Ray Swart and Clive van Ryneveld, are no longer on the political scene and Jannie Steytler has died.

“WITH the exception of people like Colin Eglin, Zach de Beer and Peter Soal, I have no real relationship with the newcomers who are late arrivals on the scene. This is simply because I cannot get over the fact that so many of them remained with the National Party during the worst years. They remained with them at the times of the forced removals and detention without trial. It took a long time for them to shed their old skins.

"But I do not impugn their sincerity; indeed, many converts will be more enthusiastic than the original members."

Despite her longing to "sink without trace", Helen Suzman will remain on the political scene for many years as the wisdom and experience gained during her 36 years in parliament are drawn on by the institute, journalists, diplomats and interest-groups throughout the world.

Mandela, FW in secret talks

Star 22/12/90

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

Aussie call to lift bans on sport

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

MELBOURNE — Australia's Opposition Leader, Dr John Hewson, on Thursday put strong pressure on the government to lift sporting bans on South Africa.

He urged that ending the 13-year-old bans should be the reward for the De Klerk government if it removed the two most notorious instruments of apartheid — the Group Areas Act and the Land Act.

Repealed

Dr Hewson said he expected these Acts to be repealed when the South African Parliament resumed in February.

After that, he added, the Australian government should take up the case for the commonwealth to overturn the bans.

Dr Hewson's call received the usual reaction from the Government — that it was watching the situation closely but it was not yet time to begin relaxing any sanctions.



OFF TO DISNEYLAND: Thomas and Florence Kline of Soweto are the lucky winners of a week in Disneyland. They receive two return air tickets compliments of Varig Brazilian Airlines and a week's accommodation at Stevill's Inn courtesy of TFC Tours and Best Western Hotels. Here Thomas and Florence celebrate at Fantasy Land with Mickey and Donald. Fantasy Land closes tomorrow so, if you haven't been there yet, go to Beazendebout Park (on the road between Voerville and Bruma Lake) between 11 am and 10 pm for a day of fun. Entrance fee is R2.

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela is said to have met President de Klerk on Monday this week, in clear defiance of an ANC ban on "secret" meetings with the Government.

Senior sources said yesterday the meeting had taken place on Monday, a day after the ANC's crucial consultative conference and a day before Mr de Klerk's headline year-end address on television to the nation. Mr Mandela is said to have been accompanied by the ANC's foreign affairs director, Thabo Mbeki.

3041 Delegation

Our Pretoria Correspondent says Mr Mandela's delegation included Mr Mbeki. Unbeknown to some chief of staff Chris Haug and political committee secretary Vaili Mooka. The government delegation included Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

ANC president Oliver Tambo apparently did not attend the meeting. A spokesman for Mr de Klerk's office said she had no knowledge of such a meeting, while an ANC executive committee member said he would have expected Mr Mandela to give the national executive committee prior warning of such talks.

At the consultative conference, the ANC endorsed the concept of talks between the Government and the ANC, but passed a resolution that contact would take place "without any secrecy and confidentiality". However, in his closing address to the conference, Mr Mandela said confidential

Meeting in defiance of ANC ban

meetings between the two negotiating teams would continue.

He said those ANC members opposed to the idea "do not understand the nature of negotiations", adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiations at all.

In his year-end address, Mr de Klerk adopted a hardline attitude towards the ANC on matters such as its plans to intensify mass action next year and its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

However, in an implicit acknowledgment of the ANC leadership's bona fides, Mr de Klerk said the ANC had to decide whether it was prepared to "follow their leadership commitment" to peaceful and negotiated solutions to the country's political problems.

Observers said yesterday the fact that Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk had met a day after the conference underlined the good working relationship and trust between the two men.

While praising Mr Mandela for having called to order his militant wing — he rejected some demands as being "totally and utterly unreasonable" — the observers expressed concern about Mr de Klerk's speech.

They said he had clearly played to his whites-only constituency, and had not crossed the bridge of parity interest to the same extent as Mr Mandela.

Buthelezi in plea to Afrikaner democrats

8 Feb 22/12/90

3048

DURBAN — THE whole world was poised to rally behind every decent, democratic act of the Afrikaners, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, said yesterday.

In a Christmas message extending a particular hand of friendship to Afrikaners, Dr Buthelezi said blacks were becoming proud of a State President who had risen out of the Afrikaner folk to lead South Africa into a democratic future.

"We are proud of the support that whites are giving him. We are at last witnessing the emer-

OWN CORRESPONDENT

gence of white decency in politics, which so many of us always knew was there.

"Let us enter 1991 with a new spirit of adventure for democracy. Let us have a new 20th century-style trek into the moral high ground of politics," Dr Buthelezi said.

Afrikaners "live under searching international spotlights which will shine upon every decent deed".

"Let them move with certainty and let them dispel the doubts that exist among some blacks

"Above all, let the Afrikaners show the world that they can assist in putting a democracy together, in which democratic victories can be turned into victories from which Afrikaners and whites generally can go forth with blacks to do battle against what really is the common enemy: poverty, ignorance and

disease."

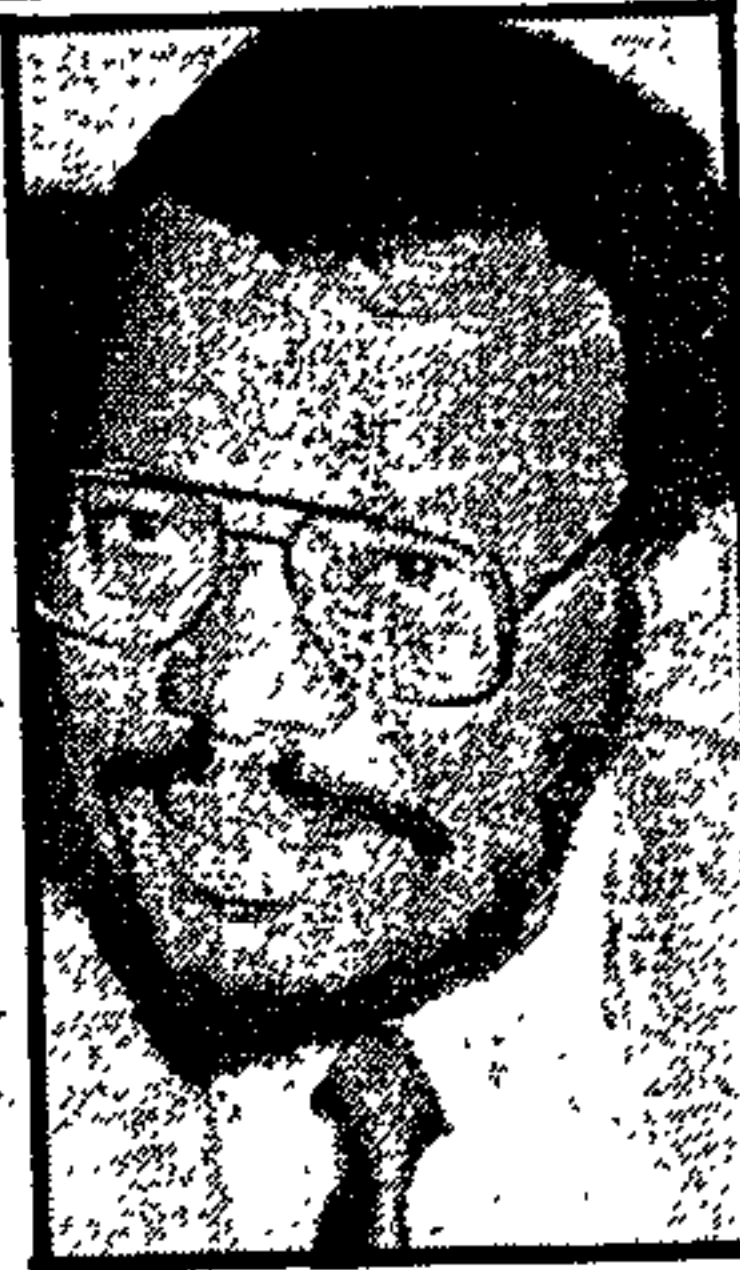
In a message to black South Africans, Dr Buthelezi said they should enter 1991 with a proud awareness that they had taken control of the destiny of their country.

Apartheid was doomed and the great and hallowed values of the black struggle for liberation could now be implanted in South Africa's constitution.

The only thing black people needed to fear was their own inability to create a new South Africa by being unable to normalise political relationships between the various black groupings.

● The Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum of the Pan Africanist Congress have held talks in Ulundi on national unity and violence.

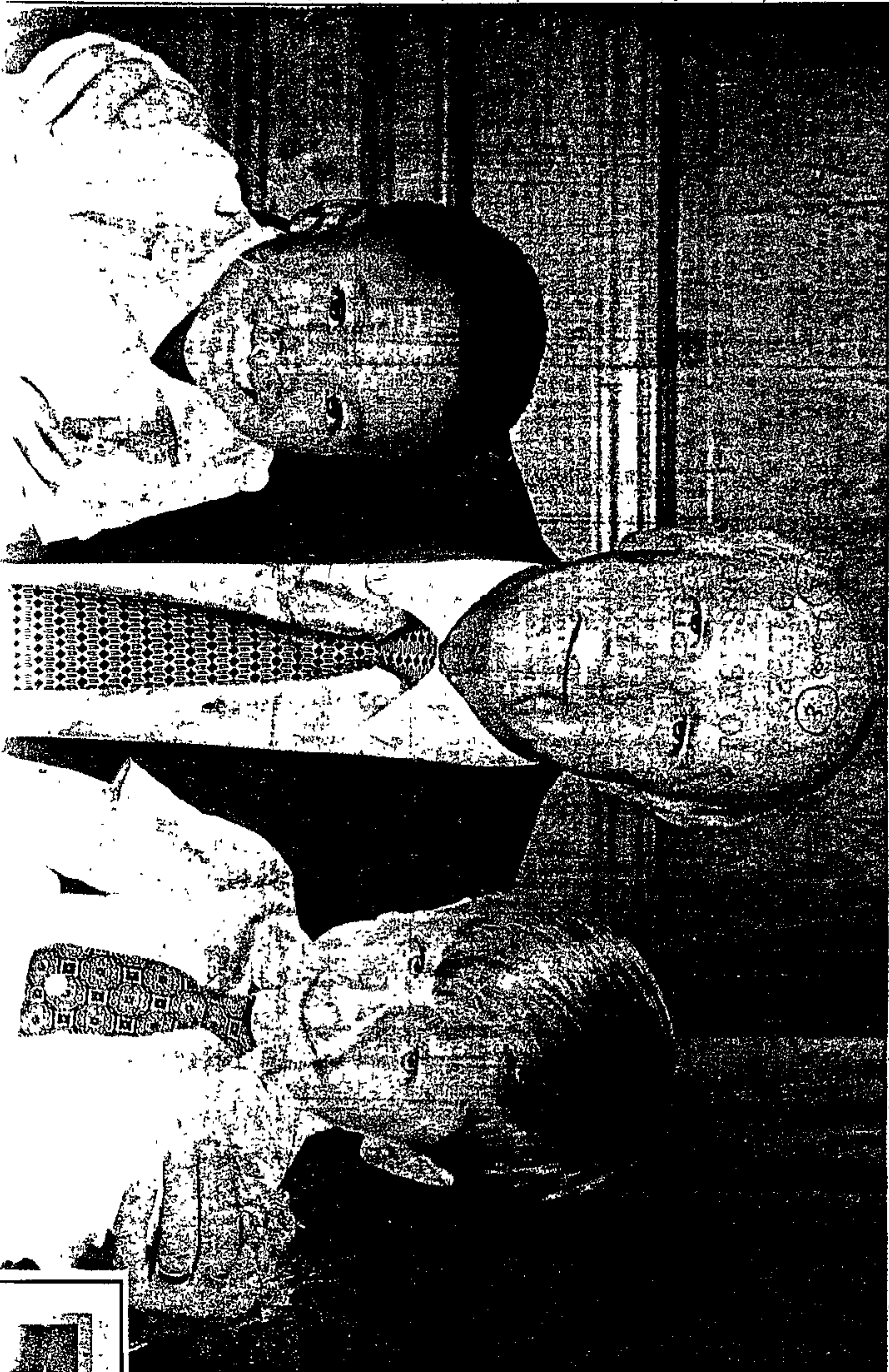
They agreed it was time to end traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism.



DR BUTHELEZI: Praised "decent" whites.

The picture which sums up the Christmas hopes of all South Africans

THEY JUST WANT TO LIVE



Family die as road to hits 10

Sunday Times Report
Two families were
out in separate at
this weekend as the
mass road death toll
162.

In the first of the
smashes, the Le
family of Witmar
died in a head-on
Mr. and Mrs.
Leicester, their 16-
daughter Maggie a
dog were killed at
Krugersdorp and
Morp. The two people
other car, bearing
Krugersdorp licence
were also killed.

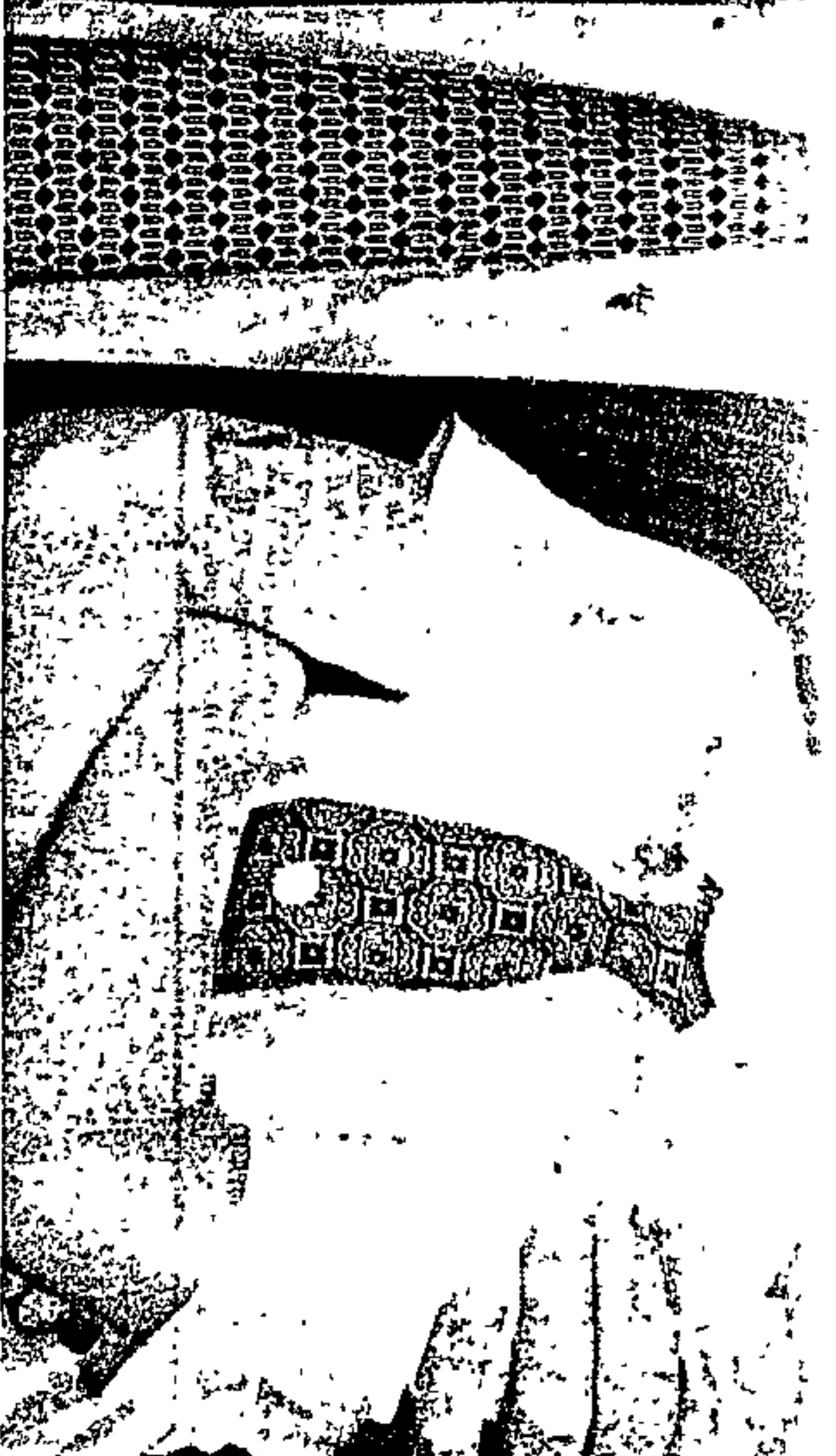
One victim has
been identified as Mr.
Perrin. Police are
trying to contact
of the second party.
An SAP spokesman
one of the drivers in
stop sign.

The second at
claimed the P
family of Leon Sire
rismith, who died in
car pile-up on the 1
□ To Page 1

TO



ALL the president's tots ... Violet Maphahane and Lihan Steynberg, both aged 5, pose with F.W. de Klerk for a picture that symbolises the new South Africa



TODAY'S president, bulding tomorrow's South Africa. This remarkable picture of F.W. de Klerk with a little black girl and a little white boy was seen by millions of Britons this week.

It vividly captures the promise of the new generation of South Africans — and the hopes of millions of people of all races for a peaceful future.

In this achievement, Mr De Klerk, the arch-reformer, will play a pivotal role. The picture appeared in the London Mail on Sunday's colour magazine, which commissioned photographer Geoff Wilkinson to fly to Pretoria for the assignment.

The magazine commented: "It would be easy to scoff at this acceptable face of South Africa and dismiss it as a shrewd exercise in public relations."

"But Mr De Klerk, of all people, must know that tragedy awaits if the opportunity for peace and harmony is now lost."

The children are five-year-old Violet Maphahane and Lihan Steynberg. They are "best friends" who have played together since they were babies. They kiss and hug as part of their friendship.

Inevitable

Violet is the daughter of Betty Maphahane who works for Lihan's grandmother. Lihan's father Lihan works for the SAAF. His mother Kobie is the sister of Businesswoman of the Year, Wynne Lottering.

Yesterday the Sunday Times visited the Steynberg home in the Pretoria suburb of Florana. Said Kobie: "Lihan wouldn't have a birthday party if Violet couldn't attend."

"You can't prise these kids apart. Tears are inevitable when it's time to go home, one to Mahopane township and the other to Pretoria North."

And Lihan piped up: "She's my best friend."

He translated the proceedings into Afrikaans for the benefit of Violet, who is Sotho and can't speak English. Florana is a CP area. "Nobody has ever said anything nasty to us," said Kobie. "But when Betty and the kids

Reporters: JEREMY BROOKS in London and PETIA KROST in Johannesburg

and I are in town, the stars say a lot." It was Mrs Lottering who set up the picture after a request from London — "I had just the right children in mind," she said.

Both Betty and Kobie were thrilled to meet President De Klerk for the photo session at the Union Buildings. The president was friendly and down-to-earth. The children clattered to him as they would to their grandfather, according to Mrs Steynberg.

Patient

At one point Lihan asked Mr De Klerk if he was very rich. "F.W. handled it like a true gentleman. He was so patient with the children."

