

LETTERS

' with the theory But we live in
2al world â\200\224 one where whites have had

-y possible advantage over blacks. It is
nplistic to argue on economic grounds
or mï¬\202to:lxt taklng into account the social

0 argue that Sabta is â\200\234well and truly
le apartheid governmentâ\200\235 is too
S ,yâ\200\230 untrue as to be laughable â\200\224 if it
not so serious.

k. â\200\230history of Sabta since the early Eight-
) en one of consistent struggle
iguvemment policies.

er if Mr Dobb â\200\224 writing from the
en of his leafy suburb of Bracken-
st â\200\224 realises that his remarks can actu-
y endanger the lives of those who are

rticular group of black entrepreneurs.
n : connectlon, I would also cntlclse

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â\200\230â\200\234Sabta gangs up

ing to improve the capabilities of this

Protect
for sh

LETT kt

PO Box 1138
Jo'bLJ g 2000

BusiNESS DAY

ort perio

our - headline
with governmentâ\200\235
as being both in-
flammatory and

misleading; it does

- not reflect the contents of the major portion

of the letter).

I can merely repeat that Sabta seeks a

~ defined period of transition from regulation

: .bo deregulation during which period there

R _g 1_17

Sabta._

ould be limited and decreasing protection
against white competition. .

The much more important feature of the
transition period must be the development

" of the black taxi operator so that he can

become the black transport businessman of
the 1990s. Sabta will be making an important
announcement on this aspect in the second

Plae T NGCOYA
SRS A Pruid-wm

- week of August.

ERE IS a conundrum: if the

National Party cannot re-

peal the Group Areas Act

for fear of losing its power
base, how can it negotiate with
the ANC for a transition to de-
mocracy without losing that
base?

Put differently, how can the
National Party under Mr FW de
Klerk possibly meet the soaring ex-
pectations raised, here and abroad,
by the historic meeting in Tuynhuys
of President Botha and Nelson Man-
dela?

The obvious answer is by leader-
ship of a very high degree; the more
likely answer, concealed in the laby-
rinthine deviousness of Nationalist
political style, is that the party's
words and actions don't mean what
they seem to mean.:

there is a need to be clear on the
party's intentions, for two reasons.

Firstly, the elevation of Mandela
to the status of negotiating partner,
and the election rhetoric of people
like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee,
or Law and Order Minister Adriaan
Vlok (apartheid is an albatross)
have raised expectations so high
that, if nothing much ensues, we risk
another disillusion, here and abroad,
as severe as Rubicon.

Secondly, the opinion poll conduc-
ted for Rapport by Mark en Mening
a poll which has a track record of
reasonable reliability shows a
marked weakening of the party's
traditional base, from 48,7% of the
electorate in April to 41,1% in June.
This means that raised expectations
coincide with a narrowing of room to
manoeuvre. .
The defections are especially wor-
rying, not only because they are run-
ning high but because, once again,
English and Afrikaans voters are
acting in fundamentally different
ways Afrikaans mainly to the right
to the CP, English go left to the DP.
The hopes that Afrikaners could be
attracted into a genuinely reformist
party are not being met.

In spite of all the efforts made by
the DP to accommodate Wynand

Malanâ\200\231s NDM and Wimpie de Klerkâ\200\231s

business

Is the

Mandelaâ\200\231s coming!

17 Jawy /9

ationa

Party prepared?

KEN OWEN

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â\200\234Fourth Force,â\200\235 despite the appointment of a majority of Afrikaners to the partyâ\200\231s governing board, and despite the nomination of high-profile Afrikaans advisers like Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the DP can muster no more than 7,8% of the Afrikaans voters.

The implication is inescapable that, so far at least, the National Party is falling between two stools: it is doing too little in the way of fundamental reform to hold its English voters (and a small number of mainly young intellectual Afrikaners), but too much to hold its own right wing. Its dwn base is shrinking from both ends.

Some points are clear: the NP has

â\200\230sensibly abandoned the illusion that

it can win back the racists who have already defected to the Conservatives (barring, perhaps, a minority driven to defection by a decline in their economic fortunes or by the endemic corruption of government). The NP is competing robustly with the DP for what might be called the â\200\234moderate reformistâ\200\235 vote. That vote, it turns out, is ovqrwhelmingly English. ; s

At the same time, there are encouraging signs of enlightened leadership emerging in the campaign. At

R0 B Lk s S BN Y

one time, it was only Pik Botha who dared speak of the inevitability of change (remember his 1975 announcement, somewhat premature, of the death of apartheid? Or his talk, on the day before Slabbert's self-immolation, of a black president?) and he risked repudiation by his own party whenever he did so.

Now the party itself speaks of universal participation in government, and Coetsee, following the Law Commission, talks of defending group values by entrenching the rights of the individual. Setting out his vision of a democratic SA he told the recent National Party congress: The system must not violate the principle of universal franchise, or it will be self-destructive. That brings him close to one man, one vote.

Thirdly, the National Party has plainly abandoned the Albanian Option the belief, especially prevalent in the security establishment and among less educated whites, that the country might dig itself into a bunker of angry defiance of the rest of the world. ; '

o e S R
Previously strained relations with
i e

' Vol 1 e)

African states have thanks again to the ever-resourceful Pik! been turned into an instrument to break the deadlocks in both foreign policy and local politics. A complex web of relationships has been woven to bind local, regional and distant parties into a single, multi-faceted political process, and the Botha-Mandela meeting has given that process almost unstoppable momentum.

Nevertheless, severe contradictions remain. Most obviously, negotiation cannot proceed very far unless Mandela is released. Nor can it proceed very far unless the ban on the ANC and other political organisations (including the SA Communist Party of which Govan Mbeki is a self-confessed member, and of which half the ANC leaders are members?) is lifted.

Nor, indeed, could negotiation proceed unless the emergency were ended, opening the way for vigorous

political protest against not only the Group Areas Act, but against all surviving vestiges of Verwoerdian apartheid. In short, the process creates its own imperatives.

