

Chicago Tribune 8 Sept. 1989

Ethiopia, rebels open peace talks in Atlanta as Carter takes part

ATLANTA (AP)—Representatives of the Ethiopian government and an Eritrean rebel group shook hands and began preliminary talks Thursday aimed at ending their 28-year-old war.

Former President Jimmy Carter is acting as an observer for the private talks at the Carter Center. The talks are expected to last three days, though no time limit has been set; the goal, Carter said, is to pave the way for more substantive negotiations later.

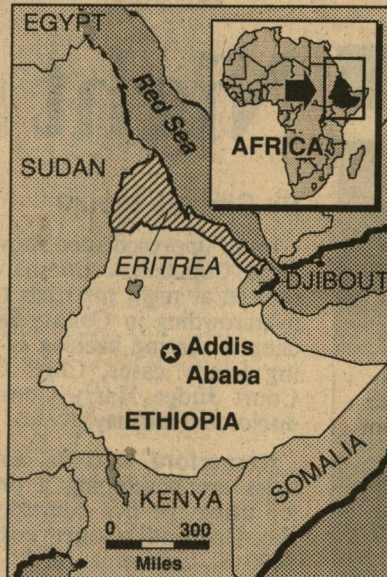
Ethiopia and the rebels are warring over the independence of Eritrea, a province that holds Ethiopia's only direct access to the Red Sea. An estimated 1 million people have died in the conflict and its related famine.

Officials of the two delegations said Thursday that they are eager for peace, but made it clear that profound differences exist.

"The Eritrean case cannot be resolved by running away from the truth or by playing some tricks," said Alamin Mohamed Saiyed, head of the Eritrean delegation.

"The search for peace... should not be viewed as a subterfuge to buy time, or, still worse, as part of military maneuvers and tactics of war," said Alamin, a member of the Politburo of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Ashegre Yigletu, head of the gov-



Chicago Tribune Map

ernment delegation, said Ethiopia has tried repeatedly during the last 15 years to end the conflict peacefully.

"It is our view that these peace talks should start off in an atmosphere that avoids polemics and re-crimeination and constructively lead to the restoration of peace in the northern part of our country," said Ashegre, head of the Central Committee's Foreign Relations Department.

Meeting with reporters, Alamin

and Ashegre each sat stone-faced as the other delivered his opening statement in Arabic, followed by an English interpretation. But, prodded by Carter, they rose at the end of the meeting and shook hands.

No public statement on the talks will be issued until they end, as both sides agreed that issuing progress reports would be counterproductive, Carter said.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution on Thursday quoted unidentified diplomats as saying Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak would mediate further talks if the preliminary sessions succeed.

A United Nations agreement federated Eritrea, a former Italian colony, with Ethiopia in 1952. Rebel groups began forming in the early 1960s when they did not get self-rule and Ethiopia unilaterally annexed the area.

Ethiopia considers the conflict a war of secession.

The Atlanta talks are under the auspices of an informal group called the International Negotiating Network, which includes scholars and former diplomats and operates out of the Carter Center. The meeting is the network's first effort.

Carter is acting as a private citizen in the talks, though the Bush administration has wished him well and Carter has said he will keep the administration informed.

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left-wing opposition, leaving the party with 93 seats. The right-wing Conservative Party won 39 seats and the liberal Democratic Party 33.

Embracing his left-wing opponents, De Klerk said three-quarters of the white electorate had voted for reform. He said his party now would take its program for renewal "through to its logical consequences."

Prominent on the new agenda will be a plan to scrap the present tricameral parliament, which excludes blacks and confines Indians and mixed-race people classified "colored" to chambers with little power. Resentment over the tricameral system has been a prime cause of the Cape Flats unrest, and most non-white voters withheld their ballots in the latest polling.

The first funeral for those killed on election day went off peacefully Thursday in the Cape Town suburb of Mitchell's Plain, where for weeks teenagers have been putting up burning barricades and throwing rocks at police and passing cars, fleeing from police tear gas and rubber bullets.

Suleiman Martin, 26, was slain in "a burst of shotgun fire" as he and a friend, Shirley Engelbrecht, were crossing a highway and got caught up in a running crowd, Engelbrecht told local journalists.

Dr. Reynolds said another victim, a 12-year-old boy, was standing in his parents' yard, 150 feet from a street barricade of burning tires, when he was hit in the mouth by a buckshot pellet. In another incident, a 16-year-old girl was fatally shot while walking home from a friend's house, he said.

Critics of police actions have cited the remarkable statements of a mixed-race police officer who has accused riot police of brutality in putting down the protests.