Said Betty: "I really liked him — he's such an ordinary man. My other friends don't believe that we met the president."

"How can I expect them to believe that Violet was in a photograph with him in an English magazine?"

And now on the front page of the Sunday Times.

Secret talks on all-party forum

By LESTER VENTER and BRIES VAN HEERDEN

PLANS for a major conference of all political parties early next year were discussed during this week's private talks between President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

The proposed conference — another vital step towards a negotiated political settlement — will most likely be announced by Mr De Klerk during the opening of Parliament on February 1.

This week's meeting between the government and the ANC took place after midnight at the Pretoria

The meeting is one in a series of confidential encounters between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela in recent weeks — to the anger of ANC rank-and-file members who have demanded an end to secret negotiations.

President De Klerk interrupted his holiday to attend the meeting with the ANC's top men. It came after an extraordinarily long session of the State Security Council earlier in the day, where the hard-line approach of last week-end's ANC consultative conference was discussed.

Symbolic

The meeting with the ANC at the Union Buildings on Monday covered a range of topics — in particular the possibility of a pre-negotiations conference of all parties.

Such a conference — besides its great symbolic value — would aim at getting agreement on the agenda for the constitutional talks.

PICK 6

TURFONTEIN
There were 77 556 winners, with each collecting a dividend of R13.26. Numbers 1, 11, 5, 2, 3, 6.

SCOTSDALE
Only six winners managed to collect a dividend of R22 577.10 each. Selections: 4, 1, 2, 11, 3, 11, 2, 7, 6.

KENILWORTH
Only one winner managed to collect a dividend of R301 171.50. Combination: 1, 5, 10, 7, 5, 8, 11, 4.

Hundreds of animals left to die

Sunday Times Reporter
SHOCKED police and animal welfare workers uncovered one of South Africa's worst cases of animal cruelty yesterday when they found over 120 animals starved to death on a Free State farm.

Hundreds more animals were found near death abandoned without food or water, on Leliefontein farm, near Welkom.

A charge of cruelty has been laid against the farmer, who is on holiday.

R100 000 for cancer fund

THE Tertius Myburgh Memorial Hospicare fund has raised almost R100 000 in less than two weeks for the cash-strapped National Cancer Association, which needs R4-million to avert wide-ranging cutbacks.

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An SAP spokesman
one of the drivers
stop sign.
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claimed the Pa
family of Leon Ste
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car pile-up on the
□ To Page:

JOHANNESBURG RESCU



Helping lift

During the school holidays, helicopters are on site to work at beaches in an emergency.

Contact the lifesaver's 2. In the case of an upset Cape Town, Sea Rescue is Durban, the Harbour Ca Port Elizabeth, Metro Co Southern Cape, Wildern

PLEASE NOTE: The job be directed to the scene, rescue mission. It will be as soon as possible.

JOHANNESBURG

ALL-IMPORT

Americans inspired by progress in SA

304A

Sowetan 24/12/90

QUESTION: How do Americans interpret what is happening here?

ANSWER: We are encouraged by developments and believe they have kind of formed a crucible for the future in the sense that political life has now begun to normalise so that people can pronounce their political views and organise others of like mind to engage in politics. Progress has been made on some of the obstacles to full dress negotiations.

The main thing is people have begun to talk to one another across the various spectra of race and ideology...and that is all encouraging.

Clearly we are disappointed right now that somehow or other the two parties that have been conducting these pre-conditions talks have not seemed to be able to move to a conclusion before the end of the year on bringing the prisoners out and exiles home.

But we are satisfied that situation will be overcome.

Our policy as the American government will be to be certain that everything we do and everything we utter in public will support that process.

Q: In terms of the 1986 Anti-apartheid Bill, at what point do you lift sanctions?

A: I think we are the only government which imposed sanctions by putting them into law. We actually passed the law which you just referred to.

Under our system of government the executive branch, namely the president, cannot lift the sanctions until the conditions of that law have been met and they are contained in a section of law - there are five of them - and they are roughly analogous to the pre-conditions which are currently being discussed between the ANC and the Government.

I have just mentioned a couple - the release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the abolishment of the rest of the apartheid legislations, sometimes called the pillars of apartheid, including of course the Group Areas

Deputy editor of Sowetan, Joe Thlolo, had this exclusive interview with US ambassador Bill Swing in Pretoria last week. Swing has been ambassador to South Africa since August 1989.

FOCUS

Act, the two Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Population Registration Act, and so forth - and then to satisfy ourselves that a credible process of negotiations has been engaged and that the parties to that are negotiating in good faith.

Without being facetious, I often say to people: We have a road map - we know the road from Uptington to Pofadder. What we can't tell you is how long it will take us because it's not in our hands. Sanctions lifting will be driven almost exclusively and entirely by events on the ground.

Q: I am under the impression that the (US) President has said that the only condition that has not been met is the release of political prisoners and as soon as that is complete he will lift them?

A: I do not want to be too complex about it. As a matter of fact it could be the prisoners or it could be the abolishment of the rest of the apartheid legislation, whichever came first.

Any four of the five conditions have to be met.

The law does not say the president has to lift the sanctions. It says he may and it involves a certification to Congress and a consideration by the Congress.

Q: The abolition of all apartheid legislations would mean the scrapping of the present constitution here. That is the bottom line of apartheid. The constitution has to go before we say all apartheid legislation is gone.

A: That is interesting. It almost becomes a legal question and because Section Three, 11, where the conditions are contained does not mention the 1983 tri-cameral constitution.

Q: Do you foresee that

change taking place in the next year or two to allow substantive negotiations to start?

A: Let me say I'm hopeful. I can't really be predictive because I have no special crystal ball. We are not a player in this. We're people of goodwill who want to be helpful and who want to be a catalyst in terms of ideas and who would be using all our energies and talent to make a compelling case for the other parties that they ought to join in the negotiations.

Q: There is a belief that the US has played a very important role in prodding the National Party to the negotiating table. What role has the US played, that is, besides the sanctions?

A: I think we are too modest in terms of our work here as diplomats over the years to want to take any credit for what has happened.

We believe that the sanctions and other measures that were taken have contributed in whatever way to new thinking in South Africa but we have too much respect both for the black struggle and for the watershed reform process which the State President has initiated to take

credit. If we contributed in a modest way we are glad.

What we tried to do over the years with whatever degree of success has been to try to bring people together, to use our diplomacy to break down barriers.

For example, since the early '60s when I was first here, we tried to use our homes as foyers of dialogue, bringing people into our homes for lunch, dinner, a reception or a discussion so that people who would not normally meet under the apartheid system might meet on kind of neutral turf and talk.

We tried to set up dialogue and build bridges. And we have not been alone, other governments have done the same thing.

I do think I need to say a word about what we have done physically and concretely because that is what people in the townships would want to know about.

We have had since 1986 an official US Aid programme for South Africa. It has two purposes: one is to assist the victims of apartheid and in that of course we are talking about the black majority population; secondly, it is to help prepare a post-apartheid leadership and that again is essentially in the black community. It is a drop in the bucket in terms of the enormous needs of your country. But we hope it is a significant drop.



US AMBASSADOR BILL SWING

Professor André Brink, writing in Rhodes Review 1990, is optimistic about Afrikaans

Sf 24/11/90



Most fruitful and exciting era still to come

If at the moment Afrikaans is still one of the two official languages of the country, the language of the power establishment, and to many the language of the oppressor, it is inevitable that the changes which have begun to affect the fabric of our society must, in due course, alter radically the future status of the language and its literature.

Afrikaans is the mother-tongue of enough people in the country — many of them not white — to rule out the likelihood of its demise.

At the same time it is evident that it will not survive as an official language, and that its role in education may become more geographically determined than hitherto. If it is no longer required as a medium of instruction, if it is no longer a prerequisite or recom-

mendation for a career in law, or journalism, or diplomacy, or in at least some branches of commerce, what real hope is there for a viable role in a new South Africa?

At least to some extent the possibilities for the future are determined by the history of the language, and by its origins.

Its real birth was determined by the way in which 17th-century Dutch was appropriated by non-speakers of the language, mainly slaves.

Just as "Afrikaner" initially designated a person born in this country, more often than not of mixed parentage, the term "Afrikaans" implied a bastardised language through which Europe learned to come to terms with Africa, and vice versa.

In this lies, even today, the rich

ness and variety of the language, and in the long run its greatest chances of survival.

But there was a second, more formal birth as well, when late in the 19th century a nationalist movement adopted the language to wrest political freedom from English and Dutch alike. Afrikaans, despised at one stage because most of its speakers were of a darker hue than lily-white and members of the proletariat, was now proclaimed "the only white man's language of the continent".

Regrettably, in many respects it became just that: a white language, and a male language. In both respects it earned the appellation of "language of oppression".

However, there has been for many decades a resistance against the dominant ideology: as

early as the turn of the century it countered the dogmatism of the Dutch Reformed Church; in Leipold's poetry on the Anglo-Boer War one encounters a break with chauvinism, a groping towards larger liberal values (to such an extent that today's leadership of the ANC has drawn much of its inspiration from it for their own struggle); since the '30s there have been many moves to question the basic assumptions of the "volk".

While political leaders imposed with more and more violence the rigid intolerance of apartheid, within the literature a movement of revolt had already begun. Young men sent to the border to conduct apartheid's wars returned to question, in their writings, the values they had been expected to defend.

This has been amplified by a wave of lucid, fearless women writers. Building on the earlier example of Elsa Joubert, they have explored the deeper injustices of patriarchal society.

Most especially, a new dimension has been added to this literature by a phalanx of so-called "coloured" writers (Hein Willemse, Patrick Pieterse, Leonard Khosa and many others) who have reconciled Afrikaans with its true indigenous roots.

Far from being despondent about the future of Afrikaans, I believe that, once it is rid of the burden of being an "official" language, it will be free to embark on its most fruitful phase of development — not on its own, but in exhilarating symbiosis with the other cultures of the country. □

De Klerk 'behind' violence

SOWETAN FOREIGN
STAFF

Sowetan 24/12/90
LONDON: There is "damning evidence" that President FW de Klerk is allowing his security forces to destabilise the African National Congress, according to a report here yesterday.

Allister Sparks, the former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, wrote in *The Observer* that De Klerk was either unwilling to risk confronting the security establishment or is following a "double agenda".

"One is hesitant to attribute such machiavellianism to a president who seems so decent compared with his predecessors, but there is damning evidence against him."

Evidence

That evidence includes the appointment of General Andries "Kat" Liebenberg as chief of the Defence Force, and the "whitewashing of the death squads" by De Klerk.

Sparks warned: "If the intention has been to destabilise the ANC, it has backfired."

"Only the ANC's moderate leadership has been destabilised, while its constituency has been united, angered and radicalised."

"The ANC leadership must now respond to the militant mood or be voted out of office at its congress next June."

(304) Election

Sparks says initially it seemed clear that De Klerk wanted to strike a deal with Mandela that would lead to a coalition government of the ANC and the National Party.

But as the year advanced and the ANC gave the impression of inefficiency, "the idea began to take hold in National Party circles that the ANC might be defeatable; that by forming other alliances, the National Party might be able to win an election and stay in power."

A reason for De Klerk's "double strategy" would be, suggested Sparks, "so he can get the constitution he wants and, with his allies, win the elections".

Spelling out the lessons South Africa must

A NY publisher planning a new book on South African politics would be well advised to put his idea on hold at present. So rapid is the pace of change in the F W de Klerk era that any political study is likely to be outdated by the time it appears in print.

Such is the fate of this otherwise excellent collection of essays, most of them written when South Africa was mired in the fastness of P W Botha's later years and hurriedly updated for publication in 1989.

The seven contributors share three convictions: South Africa is going through a period of profound transformation; the transition from apartheid to peaceful co-existence will require great political intelligence and skill; and in order to change the country's political circumstances, it is necessary first to understand them. Each author brings a distinctive

perspective to bear on the South African situation, some of which have stood the passage of time better than others. In the former category is Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington's famous essay on reform in a multi-ethnic society, in which he prescribes a combination of Fabian strategy and blitzkrieg tactics as a recipe for change.

P W Botha was thought to be following the formula until he baulked on the banks of the Rubicon. His successor, against all expectations, has turned out to be the uncynical embodiment of what Huntington had in mind.

A contribution which stands up less well is Conor Cruise O'Brien's dissection of Afrikanerdom in the Atlantic Monthly of 1986, in which he predicted a joint US-Soviet attempt — under the UN banner — to overthrow the white regime. Historian R W Johnson, by con-

Thinking about South Africa: Reason, Morality and Politics
edited by Peter Collins (St Martin's Press, New York)
Reviewed by RICHARD STEYN

84-24/12/90

BOOK OF THE WEEK

304A

trast, in an essay which re-examines the conclusions drawn in his seminal "How long will South Africa Survive", suggests that Pretoria will have to turn to the seven Western industrialised (G7) nations to underwrite a phased transition to majority rule.

A well-argued chapter by Leicester University's J E Spence, "South Africa versus the Rest of the World", outlines the reasons for Pretoria's international isolation and spells out why SA, being a small country with a repugnant internal policy, has no means of evading the application of double standards by other nations.

Less time-bound and durable are the contributions of political

and moral philosophers Peter Collins and Peter du Preez of UCT, R M Hare of Oxford and Richard Hodder Williams of Bristol.

Collins takes a utilitarian position, censuring apartheid not for being unusually wicked, but for working against the interests of those it was intended to serve. He is optimistic that South Africans will have enough sense to abandon racist policies by the year 2000.

His colleague Du Preez, in a chapter on rational and irrational politics, is more gloomy. Credibility, in his view, is more important to a political movement than legitimacy. The NP has been losing credibility and the ANC gaining it; the upshot will probably be the

exchange of one form of ethnic socialism for another.

In a brilliantly concise essay on "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in SA", R M Hare weighs up the conflicting moral claims of freedom and order, saying there is no single solution to suit every circumstance. The only moral guideline is what is in the interests of all citizens.

Measures to bring about change in SA — sanctions, boycotts, embargoes and the like — should be judged by who is harmed by them. Equality in political power, he says, is not achievable: all states will always be oligarchies. Democracy is the best form of government for those who can manage it, and the essence of representative democracy is the power of the majority of voters to turn the government out at a lawful election. A polity that does not confer this power is inherently un-

stable and exposed to coups and revolutions. Hare's thoughts find an echo in the final chapter by author and scholar Hodder Williams, who outlines some of Africa's lessons. One conclusion he draws is that Westminster-style constitutions, in Africa, are a recipe for authoritarianism; another is that political centralisation undermines national unity rather than enhances it. His most telling point is contained in the concluding paragraphs: Africa's people have a right to rule themselves and to make their own mistakes. But Africans' heaviest burden is that they have not given themselves the means to rectify mistakes by throwing those who make them out of power. South Africa, he implies, would be wise to avoid a similar fate. ☐ This book is only available on order. ☐

A 23

learn

The road to a new South Africa will be long and hard

ABUS 27/12/90

304A

The lack of real progress in negotiations in 1990 showed that the road to a new South Africa would be much longer, harder and bloodier than the government originally forecast.

By PETER FABRICIUS of the Political Staff.

IN the flush of euphoria after the government and ANC's successful first talks in May at Groote Schuur, chief government negotiator Dr Gerit Viljoen predicted that the "real McCoy" — the actual negotiations for a new constitution — would start early in 1991 and could be completed within two years.

NEGOTIATION

By year's end both targets seem extremely optimistic. Even the preliminary talks about removing the obstacles to negotiations have bogged down in a seemingly-intractable double-bind.

The government has refused to let the bulk of prisoners go or most exiles return unless the ANC demobilises Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and abandons its strategy of mass action.

The ANC has defiantly vowed to intensify mass action, set up MK-led "self-defence committees" in the townships, keep MK in "peak" training and pull out of negotiations if prisoners are not freed and exiles returned by April 1991, the target date set in the Pretoria Minute of August 6.

Minor offenders

Only a few minor offenders have been released and agreement has been reached for the return only of those exiles who have committed the most minor transgressions such as leaving the country without a passport.

The fragile trust on which the success of negotiations depended has been stretched close to breaking.

And when, or if, the remaining obstacles to negotiation are removed, another whole difficult phase of pre-negotiations — the "talks about talks" or discussions about how the real negotiation forum should be structured — awaits before the "real McCoy" indaba could begin.

Talks were in such a mess that some observers feared President de Klerk was contemplating starting negotiations without the ANC.

Why had the promise of the first half of the year turned so sour in the second?

Several reasons contributed;

● The Pretoria Minute was in a sense vague, superficial and perhaps even naive.

It was only when officials of both sides sat down to discuss the practicalities that they fully realized the real problems;

● The ANC's township lieutenants believed their leaders had conceded too much in suspending armed actions at Pretoria and dug in their heels;

● Suspicions that the government or security forces were taking Inkatha's side in the political/tribal township violence undermined ANC trust in the government's integrity;

● Suspicions that the ANC was behind the killing and intimidating of black town councillors and policemen undermined the government's trust in the ANC's integrity;

● The ANC's attempts to establish itself as a political party were not highly successful — producing a mere 200 000 members — which tended to throw it back on its old tactics.

Most of the wrangling in committees during the second half of the year revolved around the meaning of the indeterminate phrase "related activities" in the ANC's undertaking to suspend "armed actions and related activities" in the Pretoria Minute.

Mr Mandela explained at the press conference after the Pretoria summit that "related activities" would include the infiltration of arms and cadres across the frontiers.

'Demobilise MK'

But in the so-called "paragraph three" working group set up at the Pretoria meeting to work out the practical effects of the ANC's decision to suspend armed actions, the government went further.

It insisted that if it really believed in negotiations, the ANC should in effect demobilise MK by ending the training and recruiting of MK members and handing in its weapons.

It feared (as it had in the past) that by talking to the ANC with MK in the wings, fully manned and battle-ready, it would in effect be negotiating at the barrel of a gun.

It also insisted that the ANC's strategy of mass action should be suspended too, insofar as it allegedly included efforts to make the townships ungovernable through violence and intimidation

against black councillors and "destabilising" tactics such as rent and service-charge boycotts.

The ANC argued back that MK was now a legal organisation, that there was thus no reason why it should disband and that mass action was no more than the exercise of its democratic right to protest.

Two levers

It no doubt feared that by disbanding MK and abandoning mass action it would lose two crucial levers in negotiations, and would become helpless to resist any deal the government thrust on it.

It felt that it was entitled to MK as it was also in effect negotiating at the barrel of a gun — that of the police and the army, whose neutrality it did not trust.

Everything else hinged on this disagreement in the working group, including, eventually, the release of the bulk of prisoners and return of most exiles.

In private the government made it clear from the start that to release political prisoners and allow exiles to return who had committed acts of violence or received military training — before the ANC fully abandoned the armed struggle — was not on.

This would be like freeing prisoners of war before the war was over and letting a Trojan horse into the camp. The ANC countered in vain that nearly all ANC members — including Mr Mandela — had received some form of military training as a matter of course (it was like national service for whites) but few were still able to put it into practice.

There was one hopeful moment when the ANC showed signs of readiness to call off MK training and recruitment inside the country — and to hand in MK arms for safe-keeping in magazines guarded by both ANC and Government.