The Law Commission, much more sensible than government, has sug-

- gested a systematic purge of the statute book to eliminate all laws

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that might conflict with the provisions of a fully-fledged Western-style bill of rights. That process would do more than anything else imaginable to create a climate for peaceful negotiation, but it might take years. It would be slow and technocratic; gradually widening the space for political activity. 'Iâ\200\230lâ\200\234'-

Now, however, the pace has been stepped up dramatically. Unless Mandela is released soon after the election, a new Rubicon will threaten; and if Mandela is released, the pace will again pick up. A very high degree of leadership will be required to cope with the rush of events, and to bring a nervous white electorate along. ara

All this makes the election campaign a test of Nationalist leadership. If the party faces up to the implications of its own actions â\200\224 of bringing Mandela to Tuynhltlgs to; open historic discussions with â\200\234thÃ@ head of state â\200\224 it must prepare theâ\200\231 electorate for rapid change in the coming period. o OP

In particular, it must begin to tell: its followers that the Group Areas Act cannot survive; nor can the restricted franchise; nor can the Separate Amenities Act; nor can differential expenditure on education for whites and other races; nor can special subsidies for farmers; nor can the privileged status of the white public servants; nor can the sentences for blacks and light sentences for whites; and so forth. - '

- The danger, however, is that the National Party will revert instead to its usual style of semantic deceit: â\200\234separate development,â\200\235 â\200\234the extension of university education,â\200\235 â\200\234dis-

nsation,â\200\235 â\200\234participation,â\200\235 â\200\234own affairs,â\200\235 and such verbal trickery has established a habit of dishonesty in

the party. of i

The question in this campaign is whether the Nationalists will educate voters to look to Nelson Mandela as a leader of a democracy struggling to be .born, or whether. they will, once again, try to lie their way out of trouble. &

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By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

South Africaâ\200\231s employers and the State face a week of worker action at the beginning of September in protest against the countryâ\200\231s labour laws and the general election, the Congress of SA Trade Unions warned in Johannesburg yesterday. Speaking after a three-day congress of the countryâ\200\231s biggest labour federation, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said Cosatu had decided to recommend to next monthâ\200\231s Workersâ\200\231 Summit that workers should take

Cosatu warns of â\200\230week

â\200\234sustainedâ\200\235 action if their demands regarding the Labour Relations Amendment Act were not met by September 1.

This action would coincide with the â\200\234racist elections on September 6â\200\235, which Cosatu believed would not contribute to peace. Mr Naidoo would not specify the kind of action that was envisaged.

In related resolutions, Cosatu decided to initiate discussions

tion for South Africa, revolving around 'the African Nation Congressâ\200\231s constitutional guidelines. This would be coupled with the â\200\234urgentâ\200\235 drafting of a â\200\234Workersâ\200\231 Charterâ\200\235, reflecting workersâ\200\231 specific interests. Cosatu committed itself to participating in building an anti-apartheid coalition, including

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on a future democratic constitution?
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most organisations supporting a political democracy, and free-

dom of the press and of association in a unitary SA.

Regarding a negotiated political settlement, Cosatu rejected â\200\234reformist solutionsâ\200\235 as these failed to address â\200\234our fundamental social and economic

needsâ\200\235.

It said it was imperative for Government to create a suitable climate for negotiations, by, among other things, lifting restrictions on banned organisa-

of actionâ\200\231 during

tions, fi'eeing all deta%

political prisoners and confining the police and army to barracks. .

The international community, including the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline states, will be urged to increase

â\200\230pressure to force the Govern-

ment to create the right conditions for negotiations.

Other resolutions adopted by

Sâ\200\231\ . o B | Tu\ .â\200\230\

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the more than 1800 delegates

~ included:

â\200\230@ The death penalty be abo-

~lished and that armed anti-

apartheid cadres be accorded prisoner-of-war status. i
@Â®A campaign. be launched against violence against and among workers. ;

Â® Each Cosatu member to contribute R1 to a support fund for Swapo and Namibian unions. The congress expressed support for present efforts to end fighting between supporters of the Cosatu/United Democratic Front alliance and Inkatha.

Opinion

South Africa

IN spite of scepticism in some quarters, the Botha-Mandela meeting was indeed a breakthrough, indicating that the Afrikaner nationalist establishment is turning away from reliance on force and opting for negotiation to secure the country's future. The favourable initial impression was clearly warranted, rather than the more paranoid interpretations of this momentous event.

Whatever led up to it and whatever the motives of those who made it possible, the Tuynhuys meeting has changed the political rules of the game, ushering in a new phase of pre-negotiation politics or talks about talks. President Botha gets his place in the history books after all, although I would guess that it was the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, who has been the driving force for peace.

Even if nothing very much seems to happen now for some time, the whole tone and style of South African politics will change for the bet-

ter in all kinds of ways. Even the election campaign, we may hope, will be conducted on rather more rational lines, in part at least. In the new circumstances the NP can hardly seek to repeat its hugely successful scare campaign of 1987 when

NATML WiTresa 17 Tuly Qv by Gerald Shaw

pting

the PFP, advocating talks with the ANC, was denounced as soft on security! Is President Botha soft on security?

National reliance on the total

_ strategy and strong-arm tactics are

fading fast, we gather, as also the policy of destabilisation of our neighbour states, although the habit dies hard in some of the murkier recesses of the intelligence community, judging by reports that support continues for the Renamo Kkillers in Mozambique. Even here better days are on the way, it seems, with Messrs F.W. de Klerk and Pik Botha in talks in Maputo with President Chissano.

The speed at which the decade of violence and destabilisation is giving way to an era of negotiation is bewildering. In Lusaka the African National Congress is having to adjust to the new circumstances. The organisation suddenly finds itself having to work out negotiating positions and to think in terms of rather more concrete constitutional models than the Freedom Charter and the broad policy guidelines which have been in circulation for the past year or so.

Pretoria has scored something of a diplomatic coup, suddenly projecting itself in convincing fashion as

or negotiation

Now there is a decisive shift into political-negotiating mode. As long as there is not too much backsliding, the country will begin to reap the benefits, and not a moment too soon. Nearly R30 billion in lost investment capital has left South Africa in the years since President Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech, telling the world to go to hell and promising to wipe the ANC off the face of the earth.

reasonable and ready for negotiation, and recognising the ANC as a potential partner. As a result the ANC will come under increasing pressure in London, Washington, Moscow and elsewhere to talk. Out in the cold in Lusaka, the ANC still seems inclined to doubt the genuineness of Pretoria's commitment to negotiation. The ANC leaders fear

an easing of Western pressures on Pretoria, weakening the ANC bargaining position. In some circumstances they fear a split might open up between internal and external factions.

