

COMMENT**Poor relations**

JOHANNESBURG ratepayers will be asked to pay an average increase of 13% in their municipal bills to meet the city's record R2,1bn budget. They may not agree with management committee chairman Ian Davidson's assertion that this amounts to "much-needed relief" because the increases are lower than the inflation rate, but they will pay up, nevertheless. And so will the residents of Sandton, where the increase has been kept to 10% thanks to the town's "astounding growth".

Both these strong municipalities, with their powerful industrial base, will be able to plan expenditure in the safe knowledge that income is assured. Yet right on their doorsteps are less fortunate councils about to face a desperate financial crisis.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has informed black councils they will have to fend for themselves from the end of June. It has been providing millions in bridging finance every month because of the endless rent boycott, which has been exploited to the extent that many township residents collect money from backyard shack dwellers, but refuse to pay their own council dues. In Soweto alone, as we reported recently, the total income to the new landlord class is estimated at R10m a month.

The TPA may be right to call a halt to handouts, but this will not solve the problem of powerless, bankrupt, unpopular councils, or of who will provide future services, and how payments will be collected.

Davidson is right when he says Johannesburg cannot be expected to take on Soweto's massive debt burden single-handedly. The city is prepared to unite with Soweto and help solve its financial problems, but it cannot do so on its own. Government created the problem in the first place, by taking the control of black townships away from municipalities 20 years ago, leaving them to survive on house rents and sorghum beer profits. It therefore has a major responsibility to help put their administrations back on an even keel.

There is no earthly prospect of black councils, or future mixed councils, being able to repay the huge debts accumulated over the years, and government's first step should be to write them off. The second step could be to hand over the remaining housing stock to long-term occupiers, making them genuine home owners instead of tenants, and the third to involve community organisations in arrangements for the resumption of service payments.

Long-term, racial divisions between municipalities will disappear when the Group Areas Act is scrapped. Until then, it is difficult to see how the jumbled Free Settlement Areas legislation could offer a basis for solutions. In any case, these cannot be found by politicians alone. Industry, which forms the backbone of rich municipalities, draws its manpower from the townships and has a direct interest in social stability, must be involved as well.

25/6/90

Double standards

The political terrorism that has caused so much death, suffering and material damage in South Africa has been mainly confined to left-wing militants. In order to cope with this type of resistance, the Government passed a whole battery of draconian laws that enabled the police to side-step the ordinary processes of law, detain suspects without trial for virtually any period, and incarcerate them in solitary confinement if considered necessary. The policy was such an obvious violation of human rights that it caused an outcry both at home and abroad. Opposition parties, church leaders, humanitarians and the English press, including this newspaper, campaigned for the restoration of the rule of law.

We are still totally opposed to detention without trial, but we are also opposed to double standards. Last week, 11 white men were detained by the police in connection with an alleged plot to commit acts of sabotage and assassinate national leaders, including the State President and Nelson Mandela, but all were released a day later on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence on which to base a charge. It is most unlikely that their release would have been as prompt, had they been members of the UDF or some other left-wing organisation. The suddenness of the decision has caused surprise and misgiving, besides bolstering the widespread belief that the Government is lenient towards right-wing groups.

There is no reason to believe that right-wing militants are less prone to terrorism than their left-wing counterparts, least of all after the bombing of two National Party offices on Friday night. Violence has become a way of life to extremists on both sides. The peace and security for which we all yearn can only be attained by a policy of even-handed justice towards everyone.

Mob rule

While Nelson Mandela has been given a hero's welcome overseas, his wife Winnie has received a poor or indifferent press. Her reputation has been harmed by the "Stompie" case and the unfortunate remark about matches and necklaces.

She has now wisely, though belatedly, put the record straight. Necklacing is barbaric and cannot be condoned under any circumstances — a statement that should reassure the overwhelming majority of South Africans who have been appalled by the depth of hatred and viciousness that the violence of the last few years has revealed. There can be no confidence that the new South Africa will be a land where liberal democratic principles and the rule of law are entrenched unless the leaders of all communities unite in condemning mob rule and the barbaric excesses to which it gives rise.

ANC's Suttner sees extinction of the UDF

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC did not want community organisations to be absorbed into its structures and anticipated that the UDF would gradually be phased out of existence, ANC political education head Raymond Suttner said yesterday.

Suttner said in an interview that the ANC believed it was important that civic, women's and cultural organisations retained their own identities, and that they formed their own representative organisations at regional and national levels.

It was also ANC policy, he said, that SRCs did not have to comprise ANC or Congress of SA Students (Cosas) members only.

One of the main lessons from the East European experience was that it was important for other organisations to retain identities distinct from the main national political organisation.

He said the ANC would continue to have close relations with these organisations

and assist them in building structures. It was not ANC policy to "swallow up" community organisations.

"The ANC is the broadest organisation in the political sense in that it embraces more people than any other organisation.

Distinct

"However, there are many of these civic organisations which have non-political functions which serve the interests of all residents, ANC supporters and others."

Suttner predicted the UDF would continue to exist as a distinct co-ordinating organisation for the "meantime".

"In the long run, we expect that civic structures will be developed to co-ordinate on national and regional levels and that the UDF is likely to be phased out."

Winnie cuts her vivas to suit the ANC

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The crowds may go wild when Winnie Mandela raises her fist and cries "Amandla!", but her husband is apparently less amused by her fiery rhetoric.

On several occasions over the past week, she has hinted not too subtly that she is being reined in.

At Wednesday's ceremony at Martin Luther King's Atlanta grave, she said, with a touch of sarcasm: "I would like to thank the ANC deputy president for his announcement that the ANC is committed to the equality of women. Thank you, sir."

Addressing 20 000 "comrades" at Washington's convention centre the previous evening, she observed: "When he has spoken, I shouldn't speak. When we get back to the hotel, I'm going to be in trouble."

Mandela and others on the podium behind her did not join in the laughter. Their faces were even stonier when she appealed for funds to help the families of ANC combatants because "if you are a communist in SA, nobody wants to come near you".

While her notices in the US Press had generally been adulatory, her remarks have been at odds with her delegation's efforts to portray the ANC as a peaceful and non-ideological organisation whose resort to arms was purely defensive.

She began her first speech in New York last week by shouting "Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe!" Since then she has limited her vivas to the ANC, her husband and ANC president Oliver Tambo.

In most of her appearances with her husband, she has appeared solemn and increasingly tired, only becoming animated in front of a microphone.

Milestone

PROBABLY for the first time since 1910, South Africans of all races can look back on a parliamentary session and feel proud and hopeful.

Sessions were once marked by new discriminatory and oppressive laws; they were measured by whether that year's additions were more or fewer than the previous year's, by the way organisations, people and debate were repressed, by the degree of militarisation and the damage done to the prospect of ever negotiating a peaceful future.

From the time that President de Klerk took his government across the Rubicon on February 2, the measurements became different, and the portents changed. Organisa-

tions, people and debate have been freed, negotiation is in prospect, the defence budget and military service have been cut. Times have changed; apartheid laws are being rolled back and the complaint now is that discriminatory measures are not going fast enough.

The threat, too, has changed; it now comes not from the ANC and the SACP, which calmly call local news conferences, but from right-wingers who may take extreme measures to prevent negotiations and the new government to which negotiations should lead.

That danger remains, but this parliamentary session has nevertheless given hope to a nation which had almost abandoned hope. It is a major achievement.

South Africa

NATAL WITNESS

by Gerald Shaw

(2)

A time for consolidation

THE end of the parliamentary session brings a breathing-space in the hectic pace of change, enabling the country to digest what is happening and to grow accustomed to the uncertainties and anxieties of the transition. The next few months will be a time of consolidation, we may hope, in which both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will take a break from world travel and give more of their time to addressing and reassuring the South African population, in which expectation and apprehension alike are tending to run wild.

The transition to a stable, democratic South Africa is an untidy business and there will be bumpy passages, as at present. As the old verities and structures make way for an unknown future, many people are understandably apprehensive, even acutely so. This is a time in which authoritative analysts (such as Van Zyl Slabbert) who command respect among all parties can help ease the transition by explaining what is afoot, offering citizens some means of making sense of it all.

Slabbert offers helpful insights in the latest (April 1990) issue of the journal, *Monitor*, which is published

by the Human Rights Trust of Port Elizabeth (Box 13197, Humewood 6013). It seems a pity that his calm and level-headed assessments of the state of the nation do not figure regularly on television discussion programmes. He could do much good.

Slabbert sees an informal understanding or alliance between the NP and the ANC as absolutely necessary in the management of the transition, leading to a referendum or plebiscite to approve a constitutional package or perhaps (more probably?) an interim arrangement to work towards such a package.

Before this phase of co-operation is reached, however, the normalisation of political life will have to run its course, with the return of the exiles and the ANC-UDF-SACP having sorted out the relationship between them. With communism in retreat around the world, the SACP in particular faces many problems in coming in from the cold.

The ANC has yet to complete the transition from underground liberation movement to legitimate political party. In December it is to have its first national congress on South African soil in more than three decades. It needs time to consult its

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constituency, to set up branches and to formulate policies. There is a way to go. The ANC's current priority, judging by Nelson Mandela's American tour, is fund-raising abroad. Yet there is much to be done at home.

For the rest of this year and much of next year, it seems to me, the political lines will be continually redrawn as the ANC-SACP-UDF, the

PAC, the Democratic Party, Azapo, Inkatha, the Conservative Party, the Labour Party and everybody else work out where they really stand in the new scheme of things. There could be splits and realignments right across the board.

The key division will be between those who want to talk and those who want to fight. Among those who want to talk, I imagine, the first task will be to set up negotiating structures. The ANC is still calling for a constitutional assembly — elected by universal franchise. The NP Government disagrees, and in this it is supported by leading western opinion as reflected in the general assembly last December which dropped this proviso in the resolution endorsing the Harare Declaration.

In the NP view, the election of a constitutional assembly would be one of the last steps to be taken before the new dispensation is in force. The first step, I suspect, is more likely to be an NP-ANC alliance, as foreshadowed by Slabbert, leading to an interim arrangement to manage the transition.

An election for a constitutional assembly is not practical anyway as

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From Pg 1

long as the violence between rival black groups and communities continues at its present disquieting levels. It is violence and the fear of more to come which could yet arrest (but not reverse) the advance to a new South Africa, protracting the misery of the transition, whether it be violence on the left or right extremes of the political spectrum, or continuing Natal-style factionalism.