But ANC hardliners aborted the proposal.

When no progress was evident, the government decided unilaterally not to release the more serious political offenders nor indemnify exiles who had committed serious offences until the whole question of the armed struggle had been resolved in the working group.

The ANC cried "foul" and said the government was holding its prisoners hostage.

For either side to back down required trust and this was clearly lacking.

Mistrust was fuelled by the township violence which was to claim about 3 000 lives by the end of the year.

No absolute proof could be found for government/Inkatha collusion or ANC involvement in killing councillors, but the circumstantial evidence for both was strong.

The SA Institute of Race Relations clearly implicated the ANC in a campaign of violence which caused the deaths of six councillors and 22 off-duty policemen between January and July.

Meanwhile scores of township residents and some journalists produced evidence of police partiality.

These led both sides to suspect the other of pursuing a hidden agenda behind the facade of negotiations.

Frustration

In November the paragraph three working group suspended its activities in frustration and passed the buck to Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to try to resolve matters in several secret one-to-one meetings.

Though they reported progress, this was not evident when ANC hardliners also seized the organisation's consultative conference on December 16 and set a tough course of putting the maximum pressure on negotiations.

The conference seemed to set the stage for collision between the government and the ANC in 1991.

One possible way out of the morass was Mr de Klerk's hint that the government might move early in 1991 to replace the black local government system with one integrating black and white councils.

Overall, the negotiations of 1990 taught the lesson that the road to the new South Africa was going to be a lot longer, harder and bloodier than many had expected on February 2.

And that the government would have to do something bold and imaginative if it hoped to meet its own outside deadline of a new constitution by 1994 — to avoid facing its white electorate again.

Tambo, FW hold 'pleasant' meeting

304/LINDEN BIRNS

ANC president Oliver Tambo met President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings on Monday morning in what was described as a courtesy call.

Tambo, joined by his wife Adelaide and NEC members Joe Nhlanhla and Jacob Zuma, held mid-morning discussions with De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok.

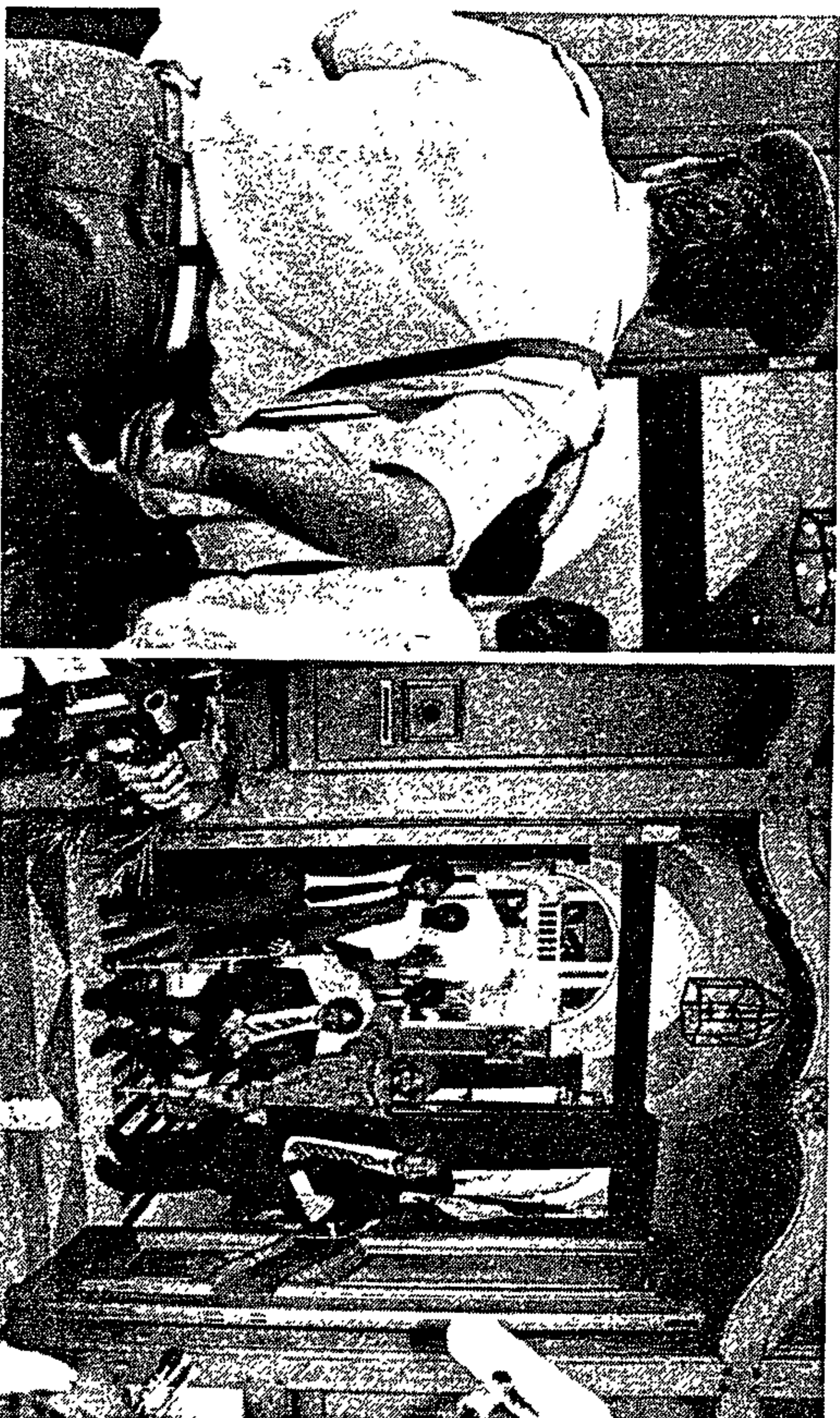
Afterwards, Tambo told journalists the meeting had been "most pleasant and in the spirit of understanding".

A statement issued by the President's office said the discussions had been of a general nature and had not focused on specific issues. *By Peter 27/12/90*

The statement said De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery. He also expressed appreciation for Tambo's call to the youth to return to school in 1991.

Both parties expressed the hope that 1991 would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

Sapa reports that Tambo and his family were welcomed by Transkei government officials led by Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa when they arrived in Umtata yesterday.



A member of the SAP President's guard fingers his service weapon while ANC president Oliver Tambo faces the Press after his courtesy call on President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings on Monday morning. Tambo is flanked by ANC NEC members Jacob Zuma (on his right) and Joe Nhlanhla, while his wife Adelaide and two bodyguards look on from behind.

Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA

US fight for human rights in South Africa

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THE lions share of the \$35 million a year, which is about R80 to R90 million, which I think is the largest foreign government aid programme here is still very modest in terms of the needs. The bulk of that, about \$21 to \$23 million a year, goes to bursaries at the undergraduate and graduate university level.

At present we have about 1 500 black students at American and South African universities on our scholarships. We add about 300 more a year of which 200 would be in South Africa and 100 in the United States. These grants are topped up by the universities because that is only part of the money needed - our universities provide tuition grants among other things so that our money goes further.

The other significant area in terms of the process you asked about has been that of human rights. We have as discreetly as possible paid for legal fees for black South Africans who we believed needed help.

We sometimes have been able to help the family where the breadwinner has been arrested. Sometimes we paid funeral costs or whatever would be helpful in terms of assisting these victims of apartheid.

We have worked in another area called community leadership development, working primarily with the civics and other groups who need support in terms of just organising themselves, learning negotiating techniques and so forth.

The two other areas very quickly: to support black labour unions and support black private enterprise development. That is kind of thing we tried to do, using good offices on the one hand, talking to all sides, using our homes and our official facilities to bring people together and in trying to help victims of the system.

Q: Going back to sanctions: It is interesting that you mentioned sanctions as contributing to the change that is currently taking place when the National

The United States ambassador to Pretoria, William Swing, continues talking to Joe Thlolo, Sowetan deputy editor, on America's role in bringing about change in the country. He starts by completing his answer on US aid to the victims of apartheid.

FOCUS

Party has gone out of its way to say that sanctions have in fact delayed the process. They say they would have reached this point much earlier. What truth do you see in that?

A: I think it's an area in which there is room for a lot of opinions that vary greatly and we really now are at the point where I think everyone including the government and the black groups would like to begin putting the past behind us and quit analysing what led us to this point and say: How do we move beyond here to build a new future?

I am not knocking the question but I think it's one on which I don't think we or the government or the black leadership really want to spend a lot of time talking.

We've got a much bigger job which is, What do we do about this economy. This should give us a good chance in the short and medium term to begin to address the crying needs in the townships - education, housing, health, Aids, jobs, the helplessness of a lot of people.

And so we are beginning to say sanctions is really not the issue of today. Today's issue is the economy and jobs.

Q: But isn't this question very important at this point when we are going to enter into negotiations where some sort of leverage is needed by the black community and they see sanctions as one tool that they can use in the negotiating process.

A: You are right. Sanction has been one of the major weapons. I think the whole policy of international isolation has contributed to the black struggle.

I think increasingly though it will be the force of one's argument about the future, the force of

one's views regarding the constitution, about the economy, about the crying social-economic needs, a Bill of Rights, which are really going to become the determining element at the negotiating table.

We believe the process will move forward to a conclusion in the next few years. So we think that sanctions will have to be looked at from that angle.

Q: De Klerk's strategy at this point has been to completely disarming the liberation movements, eroding the sanctions campaign and at the same time trying to get them to abandon the armed struggle.

All this before he actually sits down to negotiate with them. Why would he go through this process if he was going to negotiate in good faith. The process could have been much faster, much more friendlier if he was not going through the painful process of disarming the blacks.

A: I guess I look at that in terms of two phases: the phase of normalisation of political life and the phase of democratisation. Increasingly one is trying to deal with one another in a political way to say we do not need arms, we do not need force, we need to talk. It is in that context that I see that.

We are moving towards some sort of pre-conditions on both sides, if you will, and I think that is what we have seen up to now.

The government has given up something, the ANC has given up something and they have both tried to do it in a way that they could then go back to their constituencies and say: This really does make sense.

One of the powerful examples we have that talks work is what happened in the Southern African context, the Lancaster House Accords that brought an independent Zimbabwe. Sure there was an armed struggle there but the issue was ultimately decided at the conference table.



Ambassador William Swing

We have a shining example of Namibia, which is independent and doing, in our view, very well indeed. And that is the result of long and difficult negotiations among five very unlikely political bedfellows: the Angolans, South Africans, Cubans, United States and the Soviet Union.

I think we all learnt something from that and it is applicable to South Africa, namely that talk is the best way to make progress among people.

Certainly we hope we will have talks that will lead to peace in Mozambique and national reconciliation in Angola. So, clearly we are buoyed by the success of Zimbabwe and Namibia to believe talks is the best hope for South Africa.

Q: If we swing the whole argument to Angola...why would the American Government want to continue pumping arms into Angola if your basic belief is that things can be solved by talking?

A: Our view is that we cannot stop supporting Unita until talks are engaged and when that happens and a ceasefire exists and there is an agreement on political process, there will be no need for arms supplies from either side.

So that in its own way is a kind of leverage and incentive to stop fighting and start talking. But to weaken Unita by not having adequate supplies will not, in our view, lead the two sides to the negotiating table.

Angola is a good example of how we are using our support of Unita as an incentive to the other side to say, Let's go to the negotiating table.

To continue tomorrow

Tambo and FW have great hopes

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo have expressed the hope that next year would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

In a joint statement issued after they met at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday, the two leaders said: "There was agreement that violence and intimidation should come to an end in order to enable proper negotiations to start."

Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide and national executive committee members Mr Joe Nhlanhla and Mr Jacob Zuma.

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De Klerk was accompanied by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The statement said discussions were of a general nature and did not focus on specific issues.

De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery and indicated he was encouraged by Tambo's call to the youth to return to school next year.

Tambo, who briefly posed for photographers and answered questions, described the meeting as "most pleasant" and De Klerk was "pleasant and understanding". The ANC president added he had "a useful time" with De Klerk and the Government delegation.

Asked what he would like to receive as a Christmas gift, Tambo said: "Everything, everything. I came here for the first time in my want life. This is the day before Christmas. In a way I had the greatest Christmas present this year."

Asked whether his health would allow him to stand for re-election next year, Tambo said: "We all thought that the year 1991 would prove to be a great year for South Africa and it is with that expectation that we enter January 1, 1991."

Tambo is due to leave South Africa in the middle of January.
Sowetan Correspondent.

US urges all to negotiate Swing

WILSON ZWANE

US AMBASSADOR William Swing has urged all SA political parties to join the negotiation process to encourage the culture of dialogue. *304A* *28/12/90*

In an interview in the January edition of Tribute magazine, Swing says the culture of dialogue and tolerance has to be maintained above all else in SA.

"One way of encouraging the culture of dialogue is by supporting broadly inclusive negotiations which incorporate all elements of the country's political spectrum into the process of peaceful change.

"We, Americans, thus urge all those still outside the negotiating process to join the effort."

Swing also points out that as peaceful negotiations require stability, SA cannot afford to allow political violence to overwhelm the culture of dialogue.

He adds that although changes in the country over the last year have been remarkable SA's challenge is how to encourage equity and growth in the economy.

Apart from the importance of constitutional negotiations, there are two other areas which will determine whether democracy can be built in SA.

These are: the issue of the shape of a future economy; and whether or not a democratic ethos can be created to support a new social contract, he says.

The challenge is how to encourage equity and growth in the economy. Fortunately, he says, there seems to be a new flexibility among the participants in the economic debate. Government, business

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Swing

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and the political opposition are talking to each other about the needs of a post-apartheid society and the resources available to meet those needs.

This discussion between the key players is important as a successful future economic policy requires maintaining a balance between commitment and resources.

"It is becoming obvious that the primary

economic resources for the new SA will have to come from within," he says.

"There will be costs, some say as high as \$15bn, in new investment in social needs each year for the foreseeable future. Inflation is likely to rise during a post-apartheid period, foreign debt will be built up and standards of living for some will decline."

☐ From Page 1

SAIRR keeps a watchful eye on SA

TANIA LEVY

WHEN the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) drew up its list "What to watch for in 1990", it could hardly have imagined this year's succession of headline-making events.

High on its list of what to watch out for this year was whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet. The list was compiled before Mandela was released from prison and before violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters spread from Natal to the Reef.

Unable to anticipate that hundreds of people would die in violence on the Reef in the latter half of the year, the institute wondered whether "black on black violence" and Natal's violence would end.

The violence did not end. More than 1 000 people were killed this year in Natal.

And the two leaders have yet to meet.

Top of the SAIRR's list was to watch whether government extended its talks with the ANC beyond Mandela. By the year end, two historic ANC-government summits had produced the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes.

In terms of the minutes the ANC agreed to suspend its armed struggle, government agreed to review security legislation and a joint working group was set up to facilitate the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Most exiles still require indemnity and the majority of political prisoners are still behind bars.

Instructed by the SAIRR, SA watched for and witnessed the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

However, CP towns found a loophole in new municipal by-laws to exclude "non-residents" from amenities.

The SAIRR was right when it pointed to a possible agreement between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Soweto. In September the signing of the Greater Soweto Accord ended Soweto's five-year rent boycott.

Even before his watershed speech of February 2, SA was told to watch whether President F W de Klerk was invited to the White House — and whether he accepted.

He was ... and he did, but postponed his trip to allow Mandela to go first. In the meantime, De Klerk visited Britain, nine European countries and some in Africa.

As British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher accepted an invitation to visit SA but did not make it before her 11-year reign ended.

Events that the SAIRR predicted but that did not materialise included the appointment of a black Cabinet Minister and the reversal of government's decision to transfer J G Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg to own affairs. In April hospitals were declared open to all races, although the own affairs health services remained intact.

White schools were given the option of opening to all races provided such a move was approved by a majority of parents. Teacher training colleges have not yet been given this option.

Other SAIRR pointers for 1990 which should bear watching in the new year are whether stability returns to black schools, whether De Klerk loses or retains the political initiative, whether violence stops and, of course, whether Buthelezi and Mandela do meet.

US pledges more support for Unita

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Q: We have never been able to understand why Savimbi in Angola is getting different treatment from what we were able to get out of the Americans. We were fighting a similar battle to try and democratise this country and the maximum we could get was the Anti-apartheid Bill and again this after pressure from the American public on Congress.

But the American people pumped arms into Angola. Why this difference in treatment between the two countries.

A: We have never seen those situations as analogous and secondly the kinds of pressure that the US brought on South Africa were among the firmest of any government.

Point

Again I will go back to my earlier point that I really do not think it advances the process in South Africa now for me to go back into the past...

Q: You seem to be suggesting that this has to be done on good faith. We are looking at a situation where the Government has got the army on its side, has got the police and can at the drop of a hat detain a member of the opposition even if he is participating in the negotiations.

They still wield all the power that they need and the black side has been weakened. To what point do we trust De Klerk, that is our basic problem.

A: I am encouraged by what is happening here to date. The two sides have shown enough progress since Mr Mandela's release in February and the first talks at Groote Schuur in May.

We have confidence in the process. They have now a

United States ambassador to Pretoria, William Swing, continues talking about American views on South Africa to Sowetan deputy editor Joe Thloloe in this final of the three-part series.



US AMBASSADOR BILL SWING

number of working groups that are going, including a working group that allows consultation on a regular basis at many points with regard to police action.

I know it's difficult to accept against the backdrop of mistrust, suspicion and repression, which so many have experienced over the years, that one needs to have good faith talks but I think the record to date indicates that both sides can trust one another and I believe they can go forward.

It is our policy to try to convince all political groups in South Africa that the best and probably the only reasonable option at this point in South Africa's history is to talk.

We are in regular contact with virtually all the groups on

the normal political spectrum. Our message is the same for each one: We urge you to talk to the other parties and to negotiate and to help shape the future. And it is our view that the process is really the only game in town.

Future

Even though you go to the table without a clear picture of the future, that is not so bad because what you want to do when you sit down and talk is to let the process become the substance in the sense that in talking together you form the vision of the future together.

If you do not come out with the vision and principles that you can support you might have a document that people agree to.

We do talk to all parties. That is true in both black politics as well as white politics.

Q: You have noticed tremendous changes from the time that you were here earlier and now. How do you see South Africa in 10 years time?

A: I can tell you my hopes and my dreams for South Africa. I do not want to be too trite or to use hackneyed phrases. I will try and put it in fresh clothing.

First of all we hope that South Africa will be a fully functioning, non-racial, multi-party democracy and thereby join a small, elite group of nations in the world that can lay claim to that kind of a system in which others' views are respected and in which race does not play a role.

Hoping

We are hoping secondly that it will be among those healthy countries economically which can feed and clothe and educate and motivate its people to feed their neighbours in the African and world context.

We are hoping thirdly that South Africa will realise its potential, both economically and politically, and play the role of a major and responsible nation both in its natural habitat of Southern Africa on the southern border of Zaire and Tanzania on the Indian Ocean and indeed in all of Africa.

Part of my encouragement about South Africa is its great potential, which is human potential. And I really believe there is no other country in this vast continent of fifty nations, in which the United States fits about three times, that has greater latent potential than South Africa.