It is a mystery why Pretoria has waited so long before deploying dip-

lomatic and political weapons in this deft and effective fashion. The continuing reliance on repressive force played right into the ANC's hands, enabling it to seize the diplomatic high ground in the last five years and attain almost the status of a government-in-exile. »

Meanwhile its political standing among the black masses at home has been likewise enhanced, with recent estimates of its support ranging from 60 percent to 75 percent of the black population.

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« benefits, and not a moment too soon.

Nearly R30 billion in lost investment capital has left South Africa in the years since President Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech, telling the world to go to hell and promising to wipe the ANC off the face of the earth.

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From P 4

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JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Cosaâ\200\230tu an-

nounced after its annual congress yesterday that it plans to force the Government into negotiations and will call for a week of protests to coincide with the September general election.

The countryâ\200\231s largest labour federation also made a decision to resuscitate â\200\234alternative structuresâ\200\235 outlawed under the state of emergency.

A resolution passed yesterday urged affiliates and community-based bodies

to reassess such structures with the 'view to â\200\234rebuilding and strengthening '

themâ\200\235.

The federation said although the â\200\2341 emergency had severely crippled local |organisation, the â\200\234spirit of defiance |

and mood to resist remains strongâ\200\235.

Announcing a week-long protest against the forthcoming elections, Co-satu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the protest would start on September 1, but he did not outline the exact nature of the action. At the same time, a , huge anti-apartheid conference would |//be held to map out â\200\234a strategy forcing the Government into negotiationsâ\204¢. (73 " "â\200\234The elections will not contribute to â\200\230a climate of peace and will once again â\200\230ensure that the Indian and .coloured people are junior partners in the apart-

heid process.

â\200\234We say the elections are nothing but a bid by the Government to maintain apgrtheld while making reform noises.â\200\235 Mr Naidoo said.

" Any future

constitutional guidelines the ANC, Cosatï¬\201 said. Therefore frank discussions and debate should be held on the guidelines.

_ â\200\234There can be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to negotiations is unilaterally created by the South African Government,â\200\235 said Cosatu.

The Sunday Tribune reported yesterday there was speculation that the internal wing of the ANC

may be allowed to operate in the country legally after the release of Mandela but that the military wing of the ANC â\200\224 Umkhonto we Sizwe â\200\224 would remain banned.

Cosatu also announced that the formation of an anti-apartheid coalition consisting of a wide range of groups within the â\200\234mass democratic movementâ\200\235 would be discussed at a special conference.

The federation also reaffirmed its commitment to end the political

y democratic tutional model should centre on the proposed by | and end hostile propa-

violence in Natal..

consti-

"We must all conduct |

ourselves to create a
public climate for peace

ganda that incites vio-
lence.

Cosatu and its allies
must also ensure that a
re-emergence of such
violence does not take
place in future.

This resolution came
after an arson attack on
the home in Newcastle of
a delegate from the Nat-
ional Union of
Metalworkers of South
Africa, which left many
Natal delegates fearful
for their homes.

The attack on July 13

' resulted in the burning

down of the Numsa shop
steward's house and a
mother and child being
burned and subse-
quently hospitalised.

This latest incident is
a source of uneasiness in

the minds and hearts of |
. delegates from Natal,

Cosatu said.

The union called on

the state to act again; |

the perpetrators.

|

L

~The incident, Cosatu

| sioner Street, Johannesburg).

said, was reminiscent of
the attack on Ms .Jabu
Ndlovu's home in Pieter-
maritzburg in June. She
too was a Numsa shop
steward. Sapa

INKATHA president
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

burg to work tirelessly
 . for peace.
 | Addressing - a mass
 prayer rally in Imbali,
 the KwaZulu Chief Min-
 ister said Inkatha would
 strive. for peace â\200\230Dbe-
 cause it was determined
 to uphold the time-hon-
 oured ideals of the black
 struggle for liberationâ\200\235.
 Again he read the let-
 ter written to him by Nel-
 son Mandela, and said:
 â\200\234We will not disappoint
 our heroes and our mar-
 tyrs who went before us.â\200\235
 He added: â\200\234There is a
 great cry for peace risin;
 up from the people, an
 it is a ery '+ - must hear.
 â\200\230Otherwise, not only will
 we die but our deaths
 will be pointless be-
 cause in dying now we

< AR

struggle for liberation.â\200\235
MggButhelezi said he
looked forward to. all
black or%anisations
orking together.
wHe sgaidg Inkatha had
held more than 0
prayer rallies for peace.
â\200\224Sapa.

Trade union federation resolves to regroup

s to forc

COSATU has resolved to propose

g amme of â\200\234co-ordinated and susta
dustrial actionâ\200\235 in the week before the

Segl tember 6 general election.

he proposal will be put to the Workers

t in Johanuesburg next month.

action, to start on September 1, is seen by
Cosatu as part of a general mass demo-
cratic movement protes against the La-

bour Relations Act, the â\200\234w te racist elec--

tionsâ\200\235 and other â\200\234apartheid op p reSSIONâ\200\235.

e summit, which also involves Nactu
and several independent unions, has been
â\200\230called to assess pro rogress in the unionsâ\200\231

talks with employer federation Saccola

Cosatus " decision was made at the or-

'S congress ended in Jo-

g on day The resolution

said it was n to link Cosatuâ\200\231s

immediate central L campal to other

struggles waged b{ emocratic

movement agains apartheid repression
~ and exploitationâ\200\235.

- The. Cosatu secretariatâ\200\231s report deliv-
ered to the con 'on Wednesday called
for a boycott of the September 6 election.

The 1984 lections â\200\230for the Houses of

Delesa
of a stronÂ\$ boycott, as was last
eal"s munlclpal ection in many black

ntatives were the

ALAN FIN!

townships.

In his address to the con

day, UDF actin l& general secrezary :
and all
correct

Mohammed Valli
against the elections, the
forms of repression was a

ti i
General secretary Jay Naidoo said the
action against would go ahead
unless union demands for changes were
met by the time of the summit on

But she declined to specify what for

would take

Junior partners

The National Manpower Commission is
involved in a lengthy process of
the entire LRA and has invited input from
black unions. :

Naidoo also told Sapa: "The election
will not contribute to a climate of peace
and will once again ensure the Indian and
coloured people are junior partners in the
apartheid system"

"We say the elections are nothing but a
bid by government to maintain apartheid
while making reform noises."

on Thurs-

tb.]