There is disagreement about the causes of the factional violence in black communities. Everybody concerned is to blame, no doubt, not excluding the security establishment of the Botha era, which did not scruple to set black against black to achieve its aims. In this unholy spectrum of mayhem there are also the CCB, the lingering menace of the death squads and the threat of right-wing rebellion, on one side, and the continual killing of policemen and the commitment to "armed struggle" on the other.

Unless De Klerk and Mandela start working together to curb all the violence, building trust and confidence, the dream of a new South Africa will turn into a nightmare.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.

25-06-90

Cosatu told: pay us for stayaways

N/WITNESS 25/6/90

by SONYA SCHOEMAN

SUPPORTERS of chiefs in the Vukundlala region have proposed that Cosatu reimburse their wages for all stayaways past and future as their employers had to curtail their wages due to stayaways called without their consent.

This was part of a petition of grievances compiled by "amaKhos subjects" to be sent to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and then to the State President, F.W. de Klerk, as well as to the Minister of Law and Order and Democratic Party member Radley Keys and MP Pierre Cronje.

The petition was handed out at the end of a peace prayer meeting held at Mpuvuza tribal courts yesterday, which was attended by a crowd of about 10 000.

The petition stated that the "subjects" perceived the ANC and affiliated organisations' call for a stayaway on July 2 as "one of their many tactics of testing their political strength at the cost of innocent people's lives", and should any violence flare up on the day, they would be held responsible.

A further proposal was that the South African Police and the 32 Battalion be deployed everywhere from the early hours of the proposed stayaway day as they would be going to work.

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela's call for continued sanctions was rejected claiming that the call was not aimed to the "benefit of blacks", but was solely aimed at attracting the world's sympathy so the ANC could be boosted with financial assistance.

They proposed that Mandela "woo" the international community to invest in South Africa as, since sanctions were imposed, thousands of blacks were left jobless, fuelling more frustration which resulted in the eruption of violence.

Buthelezi was praised as a moderate leader of "a good backbone for his never-swaying and vociferous stand that violence does not achieve anything but merely fuels more violence".

The meeting was held to pray for peace in the whole of South Africa, particularly Pietermaritzburg. • Inkatha's central committee has thanked its former secretary-general, Oscar Dhlomo, for rejecting rumours that he resigned because of internal Inkatha disputes or because he planned to join the ANC.

Inkatha march to protest sanctions

JOHANNESBURG

About 1 000 Inkatha supporters marched through central Johannesburg on Saturday and presented a memorandum to representatives of the British and Italian embassies in protest at the imposition of sanctions on South Africa.

The memorandum argued that "sanctions hurt blacks to an overwhelming greater extent than whites" and urged that the countries use their influence to ensure that future negotiations "include all representatives of all political organisations".

While waving posters saying "God giveth jobs: Mandela took away the jobs" and "Mandela belly-full; we are hungry", the marchers urged the embassies to encourage Mandela to honour an invitation to meet Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

There were some tense moments when protesters threatened to assault bystanders but there were no incidents.

— Sapa.

Inkatha lifts ban on peace talks with opponents

N/WITNESS

25/6/90

by CARMEL RICKARD

WITHOUT any fanfare, Inkatha has lifted the moratorium on official talks with its Natal opponents which had proved a stumbling block to peace efforts in the region.

However, the decision has been overtaken by the new strategy of the African National Congress and its allies to "isolate" Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They declared the first week of July a week of "national mass action against the apartheid war in Natal", including a one-day countrywide stayaway.

The expected national action is viewed with deep concern by Inkatha.

At a meeting in Ulundi this weekend the organisation's central committee (ICC) issued a resolution deploring the intention behind this action as "turning the early part of July into a period of confrontation".

The ICC called on Nelson Mandela and the rest of the ANC leadership to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation".

Mandela was criticised for "publicly and internationally attempting to humiliate" Buthelezi in Rome. The ICC

urged him to accept Buthelezi's offer to work together to reduce the "level of black on black confrontation".

The ICC also called on Mandela to put the good of South Africa before the good of the ANC, by recognising that "all talk which inflames anger" and which could increase violence "must cease forthwith".

Earlier this month in a statement which has not before been published, Buthelezi lifted last September's moratorium on Inkatha's participation in the joint peace process, as it had be-

come "redundant".

Since the ICC decision to impose the moratorium, Buthelezi has been repeatedly urged to reconsider by the ANC, its allies, and others.

Buthelezi called on both sides to "announce a new determination to establish a new effective peace initiative".

The ICC yesterday called on the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to publicly condemn recent attacks which razed the homes of Inkatha Women's Brigade leaders in Soweto and Durban.

The ANC, UDF and Cosatu were asked to "shame the violence irrespective of who was responsible" for last week's attacks on the West Rand home of Angelina Dhlomo, and the Durban home of D.D. Ngcobo.

According to the statement, "to date more than 70 Inkatha officials, many chairmen of local branches, have been murdered in Natal/KwaZulu".

All black leaders and organisations were asked "to embark upon a common cause of shaming violence for political purposes out of existence".

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are.

One nation or several? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

The temptation is great to brush aside these questions, and to say piously that we must build a new nation, but few things (as we have learned from the calamity of 1910) are so risky as a constitution that tries to ignore uncomfortable realities.

If South Africans may reasonably be defined as a nation deeply fissured by differences of language, religion, race, cultural habit, historical experience and self-definition, then we have two extreme options: try to obliterate the differences under a strong central government that brooks no nonsense, or — as Mao said — let a hundred schools of thought contend.

There is no doubt which option is the more dangerous: to try to obliterate differences in a system that gives unfettered control to "50% plus one" (or even 90% plus one) risks unleashing into this volatile mixture the destructive fury of an IRA: a psychopathic right-wing underground army that carries violent resistance, against all odds, from generation to generation.

That makes it all the more alarming that the ANC and its various supporting groups persistently reject, as Nelson Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state. The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDM's Faried Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of "50% plus one" are mere

Beware the leader who wants power only to do good

Business Day 28 June 1990

KEN OWEN

devices to "perpetuate apartheid".

A moment's thought exposes the excuse as nonsense. There is hardly a magisterial district, much less a potential federal unit, where whites are not a minority. In fact, former MP Reuben Sive has calculated that even in the "whitest" part of South Africa, which is the PWV area, whites are outnumbered by more than two to one. Elsewhere, the disparity is greater.

Until somebody comes up with a more convincing explanation, we must assume that the rejection of federalism arises from a determination on the part of the ANC to acquire unfettered power. And we must ask ourselves, why this lust for power, if not to coerce?

The problems of definition are severe. We are skewered on the terminology of racism: blacks, whites, coloureds, Asians. Nothing in our history led to quite the same agony as the attempt to lay down a pseudo-scientific definition of racial characteristics.

The Population Registration Act is to South Africa what the death camp monuments are to Germany, a reminder of the obscene perversions committed in service of a spurious definition of ourselves. Ironically,

however, the terminology of race, and the myths that go with it, still dominate our political discourse: rich whites, poor blacks, deprived minorities of coloureds and Indians.

In fact, an equal division of wealth, assuming it were possible, would give the Indians 3% of the whole, which is a little less than their present share; hence equality must make them poorer. But simply to state that fact is to fall into the old obscenity: the truth is that some Indians are very poor, some are very rich, and there is no reason at all to lump them together.

Look at the same question from another angle: almost all home owners in Soweto, and most occupiers of the "little matchboxes", draw large incomes from sub-letting back rooms, Zozo huts, or garages to so-called squatters. As in Sophiatown and old Alexandra in the Fifties, mutterings against the landlords are being heard from the underclass of sub-tenants who, ironically, are drafted into "the struggle" to give legitimacy to the claims of their relatively prosperous landlords! Who

are the rich, who the poor?

When we talk of poor blacks, whom do we mean? Or when we talk, say, about redistribution of wealth, do we mean that the backyard "squatters" will no longer have to pay rent to the new class of Soweto landlords? Or only that the landlords will not pay rent to the municipality? Or do we mean that the very poor will get new houses, and their landlords will lose their extra income?

Or, from yet another angle: the unionised workers have become a new, relatively privileged class, fighting off the hordes of half-starved "scabs" who clamour at the factory gates for jobs. The most under-reported story in South Africa these days, I venture to suggest, is the epidemic of killing and assault that occurs within 500 metres of the factory gate during strikes.

Again, who is rich, and who is poor? Is it better to throw the labour market open to all job-seekers, and let wages slide as a result, or should the unions fight to protect the interests of their members? Even at the cost of condemning the "scabs" not only to desperate poverty, but to high prices?

We are a country of myths and

illusions. The totalitarian machinery created to enforce apartheid also obliterated the facts. Statistics which divide the population according to the unscientific criteria of the Population Registration Act serve only to conceal reality, not to illuminate it.

In addition, if we are honest we must confess, as the Sowetan's Thami Mazwai has recently suggested, that we have all used those statistics as instruments of propaganda, to attack the National Party, or to whip up foreign funding, or to get foreign bursaries and teaching posts and subsidies, or for a thousand purposes which, in the shadow-world of apartheid, might have seemed legitimate — but which now seem increasingly questionable, even shabby.

Nor does it help to claim purity of motive. A man who worked for the notorious Tomlinson Commission in drawing up the blueprint for apartheid, now preaching non-racialism with the zeal of a convert, assures me that at the time, they all thought it the right thing to do.

Hoot if you will but listen carefully now to the socialists demanding power in order to do good. Social engineers, whether Joe Slovo or Hendrik Verwoerd, always *mean* well when they set out to twist human affairs to fit their megalomaniac visions.

The constitutional challenge, it is trite to say, is to balance two principles which are not always easy to reconcile: equality before the law, and the right to be different. To strike that balance is never easy, but in a country like this, divided in a hundred ways, riven by fierce factions, it is more difficult and more dangerous than in most places.

In this volatile mixture of tribe and class and race, each nursing ancient myths and clashing visions, the surest way to disaster is to formulate another grand plan to replace Verwoerd's grand plan. If our history has taught us anything, it is to be wary of leaders who demand power in order to do good.

Star 25 June 1990

ANC to blame for CP gains

The ANC is in part to blame for the near disaster that occurred in Umlazi recently. As a lay observer of politics in South Africa and a moderate, it was fairly obvious to me why Umlazi nearly fell into the hands of the evil Conservative Party.

My rationale: Imagine if you're a white living in Umlazi, Natal, for that matter a white living in South Africa. You hear about a great, mythical leader being released from prison after 27 years of unfair, inhumane incarceration.

Your instincts tell you that he may (miraculously) offer an unequivocal solution to South Africa's complex problems.