1990 has been a triumphant year, Piet Koornhof tells David Braun

The end of a long struggle

Star 28/12/90

(304A)

FOR Ambassador Piet Koornhof, South Africa's representative in Washington, 1990 has been a triumphant year, the culmination of a long struggle to see a dream come true.

The former Cabinet Minister and Chairman of the Minister's Council has held controversial and sensitive public offices for many years, but none has given him more pleasure than being Ambassador to Washington.

And in the four years that he has held that job, 1990 was the best, he said in a recent interview.

What made 1990 so good for Dr Koornhof was the September visit to Washington by State President F W de Klerk.

"It was like a window was opened, letting in the light of a new day. Years of hard work had suddenly come to fruition, and it was so sweet to savour the results," he said.

Dr Koornhof puffs up with pride when he tells visitors that since he became ambassador the US has not passed a single additional sanction against South Africa. (The one measure which did slip through, the Rangel Amendment which eliminated the taxation agreement between South Africa and the US, effectively imposing double taxation on American companies operating in South Africa, was imposed totally unexpectedly a few days after he arrived in Washington).

That success, he says, was the result primarily of the hard work he and his embassy team did in Washington.

But what has given the ambassador even more pride is the fact that he and the embassy were always ahead of Pretoria, selling the imminent arrival of a new South Africa even while President P W Botha was at his recalcitrant worst.

This unshakeable faith in the inherent decency and hope in South Africa, which led some people in high places in Washington to say they understood why Dr Koornhof had been known at home as "Piet Promises", was vindicated completely when Mr de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress and released Nelson Mandela earlier this year.

Because the embassy under Dr Koornhof had placed itself as a beacon of the new South Africa, it was very well placed to take full advantage of Mr de Klerk's reforms. And it did, moving into top gear to ensure the quality of the debate on South Africa was as good as possible.

When he arrived in Washington in 1987, Dr Koornhof was given some good advice: Concentrate on making contacts with the most influential politicians across the political spectrum and don't compound the bad news by trying to defend the indefensible.

On the advice of well-meaning Americans in high places he also



Ahead of Pretoria . . . Ambassador Piet Koornhof selling the imminent arrival of the new South Africa in Washington.

concentrated on forging relations with the Democratic leadership in the US Congress.

Today, influential Democrats, including Senator Paul Simon, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator David Boren, chairman of the Intelligence Committee, Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Africa, and Congressman Bill Gray, the ranking black congressman, are all on friendly terms with Dr Koornhof.

He has worked with them assiduously, providing information as it arrives from South Africa, helping clear any misunderstandings, and pleading for lots of opportunities to allow South African to present their case.

Outside Congress, Dr Koornhof has built a strong relationship with the most senior members of the Bush administration.

But it is in the US black community that the ambassador has made some of his most astonishing contacts — with people like the Rev Jesse Jackson, with whom he has shared a platform at a national prayer breakfast.

Dr Koornhof's African American friends speak very highly of him.

Of several canvassed, perhaps the most eloquent on the subject of the ambassador is Don Simmonds, a prominent black businessman and scion of an Oklahoma civil rights family.

"The ambassador is a very unique human being. As ambassador he is committed to the policies of his Government, of course, but what really impresses me is his vision, which in many ways reminds me of Martin Luther King."

"I consider him to be a most effective ambassador and a rare human being. The South African Government is fortunate to have someone with the character and foresight of Dr Koornhof."

Asked to elaborate on the comparison with Dr King, Mr Simmonds said the US civil rights hero had a vision in which he wanted to see a world where people could be joined by the content of their character and not the colour of their skin. Dr Koornhof was a man who clearly had the same vision.

Perhaps not all Americans would be quite as sentimental as Mr Simmonds but there is real respect and affection for Dr Koornhof in Washington.

One prominent senator was heard to say to President de Klerk's delegation that Pretoria was indebted to the ambassador for bringing the embassy, and

South Africa, right into the mainstream of the political debate on South Africa.

Mr de Klerk's visit was something of a personal reward for Dr Koornhof. It was, from his point of view, almost flawless. The President was received with dignity and interest.

The ambassador and his team worked indefatigably to prepare for the visit, at one stage putting enormous pressure on Pretoria when it seemed as if there was a certain reluctance to go ahead with it.

That the visit was a success, exceeding the expectations of the powers-that-be in Pretoria, was a vindication of the embassy's attitude.

For Dr Koornhof, the greatest reward, however, has been to see the change in the level of debate on South Africa in Washington.

He believes Americans have a genuine concern and affection for South Africa and they have much to contribute to the building of a new South Africa.

The ambassador's term of office is drawing to a close, and he must leave Washington by next March. He is not packing his bags yet, however.

"There is still much to be done. I intend to hand over an efficient, well-informed embassy to my successor. 1991 will be an exciting year, full of opportunities for South Africa in the US," he said. — Star Bureau, Washington. □

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29/12/90

De Klerk unveils 'super local option'

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday further lifted the veil on government plans for a completely revamped system of "super local option" in a new dispensation.

Addressing the Labour Party's 25th congress in Goodwood, Mr De Klerk said that local authorities of the future would enjoy much greater power, autonomy and financial responsibility.

He emphasised that the current system of ethnically fragmented third-tier government would have to go and that new structures would be based on the principle of one city, one tax base.

In view of the government's commitment to this principle, the current campaign aimed at destabilising local government structures was unnecessary, illegitimate and a serious obstacle to real constitutional negotiations.

He said negotiations about local government should begin soon.

Principles

Mr De Klerk said various principles that could serve as a basis for negotiation had already been accepted by government. These included:

- Local government serving as an independent form and tier of government, with fully fledged legislative and executive powers.

- Local authorities should be endowed with "maximal powers and functions" with increased sources of income.

- Existing and new sources of revenue for local government had to be shared and used in a non-discriminatory manner to promote the financial independence of towns or cities and to eliminate historical disadvantages.

- Citizens would have an important role to play at local level in determining the future of their towns and cities.

- Any new system would have to provide for democratic political participation and the elimination and prevention of domination.



FLOWER POWER . . . A young girl pins a rosette on the lapel of President F W de Klerk as he arrives at the Labour Party's 25th annual congress at Goodwood yesterday. On the left is LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse

Picture: OBED ZILWA

FW warns: No room for radicals

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday warned that the disruption of local government and essential community services was presenting "a serious obstacle" to real constitutional negotiations.

Addressing the Labour Party's annual congress in Goodwood, Mr De Klerk slammed such "destabilising actions" as totally unnecessary and illegitimate.

In an apparent reference to the ANC's boycott actions and campaign to crush black local authorities, Mr De Klerk said that such disruptive actions cast serious doubt on the real intentions of those who "inflict unnecessary suffering on innocent people and communities".

He said negotiations about the future of local government should begin as soon as possible.

The government had already declared its commitment to replace the present system of third-tier government with a new and democratic system in which ethnic fragmentation would be avoided.

After receiving a rousing reception by more than 1 000 delegates and 3 000 LP observers, Mr De Klerk said that the government and the National Party were ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of a new South Africa.

He noted that he and the NP planned to become "part of the majority" in a new negotiated dispensation. He added that he was certain the LP would form part of this grouping, too.

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and the Labour Party found each other yesterday.

The adoring reception accorded Mr De Klerk at the LP's annual congress in Goodwood marked an end to years of bitter enmity that characterised relations between the LP and the leader of the National Party during the P W Botha era.

Mr De Klerk, the first NP leader invited to address an LP congress in its 25-year history, was given a rapturous reception — including five standing ovations — by the more than 1 000 delegates and about 3 000 observers at the congress.

Mr De Klerk — sporting a rosette in LP colours — responded in kind, lavishing praise on the role played by the LP and its leadership over the years.

"Seen against the background of the historical relationship between the LP and the NP, it marks another milestone on the road to a new South Africa," he said to whistles, cheers and applause.

However, the process of negotiation required an environment of orderliness and discipline.

Mr De Klerk said to applause that the government was committed to replacing the present ethnically based local authorities with new structures, but warned those who persisted in using violence to bring about such changes, that "South Africa will reject them and history will pass them by".

Mr De Klerk announced that in the coming months the police and defence force

would intensify existing measures and implement new measures aimed at ending the violence and restoring peace.

He said the time had arrived for leaders not merely to condemn violence but to lead and discipline their followers away from violent and intimidatory practices.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa was coming to the crossroads of its history regarding the building of a strong consensus of moderates, in which there was no room for radicals.

"South Africa cannot wait forever. We want and we need all leaders on board."

"It will be a grave pity if some of them were to miss the boat."

Mr De Klerk said the first challenge facing the country was to build a broad national consensus for the new South Africa.

The first foundation of such a consensus should be freedom — from poverty, fear, suspicion, frustration, violence, intimidation and protest.

The second involved justice, and in regard the government committed itself to the removal of all forms of discrimination.

"In the new South Africa there can be no place for racism — all citizens will have to enjoy the same rights."

The scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would be a priority when Parliament reconvened next year. It was also important to improve the lot of those who had limited opportunities in the socio-economic realm, he said.

A democratic new South Africa would be achieved only if violence, disorder and discrimination were eliminated, Mr De Klerk said.

Stew 29/12/90

304A

WHITE MALE	BLACK MALE	STUDIES CONDUCTED	BLACK FEMALE	WHITE FEMALE
%	%		%	%
47	-	January 1990	-	52
47	85	February 1990	86	49
-	85	March 1990	-	46
46	-	April 1990	78	45
54	79	May 1990	82	53
-	-	June 1990	-	53
56	84	July 1990	80	58
-	81	August 1990	79	56
-	-	September 1990	-	56
56	82	October 1990	85	57
500	500	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	800	800

POLITICAL CHANGE: This is how South Africans answered the question "Do you think FW de Klerk is doing a good job as president of the country" during various research studies conducted during 1990.

Researchers kept busy by rapid change

Stew 29/12/90

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THE rapidly changing political situation in South Africa during 1990 kept market researchers on the hop as they attempted to keep pace with the varying attitudes of the ordinary South African.

These are some of the results of Research Survey's on-going Omnichex studies conducted since February 2.

Increase

A comparison of the positive responses to the question: "Do you think F W de Klerk is doing a good job as president of the country?" showed that among white males and females there has been an increase in support for Mr de Klerk since February.

Although there was a dip in support for Mr de Klerk among Black males and females in the middle of the year, an upward trend towards the end of the year was evident.

CHRIS MOERDYK

Respondents were then asked whom they would like to have as leader of South Africa. These results reflected a significant decrease in support for Nelson Mandela as a leader among white females in August 1990 as well as a significant decrease among women favouring Dr Andries Treurnicht as leader. Among both black males and females in the August study there was a significant decrease in those favouring Mandela as a leader.

These studies also reflected that support for Dr Buthelezi was minimal, but remained stable.

In October 1990, respondents of all race groups were asked who their choice would be as leader if they could vote for any political figure. Respondents were able to answer this question spontaneously and the ques-

tion was then followed by a similar question but a list of political leaders was handed to them to choose from. A comparison of the results to these two questions showed that both at a spontaneous and an aided level F W de Klerk was the first choice as leader among whites, coloureds and Asians.

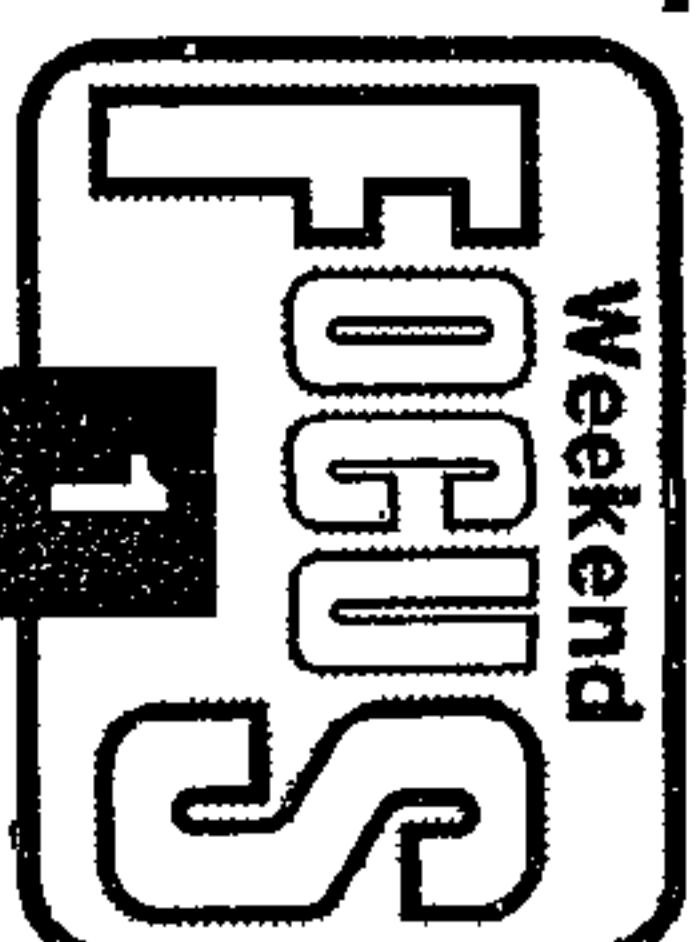
First choice

There was an increase in support for Mr de Klerk at an aided level among all race groups other than coloured males. Nelson Mandela was the first choice among blacks at a spontaneous and aided level. However, at an aided level there was only slightly more support for Mandela in comparison with the spontaneous level.

Support for Dr Andries Treurnicht increased slightly among white males at an aided level, but remained stable among white females and rural whites. Support for Buthelezi also remained stable.

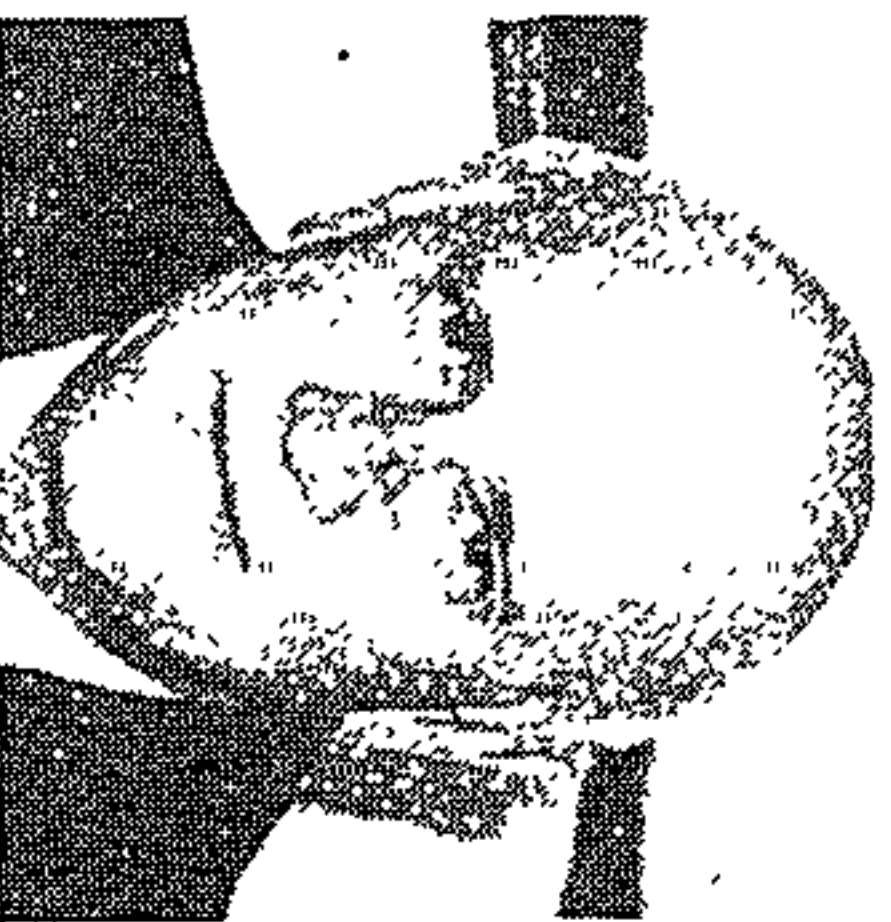
W/le AR645 29/12/90 (30K4) Cont

With eyes now on the country's youth and how it has fared in the matric exams, Weekend Argus takes a lighthearted look at how Cabinet Ministers rated in their first-year "'New South Africa"' exams, based on a political curriculum that changed drastically in 1990. A Weekend Argus panel, using press files on each minister, gave "symbols" and an "examiner's" report on each ...



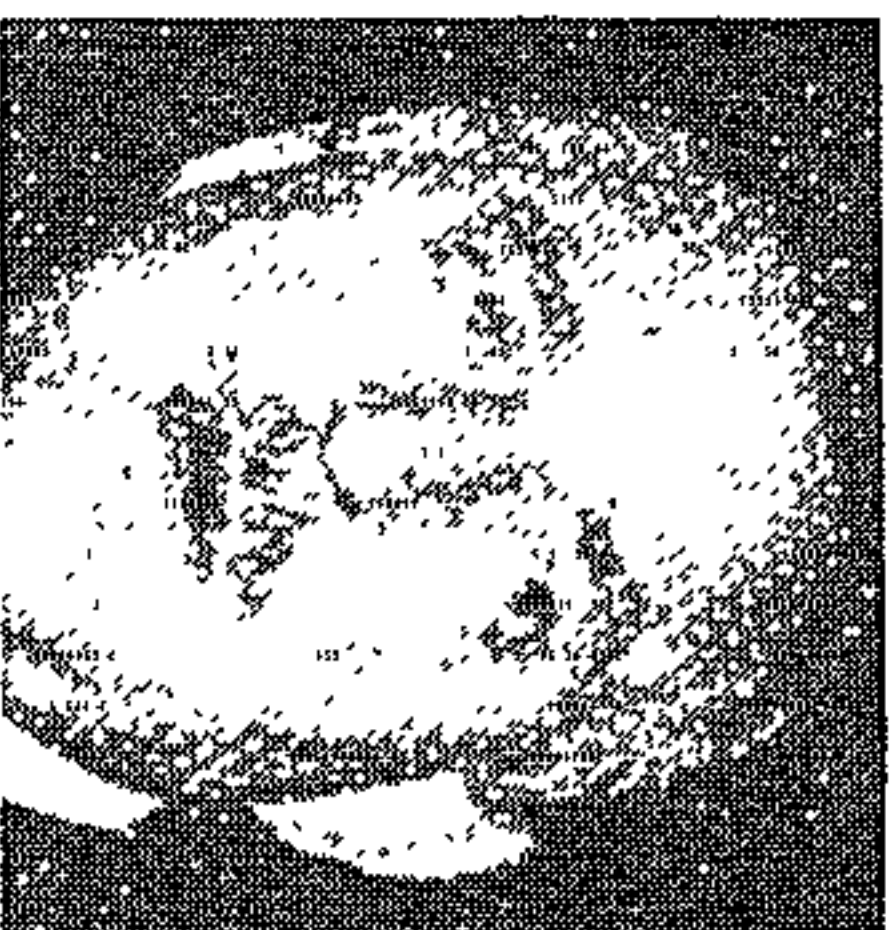
- A — excellent.
- B — good.
- C — fair.
- D — fail.