Business DAY 22/17 July 1999

TR o X
A o e
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Q231B

234 COSATU was taking seriously the
230 fact that political negotiations in
SA were on the agenda, but the
" form and content of such negotia-
-# tions was crucial, Cosatu general.
"5 secretary Jay Naidoo said yester-

arl dag 231,

. after Cosatu's third bi-
e congress in Johannesburg,
234 Naidoo said government's present

approach was "fraught with empty
J& sounds. 235

-7 But, he added: 234 We recognise there
iiLare on them and us to enter
ant! into negotiations. 235

il The congress resolved that the
230 Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)
should initiate discussions to develop

a common position to avoid the impo-
igtelon of a settlement unacceptable

majority.

ml - It resolved that before genuine ne-
e
ad to unban
ma Pontical prisoners and
:m\ whether return of exiles, continue the
F and SAP to 230; meet the
e L, &mer
e lation m end to pour 201
234 trials and executions.

== The resolution also stated only a
sovereign, mandated am! account-

atu speaks out on
230 negotiation procedure

{ gmrnn:

able body would have the authority to
develop a new constitution.
Naidoo said Cosatu had no misgiv-

- ings about Nelson Mandela's recent

meeting with State President PW
Botha. Cosatu has applied to meet
Mandela.

He said: We are confident he is able to express the views and aspirations of the majority, and the regime

should take these seriously.

sh: sehllg a democratic constitutional

for SA.
Alliance

It decided to develop a clear understanding of how the SA economy works, and how it should be restructured to meet the needs of all.

It reaffirmed Cosatu's commitment to a strategic anti-apartheid alliance, but stressed this must exclude big business and those who participate in apartheid structures.

The congress further resolved to reconvene an anti-apartheid conference

A resolution proposed by the SA

initiate a campaign,

o

since the previous one scheduled for last September was banned by October, and to formulate a Workers' Charter which should eventually give workers basic rights in

the future constitution. -

It also set out a programme and a timetable for the three factions of the split Cosatu affiliate Ccausa to follow to reunify the union

Railways and Harbours Workers Union committed Cosatu and the entire MDM to privatisation and to educate people about its effects.
The congress formalised con-

ditions for the disinvestment. These included one year's notice, sep-

aration on

by terms of the sale, advance commission contributions, and that the investment proceeds, including future profits etc be paid into a fund nominated by the relevant

The congress urged Cosatu to work towards financial self-sufficiency, reducing its dependence on outside

funding by 10

OCommonePagoo

Â¥ BUSINEÂ\200\234 DAY, Mond-y, July 17 1989

| Worrall reports
doubts overseas

MIKE ROBERTSON

THERE was profound scepticism about the NP and its ability to deliver peace to SA among pean leaders - r(:u:)usinessmen P co-leader Denis Worrall said yes- Worrall :Yeaking after returnmf from a tour of Britain, Portugaly, said that at the same time the polticians, bankers and businessmen he had met had shared the view there existed a tremendous . opportunity for SA to â\200\234turn things around and take its place in the international communityâ\200\235, This stemmed from the Namibia settlement and subsequent peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique, â\200\234This election must be the election to end apartheid. There is profound ticism in the Eurogean foreignâ\200\231 ministries about the â\200\231s ability ty to escape i g:at.What weneedisachangeefregimeinSA We have to go for a hung Assembly which opens the way for political realign-

â\200\234We must contest every seat where we have the or- ' ganisation and turn this election into a referendum o apartheid. White South Africans have got to be given the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid â\200\235 he said. e

Improvement

Bankers and businessmen he had met had given him the clear lm&ression that the: re arded SA and southern Africa as â\200\234distinctly rescuable. But the& look to us to provide political -justification for them fo come backâ\200\235,

Worra 1 said he had been widely questioned about new - NP leader F W de Klerk. His view was De Klerk, on his recent visit to Eu pe, had given the im&'resslon he was a definlte improvement on ident

â\200\234But the question is whether he can | escape the NPâ\200\231s le%ecy, the NPâ\200\231s mtellectual baggage.â\200\231 Klerkâ\200\231s discussions in Europe, he said, had been reted in the light of the NP ' pre-election congress

and?t)s i~\201ve- oplan e
i~\201 are experienced SA observers, They... -

look at the five-year-plan and the kind of mandate the' . -

Nszseekingandthereisa deep scepticism.â\200\235

e |

-would continue

ANC, ready

'meet

all parties

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â\200\224 DP told

THE ANC told a

- Democratic Party delegation that it was

- ready to meet all parties

ties and confirmed that
" it was working on new
â\200\234 initiatives for talks,
according to a statement released in Johannesburg - after a meeting between the DP delegation and the

. ANC in Lusaka.

i The delegation was led
onâ\200\231 Saturday by the co-

leader of the DP, Mr Wyman
alan, while the C delegation was led

by its Secretary-General,
Mr Alfred Nzo.

The DP told the ANC that talks should be initiated among all parties as a way of removing the obstacles to serious negotiations. The ANC replied that it was willing to meet all parties if approached and was working on new initiatives. = .

The statement said

: hands should not be seen

N

The DP had: therefore :
urged the ANC to express
its willingness to meet the*

SA Government without
preconditions, and - ar-

sides as an opportunity to
talk about the removal of

: â\200\231South #Afric
= ;However, it insisted thatâ\200\231"
- â\200\234a climate conducive to ne--

as:preconditions. New in-â\200\224
itiatives, were- needed to
pave the way for a politi-
~resolution - of the.
situation, ,

â\200\230;gottatlon must f rst be

created.:

gued that such a meeting o As longas the ANC 15

could .be used by both -

banned it cannot organ-
ise and therefore cannot
get mandates. The ANC,

obstacles ~ currently - pre-".' is not prepared to enterâ\200\235
R P : . serious negotiations with-

out its leaders and with-
out a mandate i the state-

â\200\230ment said. "

While recogmsmg thatA
the ANC saw the armed

| struggle and the isolation
| strategy as being means to

bring about a non-racial
democracy, -~ the DP
viewed these strategies as
obstacles to serious nego-
tiation. -

The ANC had also

â\200\230stated that it would soon -

be responding publicly to
the 'SA . Law * Commis-

~sionâ\200\231s report. .on : human

rights:_ While it supported
many of .the recommen-

_dations, it had major res-
lervanons in some areas.