Optimism breaks new barriers as a glimmer of light shines at the end of the proverbial tunnel.

Coupled with his white counterpart,

the balding man with the enigmatic smile, you cancel your plans to emigrate to Perth.

But, this "marvellous man", who once said "we approve of organised violence directed at selected targets", reveals his true intentions.

He wants the "armed struggle" and sanctions to continue. His alliance with the communists remains unbroken.

As a white-collar, middle-of-the-road South African, you go to the polls in Umlazi.

You exercise your unjust, minority vote. Out of sheer fear, you vote Conservative against your better judgment.

That is why Nelson Mandela and the ANC are in part to blame for the Umlazi debacle.

Jonathan R Lieb

Orange Grove

Star 25 June 1990

Tambo still calling youths to battle

While Nelson Mandela is gallivanting round the United States and President Bush promises aid to the ANC providing it renounces violence, it is fitting to mention that through Radio Truth, the mouthpiece of the ANC, beamed from Radio Ethiopia on June 6, Oliver Tambo (shown right) exhorted

youths to be organised for battle.

"Let us ensure," he said, "that the month of June witnesses a massive revolt on all fronts. Actions of defiance must be intensified."

One can only hope that President Bush gets the message.

D Devlin

Bramley



Star 25 June 1990

SA men pay fines but are rearrested

The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — Two South Africans convicted in Swaziland of kidnapping paid fines of R460 each, but were rearrested for alleged arms possession.

Jacobus Andries Rudolph and Theodorus Louis le Roux, both 23 and both of Pretoria, had pleaded not guilty to kidnapping Michael Dube in April.

The court heard the two men had bought 30 "diamonds" with the help of Mr Dube.

They paid him R5 000 and R85 000 for the "stones" which turned out to be glass. The men held Mr Dube for 24 hours.

The Star

The view from the ANC's side

PERSPECTIVE plays curious tricks. This newspaper has criticised Mr Mandela for demanding sustained sanctions; it has argued that the move from apartheid is irreversible; and it has felt something of the irritation displayed by Government at what seems to be foot-dragging by the ANC. But it is important to note that ANC leaders are not simply being bloody-minded. The view from their side of the fence is decidedly different — and nervous whites ought to be aware that black politicians feel nervous too. Acknowledgement of this fact may help to prevent stereotyped reactions that will not help peaceful change.

True, Mr Mandela has publicly expressed his belief in President de Klerk's good intentions. That is progress considering Nationalist betrayals of the past. But four decades of generations of discrimination, baasskap and plain white greediness have not encouraged blind faith. If wishes were horses, beggars would ride...

Apartheid, we have argued, is mortally wounded. But it is not yet dead. Like Dracula, it still needs the final stake. People are still being hounded because they are living in an area reserved for whites. Group Areas lives on. Race classification and discrimination are still facts of life.

Most crucial, political apartheid remains entrenched in constitution and practice. The tricameral Parliament that ended its session last week provides living proof of that. Despite bland assurances to the contrary, this "more democratic" tricameral constitution was full of tricks and political knavery. The journey to a democratic society has barely begun and political footpads lurk along the road.

No wonder black liberationists nurse their fears. They know the pressures on President de Klerk not to give away ultimate white power will be enormous. Honest and determined as the President may be, will he really be able to resist the right wing with its proclaimed willingness to fight to the end? Any South African will understand the traumatic choice facing the President as Afrikaner rises up against Afrikaner.

But of course there is no going back. Which brings the country to a great irony. Sanctions are harmful, undoubtedly. But the ANC determination to have sanctions sustained provides daily reminder of economic disaster ahead. And that "ghastly" alternative may just help the President to persuade most whites that reform cannot be resisted, no matter how vicious the far right gets.

STAR 26 JUNE 1990

NEWS

ANC demands political freedom

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress has demanded the right to carry out political activities "with the same degree of freedom presently enjoyed by the Nationalist Party".

In a statement issued today by the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) to mark the 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the ANC said it and its allies demanded the right to conduct meetings, mount demonstrations and processions, assemble and consult in the same way that the ruling National Party (NP) was doing.

The ANC said it made the this demand as its right and not as a favour to be dispensed or withheld as the Government saw fit.

The statement said that while the ANC's strength had never been greater both at home and abroad, and while a series of notable gains had been made since January this year, apartheid remained firmly in place.

Police brutality

Discriminatory legislation remained on the statute books, right-wing and vigilante violence was on the increase,

police brutality and the harassment of activists still continued and political and economic inequalities between blacks and whites remained.

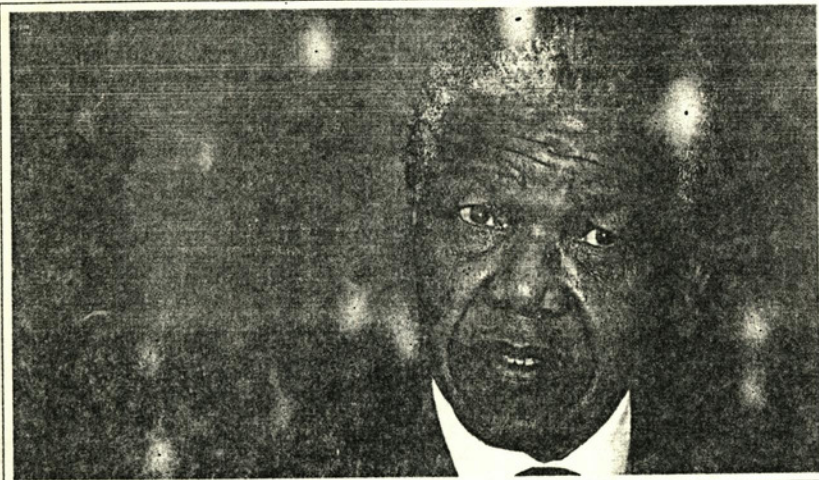
"The history of our country and our region," the ANC leadership said in the statement, "makes it crystal clear that nothing in South Africa will change except at the insistence of the struggle of our people on all fronts."

The political changes which had occurred so far, including Nelson Mandela's release from prison on February 11, were not due to the NP with its "proven anti-democratic record". Instead, these changes were forced on

the Government by the people who had fought apartheid over the past 30 years inside and outside the country.

The ANC said that by the middle of 1990, a year it had designated as the Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa, it still appeared there was no evidence that the Government had any intention of creating a democratic system of government.

The Freedom Charter, adopted on June 26 1955, calls for a non-racial, democratic South Africa. It was this document which precipitated a split from the ANC by Africanists who later formed the Pan Africanist Congress in 1959.



PATRICK PIEL—GAMMA LIAISON

An Interview with Mandela

Q. De Klerk seems to put a great deal of stock in your leadership. To what extent are you concerned with his political survival?

A. We are aware of the problems that he has, especially from the right wing and possibly from inside his own party as well. What we have done is to appeal to whites to assist De Klerk. We are also trying to address the problem of white opposition to him. Discussions have already been started with influential sectors in the right wing.

Q. What contacts has your organization had with the right wing?

A. We don't want to go into those details now because these are very delicate negotiations.

Q. Can you say which organizations?

A. We'd rather not. We are dealing with influential individuals in the right wing. I don't want to go beyond that, except to say that our intention is to mobilize the entire right wing to support Mr. De Klerk, to support the peace initiative.

Q. Any success?

A. From the meetings that we've had, it seems as if our message for a peaceful solution is very strong.

Q. What would be the danger if De Klerk were removed from the party leadership or ousted in the next election?

A. I have no doubt that whatever difficulties he has, he will remain in power. The only danger he must try to avoid is going back to white voters for any mandate he might like to have. The right wing in my view is quite strong. I am saying to him that he should act jointly with us in trying to reach a negotiated settlement as speedily as possible. Once a nonracial constitution is introduced, then everybody will have the vote. He will be assured of the vote of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. But if he goes for a mandate for whites alone, he is in danger.

Q. Why have you not been able to end the fighting in Natal?

A. If it were a question of conflict between Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha [movement] and the A.N.C., we would have solved this matter long ago. But my problem is the government, because what is happening in Natal is no longer a clash between the A.N.C. and Inkatha. The government has taken advantage of the clash between the two organizations to crush the A.N.C. and eliminate its membership in Natal. I have asked De Klerk the simple question, Why has the government failed to suppress that violence for more than 4½ years, and when almost 4,000 people have died? And De Klerk has never been able to give me a satisfactory answer.

Q. Wouldn't it help if you met with Buthelezi? It is an important question.

A. It is not important to us. There are six homeland leaders in South Africa. We are working with five. What is the importance of Buthelezi? I don't see it.

—By Scott MacLeod/Rome

COMMONWEALTH BECKONS

South Africa will rejoin the 'club' when its

government is truly representative

ONCE South Africa has a government that is "truly representative" of all its people, it will be readmitted to the Commonwealth with open arms — but not before then, according to senior Commonwealth sources.

The ANC for its part takes the view that South Africa never left the Commonwealth — that the years between 1961 and 1990 were aberrant years for which a minority white government, lacking legitimacy, must take the responsibility.

ANC President Oliver Tambo made this clear when he addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society in London shortly before he suffered the stroke that has since partially incapacitated him.

For an ANC government, therefore, readmission to the Commonwealth would be almost a matter of course — and it would be supported by the National Party.

Once the De Klerk-Mandela talks reach a satisfactory conclusion, therefore, and a new, power-sharing government is installed, South Africa almost

automatically will be restored to Commonwealth membership.

The ANC regards the Commonwealth's support of sanctions (Mrs Thatcher excepted) as evidence of the organisation's loyal support for the liberation struggle, and it sees the Commonwealth as the kind of organisation to which it would like to belong.

Although no recent opinion polls have been taken on the subject, the overwhelming majority of South Africans of all races probably regard the country as belonging historically and naturally to the Commonwealth, although in some hard-line "anti-imperialist" circles there could be resistance to rejoining.

South Africa would become the Commonwealth's 51st member — Namibia was the 50th.

The procedure for readmission is uncomplicated. The new South African government would write a letter applying for membership to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, who would then consult all Commonwealth members. No objections are expected. The Secretary-General would then an-

STANLEY UYS reports
from London

nounce the decision.

The debate on the value of Commonwealth membership is waged endlessly, particularly in Britain, where there are many vocal critics who want Britain to pull out, because they say the Third World tail tries to wag the imperial dog. The chances of this happening are nil.

For South Africa readmission would confer decided advantages. The Commonwealth would provide the new South African government with a forum, additional to the United Nations and smaller and more intimate, in which to explain its views and extend its influence.