The Cabinet report card



F W DE KLERK
State President

(A) Excelled in the debating class and achieved straight As in international diplomacy. Tended to lose concentration during Future Constitution classes and couldn't answer all the questions in the How to Handle the Left Wing exam. Frederik has the potential to go a long way, however.



PIK BOTHA
Foreign Affairs

(A) Has improved tremendously in the Public Relations class and now projects himself as a harbinger of hope rather than the prophet of doom of past years. Passed the International Relations exam with distinction. Still needs to work hard at deportment.



GERRIT VILJOEN
Constitutional Development

(B) Has worked hard at improving class morale but tends to daydream during Constitutional Development classes. Needs to work harder at public speaking and try to give the impression that he knows what he is talking about, even if his audience doesn't.



MAGNUS MALAN
Defence

(D) With Wars and Cross Border Raiding dropped from the new curriculum, Magnus was required to study Diplomacy and Social Responsibility. Although he tried hard he was still inclined to pick fights during break. He will have to put more effort into teamwork classes.



DAWIE DE VILLIERS
Mineral and Energy Affairs

(C) Tended to hang back while his peers progressed. Had difficulty making decisions, particularly in the Petrol Price exam where he gave an answer, crossed it out and eventually left the examiners with multiple-choice answers.



KOBIE COETSEE
Justice

(B) Scored a notable distinction in the Family Law exam and did well in the New Deal for Women classes. Needs to pay a lot more attention during Basic Social Justice lessons. Was a strong guiding light for his classmates.



BAREND DU PLESSIS

Finance

(D) Tried hard at the Basic Tax exams but eventually spoilt his paper. Needs to pay far more attention to Managing Budgets and could use a few extra lessons in National Economy. He has potential but it is not recommended that he be promoted next year.



STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE

Education and Training

(C) Tended to miss a lot in class because of his weakness for doing Pk Botha impressions. Tried very hard at his Equal Education for All studies, but remains confused on the subject of Some Being More Equal than Others.



ELI LOUW

Manpower

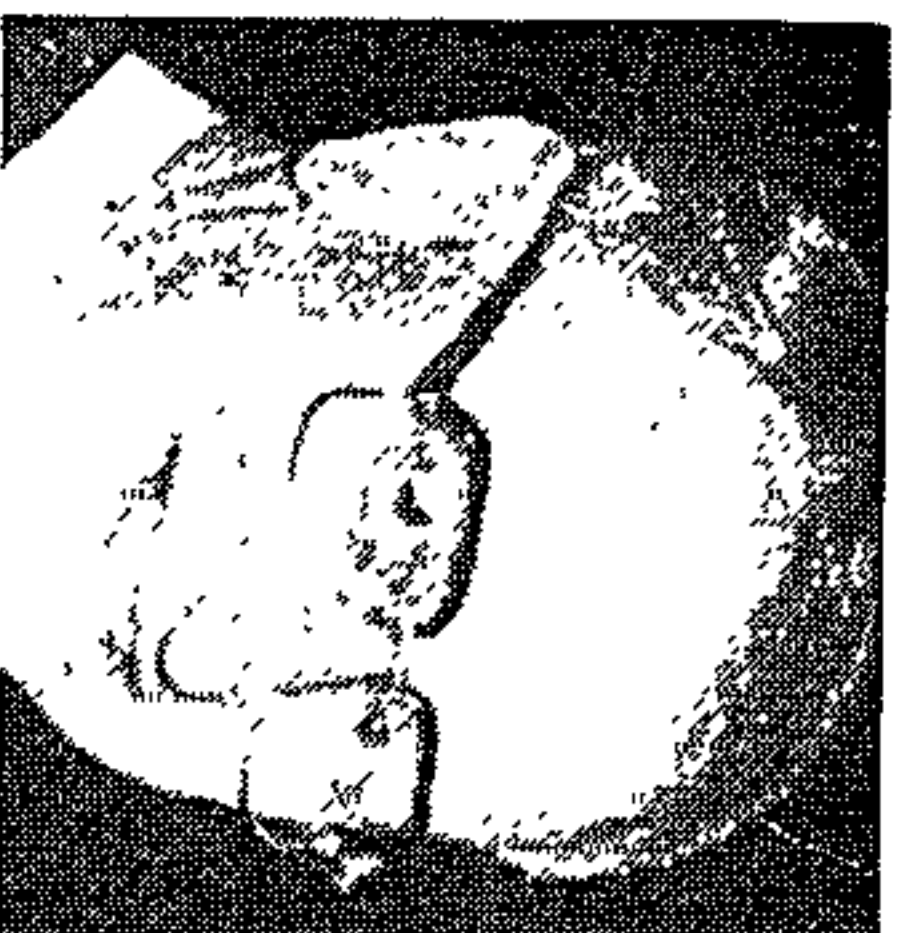
(C) Found it difficult to concentrate in class because of the distraction caused by several of his peers who seemed bent on straining the economy and boosting unemployment. Eli needs to concentrate better during Creating Jobs classes.



GEORGE BARTLETT

Transport, Land Affairs

(D) Finds it hard to accept the new curriculum but he has made progress in understanding Transport De-regulation. Desperately needs extra lessons in Land Ownership which, like many of his peers, he confuses with the old curriculum subject, Black Land is Bad Land.



ADRIAAN VLOK

Law and Order

(C) Popular with his classmates. Tried hard but flunked his Right to Protest exam by following the old curriculum which promoted beating of other schools of thought at any cost. It is recommended that he be promoted as it seems out of the question to find a school into which he would fit.



RINA VENTER

Health and Population

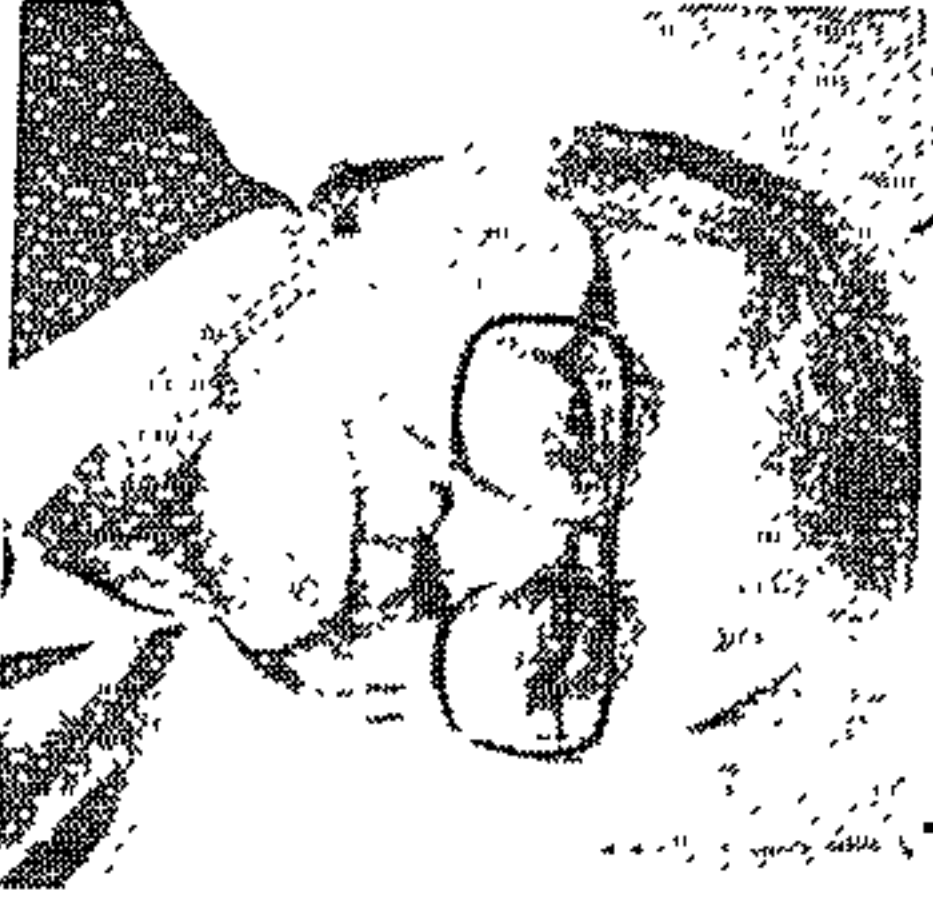
(C) The only girl in the class, Rina has tried hard and after flunking her Medicine Costs Money exams at mid-year, has applied to scrape through after a few hectic weeks of cramming.



LOUIS PIENAAR

Environment and Education

(B) A new boy, Louis has not had sufficient opportunity to show his mettle although he joined his classmates with a fine record in Diplomacy and distinctions in last year's New Government Guidance and Living with a Black President exams.



HERNUS KRIEL

Provincial Affairs Planning,

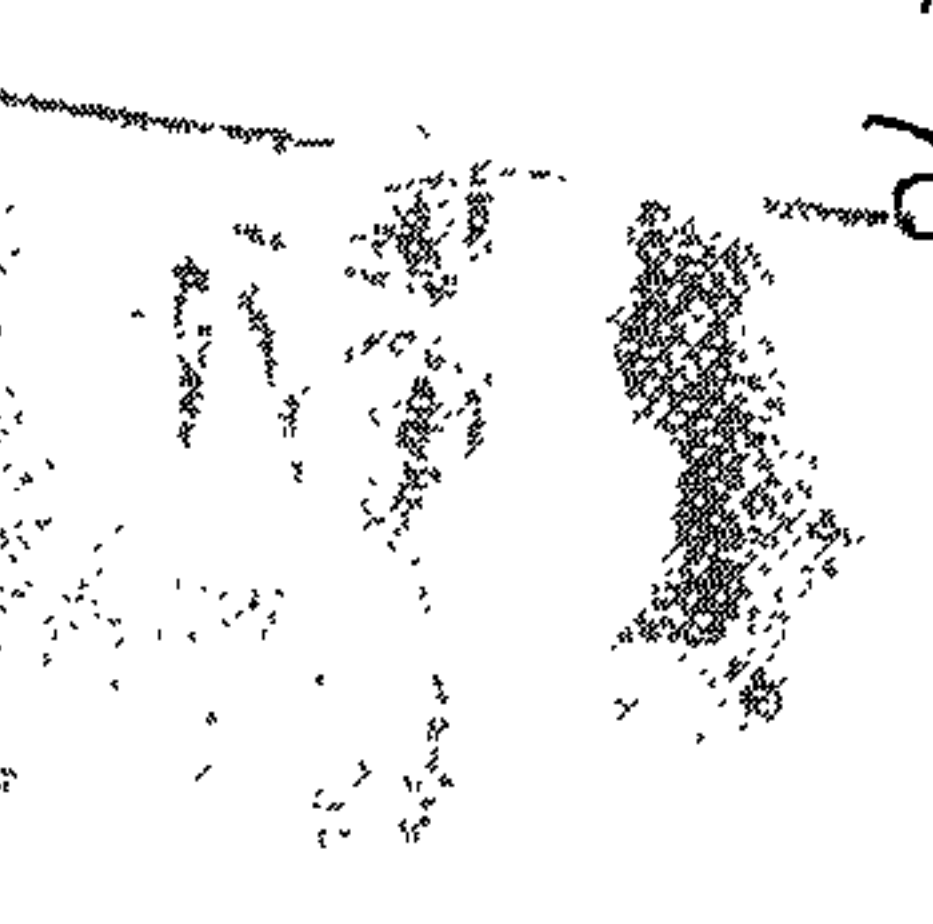
(C) His essay on Black Town Councillors Shouldn't Quit Just Because of a Few Death Threats did not impress. Was nearly expelled when he said that if Japan gave R6,3 million to the SA Government instead of the ANC, 3 150 dream homes could be built for blacks.



GERT KOTZE

Forestry and Water Affairs

(D) A difficult student. He switched courses after failing mid-year exams by suggesting Nuclear Power transceded trees. It is not certain he will pass Forestry and Water Affairs. Should be considered for a class in Minor Diplomacy in a small, backward county.



JACOB DE VILLIERS

Agriculture

(D) Although the new curriculum has not been specific on the point, it has implied that agricultural control boards don't have a place in the new South Africa. Jacob, who has been distracted by taunting rightwing classmates and demanding leftwing peers, doesn't seem to have got the message.



KENT DURR

Trade and Tourism

(A) Kent opted for a Foreign Diplomacy course overseas. He scored a distinction in Tourism with his essay on Turning Robben Island Into A Holiday Resort. Also did well in the Let's Grab the Commie Export Market Before the Yanks Do exam.



WIM DE VILLIERS

Administration and Economic Co-ordination

(C) An interesting student of whom the examiners know little. He apparently wrote a long and detailed essay on Economic Strategy for the New South Africa but continues to refuse to hand in his exam paper for marking.



Only unity can solve our problems – FW

SOUTH Africa needed urgent solutions to its problems and there was no longer reason for inciting talk and the creation of new obstacles, State President FW de Klerk said in Cape Town on Friday. (304A)

Addressing the 25th congress of the Labour Party, he said the challenges facing the country could only be solved in unity.

A new constitution had to be based on universally-accepted mechanisms which could be applied to protect minorities against possible abuse of power, he said.

The most important challenge lay in establishing a national consensus based on freedom.

A second condition was justice.

"I want to assure you that the government is completely committed to the removal of all discrimination. In the new South Africa there will be no room for racism." *aprs 30/12/90*

The scrapping of the Group Areas and Land Acts would enjoy priority interest, De Klerk said.

A further requirement was stability. The new South Africa could not come about in conditions of violence.

The government believed all political parties with a proven support base and a commitment to peace could take part in negotiations.

The present disruption of local government was a serious obstacle to real constitutional negotiations.

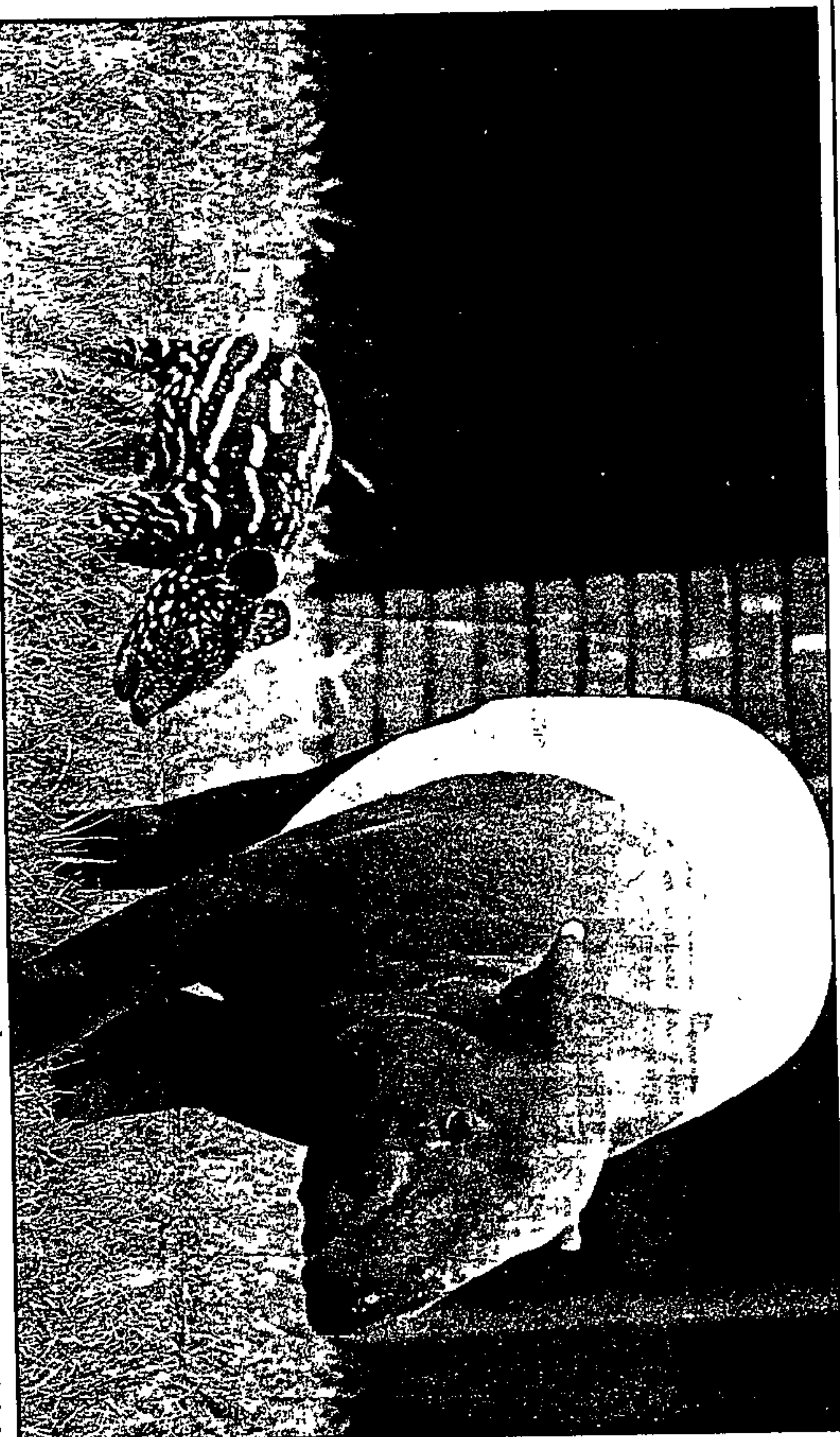
Negotiations on the future of local government should, however, start as soon as possible.

"The government accepts the principle of one city, one tax base." – Sapa

FW warns on 'disruption'

Star 29/12/60

(3044)



BOUNCING BABE: This striped tyke, a Malayan Tapir, is the latest addition at the Pretoria Zoo. Other exotic new arrivals at the zoo this year have included a white lion cub, two llama, a Cape fur seal, mated wolf cubs, an Arabian oryx, a pygmy hippopotamus and a brood of ruffed lemurs — all endangered species.

THE Government and the National Party were ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of the new South Africa, President de Klerk said yesterday. He warned, however, that the present disruption, especially of local government and essential community services, was a serious obstacle to real constitutional negotiations.

Mr de Klerk was addressing the 25th annual congress of the Labour Party at the Goodwood showgrounds.

Mr de Klerk was enthusiastically received by the audience of about 2 000 people, who frequently broke into applause and cheers.

The audience included 1 011 LP delegates, as well as representatives of the Lebowa and QwaQwa governments and the British Embassy.

Aspirations

Mr de Klerk again committed the Government to intensifying measures to deal with violence. In a new dispensation the importance and the aspirations of the majority, however it was composed, had to be acknowledged, he said.

He added: "I plan to be part of that majority. I am sure you do too."

At the same time there had to be protection for minority interests, Mr de Klerk said.

Assault on councils 'a serious obstacle'

TOS WENTZEL

Addressing "yellow South Africans" he said his appearance at the LP congress was visible proof that South Africans could rise above old differences, bury the hatred and build a truly South African nation.

"It is in this spirit that I reach out a hand of friendship and understanding."

"There is no vacant land left to fight over. There is nothing to be taken or withheld from each another. There is nothing to be destroyed that is not our own. There is, within our borders, no one to conquer or to rule over but ourselves."