At the end of the talks,

â\200\234both= parties * committed

| - themselves to further discussions when the general

election - was over. â\200\224

"Sa'ze, A Lo e 0 o UL BT
- {News' by Ken Daniels; 141'Commis-
Â\$ Johanne: Âf

sioner Street,

sburg)â\200\235

each party presented its
analysns of the current
situation in South Africa
and views were ex-
â\200\230changed on the interpre-

tation of recent events,
including the meeting be-
tween the State Presi-
dent, Mr P W Botha, and
Nelson Mandela.

â\200\234The DP argued that
an opportunity existed to
break the deadlock in
South Africa by apening

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Monday 17 July 1989

QAU to call

for

\QB
stricter

sanctions

Africa itself and in the
Frontline states is particu-
larly serious,â\200\235 said an
OAU -source, echoing
wide concern about what
is seen as a South African
threat of destabilisation.
Sources close to the
secretariat of the 49-
member body said a five-
day meeting of Foreign
Ministers starting today
could also renew a four-
year-old call for an inter-
national conference on

- Africaâ\200\231s 230 billion dollar

(about R650-b) foreign
debt.
The

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"amm starting next

0)\1! â\200\230members will
â\200\230their own ranks, with ten-

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over disputed gmzmng
rights.

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former Spanish colony.
'lhecIndfocusofat-
tention, however, will be
South Africa and the |
transition to indepen-
dence for SWA after 74
m â\200\230of South African

TheOAUphnstoeend
an observer force to
monitar iUNiq!eni:ed
elections in SWA in
November, but its Liber-
ation Committee appears

deadlocked over who
should go.

The 22 Foreign Minis-
ters on the committee

UN on Wednesday Jo
boost its

foweoâ\200\234frsï¬\202wm
SWAtoemncfreeelec

tions.

The sources close to the

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: Ananswerbasï¬\202il!*tof Wi
be found to the conflict |

SOWETAN Monday July 17 1989

PAC man found guilty on six charges to be sentenced on Thursday

Commander with arm

' PIETERBURG A former Pan Africanist Congress commander was on Friday found guilty on six counts of terrorism in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court.

Abraham Magagula was found guilty on

six counts of terrorism by magistrate Mr G J J van Deventer but was acquitted on two counts of

escaping from hospital

and of pointing a gun at a policeman. Sentence will be passed this Thursday. Defence counsel, Mr B M Ngoepe, said in mitigation of sentence that the

court should bear in mind that when Magagula left

South Africa in 1985 he

intended studying. He further submitted

that sentence for the five

lesser counts should run concurrently - with sentence on the main count.

The court heard that the accused left the country via Lesotho. He travelled to Tanzania and then to Tripoli in Libya where he underwent military training for six months.

On his return to Tanzania he was appointed

commander of the PAC's Roof camp. :

Magagula, the State alleged, received instructions from Zimbabwe to

carry out a mission inside South Africa.

He and two others allegedly infiltrated South Africa through Zim-

babwe.

The three insurgents were arrested in Nan-
cefield, the black township adjoining Mes-
sina. They were allegedly found to be in possession of three Scorpion semi-automatic pistols, six magazines and six hand-grenades. - Sapa.

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â\200\224
St

() g8

Mandela keeps hi

Â® From Page 6

No one is certain of
how a fm Mandela

would react, which is
why Botha invited him to

| tea. Cachalia stressed

that Mandela is kept well
informed.

- â\200\234He has a short-wave

radio and the South
African newspapers. I
| didnâ\200\231t see any from
overseas, but he can have
them if he wants them.â\200\235

-But Victor Verster is
no open prison. I asked
Cachalia if Mandela was
able to communicate
; äï¬\201glvwc and opinion to
key people outside.

â\200\234That is too difficult to
answer,â\200\235 said Cachalia
cautiously,

Although Mandela has
not said or done anything
â\200\230in the past 26 years to
suggest he would deviate
from his â\200\230pnnctpies he

has made gestures that
show he sees himself as a

bridge-building national

leader rather than the

= spokesm:tfor one party.
presumably one reason

Earlier this year he
wrote to Buthelezi about
the xntercommunal

â\200\234battles in Natal and

urged unity as if trying to
play a mediating role.

While the United Democratic Front and Cosatu, the trade union congress,

denounced Thatcher and -

banned contact with British officials, he wrote a note to the British Ambassador in Pretoria conveying his best wishes to her

The tea party â\200\230has -added confusion.

The Government announced that he and Botha agreed to support peaceful development. Mandelaâ\200\231s supporters denounced it as a propa-

Mandela said the 'â\200\224 . Government version was _accurate and hemnted PiE

to contribute to a climate _ of peace. The only way to that; he said, was ough dialogue with

the MDM and in

particular the ANC. Calchalia thinks that if

he were released he would go to Soweto. He

would not leave. He

would not go to Lusaka.

He would demand that

the exiles be allowed

back. â\200\234It is not clear whether

he would live in his wifeâ\200\231s palatial house in Soweto

or how he would cope

â\200\230with her entanglement in

the case of the boy allegedly killed by members of her â\200\234football teamâ\200\235 bodyguard. Perhaps his . return would remove her from

> political front line.

Recent impressions are that he would side with

the pragmatists rather than the hardliners within the ANC, but his prime concern would be to maintain the unity of the movement and unite -

all the opponents of |

apartheid

- Although he has refused to repudiate - armed force he probably would not call for its escalation. He is more likely to try to be the man | g who can talk with the whites, offer the whites a future and deliver black liberation.

That may prove an impossible equation, but at the moment of his release, Mandela would

- hold the future of Southern Africa in his hands: The Independent London. ;

ndela ho

- Correspondent |

Â® THE African National

- Congress has given its
- nod of approval to Mr
Nelson Mandelaâ\200\235s meet.
ing with President p w
' Botha. >

" This is the imprÃ©ssion
of a Democratic

delegation after all-day

talks with the ANC in

Lusaka at the weekend,
The. P W Botha -

' Mandela meeting was dis-

Cussed at length during
the talks,

Party host Nelson Mandela.

THE worldâ\200\231s

spend his 71st birthday on
Tuesday with about 50 rela-
tives, friends and community
leaders, in the most un-
Prisonlike surroundings, djs-

cussing the future. of South -

Africa,
Although the Prisons Ser-

vice has declined to comment

on . the unprecedented
â\200\234*birthday partyâ\200\231â\200\231 on the
grounds that to do so would
o â\200\234intrude on Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s Privacy,â\200\235 a source
close to Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s
family confirmed yesterday
that the function was going
ahead. SE

The ANC leader was plan-
ning to receive his family and

a large group of prominent

community leaders ar jpg
luxury â\200\234â\200\234homeâ\200\231â\200\231 in the

grounds of the Victor Verster

Prison and to exchange views
with them, the source said.