After five decades of growing isolation, South Africa — under a new government — would be an unknown actor in international politics. Also, with the opening up of Eastern Europe to foreign investment, other needy parts of the world, Southern Africa included, would have to depend more on their own resources and other contacts.

UN membership would give South Africa political access to the international community, but Commonwealth membership would provide it with a club in which it could address an extended "family" with shared associations and potentially beneficial economic links.

A further point made by Commonwealth leaders is that a new South African government, functioning in a multicultural context, would find merit in belonging to an organisation whose whole structure is multicultural and in which anti-racism is a fundamental principle.

On a more practical level, the Commonwealth implements diverse programmes relating to education, health, science, law, exports, technical assistance and so forth. Member countries are able to draw on a pool of Commonwealth expertise and in turn to contribute their own expertise.

Commonwealth membership is seen as one way of facilitating the extension of South Africa's undoubted expertise to Africa. South Africa has many skills that are relevant to the continent, and

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COMMONWEALTH BECKONS

From Pg 2

particularly to the Southern African region, where there are already half-a-dozen Commonwealth members.

Finally, a number of bilateral programmes operated by richer Commonwealth countries, such as Britain and Canada, are heavily weighted in favour of lesser developed Commonwealth countries. Some 70 to 80 percent of Britain's programmes and a substantial portion of Canada's programmes are weighted in this way.

However, South Africa's most pressing need when a new power-sharing government is created will be to inform the world what kind of regime has emerged in a country that has lived for half-a-century in the dark ages.

The UN will provide it with one platform, the Commonwealth with another. In the uncertain world that is emerging, blinking, from the upheaval of Eastern Europe and the dramatically changed relationships between the super-powers, the Commonwealth (according to its admirers) can offer some continuity and consistency — and Southern Africa may well be in the market for just this kind of comfort.



OLIVER TAMBO: ANC says South Africa never left the Commonwealth.

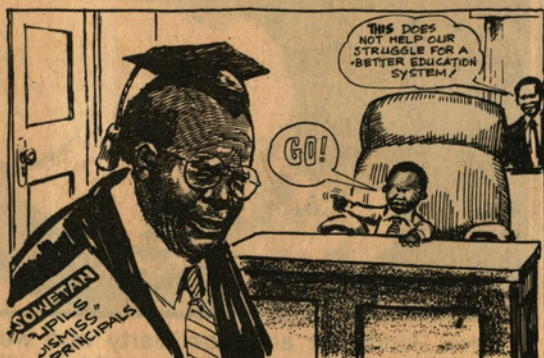
Whites will *Daily News* still be on top *25 June 1990* in a 'new' South Africa

ALARM and frustration over the education crisis are being reflected daily in the black Press, along with warnings to militant stayaway youths that educated whites would still be on top in the new South Africa, whatever the political dispensation.

The SOWETAN urged parents to take a tough line. For years now they had been weeping silently, too fearful to say: "Enough is enough".

"The sad truth is that when apartheid finally goes, blacks will still be at the bottom of the heap, this time not because of their skin colour, but because they will be lacking in skills, and we will be to blame."

Too often parents had stood back while pupils took the decisions. "The children, some of them guilty of assaulting teachers and dragging pupils out of classrooms at the point of knives, are the little heroes standing up to oppression.



The SOWETAN was among newspapers which criticised militant black youths who would have no future because they had no education.

"The black community needs to examine this hypocrisy very closely. While there is a lot wrong with black education and the DET, our children and organisations also have a lot to answer for."

CITY PRESS said UDF general secretary Popo Molefe had hit the nail on the head when he warned youths about the dangers of boycotting school. "He said they must not be surprised to find educated whites at the helm in a new South Africa. This is the reality our children must ponder."

FACED with the "bitter truth" of unemployment, CITY PRESS has reviewed its policy on sanctions — and urged the ANC to do the same.

"In the past we had no problems about using sanctions as a strategy to end apartheid. In fact, we have on several occasions called on the international community to put all forms of pressure on the South African Government to scrap the evil system of apartheid.

"However, the bitter truth is that the majority of our people are daily losing their jobs at an alarming rate. Some of them have even

given up hope of ever being employed."

The Government should take a big portion of the blame for this because of its apartheid policies. However, it had admitted the mistakes of the past and was busy trying to redress the situation.

"In the light of the Government's reform policy, has the time not come for the ANC to review the use of sanctions as a strategy to end apartheid?"

ILANGA accused the ANC of having an "I'm alright Jack" attitude. It said tens of thousands of black South Africans stood to lose their jobs as a result of the gold price slump, joining the army of unemployed.

Yet the ANC persisted with an international campaign of sanctions designed to damage the fragile economy even further.

"There is every indication that they will succeed. That the unemployment queues will lengthen as a result is beyond doubt." But the ANC-aligned activists financed by the democracies of the West would be wallowing in cash.

The SOWETAN said it was distressing that 10 000 miners would lose their jobs, but its editorial did not comment on sanctions.

Fortunately the miners had trade unions to ease their lot, the newspaper said a little lamely.

Pharmaceutical industry heads the field in today's rip-off stakes

SIR — The South African consumer must be the most ripped-off creature in the capitalist world especially now that sanctions, adverse exchange rates etc can be used to justify price rises.

One of the biggest culprits in the rip-off status is the pharmaceutical industry — remember their predictable howls of outrage over the introduction of cheaper generic medicines?

To illustrate my claim I give as an example the sale of fluoride tablets, which are given to children to ensure the growth of healthy teeth.

The pharmaceutical manufacturers prey on the fact that concerned parents, especially in the higher income bracket, will not stint on the cost of health care for their children, consequently the cost of fluoride tablets has risen steadily over the past 10 years — in 1984 they cost 2c each, at present they cost 6,25c each.

Taking the recommended dose this means a cost of 72c a day for my children, which on the surface does not appear excessive. However the following calculations will show that the profit margin is not only iniquitous it is absurd!

Each tablet contains 0,25 milligrams (mgs) of fluoride ion (the active ingredient), which means about 0,55 mg of sodium fluoride is required to make a tablet. Therefore it costs me 6,25c per 0,55 mg sodium fluoride or about 11,4c per 1 mg. Since there are one million mgs per kg, the cost of this sodium fluoride amounts to R114 000 per kg!

A phone call to a local chemical supplier established that US Pharmacopeia IX grade sodium fluoride — the grade suitable for human consumption — costs R213 per kg! Since I know this supplier to be very expensive, the cost of sodium fluoride to the manufacturer will be considerably less than R213 per kg.

Allowing for tableting costs, which would be negligible because of the large volume of tablets produced, plus the cost of sodium fluoride and filler material, I would be surprised if the total costs come anywhere near the cost of R213 per kg for the fluorides I can buy.

This gives the manufacturer a profit margin in the region of 54 000 per cent. From my experience of the pharmaceutical industry, I would say this profit margin is by no means unusual for South Africa.

At one stage I contemplated manufacturing fluoride tablets at a reasonable price, but a colleague who teaches pharmacy pointed out the reasons why I would be wasting my time. Most pharmacies in South Africa are controlled in one way or another by one drug manufacturer, who just happens to supply the only brand of fluoride tablet available.

These people would naturally be reluctant to lose such a lucrative market and would use the power of their monopoly to prevent my alternative fluoride tablets ever reaching the poor consumer!

ROGER'S RABBIT, Durban

INDIAN WORRIES ABOUT LINKS WITH AFRICANS

SIR — Sections of the South African Indian community appear to be apprehensive of their future in this country under an African-dominated government.

Their fear arises from their realisation that they are not really liked or welcomed by the African communities.

This perception by some Africans of many Indians is due to the fact that the Indians, as a race apart, have lived a very exclusive life, with very little meaningful relationship with the African people around them. Thus coming to be regarded as aliens. Such separateness was bound also to foster prejudice, misconceptions and misunderstandings — strangers in a common home!

However, this fear is not justified. Except for the one incident of anti-Indian eruption in Durban in 1949, there have been no organised movements against them, but the ghost of that event has not been completely laid.

Probably, the apprehension is also generated by the uncertain future of this country.

With conflicting and often vague pronouncements by, for instance, the African National Congress, on all the major issues, concerns and fears are bound to arise. What will the future political, economic, social systems be like under an ANC government?

To say that they stand for a united non-racial democratic system, sheds no light on the nature of the elements that must compose the system. Therein lies the vagueness which in turn creates the uneasiness. The unknown is a fertile breeding ground for such thoughts.

What the Indians should be doing is to get actively involved in the life of the Africans. There is need for more social mixing. I see no African dignitaries at any of our ground functions; I do not see them in any important position in our businesses; I am not aware of any business enterprise in partnership with them; no attempts are made by the Indians to get involved in the mainstream of African evergrowing economic enterprise.

It is time the Indians realised that they could be in a perilous state. Politically they are a virtual non-factor — their role will be very marginal. Economically the Africans empowerment will be paid and all-pervading, which is bound to diminish, and could even undermine, the economic position of the Indians.

I.W. BAWA, Durban

Daily News - 25/6/90

Armies Sowetan on the 25 June 1990 march

FOCUS

THE officer barked "right turn" and half of his men wheeled left. The spearhead column stumbled to get in step. Cavalrymen, legs flapping, risked being unhorsed at the trot.

South Africa's brown-shirted, black-hating white right, which is alleged to be plotting assassinations and bombings to maintain white rule, often appears comical on parade.

And its emotional harking on a misty past, when white men with long rifles conquered a dark continent in ox-drawn wagons led by naked natives, sends sophisticates into fits of giggles.

Even amid allegations - which have met with denials - that some neo-Nazis are making plans to kill reformist President F W de Klerk and black leader Nelson Mandela, most security analysts dismiss fanatics of the far right as a bit of a bad joke: fragmented, ill-educated, bitter, few in number and badly led.

But they fear the right may be on the march, gathering sympathy if not support as South Africa lurches unsteadily towards possible black rule. The right may be militarily stunted now, but it could become a catalyst for a mass revolt if whites perceive their security to be threatened.

Paramilitary

"The implicit message that these organisations will organise Afrikaners - once 'all else has failed' - and lead them into a justified civil war will remain a potent one for many white South Africans," says the respected Indicator South Africa research project of Natal University.

"The paramilitary option will be activated whenever the Government is seen as going soft

on law, order and security, which inevitably will happen in the years ahead. Rightwing violence against the state is a real possibility."

Intelligence sources said there may be 300 underground "commandos" - armed units of 50 or more men and women modelled after the Boer soldier-farmers who almost defeated the British Empire 90 years ago - scattered around rural areas, towns and city suburbs. They probably have established arms caches at key points.