"That is what this process of transformation we are going through is all about. That is what democracy is all about."

"We must find ways and means of ruling, not each other but ourselves, for the protection, safety, wellbeing, growth and prosperity not of the one or the other but of us all."

He said history would prove

that the Labour Party had made an essential contribution towards this goal.

There remained no reason or justification for inciting talk, for conflict-creating resolutions at conferences, for the setting of new conditions and ultimatums or for the creation of new obstacles.

"South Africa cannot wait forever. We want and need all leaders on board. It will be a great pity if some of them were to miss the boat."

The first challenge was to establish a broad national consensus on the foundations of a new South Africa.

These were freedom, justice and stability.

The Government was totally committed to the removal of discrimination. In the new South Africa there could be no place for racism.

Discrimination

The Government was therefore busy removing all remaining discriminatory legislation in an orderly way.

The Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would receive priority attention in the coming session of Parliament.

Steps had to be taken to provide full opportunities for people who had not had these in the past, Mr de Klerk said. Problems and challenges in the areas of poverty, education, housing and health had to be dealt with.

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1.

He added that a democratic South Africa was only possible if violent methods were abandoned.

In the coming months the forces of law and order would intensify existing measures and implement new ones to bring violence to an end and restore peace and safety.

Mr de Klerk asked for support for these forces. "Our policemen and soldiers are putting their lives at risk and are working longer hours than we have a right to ask of them."

Above all it was the responsibility of political, religious and social leaders to condemn violence and to lead their followers away from it.

Hatred

"Blaming others for the violence will bring us nowhere. Political leaders merely accusing their opponents fan the flames of hatred. Leaders should take responsibility for the violence of their own people. It is a responsibility they cannot escape."

Referring to minority interests, Mr de Klerk said he was not thinking of race groups but of cultural and political minorities on the basis of freedom of association. Such minority interests should also not be seen as an attempt to bring apartheid in through the back door.

Mr de Klerk again referred to government

plans to bring about strong and democratic local government.

He referred to principles laid down in a manifesto on local government produced by the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs.

The Government had accepted these principles as a basis for negotiations about local government.

One of these principles was the acceptance of local government as an independent form and tier of government and as a basic democratic institution in any new constitution.

Local authorities should have maximal powers and functions and sufficient sources of income to be used and shared in a non-discriminatory manner.

● ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela could have had the decency to explain why he declined an invitation to the LP's congress, party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said.

"We need not share the same viewpoints, but for decency's sake he (Mr Mandela) could have said he did not want to, or could not, accept the invitation."

The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress were invited to the congress.

Mr Mandela had not given his response, despite repeated inquiries, said Mr Hendrickse.

PAC general secretary Mr Bennie Alexander had written to the LP, explaining why they would not attend.

— Sapa.

Stats 29/12/90

A running start for new SA talks

STimes 30/12/90

By DRIES van HEERDEN

NEGOTIATIONS on the new South Africa will be off to a running start in 1991 as both major actors — the government and the ANC — prepare to seize the initiative early in the new year.

The government will try to retain the political high ground it has occupied since President FW de Klerk's historic February 2 speech by:

- Scrapping two of the three remaining "pillars of apartheid" — the Group Areas Act and the Land

Act — before mid-March, thus removing more of the so-called "obstacles to negotiations". Also in line for a complete overhaul will be the Internal Security Act.

This will leave the Population Registration Act as the only major contentious piece of legislation on the statute books — but it is also destined for the scrapheap as the negotiating process proceeds.

- Convening a "mini

national convention" as soon as possible, where representatives of all major political groupings will meet to discuss the agenda for the real constitutional talks.

The aim is to get a broad "statement of intent" adopted, where all possible participants in the negotiating process pledge themselves to fundamentals, such as a multi-party democracy, an independent judiciary and basic human rights.

- Moving swiftly to

establish the National Party as a countrywide political force in its own right, with the ultimate goal of defeating the ANC in an open election.

Mr De Klerk hinted at this when he opened the annual congress of the Labour Party in Cape Town on Friday, and said a new dispensation should not only safeguard the interests of minorities, but also satisfy the aspirations of the majority.

"I plan to be part of that

□ To Page 2

Running start for talks on new SA

STimes 30/12/90

□ From Page 1

majority," he said. The NP plans to capitalise on the substantial support Mr De Klerk personally enjoys among all population groups and position the party as a multi-racial champion of the rights of ordinary citizens worried about crime, education, unemployment and the rising cost of living.

One of the first signs of the new approach will be a decision to loosen further the ties between key government men — such as Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stofel van der Merwe — and the rest of the Cabinet to enable them to negotiate on behalf of the NP.

On the ANC side, much of its energy in the first few weeks will be spent on getting its organisational structures in order to strengthen its hand at the negotiating table. This is expected to include moving a large part of its headquarters from Sauer Street, Johannesburg to new premises.

- ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made it clear in several statements since the movement's consultative conference on December 16 that he will not be swayed from his negotiating line by hardline elements in his own ranks.

In a London newspaper interview, Mr Mandela said he was still very optimistic about the process in spite of certain actions which raised doubts about

the government's sincerity. "There are problems, but we are discussing them. The talks so far have been very successful, and I am confident we can sort out all the remaining problems in the new year," he said.

- A major element in ANC strategy will be to try to forge a united front of black political organisations to take part in the negotiations.

There are already indications that most leaders of both the "independent" and non-independent homelands would prefer to be included in the ANC delegation, while talks on this subject have also been initiated with its main political rival, the PAC.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday that talks with the ANC were "proceeding with great promise" and his movement would "pursue this rigorously" in the new year.

YEAR OF HOPE & HEARTACHE

1990 blew hot and cold

HOPE soared in South Africa this year, beginning with unbridled joy at Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years' incarceration, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP plus many others, and the ANC's decision to negotiate with the government.

However, the most sickening violence in the history of the struggle followed and the ANC has issued an April 30 ultimatum to Pretoria saying talks will be terminated if the government doesn't keep to commitments made during recent bargaining.

30/1/91

The Land Act and Separate Amenities Act got the chop but it's still rather difficult to find a pool to swim in if you're unfortunate enough to be living in certain areas. The Group Areas Act still sticks like crazy.

President FW de Klerk and Mandela jetted into America to state their cases while Mandela was snubbed by the city of Miami as senior officials failed to meet him at the airport - a belated apology followed.

The Civil Co-operation Bureau hit-squad scandal was uncovered but the Harms commission of inquiry covered it all up again with vague conclusions.

PAC president Zaph Mothopeng, Sowetan assistant editor Sam Mabe, activists Tshepo Mashimane and Muntu Myeza plus others died - some under mysterious circumstances. Clarence Makweu became president of the PAC.

The price of fuel took on the characteristics of a yo-yo with the usual excuses from officialdom.

The partial removal of sanctions raised a few hackles when the ban on new investments in South Africa was lifted by the European Community.

Although the country is in the grip of an education crisis, only five percent of more than 2,100 white schools are expected to open their doors to black pupils next year.

The Weekly Mail's editors opened the Daily Mail but closed it after less than 50 issues.

Opupa Gqozo took control of the Ciskei in a bloodless coup while Lennox Sebe was out gallivanting overseas.

Blood was shed in the failed Transkei coup and military leader Bantu Holomisa felt sure South Africans had a hand in the appalling mess.

And we all had to take a closer look at the Aids scourge this year.



Clarence Makweu... new leader of the PAC.



History is made... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk address the nation after the government and the ANC sat down at the negotiating table for the first time ever. A top ANC official said: "How foolish we were not to do this ages ago."



New Yorkers shower Nelson Mandela's cavalcade with ticker-tape in a reception larger than that received by the Pope.

The ANC's armed struggle was suspended, yet townships exploded with a death toll of more than 3,500, which is much higher than in Beirut or Northern Ireland.

ANC president Oliver Tambo returned after 30 years in exile but the question of remaining exiles begs a few answers. Reports this week said the ANC had not yet received any of the large sums promised by foreign

WHO'S DRINKING THE NEW BEER BRAND?
THE NEW MEN.
WHO'S DRINKING THE OLD BEER BRANDS?



Hero's homecoming . . . ANC president Oliver Tambo, who arrived in SA to a tumultuous welcome this month after 30 years' exile.



Coup d'état . . . and jubilation after Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe was deposed by Oupa Gqoza while Sebe was on an overseas trip.

WE all know what a vicious circle is, but how many of us know about virtuous circles?

Apartheid was and is one huge vicious circle. We become divided against ourselves, we are encouraged to mistrust each other, our creative capacities and personal initiatives are crushed and we live in an atmosphere of fear and recrimination.

The result is that even when we have a chance to break through the divide, the culture of mutual abuse is so powerful that we remain stuck in our apathies.

Now, at last, we have the chance of creating virtuous circles. I will mention four.

We can get our sporting teams back. How long have we all waited to be able to cheer on South Africa? Most of us simply could not regard "whites only" teams as South African teams. The cricketing authorities are getting their houses in order, in fact, creating what we have always needed, namely, a single home where everybody is equal, everybody is welcome and everybody is comfortable.

Let us hope the other sporting bodies can do the same and we do not have to replace the springbok with the ostrich.

If we can shout our lungs hoarse in unison supporting our cricketers, our football players and our athletes we will start seeing human beings, sportsmen and women, and not blacks or whites or people from this region or that language group.

Success

We will get used to sharing a common patriotism rather than trying to knock each other out. We will learn how to administer things together, see issues from different perspectives and try to find appropriate solutions for the benefit of all. Our confidence will grow.

The democratic principle of giving everybody an equal opportunity and an equal voice will be reinforced. Success in one area will encourage success in another. We will enter a virtuous circle.

Then there is the area of culture. Our concert halls, ballet and opera are still overwhelmingly white. In the communities there is a musicality and expressiveness through dance such as I have never encountered anywhere in the world (one of the advantages of exile is that you get the chance to travel).

If only we could link up the concert halls and the communities, what music we could produce, what dance, what singing. Beginnings are being made all over the country. Jazzart, David Poolo, and CAPP in Cape Town are just some of the first stirrings.

Uprise

If we can establish a continuum rather than a separation between the riotous, facilities

ALBIE SACHS makes a New Year's wish — that, through sharing, South Africans may start caring

A chance to turn vicious circles into virtuous circles

SA/11/03/20/23

20/23



A portrait of Albie Sachs taken by Koo Stark. Prince Andrew's former girlfriend, for her book, Survivors

meet and freely confess sins and acknowledge forgiveness, when Moslems, Jews, Christians and Hindus can start working on shared ideas for religious rights and freedoms in a new South Africa, a profound spiritual and cultural foundation for the new society begins to emerge.

We do not have to be religious believers to see the importance of searching our way towards unity in the context of affirming the multi-faith and multi-belief character of our society.

that is on the up and up — namely, constitutionalism.

There has been quiet but substantial progress towards constructing a bill of rights for South Africa that comes out of our own experience and longings. The draft document on a bill of rights produced by the ANC constitutional committee received a warm, generous and non-combative welcome from Judge Pierre Olivier, who is chairing the government appointed law commission about to make pro-

we can make even greater breakthroughs. All of us have moved on the question of rights. Many who believed that too much emphasis on individual rights could leave whole communities in poverty and inequality have come to recognise that personal freedom is a value in itself that has to be guarded in all societies.

Others who have focused purely on individual rights have come to acknowledge that these become empty if not associated with far detrimental rights to edu-

geous to break through the barriers of apartheid, now what one needs is imagination, conviction and respect.

We do not need to give ourselves moral hernias in the process, but rather should attempt to find comfortable and genuine forms of shared activity.

As a tiny follow-up of this suggestion, I would like to throw out the idea that persons who have suffered loss in the upheavals of

the past come together to express our common desire to see peace, progress and equality in a new South Africa.

There are many wounds to be cleansed and perhaps we, with our different experiences of pain, can make our own contribution by establishing a small circle of healing that expands and gives courage and confidence to the whole community.

Albie Sachs, poet and author, is an ANC constitutionalist. He recently returned to South Africa after long years in exile. In 1988 he narrowly escaped death in a car-bomb blast in Maputo — allegedly set by South African agents.

namely, a single home where everybody is equal, everybody is welcome and everybody is comfortable.

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Upsurge

If we can establish a continuum rather than a separation between the rigour, facilities, subsidisation and projection of the big concert halls on the one hand and the energy, creativity and the experienced rather than watched musicality of the communities on the other, a truly South African cultural expression of world class can emerge.

Perhaps we should start thinking through Barbara Masekela's proposal to establish an arts council funded by general revenue but dependent neither on the state nor private companies for its programme of encouraging artistic creativity.

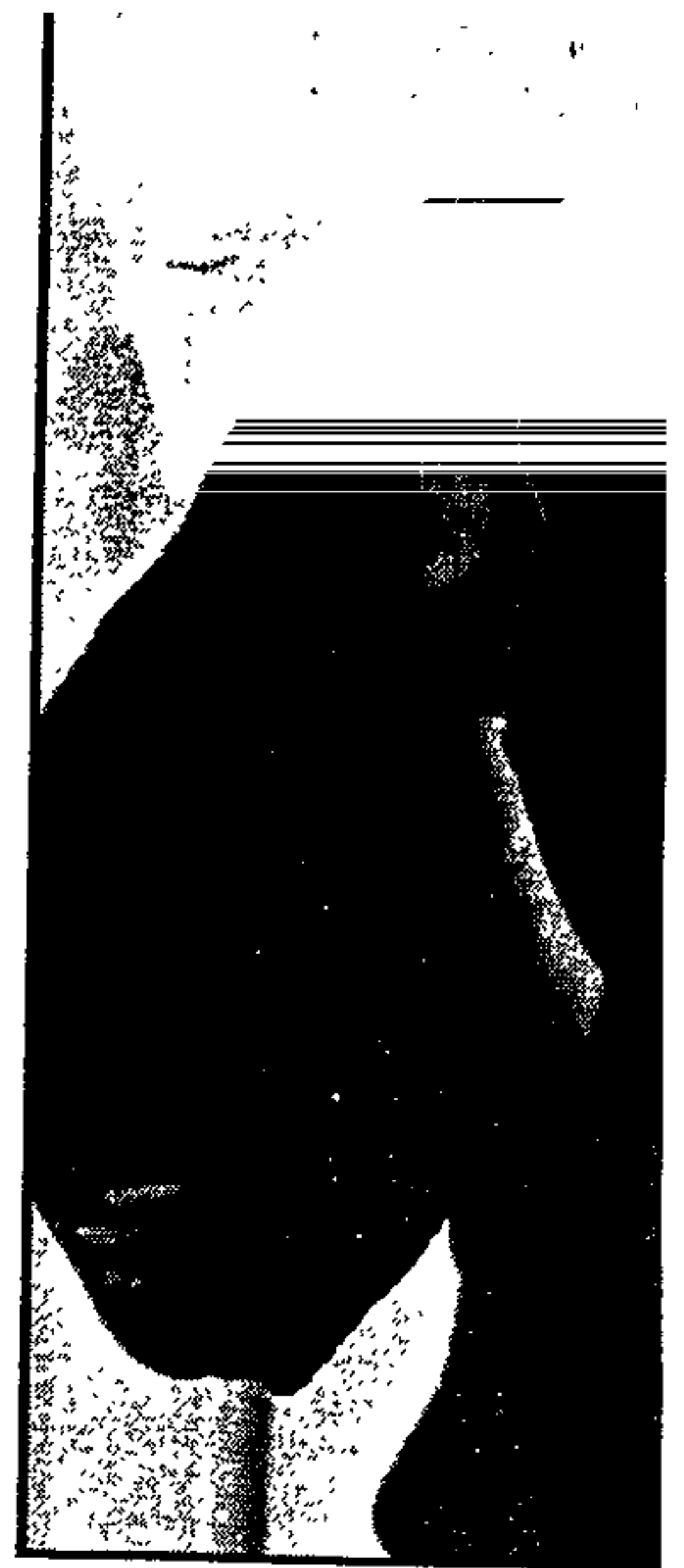
Millions of people will be able to participate in this cultural upsurge, expressing themselves as individuals and in combination, articulating the variety of languages and the many dance, choral and instrumental forms of our country. A new South African identity would evolve.

Next, religious leaders and communities are beginning to open up the full possibilities of coming together. When Christians of all denominations can

A chance to turn vicious circles into virtuous circles

304A

S/Times
30/12/90



meet and freely confess sins and acknowledge forgiveness, when Moslems, Jews, Christians and Hindus can start working on shared ideas for religious rights and freedoms in a new South Africa, a profound spiritual and cultural foundation for the new society begins to emerge.

We do not have to be religious believers to see the importance of searching our way towards unity in the context of affirming the multi-faith and multi-belief character of our society.

Most South Africans are religious. We in the ANC, believers and non-believers alike, sing N'Kosi Sikelele Afrika (God Bless Africa). Religion in itself neither unites nor divides.

Confidence

But when believers of different faiths start working together for the benefit of all, confidence in our ability to find solutions to other problems begins to emerge. It is not simply that religious communities dispose of vast spiritual, human and material resources. It is the ability to bring the passionate particular into the richly textured general, to acknowledge a democratic and sensitive pluralism, that contributes towards all of us learning to live together.

The fourth area of potentially virtuous breakthrough is in relation to a bill of rights. Many -isms have taken a tumble in the recent period. Thatcherism possibly being the last. But there is one -ism

that is on the up and up — namely, constitutionalism.

There has been quiet but substantial progress towards constructing a bill of rights for South Africa that comes out of our own experience and longings. The draft document on a bill of rights produced by the ANC constitutional committee received a warm, generous and non-competitive welcome from Judge Pierre Olivier, who is chairing the government appointed law commission about to make proposals of its own.

By the time you read this, we in the ANC could well be studying his proposals, as well as those of other groups. There is a large area of common ground where universally accepted principles in relation to human rights are manifestly applicable to South Africa.

The ending of apartheid means not simply the absence of laws and practices designed to keep us fragmented and to suppress liberty, but the presence of secure guarantees that we can all live in conditions of freedom and equality.

We have never had a real constitution in South Africa, that is, a document that cannot be easily amended, that establishes secure institutions and firm principles to enable us to be comfortable together in all our diversity on a basis of true equality. We are slowly developing a culture of rights to replace our culture of repression.

Perhaps if we speak more about rights and less about power

we can make even greater breakthroughs. All of us have moved on the question of rights. Many who believed that too much emphasis on individual rights could leave whole communities in poverty and inequality have come to recognise that personal freedom is a value in itself that has to be guarded in all societies.

Others who have focused purely on individual rights have come to acknowledge that these become empty if not associated with fundamental rights to education, health, shelter, employment and basic social welfare. The question of a proper relationship with our environment has become urgent for us all.

Shared

South Africans are great talkers, but poor listeners.

We are starting to learn to listen to and not simply address one another, and this surely is the basis for finding the common values which will underlie our new constitution.

Our leaders have enormous responsibilities, but their tasks will be eased if we — all of us — start doing things together on a basis of equality and mutual respect. Our common South Africanness will not come from a constitution: the constitution will recognise the shared sense of belonging which we will have struggled to achieve.