"Now a police lieutenant ... has said what we have been saying all



Reuters photo

Relatives mourn Thursday at the funeral of Suleiman Martin, 26, who according to a friend was killed by shotgun fire Wednesday as they were crossing a highway in the Cape Town suburb of Mitchell's Plain.

along," said Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Lt. Gregory Rockman has said riot police acted like "mad dogs" in putting down a peaceful protest in Mitchell's Plain earlier this week, citing the case of a pregnant bystander who was hospitalized after she was severely beaten.

Police have said they are investigating the charges. But a police statement Thursday accused Archbishop Tutu and Rev. Boesak of having gone public with accusations of a massacre "without first trying to verify the facts."

The statement also said that police had confiscated five homemade pistols during mob violence and that two police officers were wounded by shotgun fire during the protests.

"We invite Archbishop Tutu ...

to produce the evidence," the police statement said.

Meanwhile, organizers of a "defiance campaign" aimed at focusing attention on continued racial discrimination in South Africa pledged to intensify the protests.

"De Klerk enters his term of office with the blood of our people on his hands," said a statement by the Mass Democratic Movement, a loose coalition of antiapartheid groups.

Massacre alleged in S. Africa

Chicago Tribune 8 Sept. 1989
Activists say random shootings by police killed 25

By Tom Masland
Chicago Tribune

CAPE TOWN, South Africa—Accusations Thursday that at least 25 people were killed in Cape Town during election-day protests in black and mixed-race suburbs clouded the narrow victory for the governing National Party.

Witnesses said police indiscriminately fired birdshot and buckshot as unrest deepened in suburbs of Cape Town that have been the focus of protest aimed at the elections Wednesday, which excluded blacks.

Army units blocked off the township of Lavender Hill on Thursday as shotgun fire continued, but there were no immediate reports of deaths.

"They were driving through the streets, just shooting at the citizens," said Dr. Louis Reynolds, an activist who staffed a church clinic Wednesday in Lavender Hill. "The worst part of it was not knowing whom you could turn to."

Civil rights attorney Essa Moosa said 25 people had died overnight in seven black and mixed-race neighborhoods.

Police challenged the allegations, the first reported deaths of protesters in more than a month of unrest in the region. The 25 fatalities would be the country's largest death total in decades for a single day of political violence.

A police spokesman said that only seven deaths were known to have occurred overnight, and that four of those resulted from inter-gang rivalry.

Activists said the final figure could be much higher than 25, and reported that the victims included a 6-year-old girl and a 67-year-old woman who was found decapitated and riddled with shotgun pellets. A local newspaper, Grassroots, said it had confirmed that 15 bodies were in a city mortuary.

Whatever the numbers, the



AP Laserphoto

South African riot police patrol the Cape Town suburb of Lavender Hill, which was closed off Thursday after election-day violence.

bloodshed raised fears of further violence in Cape Flats because funerals provide a traditional forum for political protest.

"I do not know how people can become vaguely excited about these elections when on the same night the man who calls for reform and a new South Africa, who has a 'new vision,' allowed this kind of massacre to take place," said Rev. Allan Boesak, a leading antiapartheid cleric.

He was referring to Acting

President F.W. de Klerk, who interpreted his party's narrow election victory as a mandate to act on a party platform based on giving blacks a voice in national affairs.

"Mr. De Klerk's presidential seat is a pool of blood," Rev. Boesak said at a news conference.

Final election results in the whites-only House of Assembly showed the National Party had lost 27 seats to its right- and

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'Terros may target White areas'

Gen warns: ANC getting desperate

By Keith Abendroth

THE top SA experts on African National Congress tactics warned yesterday that an increasingly desperate ANC was targeting White areas for violence in its master plan — and that its distinction between "soft" and "hard" targets had disappeared.

Maj-Gen Herman Stadler, in a report delivered in Pretoria to a specialist conference on national security, said the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement were now desperate and, in the face of repeated tactical failures were trying to accelerate the climate of internal protest.

As far as he was concerned, said Gen Stadler, the ANC would not easily — because of their failures and current low morale — be prepared actually to engage in negotiations with the South African Government.

Noises

And this was despite the noises being made by the ANC about possible participation in a negotiated settlement process — uttered following increasing pressure on the ANC by other Frontline States.

At the conference, held by Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, Gen Stadler detailed the history of the ANC and the various facets of its master plan to overthrow the South African Government and set up its own one-party Communist state.

A major part of the plan to transfer "the balance of forces" to the ANC was for the "struggle" to progress from "revolutionary bases", in Black residential areas to White areas.

The planning must originate from the "revolutionary bases" for attacks by "combat and defence units" on security forces in Black and White areas, as well as strategic

and economic installations, described as the "lifeline" of the White population.

In platteland areas farm labourers and farmers must be used in the struggle to "seize the land", and this must be combined with attacks on border farmers and their families and landmine attacks in rural areas.

"The ANC believes the authorities want to restrict the violent conflict to the Black residential areas; so consequently attacks in White areas are intended to demoralise and divide Whites and to persuade as many as possible to become involved in the "freedom struggle."