Wim Boooyse, director of the Pretoria-based private Peace and Conflict Studies organisation, says there are more than 45 umbrella sectarian and militant groups on the right, "ranging from so-called respectable conservatives to paramilitary militants to Black September-type Afrikaner fundamentalists".

Sabotage

He says a similar number of terrorist cells of four members each may be deployed and multiplying.

Booyse says South Africa's first "terrorists" were white Afrikaners of Dutch and French descent who committed sabotage in support of Nazi Germany in World War 2.

The biggest far-right group is the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB - Afrikaner Resistance Movement) led by bearded charismatic Eugene Terre Blanche, a powerful orator. He claims "tens of thousands" of adherents to an oath to use force if necessary to maintain white supremacy.

The AWB unfurled its black-on-red swastika-like banners in a parade earlier this month to demand the release or speedy trial of a suspected white bomber.

Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is spoiling for a fight.

The troops impressed more for their noisy chants of "Hang Mandela" than parade ground prowess. About 40 khaki-clad marchers found difficulty in co-ordinating stiff-arm salutes and cries of "E-U-G-E-N-E" as they strutted before their camp followers, flag-bearing children and women with babies.

Potential

Regular intelligence officers were impressed neither by the basic training techniques of the AWB nor the riding abilities of 500 conservative commandos in Pretoria a few weeks earlier.

But they say military form may be misleading in assessing the potential of the hardline right.

All rightwing groups share a common political objective - white supremacy.

All are rooted in a bedrock of support among poor whites - the population group most likely to suffer from black advancement.

Their support in the white-led security forces is reckoned to be widespread. One intelligence source said he believed rightists could make up 60 percent of the police and army.

South Africa's white population as a whole has been taught since the cradle to fear and despise blacks. If security of home and family is perceived to decline as black prospects increase, the power of the right will rise.

"It's the middle level whites we have to look out for," says military analyst Al Venter. "The ultra-right is an ultra-joke. But if the middle perceives the situation to be crumbling, they would take up arms."

Fanatics

All white South African males undergo formal military training with sophisticated weapons and explosives. There are 2.9 million registered firearms, nearly all in a white community of less than five million.

Analysts say they do not doubt the willingness of fanatics of the AWB and other "hate" groups - Order of Death, Commando Army, White Front, Storm Hawks, White Wolves and others - to die for a cause and a leader.

"They would be the cannon fodder. That's what makes them dangerous," an intelligence source said. - Sapa-Reuter.

Land reform on the cards

Sowetan 25 June 1990

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THERE was no way in which a black government could survive in a post-apartheid South Africa without having redistributed the wealth, a Soweto businessman said at the weekend.

Addressing the 21st annual meeting of the Lebowa Chamber of Commerce (Lebcoc) at a Potgietersrus hotel, Mr George Negota said financial institutions such as banks and strategic industries would have to be state-controlled to safeguard the interests of the people.

Programme

Speaking at the same conference, the deputy head of the economics department of the ANC, Mr Tito Mboweni, said the organisation was considering a proposal for a Land Claims Commission (LCC) which would work towards a land redistribution programme.

Mboweni, who arrived in the country from Zambia on Friday on a temporary indemnity, said the ANC was primarily an organisation for the liberation of black people and could not, therefore, be expected to ignore their land hunger.

*ANC's thinking
about setting up a
body to deal with
agricultural claims*

He said the LCC would work out a land reform programme that would result in:

- * The abolition of racial restrictions on land ownership and usage.

- * Implementation of an affirmative action programme which would take into account the status of victims of forced removals, and

- * take full cognisance of the need for food production in the economy.

The ANC, he said, wanted a mixed economy where private capital and state ownership would survive side by side.

The present trend in government policy of privatising the state sectors of the economy was unacceptable to the ANC and should be stopped and reversed, he said.

He said while blacks formed about 80 percent of the population, 86 percent of the assets listed in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were owned by

six white conglomerates. Black business owned a mere one percent of productive assets throughout the country. This imbalance was unacceptable.

I was in Cape Town when the newly launched *Daily Mail* hit the streets of Johannesburg. There was nary a copy of the paper in the Mother City, which is a bit of a shame as Cape Town is considered more "cultured" than Johannesburg.

My scouts in Johannesburg told me, with undisguised delight that the first issue of the *Mail* was a disaster.

I have since come back home. I find the greyness a deliberate attempt to give the new paper an intellectually subdued, er ... upper class flavour, sans colour, sans screaming heads, suits my old-fashioned taste.

The *Mail* is taking a bit of a chance for I fear those who favour this type of newspaper might not meet the demands of a modern day circulation department. We are living in the age of pictures, colour and short-attention span caused by computer consciousness and the preciousness of time.

People want to get on with things, and the leisurely read of a paper even on weekends belongs to the days of Lawrence

What a *Classic* cheek!

Gandar and I daresay Arthur Maimane.

Which brings me to the reason I seem to be giving the opposition, such as it is, a plug: Bra Arthur Maimane as Joe Thloloe and I would call him, is features editor of the paper.

His column on Friday took me back 30 years to the days when writing was as exciting as the sip-and-fly shebeen days.

The *Mail* must be complimented for getting Mr Maimane, first back home, and secondly writing for them.

He comes back like musty breath from the past of swaggering penmanship and heady writing. It reminds me of the first day I walked into the offices of the *Golden City Post* at Samkay House, Troye Street, Johannesburg. Mr Maimane, well, Bra Arthur was news editor as I seem to remember.

Samkay House, which had its own shebeen on the top floor, was a stone's



ON THE LINE

Aggrey Klaaste

throw from the notorious Pass Office in Albert Street. Samkay House was also comfortably nuzzled by the most incredible warren of shebeens in town.

My peers will remember Bra Whitey in Albert Street who helped to slake the parched throats of scores of journalists from *Drum*, *Golden City Post* and the old *Rand Daily Mail* in Main Street.

Bra Whitey's shebeen lay at the heart of an illegal colony of booze houses smack under the noses of scores of police who arrested us routinely for the various "dom pass" offences.

On the eastern part

of Samkay House lay the Classic Dry Cleaners owned by the toughest shebeen king of the day, one Magog, also called by us young journalists, the Guns of Navarone. Advisedly.

There was the day that the late Casey Motsisi was stalked by the Guns into the newspaper offices and subjected to a silent, sinister, sadistic punishment until I saw the blood on part of a sandwich he was having. The same thing happened to another old buddy, Stan Motjuwadi.

We all got some shellacking from the Guns as we tried to duck him on pay day. We drank on what we called "tick", on

credit. We worked like horses, drank like sailors and got very little pay.

There was Nat Nakasa, a rather prim, scholarly reporter who did not fit the mould of the swashbuckling likes of the Casey Motsisi, Ronnie Manyosis, Obed Musis, Boy Gumedes and Can Thembas and their younger seedier side-kicks like yours truly. Nat later named a literary magazine after this shebeen - Classic.

It was the type of wry humour Nat had to name a serious literary magazine after the most disreputable and notorious "joint" in town. It was a nice little touch for the Classic was not only the watering hole of the best writers, but attracted gangsters, beauty queens, musicians of all shades and stripes.

It was also a small part of Sophiatown planted smack in the middle of Johannesburg.

Our children have the right to moan about how hard life is today, but they would not believe the way we

lived. Johannesburg, as Mr Maimane will tell you, was tough as hell, upbeat and swung with the best of them. You could for instance get arrested for almost anything.

The pass and liquor raids around Classic Dry Cleaners and Johannesburg streets were legendary. You could be picked up for infringing a never-ending collection of technical offences like not having the "right" stamp in your pass, like not having a permit for booze, a permit for every damn thing, including for being alive and black.

The culture shock that Bra Arthur writes on Johannesburg and its new look, frequently hits me with total amazement. I am amazed to see the number of blacks who walk around freely and actually live in the city. I am amazed no end by seeing scores of blacks walking around like "free" people in white suburbs as if they owned the land! I am amazed by blacks gadding about like their "betters", drinking

openly, defiantly on streets, in pubs, in hotels and all over.

Ye Gods! In my day the best place for a bottle of wine or brandy was in your stomach. The safest thing was to get that liquor disappear as fast as you could into you before the heavy hand of the law descended. We called this "sip and fly".

Most people will not believe the story. They will not believe the evil humiliation and degrading personal attacks we experienced at "Esibayeni" at the Albert Street Pass Office. They might not believe that most of Fordsburg was shebeen land, where people got picked up by police vans every other minute, while hundreds casually thronged and drank in the myriad of shebeens.

I wish the *Daily Mail* the best of luck. The birth of a newspaper is good for the craft. To call it the *Daily Mail* with an obvious marketing eye on the fame of the old *Rand Mail* is a bit of a cheek. It is the type of cheek that Nat Nakasa had in calling his magazine after the biggest little shebeen, Classic.

Thousands to return to work in QwaQwa

A two-week strike by thousands of workers in QwaQwa's private sector has been resolved and workers will resume duties today and begin negotiations in their respective industries.

Congress of SA Trade Unions spokesman Mr Floyd Mashele said on Saturday a week of negotiations between Cosatu and the QwaQwa government had also resolved a labour dispute in the public sector.

Government had dismissed 281 workers after threatening to dismiss 800, but had agreed following negotiations to reinstate them.

A working committee of 10 people from Cosatu and 10 from government would continue to investigate the workers' demands. - Sapa.

Slam attacks - Inkatha

INKATHA'S central committee yesterday called on the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to publicly condemn recent attacks which razed the homes of Inkatha Women's Brigade leaders in Soweto and Durban.

The organisations, and specifically ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, were also asked to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation which are calculated to produce violence in black politics".

Resolutions to this effect were taken at a central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, Inkatha's Press statement yesterday said.

The ANC, UDF and Cosatu were asked to "shame the violence irrespective of who was responsible" for last week's attacks on the West Rand home of Mrs Angelina Dhlomo, and the Durban home of Mrs D D Ngcobo. - Sapa.

Protesters teargassed

BOPHUTHATSWANA police fired teargas at hundreds of villagers who heckled and booed Bophuthatswana's president Lucas Mangope at a meeting in Phokeng near Rustenburg at the weekend.

Mangope went to Phokeng to give his personal support to acting chief Mokgware Molotlegi who has been rejected by villagers as tribal leader.

Hundreds of villagers wearing T-shirts and badges in support of exiled chief Lebone Molotlegi lined the main road through Phokeng and heckled the president as he addressed a small crowd nearby. - Sapa.