Each one of us in our workplaces, in our homes and in our communities can do something. In the past, one had to be coura-

LP congress prepares for future alliance with NP

Cap-147 31/12/90 3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party's 25th annual congress at the weekend went out of its way to lay the foundations for an alliance with the ruling National Party.

LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said at the end of the congress that there was "no doubt" that the LP and NP were now closer to each other than ever before.

Asked about the timing and possibility of a formal alliance, Mr Hendrickse said the LP still had to have further discussions with other parties.

There was a strong feeling among delegates that the party should retain its identity for the foreseeable future.

Mr Hendrickse was speaking after the LP congress in Goodwood instructed the party leadership to engage in exploratory talks for new political allies.

But the over 1 000 delegates decided that it would be premature to settle on specific alliance partners at this stage.

The congress heaped praise on Mr De Klerk and his initiatives and many of the gestures were reciprocated when Mr De Klerk became the first leader of the ruling party to address a LP congress.

The tone and content of many of the 11 resolutions adopted was virtually indistinguishable from current NP policy.

The resolution on alliances noted that the LP believed that the future of South Africa would be determined by political alliances between organisations or parties with common goals and objectives.

A resolution condemning the

Political Correspondent

BANKRUPTCY and imminent "financial ruin" are staring the Labour Party in the face, according to the confidential treasurer's report presented to the party's national executive committee at its 25th annual congress.

LP national treasurer and MP for Elsie's River Mr Paul Kleinsmidt warns in his annual report that the party will be broke by April if the current state of affairs is allowed to continue unchecked.

Mr Kleinsmidt noted that since he took over as party treasurer last year various financial records and documents are still not available — a situation which bordered on "gross negligence".

However, LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse told the Cape Times at the end of the LP 25th annual congress in Goodwood that the treasurer's report had shown that "the party is financially sound".

He said: "The finances of the party are sound and are being soundly administered by our finance committee and are under the watchful control of our treasurer."

countrywide violence called on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet.

The congress expressed "appreciation" for the police in trying to maintain order, but appealed to the security forces to exercise circumspection and operate in the interests of all South Africans.

A resolution on the Republic's continued sporting isolation appealed for international sports organisations to re-admit

South African sports bodies to the international arena.

There was also an appeal for an end to the cultural boycott. Congress decided that calls for sanctions amounted to "a crime".

Proposals for a constituent assembly were rejected on the grounds that all parties should be given an opportunity to make inputs to a new constitution.

In other resolutions the congress:

- Called on President F W de Klerk to abolish separate sittings and voting in Parliament, as well as the Own Affairs Ministers' Councils.

- Endorsed proposals for a non-racial geographic federation with two Houses of Parliament.

- Resolved that there should be a unitary education system with one minister in the cabinet.

- Urgently appealed to all LP MPs to strive to get the Group Areas Act repealed in the first three months of the coming parliamentary sitting.

- Welcomed the unbanning of political parties but restated the party's opposition to all forms of communism and totalitarianism.

- Reaffirmed the LP belief that a social market economy would serve as the best vehicle to remove inequalities and empower disadvantaged groups.

- The Labour Party will donate R2 000 to the Red Cross to assist squatters who lost their shelters during a Christmas night fire, Mr Hendrickse announced at the weekend.

Labour Party courts NP alliance

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party's 25th annual congress has gone out of its way to lay the foundations for an alliance between the Labour Party and the NP.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said in an interview after the weekend congress that there was "no doubt" that the Labour Party and NP were closer to each other than before. (304A) ~~304A~~

There had been a growing togetherness between the two parties since February 2, particularly because of President F W de Klerk's attitude and response, he said.

Hendrickse said the Labour Party had to have further discussions with other parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, about the possibility and timing of a formal alliance.

He believed a common dedication towards negotiation and non-violence would be "very important binding factors" in future political alliances.

The congress instructed its leadership to engage in exploratory talks in a search for new political allies. However, delegates decided that it would be premature to select alliance partners.

The congress heaped praise on De Klerk and his initiatives.

Political Staff

Many gestures were reciprocated when De Klerk became the first NP leader to address a Labour Party congress.

The tone and content of many of the 11 resolutions unanimously adopted by the congress took a line virtually indistinguishable from NP policy.

The congress also decided that component members of possible alliances should retain their autonomy.

A resolution condemning violence called on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to rise above their political differences and meet in the interests of the country.

Proposals for a constituent assembly were rejected on the grounds that all parties should be given an opportunity to make inputs to a new constitution.

In other resolutions the congress called on De Klerk to abolish separate sittings and voting in Parliament, as well as the own affairs Ministers Councils, and endorsed proposals for a nonracial geographic federation with two Houses of Parliament, under which all states would enjoy equal representation in a senate.

Swaziland police seize smuggled arms

MBABANE — Swaziland police have seized another batch of arms and ammunition en route the kingdom from Lomahasha in Mozambique.

A police spokesman said a Soweto man was arrested after 10 AK-47s, three Ma-

karov pistols, a Scorpion pistol and 10 000 rounds of ammunition were found under the petrol tank of the vehicle he was driving on Friday. The driver was taken to Simunye Magistrate's Court and remanded.

The haul brought the

number of illegal guns confiscated after being smuggled from Mozambique during the past four weeks — mostly AK-47s — to 36.

Fourteen people, including Mozambicans, South Africans and Swazis, have been arrested. — Sapa.

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'President de Klerk has painted himself into a corner'

State President F W de Klerk has painted himself into a political corner with the PAC and the ANC - by trying to find solutions in a unitary South Africa with a one man one vote constitution.

This was said yesterday by Mr Robert van Tonger, leader of the Boersaat Party, (BSP) in reaction to the PAC's latest rejection of Mr de Klerk's plans for a post-apartheid South Africa. The PAC's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, had earlier said in Harare that Mr de

Klerk would be confronted in 1991 with causes such as the transfer of power, the ownership of South Africa's economy, and the return of the land to the blacks, which Alexander said had been "stolen from our forefathers".

Van Tonger said in his reaction that "the PAC and ANC's demands for land could never be avoided if the entire South Africa belonged to everyone".

"The National Party cannot announce that all South Africans must have equal rights in one unitary, democratic South Africa, and then think up all kinds of clever plans to circumvent this basic principle," he added.

"The only solution would be to normalise the Republic of South Africa, the peoples (volke) in Southern Africa must be politically and culturally

freed as was done in the European Community," he said.

"The Boer people must be given back their free states because these were never stolen from anyone. The Boers occupied the empty Transvaal and Free State, and the black people who lived next to the Boer States during the Great Trek still have their territories today, in fact their land has meanwhile been enlarged considerably," he concluded. - *Sapa*.

Only solution

Herman Cohen has mixed feelings about SA, writes David Braun

1991 — a year of clouded hope

8w 31/12/90

3044



SOUTH Africa became the most open society in Africa during 1990, according to US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen.

That was the good news from South Africa during the past year, from the US perspective.

The bad news, according to Mr Cohen, was that the people who were in a position to make things happen seemed to be losing sight of the main objective, which was negotiations leading to a new political system.

In a wide-ranging end-of-year interview with *The Star*, Mr Cohen discussed a number of topical issues concerning South Africa's relations with the US. This was how he saw them:

● **On the events of 1990:** "There was good news and bad news. The good news was that as the result of the decisions by both the South African Government and the black political leadership, South Africa has now become what I have called the most open society in Africa.

It is a place where people can say and print whatever they want to and engage in all sorts of political activities which to my knowledge do not exist anywhere else in Africa.

It seems to me that this, more than anything else, symbolises the irreversibility of the ending of the apartheid system.

The disturbing news and area of concern is that the people who

are in a position to make things happen seem to be losing sight of the main objective, which is negotiations leading to a new political system.

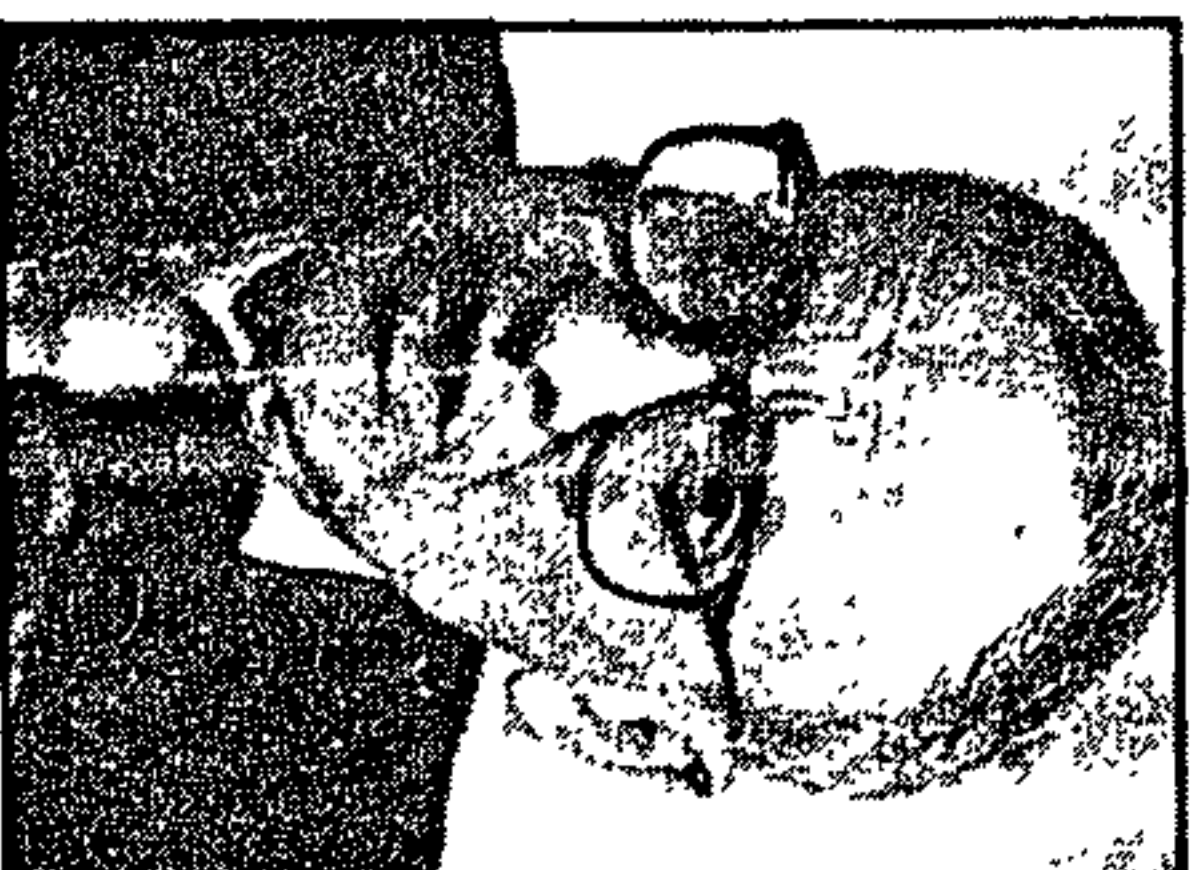
On the one hand, the side of the black majority, you have internal power struggles and intolerance to opposition which are diverting attention from the main objective. On the other hand, from the side of the Government, there is a sort of over-concern for legality and juridical details which tend to be delaying the normalisation of full political life in South Africa."

● **On the slowing of momentum for change in South Africa:** "I think that it is inevitable it would have slowed down because you could not expect the black community to switch overnight from total repression of political activity to fully functioning political organisation. It takes time and people have to build and get an infrastructure functioning.

The Government also needs to make sure its constituency maintains its support so they cannot go too fast. They have to explain every step...

I'm not surprised there has been a slowdown. But that does not bother me so much as the diversion of attention from the main objective, which should be negotiations, not manipulating for power even before the system has changed."

● **On the hopes for 1991:** "We are always looking for maxi-



Herman Cohen... saw good and bad in 1991.

mum advancement towards the main objective, which is the transfer of South Africa into a democratic society.

I would be quite disappointed if by the end of 1991 we did not have a negotiations structure in place, which is to say if we do not know who would do the negotiations and who would represent the various communities.

Secondly, I would be disappointed if actual negotiations on a new constitution had not already begun. Finally, I would be disappointed if the black community had not through its own efforts found a solution to the question of

violence... I do not expect a total solution to be achieved by the end of 1991."

● **On when the US will be ready to modify or suspend sanctions:** "I think the key statement was made by President Bush when he met President de Klerk, when he said our sanctions policy was governed by legislation. We intend to implement the legislation fully and we will not move the goalposts.

As soon as the requirements of our legislation are fulfilled we will immediately commence consultations with Congress with a view towards modifying or suspending sanctions..."

● **On whether the decision by the European Community to lift the sanction on new investment has influenced the US:** "There are two aspects to this issue. Juridically, we have to decide when the requirements to lift sanctions have been met. We have already decided that four out of five requirements will have been met when the political prisoners have been released.

Secondly, the law authorises the Administration to suspend or modify sanctions but does not require it to do that. The law also gives Congress the right to disagree with the Administration within 30 days of being notified.

So where the European action has an impact is on the decision whether or not to proceed. I think

the President expressed an intention to proceed during Mr de Klerk's visit so the EC action only reinforces that."

● **On whether the ANC's demand that security legislation be repealed by the end of April will affect the US approach to lifting sanctions:** "We have already decided that this is not a requirement of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA). But some members of Congress could argue that the President should not be allowed to exercise his authority in terms of the CAAA because of this issue.

Congress' action on this is also subject to the President's veto, but it is not our intention to allow the South African issue to become a major divisive issue between the Administration and the Congress."

● **On US support for an application by South Africa to the International Monetary Fund:** "The law which governs our voting in the IMF on South Africa requires us to consider every loan application on a case-by-case basis and sets up its own guidelines."

If we look at the CAAA, it prohibits us on lending to South Africa, whether to Government or private institutions. We have a tradition in this country of not supporting international organisations' activities which US institutions are themselves prohibited from doing.

We hope to be giving the money to organisations like the National Endowment for Democracy to award contracts for specific projects."

The CAAA says it is prohibited for US banks to lend money to any South African recipient, so if we in the IMF say it is alright for them to do it then it is a political contradiction, although not a juridical one.

The key thing here is sequencing. The CAAA should come first. That would make it easier for everyone. If we look at the law which governs our voting in the IMF on South Africa then the requirements listed there are subject to very political interpretation. It would be a lot easier to make that analysis in favour of a loan after the CAAA requirements are met."

● **On the status of the \$10 million the US government has earmarked for assisting SA's emerging black political parties:** "We have completed a couple of phases. We have received all the proposals from US and South African organisations which have wanted to take advantage of that money. We have screened them and have come up with a final list of possible recipients."

We are now in the phase of consulting with Congressional committees. Once that has been completed the next step is to proceed with the execution of the programme, which should be within the next month or two.

We hope to be giving the money to organisations like the National Endowment for Democracy to award contracts for specific projects."

ly". depoliticise them. No de- regime".

Police in Bop disrupt meeting

The African National Congress at the weekend alleged Bophuthatswana police disrupted an ANC branch meeting in the Winterveldt and arrested 56 people.

Police said they arrested two people after dispersing an illegal meeting.

ANC Pretoria spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said police disrupted the meeting, and went house to house arresting ANC members.

Bophuthatswana police spokesperson Col D A George said two people were arrested, and one released almost immediately. - *Sapa*.

Azapo's plans for year ahead

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) President, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe declared 1991 a year of struggle on all fronts, including military, in his New Year message.

Nefolovhodwe said people must completely remove the idea from their minds that reforms are meant to enhance the status of black people, on the contrary reforms are meant to replace naked racism and exploitation with subtle forms of racism and exploitation.

Azapo believes black people are entitled to know their role in the economy and what happens to the products they produce and how profits are distributed, he said.

Nefolovhodwe said the situation is exploited by those who seek power above liberation and are prepared to use human life in order to gain their nefarious objectives.

He said the (violence) situation is exploited by those who seek power above liberation and are prepared to use human life in order to gain their nefarious objectives.

"New forces are emerging and new alliances across the (political) divide are just being formed to maximise the power of the state against our people," Nefolovhodwe said.

"This is the road through which neo-colonialism enters at the time when the oppressed masses are preparing for final victory," he said. - *Sapa*.

Pan Africanist Congress members in full cry at the funeral service of Mr Phillip Mokgadi, the PAC's West Germany's chief representative who was buried in Mamelodi on Saturday. Pic: Mbuzeni zulu.

PAC says FW has SA gems in foreign vaults

HARARE - President F W de Klerk would soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamond and gold believed to be kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander is reported by Ziana national news agency as saying in Harare.

Alexander said De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of the land, he claimed was stolen from

the people to intensify the struggle "on all fronts". Alexander expressed pessimism over the release of PAC political prisoners. Such releases, he said, would be made conditional and dependent on a concession in which the liberation movement should suspend its armed struggle prior to negotiations.

"Scoundrels, murderers and thieves fear to go to prison. Since the days of the Biblical Apostle Paul to the current PAC leadership, men of principle did not fear to go or remain in prison," Alexander said. - *Sapa*.

FACTFILE - by Norrie MacMillan

FW's glasnost leap brings changes

304A
Soweto
31/12/90

CHANCES are that if you blinked this year, you might have missed something. It could have been something really important, something, which not even in your wildest dreams you could have conjured.

It all started with a brave leap of faith by new State President Frederik Wilhelm de Klerk on February 2 - the date which became synonymous with South Africa's *glasnost*.

This was also the day on which the country jumped from the fire back into the frying pan. But by the end of the year someone had turned up the heat and the country was again stewing in its own juices.

De Klerk's epoch-making speech radically changed the ground rules of politics in this country and introduced a new lexicon (and zeitgeist) in the struggle against apartheid.

Concepts

Ideas like negotiations, a negotiated settlement, talks about talks, working groups, compromise and lately concepts like constituent assembly, interim government and coalition politics, replaced the tired revolutionary slogans of liberation, transfer of power, no compromise, insurrection, people's power and no capitulation.

However, the unbanning of all the leftwing extra-parliamentary opposition - among others - was the most significant event this year that set the country on a collision course with ideas.

Concepts like democracy, nationalisation, privatisation and free market economy which were foreign - if not alien - to the indigenous people (and its progeny with the European settlers and immigrants), peppered the *lingua franca*.

Suddenly, with the release of Nelson Mandela - everybody's favourite martyr - on February 2, a light shimmered obliquely at the end of a tunnel which was subsequently discovered to be laden with landmines.

President FW de Klerk's move has changed South African politics. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN reports.



A policeman looks on as a building goes up in flames in South Africa's year of major changes.

Then, on May 2, the Government met with a high-powered African National Congress delegation which included white South Africa's *bete noir* Mr Joe Slovo, the secretary general of the South African Communist Party and the light grew brighter.

Really, if Government was prepared to sit down and talk to Slovo, something, somewhere must be going right.

It was not until June 6 this year when De Klerk lifted the State of Emergency in the Transvaal, Cape and the Free State that the light started piercing the thick fog.

And with this, De Klerk again drew the international limelight.

It also made his passage to the United States, and subsequent

meeting with President George Bush, a success.

But not before Mandela set the streets of New York ablaze and gave African Americans and his other sycophants a warm feeling in their hearts and a burning vacuum in their bank balances.