Plan

The plan was then to set up a "peoples government" coupled to the "revolutionary bases", existing in parallel to the South African Government, said Gen Stadler.

The ANC/SACP Alliance, he said, spoke glibly about the concept of "hard" and "soft" targets, but its interpretation of the terms did not meet with international standards.

In international law there was a distinction between the military concept of "combatants" and "non-combatants" as well as between "civilians" and "military personnel".

The ANC had made it clear that as the struggle intensified, the differentiation between "hard" and "soft" targets would increasingly disappear.

While claiming to adhere to the protocol of the Geneva Convention, it was questionable whether the ANC was really willing or capable of abiding by it.

Create

The ANC tried to create the impression that civilians were not targeted indiscriminately — but if this happened, the ANC did not accept responsibility and; instead, classified it as "crossfire".

It often said the victims were "part of the sys-

tem".

Whatever the policy or perceptions might be, however, it was clear from terror statistics and statements by the ANC that while it still tried to steer away from direct civilian targeting — the distinction between "hard" and "soft" had disappeared.

In the overall scenario, it was clear to all concerned that the ANC was not making headway with its intensified conflict plan, and it was being increasingly pressurised to take part in a negotiated settlement process.

International and regional political developments in the past two years had added a new dimension to the negotiation process which had caught the ANC un-awares.

Pressure

"Added to this is pressure on the ANC, by both the West and East Bloc states, as well as from within Africa itself, to negotiate with the South African Government," said Gen Stadler.

Added to this were clear indications that the Soviet Union was now regarding a settlement in South Africa as much more feasible and was less optimistic about a successful violent seizure of power.

The move now, said Gen Stadler, would be for

the ANC and MDM to accelerate internal protest, to make it as difficult as possible for the government to implement its reform plans.

"If this strategy succeeds, it will give the ANC an opportunity to 'prove' to the world that the South African Government is unable to keep its promises," said Gen Stadler.

NP now stronger than before, says Buthelezi

CITIZEN - 8 SEPT. 1989

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says, despite shedding seats to both the Left and the Right, the National Party has emerged from the election stronger than it was before.

He said yesterday this was because it was no longer trammelled by ultra-conservatism in its rank and file.

He said South Africa was now moving toward the achievement of negotiation and democracy.

He called on Black leaders to be bold, adding the NP victory would provide South Africa with more flexibility, which would make a greater range of initiatives possible.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said the support the NP shed in the election could be

attributed to the poor way in which financial and economic problems had been handled by the party in recent years.

AHI president, Mr Dries Niemandt, said the lack of real economic growth and high taxation were reflected in the election results.

He said a significant improvement was expected in the economy because of the management style of the acting State President, and because of the government's smaller majority.

Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, said South Africans wanted a non-racial and democratic country which would offer equal opportunities for all.

He congratulated the acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and challenged him to take the mantle of leadership boldly and move toward political change in the country.

He said Mr De Klerk's government would do well to dismantle separate development in all its forms and that he should realise the majority of White South Africans wanted political change and not political reform.

Mr Ramodike appealed to Mr De Klerk to stick to his five-year reform plan, to release political prisoners and to declare a moratorium allowing those in exile to return to negotiate a new constitution for the country. — Sapa.

'Hard to stall sanctions without change in SA'

BUSINESS DAY

8 SEPT. 1989

LONDON — British Deputy Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe warned yesterday that Britain, SA's biggest foreign investor, would find it hard to hold out against imposing harsh sanctions unless the new government reformed apartheid policies.

But Foreign Secretary John Major took a more cautious attitude, saying Britain should keep the "influence" of the threat of sanctions in hand, AP-DJ reports.

Howe, who lost the post of foreign secretary in July in a controversial cabinet reform, quoted acting President F W de Klerk as saying he had a mandate for reform.

Punitive

"We hope, and I have reason to believe, he wants to use that (mandate)," Howe said.

"If he does not, then holding the line against punitive sanctions will be infinitely more difficult."

Major, speaking to BBC Radio, reiterated his government's opposition to economic sanctions.

Our London Correspondent reports that Major said De Klerk had won a

powerful mandate to embark "without delay" on comprehensive change that would establish proper conditions for dialogue with "responsible" opposition groups, including the ANC.

He said quick changes expected included the lifting of the state of emergency and restrictions on "normal" political activity, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Major said Britain did not intend increasing sanctions, but he stressed that Pretoria had no time to waste and no excuses left.

He said support for change came from 70% of the whites and 100% of the majority of the population who had been denied the right to vote. "This could scarcely be a more powerful mandate. I hope Mr de Klerk will proceed with it without delay."

He agreed with anti-apartheid critics, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, that De Klerk and the NP had yet to offer a "real" policy for reform.

Major said Mandela's release would be "a very important signal for negotiations, but I don't think it is the only signal".