'Forgive and forget'

Sir - I respond to a recent letter by Mr Bheki Sibiyi of Katlehong in which he condemned the meeting between the Great Bull of the North, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, and the ANC in Lusaka.

I do not think Colonel Ramushwana should be labelled a "sellout". If he was a sellout he should have objected to the meeting with the ANC.

I do not say he has not infiltrated the ANC. He might have done that. But, Mr Sibiyi, remember politicians should not bear grudges.

If the Colonel has changed his attitudes towards the ANC, his thinking should be welcomed.

If he is not accepted, obviously he is also not going to accept us, and that will only benefit the oppressor.

Biblically we are supposed to forgive and



forget while politics has shown that if we do not unite we are automatically going to fail.

We are in contact with Colonel Ramushwana in every day life. He is a man of love, a man of

peace, a man who knows what is expected of him as a leader, a man who wants reconciliation with his previous political opponents.

He has taken over the reins in Venda to lead his people to their rightful place.

Politically such a man needs encouragement and support.

Long live our hero.
Rofhiwa Livhuwani
Johannesburg

Sowetan 25 June 1990

Thatcher braced for EC clash over sanctions against South Africa

By Boris Johnson and George Jones in Dublin

MRS THATCHER arrives in Dublin today prepared for a tense argument with other Common Market leaders over renewed efforts by Britain to lift sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Haughey, Irish Prime Minister, in an eve-of-summit interview on Sky Television, signalled that he remained at odds with Mrs Thatcher over the lifting of sanctions.

"Sanctions should not be suspended or lifted until such time as everyone is satisfied there is in place irreversible progress towards the abolition of apartheid," he said.

Mrs Thatcher intends to press for an easing of EC sanctions because she feels it is time to demonstrate encouragement for the process of reform in South Africa.

She will argue that under President de Klerk, South Africa has now met virtually all of the conditions demanded by the Common Market when it imposed sanctions in 1986.

The Government hopes to persuade the meeting to produce a firm declaration in support of Mr de Klerk and to boost the EC's current £50 million programme of development assistance to his country.

"Some acts of South Africa show the irreversibility of the process. It would be discreditable if there was not such a shift," said a British diplomat.

But the Irish leader emphasised he was not satisfied that sufficient progress had been made by Pretoria to justify relaxation of sanctions.

Mrs Thatcher will maintain that EC sanctions, particularly the ban on new investment — already lifted by Britain — are now little more than symbolic, with many Common Market countries renewing trading and diplomatic links.

According to an assessment



Mrs Thatcher: 'Time to encourage South Africa'



Mr Haughey: 'Sanctions should not be lifted'

prepared for Mrs Thatcher, other European countries which have eased restrictions on South Africa include:

Italy: A statutory ban on investment has been removed.

Spain: Certain rights have been restored and a ban on South African athletes eased.

Denmark: For the first time it has accredited an ambassador in South Africa.

Benelux countries: Visas for South Africa relaxed.

West Germany: Companies such as BMW, Mercedes and Volkswagen building cars in South Africa. Other firms are involved in new projects.

France: A trade mission has gone to South Africa. The Total oil company has just entered into a joint venture with a South African firm.

Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece are expected to support Britain's demands for the summit to demonstrate its support for Mr de Klerk. But Mr Haughey has strong backing from France, Denmark and Holland for resisting the lifting of sanctions until there has been further evidence of "irreversible" change.

The most contentious issue, apart from the pace of further European integration, is likely to be the demand for urgent financial aid to rescue the Soviet economy.

Mrs Thatcher will be seeking support from other EC leaders for Britain's new proposals on monetary union, which involve turning the Ecu, the Community's existing monetary unit, into a common currency, which could be used alongside existing money by people throughout the 12 member states.

So far, there has been a cool reception to the plan, but an immediate rejection is unlikely. British officials are confident that it will at least be on the table when a formal conference on economic and monetary union is launched at the end of the year.

Mr Haughey hopes to conclude the six-month Irish presidency of the Community with a major declaration on protecting the environment.

Like the Social Charter, this will in theory ensure Europe's 320 million citizens certain basic rights, in this case to clean air, clean food and clean beaches.

Dear Sir,

IT IS odd that several of your correspondents have chosen this moment in Wits University's history to rattle the "freedom of speech" skeletons (real and imaginary) in our cupboard.

While organisations such as the ANC were banned and their supporters were detained or sentenced to long terms in prison if they expressed their beliefs, their resentment that their opponents had the field to themselves was surely understandable. Regrettably on a few occasions this resentment led to speakers being shouted down in defiance of the university's efforts to uphold freedom of speech. After the last such incident, in June 1989, the identified culprits were disciplined.

Now that all can be heard such tensions are considerably eased. The intolerant will, of course, always be with us, but the fact is that this year all speakers on campus have had their say, and some of the topics have been contentious indeed. Some commentators expressed surprise that Glenn Babb and Tony Leon were given a courteous hearing, but more remarkable was surely the live broadcast of the ABC Nightline programme from the Great Hall. All shades of opinion were in the audience and Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, CP MP Koos van der Merwe, an Inkatha Youth representative, the Rev Allan Boesak, Helen Suzman and (via satellite from Lusaka)

Not the time for criticism

Thabo Mbeki were among the participants.

I am not claiming that all are welcome to speak at Wits. Emotions are at a high pitch countrywide. It would be irresponsible to allow a meeting to be held if we considered the risk of damage to life, limb and property on campus to be significant. But is this really the moment to attack us once again on this issue?

R W CHARLTON
Vice-Chancellor and Principal
Wits University

□□□□

Dear Sir,
IT IS time that ordinary citizens stand up and expose the hypocrisy and danger of affirmative action schemes in the education system. These schemes are nothing less than another form of racism — one far more vicious and totalitarian in its effect than any system it is designed to correct, and one which corrodes the future welfare of our society.

Nowhere is this better demonstrated than at Wits University, where a band of ideologues has imposed on the Medical School an affirmative action programme which has frightening implications for the future of health services. A major goal of the programme is that by the

end of this decade 50% of students enrolled must be black. To achieve this goal, entrance requirements for blacks have been drastically lowered, while qualified whites are turned away.

The university authorities' dilemma occurs later, when the unqualified students they have forced into the system prove incapable of passing their academic courses. To fail these students would show up affirmative action for the dangerous farce that it is. So in the end all manner of elaborate stratagems are employed to "pass" the failing, unqualified students.

Last year, for instance, the failure rate among final year black medical students at Wits was so high that the university was faced with the prospect of having hardly one black graduate to show for all its efforts. So what was the solution of the university authorities? Rather than admit to the failure of their affirmative action scheme, they simply upgraded the written examinations of all the final year students by 12%, thereby ensuring that an acceptable number of black students would pass (albeit

PO Box 1138
Johburg 2000

25 JUNE
barely) and graduate.

The terrible truth is that the authorities at Wits Medical School are each year passing into our medical system an appreciable number of graduates, mostly black, who would not be able to graduate from a recognised medical school anywhere else in the world. The price for this will be paid by the thousands and thousands who will be innocently delivered into the hands of incompetents masquerading as qualified doctors.

W W WILLIAMS
Parktown North

□□□□

Dear Sir,
HOW feeble, fickle and conveniently forgetful are white South Africans and particularly the centre-left element when it comes to showing loyalty, integrity and the courage of their political, religious and moral convictions.

Let's go a short way back to when the NP's election slogan was "over my dead body" while the DP was vigorously promoting the very actions, measures and reform that the NP government is today implementing. You will appreciate the irony of it all.

And to cap it all, we hear state-

ments made by wise and influential men after the Umlazi by-election that the DP is no longer relevant.

No wonder the Nats have ridden roughshod over SA for the past 24 years and that the right wing is gaining ground by the hour when it is now obvious to all South Africans, black and white, that the so-called liberal white sector of this country is nothing more than yellow-bellied, fork-tongued, vacillating opportunists.

Hopefully certain parties involved in negotiating for the new SA will insist that the DP is well represented at the Great Indaba. If a truly democratic, just, progressive and fully representative SA is the objective, then it is imperative that people of that ilk and substance are included.

G B NORTON
Cramerview

□□□□

A TYPOGRAPHICAL error in an article on this page on Friday by Mike Daly distorted his strike-rate comparison between SA and other countries. Korea's strike intensity in 1985-86 was not 176,7 per million workers. The paragraph should have read: "While Korea's average strike intensity surged during 1987-88, it was a period of unusual political turmoil. In the previous two-year period, intensity had only risen to 17,7 per million workers compared to SA's 58 for the same period. Compared to Malaysia and Thailand we have a problem." The error is regretted.

ANC sanctions message certain to be discussed very forthrightly

Bush and Mandela crunch talks today

DAILY NEWS - 25 JUNE 1990

WASHINGTON: ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due to meet US President George Bush today and said on his arrival in Washington yesterday his message was that sanctions against South Africa must be intensified.

Speaking at Washington National Airport after flying from Boston, Mr Mandela said the people of America had always been in the forefront of action against apartheid in South Africa.

"I have come here to put the message that sanctions must be intensified, and also to ask for resources so that we can address the problems facing our country today.

"We have no doubt the people of the United States will give us that support."

Mr Mandela said he was looking forward to his meeting with President Bush (at 4pm SA time) and the American Congress "where we propose to give a briefing on the latest political developments in our country and our plans for peace".

Observers are predicting Mr Mandela and President Bush will have very frank and forthright exchanges on their differing approaches to solving South Africa's problems and to eliminate apartheid.

The Bush administration has made clear it wants to lift some sanctions measures to encourage President F.W. de Klerk to further reforms and that it is only waiting for one or two further steps from the South African leader before it will be able to consider positive action in terms of the US 1986 sanctions legislation.

Mr Mandela will also be seeing US Secretary of State James Baker this afternoon, and his deputy for Africa, Herman Cohen, indicated on Friday it would be asked of the ANC leader how he intended to assist in ending the violence in Natal so that the state of emergency there could be lifted.

A total lifting of the state of emergency is one of the prime conditions listed in the sanctions legislation before President Bush can lift any measures.

Aside from a scheduled meeting late yesterday with South African exiles and African diplomats, Mr Mandela had a rest day.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, however, was the star of the show at the Metropolitan church in Washington, where a crowd of mostly 3 000 women waited 2½ hours for her to arrive.

She was welcomed on stage by Ethne Barry, wife of Washington's black mayor, Marion Barry, who is currently on trial on drugs charges, and Jackie Jackson, wife of black civil rights leader Rev Jesse Jackson.