However, the occasion
should not be seen as a party,
the source said. Mandela

still has the status of g2

Prisoner and we will continue

most ex-
traordinary prisoner plans to

SOWETAN REPORTER

to treat him as such. Mandela

The source explained that

the family is not in the habit
of throwing parties and such.

a function would be out of

context - - considering
Mandela's imprisonment,
occasion - to which 50
special guests had been in-
vited to celebrate Mandela's
birthday and his gaining a law
degree - should rather be seen
as a get-together of family

members and old friends of
Madhiba (Mandela's clan

name),

The list submitted to -
Prisons (Department) is not of

People Mr Mandela wants to
boogie with, The names are
those of prominent com-

munity leaders and it is clear

that he wants to exchange

view with these people, the

source said. :

But by yesterday, none of
the guests, except members of

his family in Soweto and

Transkei, had received a formal invitation,

The family source confirmed that relatives, who
were informed of the occasion
i the Prisons Service,

be attending although

' there was uncertainty whether
~ his eldest daughter Zenani,

xth is in the United States,

~and her husband Prince

Thumbumzi and their children
would be there,
Early this year, after

~ Mandela passed his final examination
for admission to

bar as an advocate, Unisa
approached the Prisons Service

Vice to make arrangements
for his graduation, =

~ The letter was passed on to
Mandela who agreed to have |

degree conferred in Paarl
On condition he drew up his

~ guest list,

The list is

to have been on
list, page 3

"STARAFRICANEWS .. e

Anti-apartheid groups want issue on Commonwealth agenda

The Star Bureau

LONDON â\200\224 The African National Congress and representatives of other anti-apartheid groups met in London at the

weekend to mount an international cam- |

paign opposing efforts by South Africa to reschedule Â£7,5 billion (about R32,25 billion) owed to foreign banks.

The London meeting, the first of its kind, is |.

expected to draw up proposals ranging from threatening consumer boycotts of banks which agree to reschedule, to lobbying the US Congress and putting the issue on the agenda at the Commonwealth conference next October. Delegates believe that without such a campaign, a rescheduling agreement could be in place by the end of the year. They argue that the recent visit to Europe by Mr F W de Klerk, South Africaâ\200\231s president-in-waiting, and increased speculation about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, are part of Pretoriaâ\200\231s efforts to raise its standing abroad and improve the prospects for a favourable rescheduling.

GV o et ey oy R T
Plan to squeeze

Debt crisis

The ANC campaign is expected to urge banks to call for repayment as it falls due and to refuse new loans to South Africa. This action, say the delegates, would precipitate a debt crisis for South Africa and add to pressure for change in the country. Â¢
South Africaâ\200\231s external debt difficulties

crisis prompted foreign banks to call i
Â£14 billion (about R56 billion) outstanding loans. An estimated 260 banks were affected, with banks accounting for 70 percent of the debt. South Africa negotiated two interim rescheduling agreements in 1986 and 1987. The latte

expires in June 1990, and South Africa has been
| stepping up efforts to renegotiate its debts on
" terms as favourable as possible.

Exit clause

An important feature of the second interim
agreement was the "exit clause", under which
short-term debt covered by the standstill can

be converted into 10-year loans, which become
| due for repayment between 1993 and 1997.
Banks have so far exchanged some
£3,5 billion (about R14 billion) of loans for spe-
cial exit securities, almost 25 percent of the
debt falling within the interim arrangements.
But at least £7,5 billion (about R30 billion)

of South African debt has to be renegotiated by |
mid-1990. The ANC apparently hopes to per-
suade banks to make no further use of the "exit
clause" provision. ;

Privately, delegates to the London meeting
acknowledge that radical action from the
banks is improbable. But they plan to make
th?m targets for consumer action. 7

African Ministers meeting in Ethiopia for
' the annual summit of the Organisation of Afri-
can Unity, which starts today, are expected to

ca"200\230"200\234i~\201)"200\230sq"200\230ap its policies. o i B

NET *
SA on foreign de

back to mid-1985 when the country's political | |

seek tougher global action to force South Afri-

Tuynhuys meeting approved:

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ANC 200\230readine

Political Staff
Cape Town

The African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President Botha.

This is the impression of members of a Democratic Party delegation led by co-leader Mr Wynand Malan after all-day talks with the

ANC in Lusaka on Saturday.

The PW Botha-Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks with an ANC delegation led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and including Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The DP's Mr Jannie Momberg said, in a telephone interview from Lusaka, his impression

was that the ANC was intensely interested in the meeting.

ANC delegates seemed to regard the Tuynhuys talks as an encouraging sign the Government was moving towards a position where talks about negotiations could begin.

Mr Momberg said his impression was also that the ANC approved of the statement issued by Mr Mandela after his meeting with President Botha. The

statement was regarded as not deviating from ANC principles.

Mr Momberg said his impression was that the ANC was

showing signs of flexibility on certain issues.

During the talks Mr Wynand Malan emphasised the need for peaceful negotiations.

He urged the ANC and the Government to meet and talk without preconditions, with a view to opening full negotiations about ending apartheid.

Mr Malan said that was the

| only way to break the deadlock

over negotiating a peaceful end to the apartheid system.

Sapa reports that the ANC told the DP it was ready to meet all parties if approached, and confirmed it was working on new initiatives for talks.

No preconditions

The DP therefore urged the | ANC to express its willingness |

to meet the SA Government without preconditions, and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations. The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution. However they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created. '

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as

being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation.

The ANC had also said it | would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission Report on Human Rights.

At the end of the talks both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the September election was over.

â\200\230 By Carina le Grange i
A National Party official and a delega-
tion of young South Africans with â\200\234di-
|verse political opinionsâ\200\235 returned to
South Africa from Lusaka yesterday
after meeting officials of the African
National Congress at the weekend.

The meeting took place under the
auspices of the Institute for a Demo-
'cratic Alternative for South Africa
(Idasa).