Asked how quickly SA should move towards a situation of one man one vote, he said: "I think that is a matter for discussion. It is very easy for us to toss in moral comment from a substantial distance away."

"What we really want to see is that as the change comes about it sticks and is permanent."

Major said that at a four-hour meeting in London on Wednesday the Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who chairs the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers group, had urged Britain to intensify financial sanctions and debt rescheduling pressure on SA.

Agreed

Asked to comment on the sanctions issue, which is expected to cause a furious row at the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Malaysia later this month, Major made it clear Britain would react to developments inside SA and would not at this stage submit to Commonwealth or any other outside pressure.

He said he and Clark had agreed apartheid had to go but the question between them was whether sanctions of that nature were workable or counter-productive.

SOUTH Africa has been granted another opportunity, perhaps the last, to escape from the course of madness on which it embarked in 1948. That, in a nutshell, is the meaning of the 1989 general election result.

The vote cannot be interpreted as anything but a resounding two-party mandate for fundamental reform, with the Democratic Party serving as the vehicle for English reformist sentiment, and the National Party as a vehicle for Afrikaner reformism.

The reactionary Conservative Party has, by great good luck, been contained, but it was a close thing. As it is, the Nationalists have lost half the Free State, and — despite a few redeeming victories like Potchefstroom and Innesdal — their majorities have been slashed across the board.

Indeed, it would have taken no more than a handful of Conservative votes — seven in Gezina, five in Verreeniging, a few dozen in the Free State — to give a very different election result. That danger lurks for the future, but the CP can still be contained by sensible redelimitation.

So the way is clear for the National Party to embark on its five-year programme of reform and negotiation. In this endeavour, the party can probably rely on the support, at all crucial points, of the DP.

Clearly, the DP and the NP are converging. The difference between them is language, still the main determinant of white voting patterns, and this leads in turn to some important differences of style and pace.

It also leads to deep division on the serious and difficult matter of weighing group and individual rights. The Nationalists envisage reform as a process that employs groups as building blocks for a new society — their bottom line, indeed, is the protection of the Afrikaner — while the DP looks towards more classical liberal systems based on a freedom and protection of the individual.

De Klerk has his *BUSINESS DAY* mandate — but he *8 SEPT. 1989* must move quickly

KEN OWEN

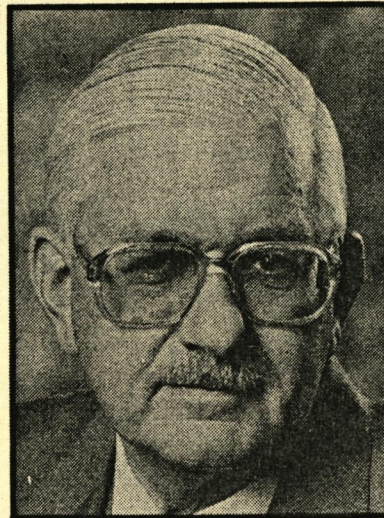
However, if the Nationalists turned their attention to the protection of minorities, rather than the rights of groups, it would be difficult to discern important differences. On economic policy, in fact, the young Nationalists such as Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Org Marais, Cape leader Dawie de Villiers, and

others, are closer to classical liberal positions than the English intellectuals.

The question is whether the Nationalists can get real negotiations going on the basis of their present assumptions. That they will try there can be no doubt. Feelers have been put out not only to elements of the ANC but also to internal groups, in an attempt to set in motion a process that might enable the government to release Nelson Mandela from prison.

In all this the NP will have tacit, if querulous, support from the DP. At least, there can be no doubt that English voters were giving anxious expression to a sense of time running

out. They responded in astonishing numbers to the Democratic Party's vision of a new, democratic, non-racial South Africa. Not even the risks and uncertainties of a "hung Parliament" put them off.



□ VILJOEN ... lucky survivor

Except in East London where they were a long shot, the Democrats swept up every marginal seat within reach. In Randburg, the tide carried Wynand Malan to a convincing victory over Glenn Babb.

Nowhere was there much sign of the apathy which in 1987 afflicted the English middle-classes, nor of the pseudo-radicalism that caused younger voters to boycott the election and alienate the voters by their antics. In many constituencies, English students provided the backbone of organisation.

The DP votes faltered in the Afrikaans constituencies, where support was patchy and disappointing. All the efforts to accommodate Afrikaans leaders, whether "fourth force" or "Afrikaner yuppies", proved in vain.