In her address, Mrs Mandela justified the decision of the ANC in 1960 to turn to violence after years of its peaceful overtures to the Government had been rejected and met with violence.

The ANC was an organisation which abhorred violence, but "if it were not for Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing and our organisation in Zambia, Pretoria would never have agreed to be talking to us today".

Mrs Mandela warned, however, that now that the government was speaking of peace, it was not that easy for especially the black youth in South Africa, who had been killed and brutalised by Pretoria, to accept it as genuine.—Sapa

TO PG 2

JUNE 25 1990

BUSH AND MANDELA CRUNCH TALKS TODAY
FROM PG 1



WINNIE MANDELA, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, gives a power salute as she addresses the congregation at the Metropolitan Church in Washington.

SAA could be flying into New York by next year, says official

HOPES are high that South African Airways will be flying into the United States by next year.

Besides a Bill before the United States Congress, there is consistent pressure from various groups and individuals to break the sanctions deadlock which resulted in the withdrawal of landing rights of South African aircraft in the United States and prevented US airlines from flying into South Africa.

One powerful official who is on the South African side is the Under-Secretary of State for commerce, tourism and travel, Rockwell Schnabel, who is a former honorary consul for South Africa in California between 1968 and 1981 and who was rewarded by being made a Commander of the Order of Good Hope in 1981.

In an interview during "Pow Wow", the US travel industry's international convention in Orlando, Florida, Mr Schnabel said South Africa represented the largest tourist potential in Africa. Only 137 000 people from the whole continent visited the US last year, of which about 45 000 were from South Africa.

"Our attitude towards South Africa is similar to that of the Soviet

Tourism links Daily News with United States 25 June 1990 set for resumption

Just back from a major international travel convention in America, Daily News special correspondent **PETER DAVIS** reports that stronger tourism links with South Africa are possible, including re-entry for SAA.

Union where big changes have taken place. American airlines have reached an agreement to fly into the Soviet Union and Soviet airlines will fly into the States.

"In South Africa, as changes take place, and the situation there seems to be changing rapidly, you will find greater interest by US companies to take advantage of the definite potential you have there.

"South Africa is a beautiful country. I know it quite well. It has a large potential for tourism, one we will have to address once the political matters have been resolved."

However, Mr Schnabel said he knew of no airline negotiating to fly



Rockwell Schnabel
Powerful official pushing for South Africa.

into South Africa at present and he would not say if SAA was negotiating to fly into the States.

But SAA marketing executive Isak van Heerden said many of the big US airlines had

visited South Africa in the past few months to test the potential and viability to fly into the country.

"Personally I believe we will be back in the United States, maybe as soon as the middle of next year."

One of a South African contingent of almost 30 travel people attending the "Pow Wow" convention this year, Mr Gordon Young, managing director of Nedtravel, confirmed that many US airlines had taken a hard look at the South African market.

"I am sure we will get our landing rights back by next year, provided there is no political hiccup. Part of that decision will depend on Mr Mandela's visit to the States, but you must re-

member that behind all the razzle surrounding his visit, he is not all that popular among certain powerful groups in the States and the US authorities are going to be talking very seriously to him about some of his statements."

Mr Young said South African corporate travellers to the US had arranged alternative routes via Europe and these had now become important to them, while tourists seemed to have accepted the long roundabout flight that means 30 hours or more in aeroplanes and airports. Landing rights would cut the flight down to about 18 hours.

But Mr Young said he did not believe direct flights would mean an instant increase in travel to the United States.

"In the short term, the South African travel industry is in for a tough time. The end of sanctions will mean a lot of business coming into the country, but there will not be too much more going out because of the state of the economy.

"Exchange rates, too, are a problem. But having said that, I think the dollar will come off a bit against other major currencies which will make the US one of the most affordable markets in the first world and for tourists it is magnificent," Mr Young said.

Mandela still vague on economic plans

STAR - 25 JUNE 1990

BOSTON — Nearly halfway through his US tour, Nelson Mandela basked yesterday in personal triumph but questions remain whether he can achieve his economic and social goals in a post-apartheid South African society.

Since arriving in the United States on Wednesday, the 71-year-old former political prisoner with the patrician bearing has been cheered as a hero by hundreds of thousands of people in New York and Boston.

On Saturday evening, Mr Mandela drew more than 250 000 admirers — most of them white — who chanted, danced to drum beats and waved the black, gold and green colours of his African National Congress on a grassy stretch beside the Charles River here.

"Apartheid is falling into pieces," he told the crowd, noting reforms instituted by President de Klerk since he released Mr Mandela from prison in Feb-

ruary after 27 years of a life sentence.

"We are on the eve of a great beginning, indeed, victory is in sight," Mr Mandela said.

But on his trip and during interviews, he never has clearly spelled out what type of economic or political system he envisions if blacks win the vote and a black president is elected.

Nationalist

Mr Mandela has denied he is a communist and calls himself a nationalist, but many people say they are puzzled by that term.

There have been suggestions he would nationalise some industries, but Mr Mandela has avoided any direct answer on this subject to date on his eight-city US tour.

Mr Mandela has big economic ambitions, suggesting on this trip that he wants South Africa to be a world-class international competitor.

But how is another question,

and he has not clearly allayed fears he would not nationalise industries.

He told American television interviewer Ted Koppel that he was not interested in economic models when asked about a post-apartheid system presumably ruled by blacks.

"We are not concerned with models. We are practical men and women," he added.

"We don't care if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice."

But Mr Mandela, showing he is aware of international concerns, also has attempted to assure governments and investors that the influx of funds needed for the South African economy in a post-apartheid system will be secure.

He told an audience at the John F Kennedy Library here that a post-apartheid nation would need a big infusion of foreign risk capital, managerial training and technology. — Sapa-Reuter.

Stars sing for ANC leader

The Star's Foreign News Service

BOSTON — Big entertainment stars performed at various events in Nelson Mandela's honour in Boston at the weekend.

At a luncheon hosted by the Kennedy family, Stevie Wonder sang his latest song, "Keep Our Love Alive". He said he was inspired to write the song after hearing about Mr Mandela's release in February.

Wonder's royalties from the song are to be donated to the African National Congress.

Later, at an outdoor rally on Boston's Esplanade, about 20 000 people heard Paul Simon and Ladysmith Black Mambazo sing "Amazing Grace" and a song from their "Graceland" album, "Homeless".

Johnny Clegg and Savuka were also among the dozen or so other acts which performed.

But it was Mr Mandela who was the star of the afternoon.

A choir sang "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" and when the crowd danced, Mr Mandela joined in by swaying and laughing.



Stevie Wonder . . . royalties to be donated to the ANC.

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The ANC in South Africa is to buy a multimillion-pound computer from IBM, a major target of United States anti-apartheid campaigners, a London newspaper reported yesterday.

In a report from its Johannes-

ANC 'to bust sanctions'

burg correspondent, Fred Bridgland, The Sunday Telegraph said yesterday "computer industry and ANC sources" had confirmed the ANC had invested in an IBM system to hold records of the million or so members it

hoped to recruit.

The paper goes on to say that ANC press officer Jill Marcus denied in Johannesburg that American equipment was being considered, adding: "To my knowledge, no choice or pay-

ment has been made."

This is not the first time the ANC has breached sanctions, the Sunday Telegraph alleges.

It quotes a spokesman in Johannesburg for Nashua, another American company, as saying the ANC had bought fax and photocopying machines for its offices.



Foresight . . . Chief Minister Enos Mabuza (centre) holds the painting of himself done by wildlife artist Keith Joubert (left). Looking on is Bobby Lawrence.

Mabuza presented with portrait

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

SONGIMVELO — In appreciation of his valuable contributions to nature conservation, KaNgwane's Chief Minister, Enos Mabuza, was presented with an unusual painting of himself.

The painting, by Low-

veld wildlife artist, Keith Joubert, was handed to Mr Mabuza at the official opening of KaNgwane's Songimvelo game reserve recently.

Presenting the painting to Mr Mabuza on behalf of all the Lowveld artists, White River sculptor, Bobby Lawrence, compli-

mented him for his concern and foresight into matters relating to the environment.

"A small thought planted 15 years ago has now reached the stage where KaNgwane boasts four magnificent reserves," Mr Lawrence said.

PAC support is growing — Alexander

STAR 25 JUNE 1990

Own Correspondent

AS accusations and counter-accusations fly through the ranks of the Pan-Africanist Congress, general secretary Benny Alexander has dismissed speculation of a looming split.

In a wide-ranging interview in the PAC's Johannesburg headquarters, he said press reports of a bubbling internal controversy over the question of negotiations with the Government were "a storm in a teacup".

He also cautioned against comparing the strength of the PAC against that of the African National Congress "on the basis of how many offices we are setting up around the country".

He said: "... We are out there establishing branches. We are winning members away from them (ANC) — people are coming to us because they believe in what we stand for and feel the ANC leadership is selling out by talking to De Klerk."

The rumours about a looming split in the radical organisation — whose "one settler, one bullet slogan" is frequently aired at its meetings — were sparked by reports last week about a document said to contain PAC policy on the economy and negotia-

tions with the Government.

The reports claimed the PAC accepted that the "military force of the State" would be difficult to overthrow and that many blacks were "tired of waging war" and wanted to see a negotiated settlement.

The PAC document, which was released by Mr Alexander, drew angry criticism from the organisation's youth league, Azanian National Youth Unity which said the document was "contemptible" and directly opposed to PAC ideology.

Mr Alexander acknowledged there had been a "misunderstanding" in PAC ranks about the economic policy document, which had been circulated from the organisation's external wing only for "comment and debate".

There has also been widely-reported dissent within the PAC's upper hierarchy over its continuing radical stance.

Prince Velekhaya Shange, the PAC's chairman for Natal, claimed that extremist positions within the PAC had led to a drying-up of foreign funding.

Mr Alexander pointed out that the PAC was often misunderstood because of a "conspiracy of silence between the Government and government-supporting media".

Doubts that ANC will receive US aid

N. Mercury # 25 June 1990

WASHINGTON—ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela was expected here yesterday for a two-day visit during which expected tough talks on South Africa's situation are scheduled with President George Bush and the US State Department.

The Bush Administration has made clear it wants to lift some sanctions against South Africa in recognition of President de Klerk's reforms and that it is impatient for one or two more steps from the South African leader so that President Bush can

act in terms of conditions laid down in the United States' 1986 sanctions legislation.