Idasa official Mr Wayne Mitchell,
who led the delegation of 27, which in-
| cluded Randburg NP city councillor
| Mr Stephan van Metzinger, said the
| delegation was made up of young South

N3

NP official in

Lusaka group

Africans with â\200\234leadership potentialâ\200\235.

Mr van Metzinger is believed to be
the first NP office bearer to publicly
attend a consultation with the ANC.

The delegation left South Africa two
weeks ago and met political, trade
union and business officials in Nami-
bia, Zimbabwe and Zambia, apart from
the ANC.

L

T L SO N rpe s

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A statement released yesterday by
the group said: â\200\234We are a group of con-
cerned South Africans with diverse po-
litical opinions. Discussions, covering a
wide spectrum, were held with groups
of people, including businessmen, politi-
cians and a delegation of the ANC.

â\200\234Discussions were characterised by
an open exchange of ideas, which made
it possible for us to hear a variety of
opinions as regards the conflict in
southern Africa. We declare unani-
mously that the visit has resulted in
our seeing a better future for post-
apartheid South Africa.â\200\235

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DP perceives new flexibility

for talksâ\200\231

*/EUROPE MONDAY, JULY 17, 1989

By JAIME NOGUEIRA PINTO

LISBON-In the last week of June I traveled to Southern Africa to gain a sense of the peace efforts in Angola after the Gbadolite summit. In this town of northern Zaire on June 22, under the sponsorship of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko and 18 other African leaders, the two opposites in Angola's 14-year-long civil war, Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, shook hands and agreed on a cease-fire between their respective organizations: the Marxist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the U.S.-supported armed nationalist resistance Unita (National Union for Angola's Total Independence).

The day after the handshake, the MPLA launched a propaganda effort, picturing the Gbadolite meeting as a victory. According to its version, carried in the Portuguese press and echoed in other Western outlets, Mr. Savimbi accepted in Gbadolite the Luanda government's peace plan of national harmonization. Supposedly Unita will disappear as an autonomous organization, and its cadres will be integrated fully into the MPLA structures; the freedom fighters eventually will get three Cabinet posts and four provincial governments, and Mr. Savimbi will withdraw politically, going into a kind of golden exile in the U.S.

My sense of the Angolan situation told me that this story was a fairy tale. Considering the military situation, which put Unita in a strong position, and the long investment Unita had made in the struggle to liberate Angola, it looked to me like the Gbadolite agreement was a bad deal for Unita. So I accepted Mr. Savimbi's invitation to visit him at a Unita headquarters in the southern Angolan bush.

Going to Gbadolite was a difficult step for the Marxist Mr. Dos Santos. It was dictated by a tenuous military and political situation. The military perspective finds that the main interior towns such as Huambo, Lubango and Luena have been under Unita siege for months, the only supplies coming by air; the morale of FAPLA (the MPLA troops) is lower than

ever, with a high desertion rate. The Cubans are withdrawing, leaving FAPLA alone against Unita.

From a political point of view the situation is also dark. Fidel Castro, the principal ally and supporter of the MPLA,

Jonas Savimbi

Meel Sheet Jrisal

Angola After the Big Handshake '

has advised Mr. Dos Santos to negotiate with Unita while most of the Cubans are still present in Angola. They are supposed to be totally out by 1991. The Soviets have decided not to go on paying for one of the 'imperialistic adventures' of the Brezhnev era. The U.S., meanwhile, has shown continued support for Mr. Savimbi and Unita. Military supplies for his movement doubled in recent months to compensate for the interruption of the South African pipeline of material, now forbidden by last year's New York agreement and even impossible because of transit restrictions through Namibia's border.

Black Africa seems in a new mood regarding the Angolan civil conflict-and

Jonas Savimbi insists he will stay in Angola. 'Only losers go into jail or exile,' he declared, after receiving a note of support from President Bush.

even the role of South Africa in the continent. Zaire's President Mobutu, after playing go-between, became a full mediator between the Angolan factions. His reasons were not only philanthropic; he wanted to appear as a peacemaker and a regional leading figure before his trips to Europe and the U.S. Mr. Savimbi, stopping at Kinshasa en route to Gbadolite, told Mr. Mobutu that he wanted to be sure about two things: that Mr. Savimbi would meet Mr. Dos Santos and that Mr. Savimbi would address the peace conference with status equal to that of the Angolan president.

By being included in such situations, the partisan almost automatically gains the upper hand. Guerrilla and civil wars deal with legitimacy, and governments deny legitimacy to insurgents, calling them 'puppets' of foreign interests or 'armed bandits.' Six months ago, the MPLA was calling Unita an 'armed wing' of the

South African Defense Force, and Mr. Savimbi a â\200\230â\200\230racist puppetâ\200\235 and â\200\230â\200\230armed bandit.â\200\235 When Mr. Savimbi addressed the conference, he received four standing ovations from the audience. Suddenly he'd became a â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230guerrillaâ\200\231 and a â\200\230â\200\230compatriot.â\200\235

The other day the new Angolan ambassador in Lishon called him the â\200\230â\200\230Unita president.â\200\235

My own meeting with Mr. Savimbi confirmed this transformation, though it's

always difficult to judge his mood. As

Plutarch wrote about Caesar, he's the same man in good or bad times, neither euphoric in victory nor depressed by defeat. Mr. Savimbi and I talked for two hours about past, present and future. He considers Gbadolite a good start for peace but is cautious about the path ahead. Mr. Savimbi insists he will stay in Angola. â\200\234â\200\230Only losers go into jail or exile,â\200\235 he declared. He is confident about U.S. support, reporting that he received in late June a â\200\230â\200\230personal messageâ\200\231â\200\231 of encouragement from President Bush. He voiced confidence not only in such â\200\234â\200\230old friendsâ\200\231 of Unita as Mr: Mobutu, King Hassan of Morocco and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast but also President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and even Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique as well as Moussa Traore, chairman of the Organization of African Unity. .

Above all Mr. Savimbi is confident of his own people. â\200\234Morale was never so high among servicemen and population,â\200\235 he stated. He voiced sentiments of friendship and hope to Portugal, reiterating that he expected a lot from former Angolan settlers in developing Angola once peace is won.