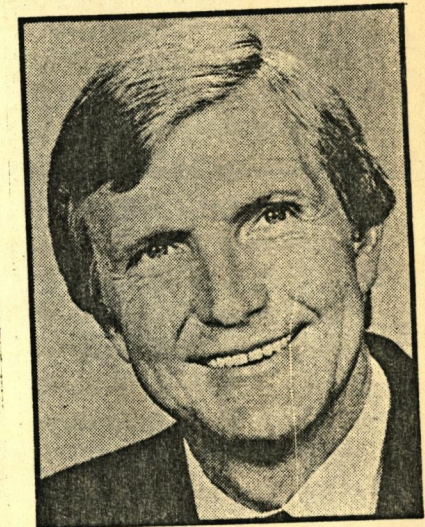
In Waterkloof, Stellenbosch, and Helderberg, the DP pulled in a heavy

LETTERS

English vote, but only fringe support — if that — from Afrikaners. The results have confirmed my belief that the best way for English South Africans to influence their future is to accept the realities of language divisions, and secure a power base from which to operate.

That, in any event, has more or less been the outcome. The Democratic Party may pick up a few more seats in the eastern Cape, and it may well benefit markedly from delimitation, but it depends now for major growth on a breakthrough to Afrikanerdom that is not yet in sight.

Meanwhile, it is poised to play an important agenda-setting role in



□ DE VILLIERS ... liberal position

TO PG 2

DE KLERK HAS HIS MANDATE - BUT HE MUST MOVE QUICKLY

FROM PG 1

Parliament, and to hold President De Klerk — his election is a formality — to his promises. It may also, like Idasa and other extra-parliamentary organisations, perform a valuable pathfinding role (the Afrikaans *baanbreker* expresses it better) for negotiation.

But in the end, the future depends now on De Klerk and his Cabinet, leaders of a different stamp from the generation shaped by the events of the Thirties and Forties, of which President Botha was the last, unhappy representative.

No doubt Gerrit Viljoen, a lucky survivor in Vanderbijlpark, will play an important role in trying to set up negotiations with black leaders. There have been whispers that he will be assisted by Pieter de Lange, leader of the Broederbond who has been quietly scouting this terrain for several years, and Pik Botha will bring his African diplomacy to bear on the problem.

Behind them stand a phalanx of verligtes, among them Roelf Meyer, and Leon Wessels and Sam de Beer who survived against the odds. The character of the party is very different from the Botha-Heunis-Malan securocrats.

The test of their behaviour will surely be whether they begin immediately to create a climate for negotiation. The Separate Amenities Act, already gutted by the Supreme Court, is both an anachronism and an unnecessary provocation. Anyway, it provides the perfect target for sit-ins, marches and various forms of defiance. The repeal of the Group Areas Act is an obvious necessity.

The Law Commission's recommendation that the statute book be purged of discriminatory legislation as a prelude to the adoption of a bill of rights offers the perfect bureaucratic instrument for piecemeal reform. The question to be asked now is how quickly the Law Commission will be set to work.

Five years in the life of a nation is not a long time. If the National Party intends to break out of the trap into which it has taken the country, it needs to move quickly. If it does not, the optimistic spirit among English voters that gave the DP its strength will surely dissipate into cynicism and radical posturing, and in time the march of the right will resume.

The acting State President has been given his chance; it is for him to use that chance.

INSIGHT

THE FUTURE

BY JAN STEYN

Chairman of the Urban Foundation and chairman of the Media Council



In an address this week to the South African Orthopaedic Association Congress in Pretoria, Mr Steyn spelled out how he believed the social and political future of South Africa would unfold in the next five years.

☐ State drawn from all groups

☐ All-race municipal government

☐ More non-racial education

"Apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and nerve-racking existence"

iveness. Black housing is woefully inadequate with a shortage amounting to nearly one million units. Black education is subject to crippling deficits in quality and expenditure per pupil. Black townships are seriously constrained by weaknesses in fiscal resources since they are institutionally separated from white core cities. People cannot live in the residential areas of their choice. Blacks do not have a vote for the central legislature — parliament. A state of emergency is in place, which curtails access to the courts and a free flow of information to the public.

The Group Areas Act is crumbling in the major cities of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg and is under sustained attack from the majority of leadership in the private sector. Voices in government have raised the

possibility of open private education receiving enhanced subsidies to make it a parallel educational stream co-existing with the segregated system. Government is identifying more land for African housing than ever before, and although housing provision is bedevilled by racially-based planning and shortages of financial support from both public and private sectors, the emerging situation at least allows for growth of housing provision, which was not the case as little as five years ago when black settlement in the cities was forcefully discouraged. The Government is aware that blacks must be incorporated into the central political institutions and it has committed itself to negotiating a new constitution.

The current pattern is one of fragmentation of apartheid and the current phase, one of untidy transition.

In five years

On this basis, but obviously very tentatively, I can project forwards and say that, in five years' time, if the current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

- A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major black and white political parties. It could take many different forms; it will understandably be highly controversial, but it will constitute a substantial measure of power-sharing between major political interests.