Meanwhile back in the townships of South Africa, the Natal violence that had left the country bleeding from a gaping wound after four years of recurrent violence had spread to the Free State. Welkom caught alight. And by August, the flames had spread to the East Rand, thereafter, Soweto.

It was not too long before the trouble hit Cape Town and from there it returned to the squatter

communities of the East Rand.

It was then that the country wished it was back in the fire, the heat in the pan became unbearable.

The official figure of people killed in the country since August this year makes the five-year-old Natal violence look like a cub-scout picnic.

This violence was to continue until around the middle of December 12 and, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations, left about 3 000 dead.

All together, South Africa this year experienced changes and developments that will forever change the fabric of this delicate society.

And, while it has been said that apartheid is dead, it has been argued that how could it be if the constitution which entrenches it still stood.

Argued

While it has been said that reform was irreversible, it has been argued that all that has happened in the political shift has effectively been changes to conditions prior to 1960.

The question of the return of exiles is an anathema to reform, reconstruction and all the talk of how irreversible the process is.

In an interview with the general secretary of the PAC (Internal), Mr Benny Alexander, he said: "It would be foolish for these (exiles) to return now. They are returning to townships, 'bantustan education' and other conditions similar to those which existed before they left.

"Many of them will leave privileged conditions at universities and schools to come back to all of this."

So, as the glasses are raised for the new year, the old must be remembered as the beginning of a troublesome pregnancy of a new nation.

And that light at the end of the tunnel is being killed by the people who need to see it most - for who is to blame for the 3 000 who had died so unnecessarily since August.

Blacks view future with more hope than whites — poll

WILSON ZWANE

FOR the first time in eight years, urban blacks in SA are more positive about the new year than their white counterparts, according to figures released by the Markinor research group.

Forty-seven percent of urban blacks are confident the coming year will be better than this year, while only 34% of whites share the same view. The present level of optimism among blacks is the highest in eight years, says Markinor.

The poll, a part of an international year-end study conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International, was conducted last month among 2 500 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 500 blacks.

Markinor says among blacks optimism about the future is highest in Port Elizabeth (52%), East London (52%) and Cape Town (54%).

Among whites, those living in Durban (44%) and Cape Town (41%) are most optimistic about the future, says the research group, adding that English-speaking people (43%) are more optimistic about the coming year than Afrikaans-speakers (24%).

"Only 38% of English-speaking people feel that 1991 will be worse than 1990 while 50% of Afrikaans-speaking people share this belief," says Markinor.

People in the upper income brackets are also more optimistic about the future than those in the lower income brackets.

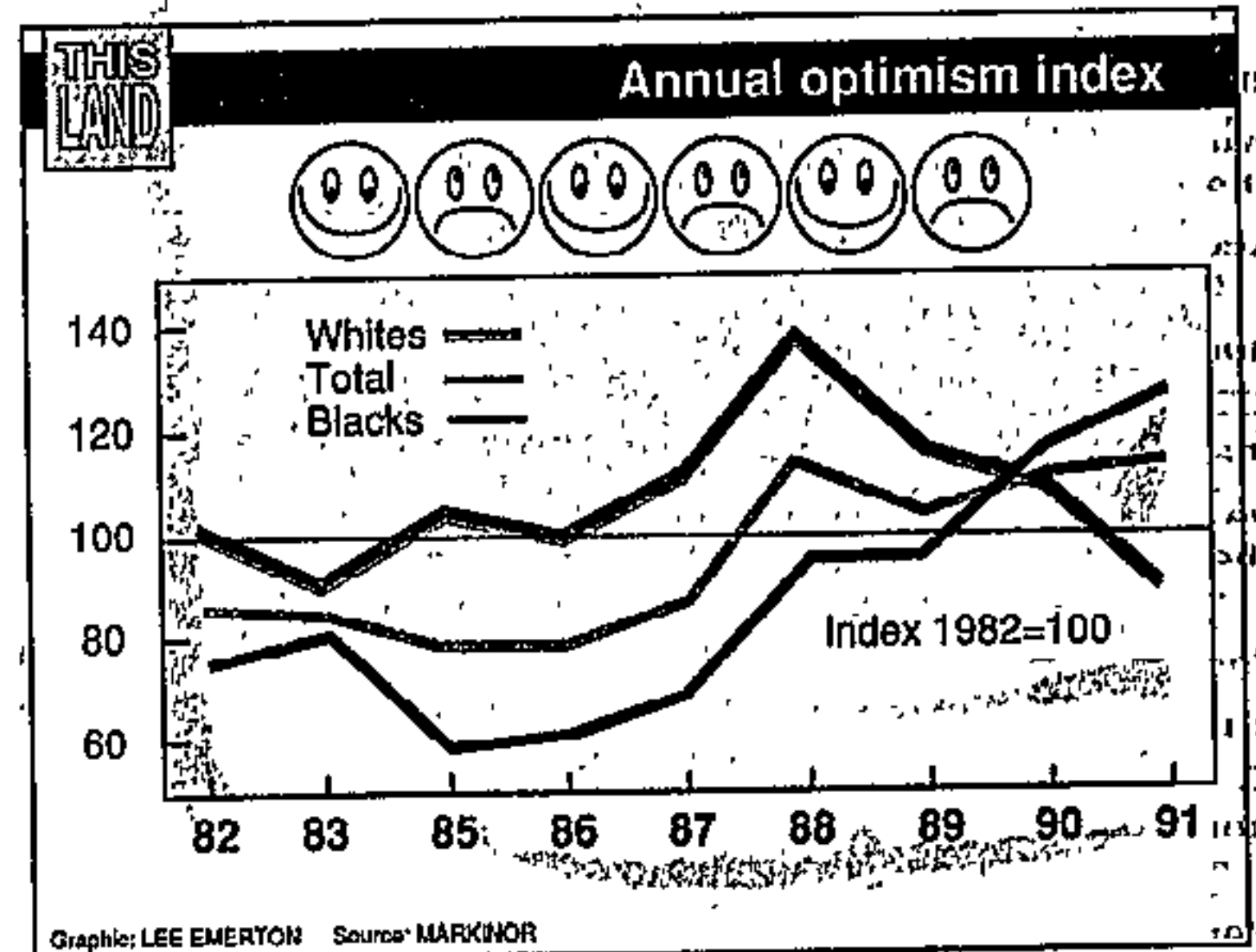
The Gallup poll was first conducted in 1982. During the years 1982 to 1985 optimism about the future plummeted, largely because of the introduction of the state of emergency.

That trend changed in 1986, with the election in 1987 having a positive effect on South Africans' view of their future.

Overall optimism took a dip again in 1988 and 1989 when township violence increased.

It was towards the end of 1989 that optimism among blacks started rising for the first time. Since then levels of optimism among blacks have continued to rise, particularly since President F W de Klerk began implementing his reform programme.

However, over the same period optimism among whites dropped dramatically, says the research group.



LP congress rejects constituent assembly

Political Staff

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party at the weekend rejected the idea of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system. *Star 31/12/90*

Instead its 25th annual congress at the Goodwood showgrounds decided that all the political groups should be allowed to make contributions to discussions on constitutional reform.

The congress also decided that the party leadership should investigate the possibility of alliances with other groups. A resolution passed said the future of the country would be decided by such alliances.

The congress reaffirmed the party's policy for a geographic federation.

It condemned the recent waves of violence and called on all political leaders and parties to address the issue.

There was an appeal particularly to Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to rise above their differences and to meet in the interests of the country.

● Delegates to the congress on Saturday donated R2 000 for stricken Hout Bay squatters who lost homes and possessions in a Christmas night fire.

FW in a political corner, says rightwing

Star 31/12/90
President de Klerk has painted himself into a political corner with the PAC and the ANC by trying to find solutions in a unitary South Africa with a one man, one vote constitution, according to Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party.

Mr van Tonder was reacting yesterday to the PAC's latest rejection of President de Klerk's plans for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The PAC's general secretary, Benny Alexander, had earlier said in Harare that Mr de Klerk would be confronted in 1991 with causes such as the transfer of power, the ownership of

South Africa's economy, and the return of the land to the blacks. Mr Alexander said the land had been "stolen from our forefathers".

Mr van Tonder said that demands by the PAC and ANC for land could never be avoided if all of South Africa belonged to everyone.

"The National Party cannot announce that all South Africans must have equal rights in one unitary, democratic South Africa and then think up all kinds of clever plans to circumvent this basic principle.

"The only solution would be

3044
to normalise the RSA. The peoples (volke) in southern Africa must be politically and culturally freed as was done in the European Community," Mr van Tonder said.

"The Boer people must be given back their free states because these were never stolen from anyone.

"The Boers occupied the empty Transvaal and Free State, and the black people who lived next to the Boer states during the Great Trek still have their territories today. In fact their land has meanwhile been enlarged considerably," he said.
— Sapa.



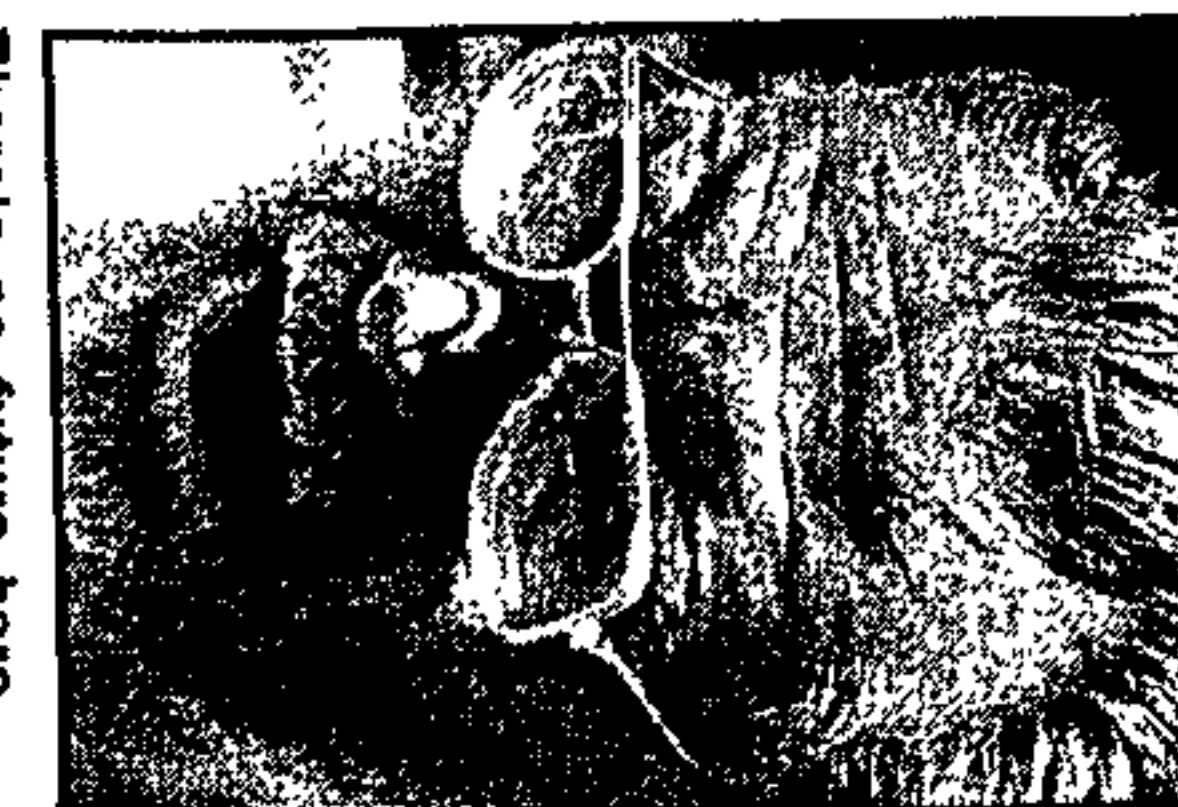
I am not very optimistic ...
Elizabeth Clark



1991 will go by God's will ...
Moses Martin



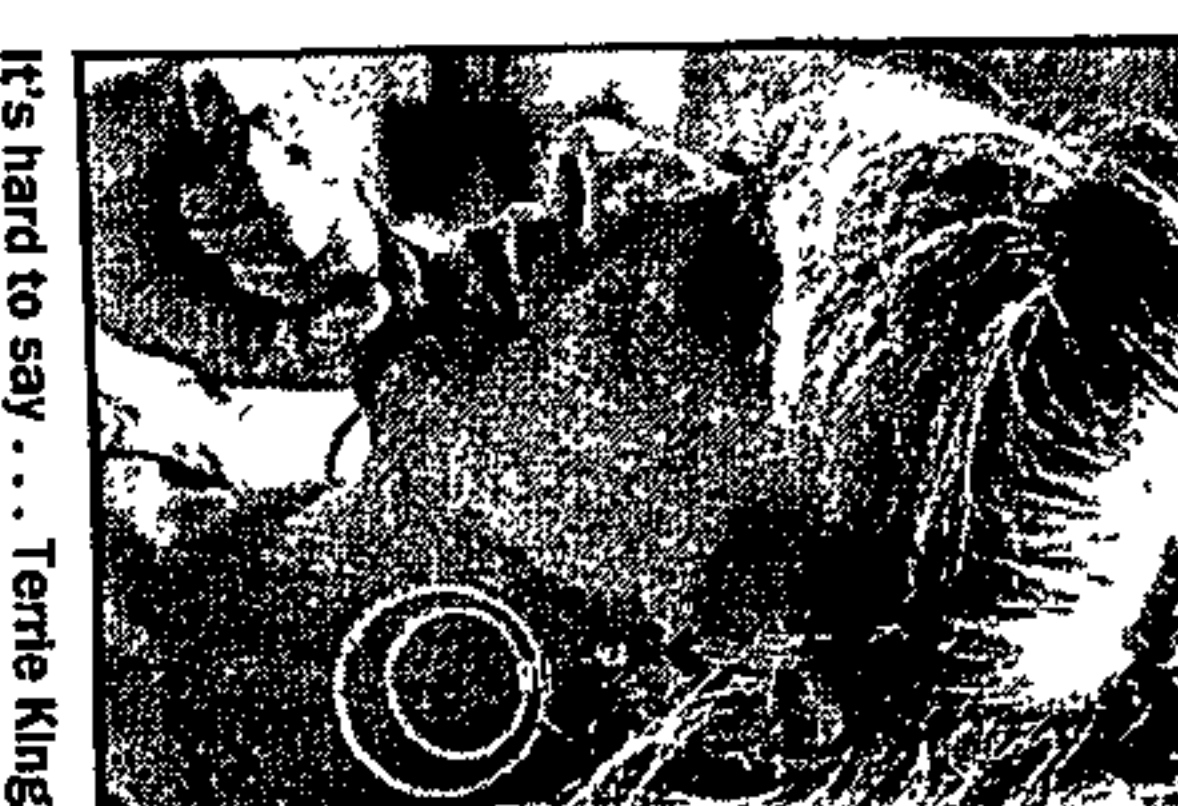
Things will improve after April ...
Abraham Mashita



There's no future here ...
Andre du Toit



If sanctions go, there is great hope ...
Joseph Mashya



It's hard to say ... Terrie King.
Pictures: Etienne Rothbart

Optimism and fear as '91 draws near

Star 3/1/2/90

304H

For the first time in what has been a troubled decade for South Africa, blacks are more optimistic than whites about the future — a future they anticipate will give them the privileges that only whites have up to now enjoyed.

In the findings of a Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group in November, some 47 percent of blacks expressed confidence that 1991 would be better than 1990. Only 24 percent of whites shared this view.

A random street survey by the Star confirmed these research results, with most whites expressing strong reservations about political and economic improvement next year. Blacks, on the other hand, were hopeful and excited about the continued breakdown of apartheid, which they look forward to seeing completed in 1991.

"I am very hopeful that things will improve, especially after April, the month the African National Congress says the reform process will be through. Next year, our political rights

will be far better," said Abraham Mashita.

The complete scrapping of sanctions, according to Joseph Mashya, will be the most important step in making 1991 a good year. "Sanctions must go. They have damaged this country. I am anticipating new investment next year, which will improve the state of jobs and employment," he said.

'No future here'

For Andre du Toit, however, anywhere in the world would be better than South Africa in 1991.

"I am going to Australia. There is no future here. The whole country is going black, and the whites will disappear. You can't walk or shop in the streets any more, because you fear for your life," he said.

Elizabeth Clark felt only a little more optimistic.

"I'm not very hopeful about the political side of South Africa's future, but I am looking forward to new investors coming in.

"If the violence could be pro-

Optimism for 1991 is running high among black South Africans as they enter a new era of democracy. Whites, however, hold strong reservations about what the future holds. HELEN GRANGE reports.

perly controlled by the police next year, that would also be a positive development," she said.

According to the Markinor poll, South Africans were at their lowest ebb of confidence between 1982 and 1985, the period the State of Emergency was introduced.

This trend began to change in 1986 with the outcome of the general election in 1987 impacting positively on South Africans' views of their future.

However, overall optimism dipped again from 1988 to 1989, when township violence reached a peak.

Towards the end of 1989, for the first time, blacks showed more confidence in the future than whites. Since then, levels of optimism among blacks have continued to increase, particularly once President de Klerk began to implement his reform

programme early this year.

Conversely, optimism among whites dropped dramatically in this period.

Hope for 1991 is highest among the higher income earners in both race groups, according to the poll.

Among whites, 38 percent of those earning R5 000 or more said they felt 1991 would be better than 1990. Only 27 percent earning less than R1 600 shared this view.

Gulf crisis

Of blacks, 54 percent earning R1 500 or more were optimistic, while only 39 percent of people earning less than R400 had this outlook.

When asked whether the number of strikes would increase, decrease or remain the same in 1991, 53 percent of whites and only 21 percent of blacks said that strike activi-

ties would increase.

The Gulf crisis has also had some impact on the hopes of South Africans in 1991, according to Christine Woessner, director of the Markinor Research Group.

"The threat of war impacts on whether people worldwide anticipate a peaceful 1991 or not. This uncertainty is affecting attitudes even here in South Africa. Some 43 percent of white South Africans believe the New Year will be a troubled one, compared to only 28 percent last year," she said.

Ina Perlman, the director of Operation Hunger, feels that next year will be a mixture of positive and negative components.

"Anyone who expects the economy to do anything but slide downwards is kidding themselves. With the number of retrenchments and loss of jobs, I don't see any grounds for optimism.

"On the other hand, I think people are so drunk with violence that communities are becoming far more involved in stopping it. They have reached

a point where they are saying 'thus far, no further' and this is the right track," she said.

Ms Perlman's greatest hope for next year is the re-organisation of land once the Land Act and Group Areas Act has been scrapped. "When the land question has been addressed, we can then address the chronic persistent hunger that people are dying from under current circumstances," she said.

'Things will improve'

Albertina Sisulu, well-known activist and patron of the United Democratic Front, is keenly anticipating 1991.

"Things will improve and we are looking forward to negotiations. I believe the violence will subside with the Government now taking drastic steps against it. I am hopeful it will be a year of success," she said.

(The Markinor poll was conducted among 2 500 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 500 blacks, and is part of an international year-end poll conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International.)