Mr. Dos Santos cannot say the same. The Lisbon government has been too sympathetic to him, but that's about it for good news. The Gbadolite meeting spread suspicion and nervousness among MPLA radicals, including the man who was once Moscow's most trusted in Luanda, Roberto de Almeida. They are accusing Mr. Dos Santos of having gone too far in Gbadolite. The security and interior department agents fear being future scapegoats, as people in poor suburbs are becoming enthusiastic about peace and hostile toward the known informers of the secret police. Soviet advisers also seemed surprised by the Gbadolite handshake; the same with the Cubans, themselves already worried over the trial of Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, a former commander in Angola, for drug running. Gen Ochoa was executed in Cuba last week.

Now there is news about FAPLA local commanders sending messages to their headquarters asking for instructions after the announced cease-fire. They are having trouble maintaining discipline and preparedness among their troops, whose will to fight was already low. It's always difficult to keep men at arms once the road to peace is open, particularly when you are on the government's side. Nobody wants to be

- the last casualty in a lost war.

Mr. Nogueira Pinto is a Portuguese lawyer and journalist, formerly editor of the Lisbon daily O Seculo.

Winnie Mandela file o

goes

to Attorney-General

Cocrdian 12/H39

Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

HIC death of Stompie Moce
ketsi has returned to
haunt Mrs Winnie Man-

del, wife of the jailed black
leader M Nelson Mandela.

A report on staterun radio
yesterday said police had sub-
mitted a dossier to the Attor-
ney-General on her alleged in-
volvement in events leading to
(he killing of the young black
activist. The Attorney-General
would decide whether or not o
prosecute Mrs Mandela, it said.

The report came within
hours of Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s return
from Paarl, where she visited
her husband to get a first-hand
account ot his meeting a week
ago with President P, W. Botha.

Mrs Mandela was strongly
critical of Mr Botha for organis-
ing the meeting; she said her
hushand was a prisoner, not 2
firee agent, and fabelled the 15-
minute discussion a ploy to con-
fuse the black community at
home and the outside world.

Stompie Moceketsi, aged 14,

was one of several youths alleg-
edly abducted from a Methodist
Church house in Soweto by
members of the Mandela United
Football Club and taken to one

of Mrs Mandela's houses in the huge township.

Stompie disappeared for weeks after the abduction. The body of a boy who had been found dead in Soweto early in January was later identified as his. Police investigations led to

the arrest of nine members of

the Mandela Club.

Some members of the team lived in special quarters in Mrs Mandela's home. They served as her bodyguards or, as her foes charged, as her private militia. The behaviour of the team drew bitter criticism from the Soweto community,

It led to a damning attack on Mrs Mandela in February by the 'mass democratic movement', a front of political forces spearheaded by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The leaders accused the so-

United Football

club team of conducting a reign of terror and charged Mrs Mandela, who served as their patron, with violating the ethos of the democratic movement.

Stompie Mooketsi was allegedly abducted together with three other boys who stayed at the church house. One of the three escaped and the other two were freed after tremendous community pressure.

Mrs Mandela did not deny that the boys were taken from the church house. She claimed that they had been sexually abused by the clergyman there. 'I gave them shelter, as is my duty as a social worker,' she said.

M Geoff Budlender, a lawyer who handled affidavits from three boys, known as Thabiso, Pelo and Kenny, said at the time: 'They say Mrs Mandela was involved.' He declined to

claborate.

The priest, backed by Bishop
Peter Storey of the Methodist
Chureh, has denied Mrs Mande-
la's allegations that he *â\200\234sodo-
misedâ\204¢ the boys.

No 3752

17-23 July 1989

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Cover design by Tayo Fatunla

EST AFRICH

PUBLISHED WEEKLY SINCE 1917

President meets prisoner

THE CAPE TOWN meeting between President PW. Botha and Nelson Mandela on July 5 has expectedly provoked very mixed reactions from both sides of the inhuman - apartheid divide that separates the rest of the world from the racist white population of South Africa. Does the encounter between the leading personalities on either side at last signify a bridge across the historic troubled waters of southern Africa?

For the British and American governments who have both favoured discretion rather than outrage in their dealings with South Africa, the meeting has already come to signify yet another southern African watershed. New York, Gbadolite, Tuynhuys, are all logical moves towards a permanent peace in Southern Africa, secured through negotiation rather than confrontation, 200\230 :

The South African government, while acutely sensitive to the propaganda advantage to be derived from Botha's unexpected initiative, cannot be seen to be bowing to external pressure, particularly with elections imminent, and Treurnicht's Conservative Party improving its position in the polls. For most Afrikaners, Mandela remains a terrorist, and Botha's decision to receive him at his Tuynhuys presidential residence is seen as a treacherous volte-face rather than a courteous gesture from one elder statesman to another. Conversely, renewed speculation that the government intends to release Mandela after the September elections could help the National Party regain voters from the liberal Democratic Party. :

It is still not certain to what extent Botha was acting "alone in setting up the meeting. Some cabinet colleagues, including De Klerk, were notified in advance, but the National Party as a whole was left in the dark and the rank and file" obviously resented what was construed as an ill-judged publicity stunt at best and, at worst, an attempt by an increasingly isolated and discredited leader to cut a finer figure for himself.

Government statements on the meeting have emphasised that no agendas were set at Cape Town, that the conversation was largely apolitical.. Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, emphasised that 200\230\230no policy matters were discussed and no negotiations conducted 200\235 200\231, but added that both men 200\234 200\230 availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa 200\231 204. Significantly, the most enthusiastic reaction to the meeting came from Foreign Secretary, Pik Botha, who referred to it as 200\234 200\230probably the most important event in the recent history of South Africa 200\231. He added, pointedly, that it was 200\234 200\230important to note that the two South African leaders met without any foreign mediation, :

Outside the National Party, the most enthusiastic reactions came from the Democratic Party, which called the meeting 200\230 200\230an important step towards restoring rationality to the political scene. 200\235 Archbishop Desmond Tutu described the meeting as a climbdown by the government and told a Cape Town news conference: 200\230At long last a head of state is heeding the calls of those who are interested in negotiations. In some ways you could say it is the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him 200\231 200\231,

But worries about the potential political capital for Pretoria in publicising the meeting have tempered the optimism of Mandela's supporters. Reverend -

Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, looks at the meeting in the context of the classic situation of a prisoner being brought before his captors. He believes that no meaningful dialogue is possible under such circumstances and for the government to pretend otherwise is 200\234 200\230nothing short of political mischief." .

And an ANC spokesman in Lusaka warned that 200\230it would be wrong for

anybody to believe that the meeting signifies the start of negotiations between the black people of South Africa and the government'â\200\231, um