- A Bill of Individual Rights will

THERE are powerful currents of change in South Africa at the moment. No present social and political problem in our country can be assessed without considering the trends which are making its solution possible.

South Africa is changing as rapidly as might be expected of any deeply entrenched social order.

Ten years ago, black people in the common area of South Africa — that is, in the major urban and industrial complexes — did not have the following positive advantages which they enjoy today:

- Legal and recognised trade unions;
- Access as employees to an industrial court;
- Full rights of property ownership;
- Recognition of their citizenship of South Africa as a whole;
- The right to trade and run offices in the major commercial centres of the cities;
- The right to attend open universities, technikons and most private white schools;
- The right to work in any type of employment;
- The right to vote in municipal elections, albeit for segregated municipalities;
- The freedom to seek employment in any region or urban area in the country;
- Reasonably free access to economic opportunities and virtually untrammelled upward mobility in business.

Furthermore, State expenditure on black education has been rising steadily in relative terms over the past decade, and black wages and salaries on average have been rising significantly faster than those of whites.

Woefully inadequate

The opportunities which black people enjoy are severely constrained by the remaining aspects of apartheid. The State school system is segregated, and indeed fragmented into ethnic components which cripples its effect

THE FUTURE

FROM PG 1

have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society.

- Open residential areas subject to the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may exercise, formally or informally, a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser or greater degree of integration will have taken place, although informal ethnic clustering, as one finds in the USA, will probably occur.

- In a combination of State-subsidised private schools and even some State schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a non-racial basis.

- Over-arching forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and formerly black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas.

- The economy, although beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer term stability.

- Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes, and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will tend to maintain pressure on the whole system for further change.

- South Africa will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of

gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid South Africa will be emerging, still untidily, but in the end convincingly.

Two developments could abort the process I have tentatively sketched.

One danger would be if the change takes place within a deteriorating economy, if both blacks and whites suffer increased privation, become more competitive with regard to one another and less inclined to make concessions or accept compromises.

Push too hard

A second danger will arise if the outside world and all the various movements for change in South Africa push too hard in a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction. An unthinking, emotionally-based resistance could occur, just as happened in the old Southern Rhodesia leading to the UDI in 1965.

Most influential South Africans, white and black, are aware of the dangers, as are many of the more seasoned and mature political leaders abroad. In other words, there is a web of influence capable of sustaining South Africa's progress towards a unified and equal society.

South Africa will change; apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence; and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the right, the left and abroad. We all, as South Africans, or those of you who visit us from broad, have a role to play in this process.

Time for FW

Daily News 8 Sept 89

to re-group

But much criticism can be expected

To the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, the election result was a "clear mandate" for Nationalist-style reform based on its five-year plan of action. But his bland assessment obscures a serious dilemma, reports political correspondent **BRUCE CAMERON.**

WHEN he says that the combined National and Democratic Party vote is "75 percent" in favour of reform, Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk cannot be faulted.

However, he is going to experience major problems within this "75 percent" constituency on the extent and pace of reform — and criticism will come not only from traditional opponents of apartheid right across the political and racial spectrum, it will come also from within his own party.

There are going to be enormous stresses in the National Party, with pressure being applied by those many, many MPs who now sit in Parliament with the narrowest of margins, like Mr Tom Gunning, the NP member in his former Vereeniging

seat, who won by five meagre votes against the CP.

There are plenty of examples of close shaves on both sides. These MPs will attempt to pull party policy in the way which they think will ensure their survival.

In this battle, Mr de Klerk has so far shown he stands firmly on the Right having gone around the country during the election campaign emphasising repeatedly that NP policy rests firmly on the foundation of group — even to the extent of it being to the disadvantage and expense of other groups.

(For example he has shown no intention of doing anything about allowing blacks to use those desperately-needed empty, white schools and those under-used white hospitals).

So emphatically has he spelt this out that former senior Government negotiator and now DP member of Parliament for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, warned in his campaign that Mr de Klerk was preparing to take South Africa on a new Verwoerdian detour in which "group" would be sacrosanct.

Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, who came so close to beating Mr de Klerk in the battle for the leadership of the National Party, gave an early indication of the struggle that looms in the party when he commented on his victory in his Florida constituency.

Referring to the fact that the Democrats

had taken over from the Conservatives as the second strongest party in his constituency, he said: "I interpret this as a clear message in my constituency to get the politics right so we can get the economy right."

And outgoing Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, also gave an indication of the direction the NP had to think when he offered NP co-operation with the DP in Natal.

But the potential for problems within his caucus pales against the bigger problems Mr de Klerk has in getting blacks to the negotiating table to bring real peace to the country.

After more than four years of a state of emergency and an amazingly successful defiance campaign over the past few weeks the NP must be starting to realise that brute force can only keep the lid of the anger of the majority of the population against apartheid under whatever guise.

It must also be obvious that it will not be able to use the state of emergency to force everyone else to negotiate on the NP terms — particularly terms that are basically a revised form of apartheid.

Not only should the extent of the defiance campaign show this but also the dismally poor turn out at the polls of Indian and Coloured voters — despite the state of emergency and despite a polling that actually lasted for 35 days.

The DP repeated and repeated through-

out the election campaign that the Government would not in the end be able to avoid talking to the MDM and the ANC if it wanted to bring about real peace.

White public opinion has clearly changed about talks with the MDM and ANC.

After the Johannesburg municipal by-election in Linden three months ago Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned his party that scare stories about the DP associating with the ANC were no going to work — but this did not stop the NP from trying anyway, but without success.

Both the NP and the MDM/UDF/ANC are being hard-headed about their pre-conditions for negotiations, clearly because both think they can win.

The DP argument is that the sides should at least start talking about their pre-conditions if nothing else — as the NP is already doing with Inkatha.

However, another thing that must be increasingly obvious to the NP is that it is not going to get many people to the negotiating table if it thinks, as Mr de Klerk seems to, that negotiations will only take place within the ambit of strict racial groupings, even if there is a "non-group" group.

It is on the definition and interpretation of the concept of "group" that Mr de Klerk's political future — and that of his party — will be decided.

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Soviet foreign policy reform 'a blow to ANC/SACP'

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Citizen Reporter

POLITICAL consultant, Dr J du Plessis, says the new approach to international politics by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev means he has "blown the whistle on the ANC/SACP alliance, dealing it a devastating blow".

He told the university conference that Mr Gorbachev's attitude to the Third World could be summed up in one word — caution.

"One gets the impression of a realisation that the export of revolution to the Third World has been a failure," said Dr Du Plessis.

Moscow, he said, intended de-ideologising its foreign policy, and this, in principle, excluded the export of revolution. If the Soviet leadership stuck strictly to this approach, the impact on Southern Africa would be tremendous.

Applied to the ANC/SACP alliance, it meant that any subversive operations launched from neighbouring states against South Africa would be unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

In principle, it also im-

plied that Moscow would discontinue its training and arms supplies to these groups.

"If the new Soviet position is to be implemented, it could force the ANC/SACP into a dead-end street.

"All of a sudden, Mr Gorbachev has blown the whistle on them. Scientific Socialism has been a massive failure. Moscow cannot support them any longer and wishes to join its European brothers in the West," said Dr Du Plessis.

This left the ANC-

/SACP without a product to sell — saddling it with an ideology nobody wanted — a proven failure.

It would be premature at this stage to talk of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa, or to promote Mr Gorbachev as a peacemaker in South Africa between the government and the ANC.

South Africa would have to assess its relationship with the Soviet Union against the background of international

developments.

"But the de-ideologisation of Soviet foreign policy is of tremendous importance to South Africa."

"It has, in principle, the potential to change the political power game in Southern Africa to South Africa's advantage," he said.

At least, now, South Africa could "live with the cards Mr Gorbachev has laid on the table, while the same could not have been said about his predecessors."

We'll change it around, says Dr No

'Power-sharing is lie of SA politics'

Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

National Party "power-sharing" was described yesterday as "the big lie of South African politics" by the Leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He told a post-election Press conference in Pretoria that even if power-sharing did come about, "everything the National Party does (in that regard), we can change. We will act accordingly."

Mandela irrelevant

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at CP headquarters, said his party did not believe that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela had any real role to play in white South African politics.

Discussing power-sharing, Dr Treurnicht said he did not think real power-sharing was possible.

"The National Party are trying to share power between five million whites, 21 million blacks, three million coloureds and one million Indians. We don't think that would be real power-sharing.

"If they try to share it, then they will no longer be in control. Power-sharing is in fact the big lie of South African politics.

Whites voted to end apartheid - ANC

LUSAKA — A senior African National Congress (ANC) official said yesterday South Africa's whites, in segregated elections, had voted to end apartheid.

"The people who voted clearly voted for the process of dismantling apartheid to begin immediately," said Mr James Stuart, a senior member of the national executive committee of the Lusaka-based ANC.

Mr Stuart said the National Party and its leader, acting President FW de Klerk, had campaigned on a platform of dismantling the country's apartheid system.

LAST CHANCE

He said the mandate given to De Klerk was the whites' last chance to solve the problem of apartheid peacefully — and the process could no longer be postponed indefinitely.

"It's obvious the time has now come for De Klerk to implement decisively what he had promised the electorate and the international community."

Mr Stuart said the SA Government must now the ANC's accept terms, backed by the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Move-

"We have already warned about this concentration of power from various groups."

Dr Treurnicht expressed his disappointment that the CP did not win more seats, as had been expected, but was pleased that it had improved its vote total from 547 000 in 1987 to over 600 000 in Wednesday's general election.

"The 17 gains we achieved have made us a very strong official Opposition," he added.

The CP was pleased at its showing in the Free State and the Cape but was concerned at "the swing towards the liberals", and said the whole spectrum of South African politics appeared to have gone to the left.

Dr Treurnicht warned that the NP would continue to lose seats in future elections if it continued to lean towards the left and this could finally mean ANC rule.

"People don't realise that."

He dismissed the Democratic Party as "talking for the masses".

"It is not a democratic party, as such. In some instances it is revolutionary."

"Likewise the Herstigte Nasionale Party is no longer a factor in South African politics."

ment, for a negotiated end to apartheid.

The ANC wants Pretoria first to end the state of emergency, free political prisoners, lift a ban on political organisations like the ANC and withdraw troops from black townships.

"He (Mr de Klerk) must make clear that he is ready to create the conditions to make dialogue — real dialogue — possible in South Africa," Mr Stuart said.

The ANC must be included in any negotiations between the Government and the black majority. "We can't be wished away and it's about time that De Klerk accepts that reality," he said.

He dismissed suggestions that the ANC terms were too tough and that it should perhaps soften its stance by suspending its guerilla war, one of Pretoria's main demands.

"It's not up to us, it's up to them to decide. As far as we're concerned the struggle continues."

● Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) leaders meeting in Belgrade have condemned Wednesday's elections. According to the NAM declaration on southern Africa, leaders meeting on the last day of the ninth summit condemned the elections, saying they were held under a constitution declared null and void by the United Nations. — Sapa—Reuter.

Tutu challenged on claim

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The "Town Committee" faction attacked the home of "Prince Quabinda" and set it alight. A clash ensued in which seven people were killed, including "Prince Quabinda's" grandmother, a six-year old child and a youth of 14.

Four other bodies were found later and it was believed the deaths of these people were connected to the clash.

A total of five other

bodies were found after heavy violence, including other inter-factional clashes in the Cape Peninsula.

Four "zip" guns — homemade firearms — were recovered in police operations in the areas concerned.

Brig Mellet confirmed that in some situations where the violence became extreme, police used shotgun fire.

It has yet to be determined from investigations and post mortem examinations how many of those killed sustained wounds from shots fired by the police.

At a Press conference called in Cape Town yesterday morning Archbishop Tutu said 23 were killed on the Cape flats on election night and early yesterday as they voiced the opposition to the election.

"Mr De Klerk's Presidential seat is a pool of blood," said Archbishop Tutu. "He must move quickly or otherwise whatever he says will have no weight and meaning. He will then only increase the credibility gap."

He called on Mr De Klerk to "express sorrow" with the people killed, and Mr Vlok to resign, or alternatively for Mr De Klerk to fire him.

Archbishop Tutu said 23 people, Black and Coloured, were killed on the Cape flats as they voiced their opposition to the elections.

He said 11 people were

killed in Mitchell's Plain, four in Lavender Hill, two in Valhalla Park, three in Steenberg and two in Khayelitsha a 63-year-old woman died of a heart attack in Lavender Hill "when police fired into her house through a window".

He said among the dead was a 69-year-old woman, a woman who was decapitated and her body was riddled with bullets, a six-year-old girl, while a 13-year-old boy was in the Intensive Care Unit at Tygerberg Hospital.

"We expect the numbers of the dead to grow," he said.

He added that the church had warned the West about the brutal response from the police to peaceful protest and the catastrophic casualties underlined this fact.

"Many people claim we are melodramatic and exaggerate when we say that almost in every instance that we know when violence erupted at peaceful demonstrations it is almost always the police with their presence or their action who provoked the violence.

"But now a police lieutenant, Lieut Gregory Rockman has charged the police with brutality and said what we have been saying all along."

Archbishop Tutu said apartheid was violent in its nature and "we are glad a policeman who acted with considerable courage has confirmed

what we have been saying."

"I hope very much that the incoming State President will very quickly make a statement in which he condemns the action of the police and the encouragement the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Vlok, has given the police. He (Mr De Klerk) should distance himself from Mr Vlok."

POLICE CHALLENGE TUTU ON 23-SHOT CLAIM

CHURCHMEN, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, should produce evidence that the police were involved in 23 killings in the Cape Town area on the night of the election or withdraw their allegations, according to a Law and Order spokesman.

"We ask them to produce the evidence which they used as the basis for

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**By Tony Stirling
and Sapa**

telling the world that the Presidential seat of the acting State President was dripping with blood because of the alleged deaths of 23 people in the Cape on election night," said Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

"We do not have such information," said Brig Mellet.

As far as the police were able to establish, 12 people died in violent incidents in the Cape Town area. Of these, seven, according to Brig Mellet, were killed in Khayelitsha in a clash between two factions, involving a group calling itself the "Town Committee" and another supporting a man known as "Prince Quabinda".

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