Also, while the public fund-raising drive for the ANC is bringing in millions of dollars, the chances at this stage remain low of the organisation receiving substantial US Government aid to assist its proclaimed objective of mobilising mass ANC support within South Africa for a peaceful, non-racial settlement.

Indications on Friday from the US Assistant Under Secretary of State of Africa, Hank

Cohen, were that the ANC would only become eligible for a share of the State's R25 million Endowment for Democracy fund — established to aid former banned organisations working towards democracy in their respective countries — once it renounced violence.

Last week Vice-President Dan Quayle indicated to the Press that the Bush Administration had no intention of singling out the ANC in any funding for democracy in South Africa. — (Sapa)

● See also Page 9

The Afrikaans Press by James McClurg

Call to 'neutralise' Piet (Skiet) Rudolph

N. Mercury 25 June 1990

ANYONE who believes the far-Right gets too much publicity must be looking sideways at Beeld these days.

Swiftly following its revelation of Professor Carel Boshoff's discussion with the ANC came a front page plastered with the story of Piet (Skiet) Rudolph's defiant video.

Did Beeld think Mr Rudolph was paying it some kind of compliment by making it the exclusive outlet for his weird production?

Few will believe that, but Beeld certainly gave the fugitive 'freedom fighter' excellent value. Banner headlines and an array of colour pictures preceded a full-page 'edited transcription' of the video's contents.

However, no-one who read Beeld's editorial in the same issue could have doubted its aversion to Mr Rudolph's call for 'murder and sabotage'. The video, it said, had more to do with terrorism than with a battle for freedom.

Although Mr Rudolph and his fanatical sympathisers had no proven following among South African whites, he was fully capable of causing a great tragedy in South Africa.

Not a moment should be lost in neutralising him before that happened.

National state

In spite of Professor Boshoff's attempts to shake off the allegation, the newspapers of the Nasionale group maintained it was 'a fact' that he and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for foreign affairs, had had a discussion.

Die Burger said it had been confirmed by two unimpeachable sources that a meeting had taken place and that Professor Boshoff had been there in his capacity as chairman of the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Stigting Afrikanervryheid).

Rapport said the meeting was reported to have taken place in a suite in Carlton Court, Johannesburg. In an editorial, Beeld registered its strong approval of Professor Boshoff's courage in holding such a discussion.

This, said Beeld, was in accord with his expressed view that the 'national state' he was seeking for whites would have to be secured by negotiation.

Beeld wondered whether Professor

Sayings of the week

□ It does not help to redistribute poverty. — Mr Hage Geingob, Prime Minister of Namibia, as quoted in Beeld.

□ Black Umfolosi...the ideal holiday resort...whites only. — From an advertisement in a far-Right newspaper, noted by Transvaler diarist Voorslag.

□ Naas Botha is the ideal fly in the ointment. So long as he can manipulate the result of a rugby match he will provide excitement for his fans and detractors alike. — Professor Almero Weyers of the University of the OFS, as quoted in Die Volksblad.

Boshoff had acted as an envoy for Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, and whether this meant that the far-Right was involved in an amazing turnaround.

Transvaler said there should be rejoicing over any indication that the circle of non-negotiators was diminishing.

No way

The developers who converted Bellville's old railway station into a shopping centre walked into trouble when they decided to call it Bellstar Junction. Reaction to this 'cowboy-like' name among some of Bellville's predominantly Afrikaans-speaking residents was blistering.

According to Rapport, the Mayor, Mr Willie van Schoor, promised to fight for the name to be changed, while Professor Christo Pienaar, well-known to wildlife buffs, called the name a 'slap in the face' for an 'Afrikaner town'.

Die Burger poured scorn on the developer's claim that the name was 'descriptive and apt'. If no person or body existed with power to veto such a name, it was time one was appointed, said Die Burger.

No less objectionable, in the opinion of Die Burger columnist Piet Spaarwater is the plan to give the name Bellstantia to a new residential area in Bellville. Piet associated this with a reported move to the northern suburbs by members of the 'mink and manure brigade' from the

southern Peninsula.

(Bellville was named after Charles Bell, a 19th century Surveyor-General of Cape Colony.)

Opinion

The question of a multiracial future for the NP, touched on in this column last week, was taken a step further in the latest of Rapport's regular opinion polls. This showed that, when questioned in May, 60% of Nationalists were in favour of opening the party to all population groups.

The poll reflected a decline in white voters' regard for Mr Nelson Mandela since the poll of February this year. Nearly 50% thought less of him now than they did in February.

President De Klerk scored the highest measure of approval (44,9%) accorded to a State President since the polls started in 1980. On the other hand, the group 'very dissatisfied' with him had risen from 13,4% last November to 21,6% in May.

According to the poll, if an election were held today, support for the parties would be NP: 47,3%; CP: 29,6%; and DP: 18,1%. This poll was held before the Umlazi by-election, with its marked swing towards the CP.

Orandeers

Presumably in the belief that South Africa does not have enough languages, there is talk of a further one — Orandeers.

This, it is quite seriously proposed, would be the language of an independent white territory to be marked out in the central regions of the Republic.

Mr André Putter of Messina told Beeld of his plans to settle with his wife in the Kuruman area of the Northern Cape with the aim of building up a new 'national state' to be called Orandeë, on lines suggested by Professor Carel Boshoff. Mr Putter believes about 6 000 people are interested in the project.

Among steps to improve the climate of the area, which is not noted for its verdure, the Orandeërs plan to restore the Orange River to its original channel and build a wall into the sea at Saldanha to keep the cold Benguela current away from the coast.

More light on Orandeers: It turns out to be only 'a pure form of Afrikaans'.

ANC accused of planning confrontation

Mercury Reporter

INKATHA'S Central Committee yesterday alleged that the ANC was planning to turn the early part of July into a 'period of confrontation' by calling for mass stayaways and strikes.

The committee asked Mr Nelson Mandela to withdraw from the 'politics of intimidation and confrontation which are calculated to produce violence'.

It also demanded that Mr Mandela 'publicly and specifically' condemn the recent attacks on the homes of Inkatha Women's Brigade leaders in Durban and Soweto.

The Durban home of Mrs D D Ngcobo was burned to the ground last week.

'The ANC, UDF and Cosatu must shame the violence irrespective of who was responsible,' it said in a statement.

According to the committee, more than 70 Inkatha officials have been killed in Natal and KwaZulu so far this year.

'Most have been shot, stabbed and burned to death in petrol bomb attacks. Others have been decapitated, castrated and blown up by grenades. This figure is in addition to numerous ordinary members and supporters who have been killed.'

'At present there are more than 5 000 homeless Inkatha refugees in the region.'

Members of the committee also criticised Mr Mandela's 'outburst' in Rome against Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

'We are also appalled by the way in which Mr Mandela cancelled meetings between himself and Dr Buthelezi where they would have jointly called for peace. Mr Mandela ignored invitations to meet Dr Buthelezi privately.'

'There will be no democracy unless reconciliation comes about during the process of negotiating a democracy into existence and unless there is a sufficient degree of black unity,' the statement added.

'Mr Mandela should put the good of South Africa before the good of his organisation and recognise that all talk which inflames anger must cease forthwith.'

ANC slams PAC 'secret' Govt talks

SOWETO—All but two of the 10 homeland leaders backed the negotiating strategy of the ANC to end apartheid, national ANC membership organiser and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Wilton Mkwayi said yesterday.

At a 800-strong meeting yesterday in Pimville, Soweto, to 'reaffirm the popularity of the ANC and discuss the Harare Declaration', Mr Mkwayi said the ANC membership target for Pimville was 50 000 by the end of July. Pimville is estimated to have about 150 000 residents.

Speaking of homeland support for the ANC, Mr Mkwayi said already three out of the four independent homelands — Ciskei, Transkei and Venda — had indicated their backing for the ANC.

'A meeting with Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope is in the offing and I'm sure he will also come round and support the ANC's negotiating strategy to end apartheid,' Mr Mkwayi said, adding that of the non-independent homelands only KwaZulu headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi stood out in

the political cold.

Commenting on the 1000-strong Inkatha march through Johannesburg on Saturday to protest against the imposition of sanctions on South Africa, Mr Mkwayi said:

'Mr Vlok's (Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok) police did nothing when Inkatha supporters marched through the city of Johannesburg brandishing fighting sticks and spears.'

'But I'm not surprised because for a long time now we (ANC) have been pointing to the unspoken alliance between Buthelezi, who is not only the President of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu but also the Minister of the KwaZulu Police, and Mr Vlok.'

Mr Mkwayi criticised the Pan Africanist's 'contradictory' approach to negotiations.

'While accusing the ANC of selling out because of the Groote Schuur talks they are at the same time conducting secret talks with the Government.'

He told ANC supporters that negotiations were just another tactic in the struggle against apartheid. — (Sapa)

THE DAILY COLUMN/NEWS

Stayaways: Cosatu must reimburse us - Inkatha

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Thousands of Inkatha supporters have called on Cosatu to reimburse them for wages lost through stayaways as well as for

future action.

The call was part of a petition of grievances to be sent to President de Klerk, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi and representatives of the Democratic Party.

The petition was handed out at the end of a peace prayer meeting at the Mpuunaza tribal court in the Edendale area yesterday. It called for reimbursement of wages lost through stayaways called without their support.

The statement also said that stayaways were perceived as a tactic of assessing the political strength of the ANC and its affiliates, at the cost of innocent people's lives, and those organisations should be held responsible for any violence arising from stayaways.

The call for economic sanctions was rejected as an action to gain the world's sympathy rather than an action aimed to benefit blacks.

It was proposed that Nelson Mandela woo the international community to invest in South Africa as thousands of blacks had been left jobless as a result of sanctions.

28/6/90

STAR

Inkatha lifts moratorium on talks — but it could be too late

Daely man 25/6/90

CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

INKATHA has quietly lifted the moratorium on official talks with its opponents, which has proved a stumbling block to peace efforts in the region.

However, the decision to end the moratorium may have come too late, overtaken by the new strategy of the African National Congress and its allies.

They aim to "isolate" Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, declaring the first week of July a week of "national mourning" in the province of Natal, with a one-day country-wide stayaway.

The expected national action is viewed with deep concern by Inkatha.

At a meeting of the organisation's central committee in Ulundi this week-end, members issued a resolution deploring "the planned intention of the ANC, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to turn the early part of July into a period of confrontation".

The Inkatha Central Committee called on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and the rest of the organisation's leadership to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation".

Mandela was criticised for his "outburst in Rome" in which he "publicly and internationally attempted to humiliate" Buthelezi, and the ICC urged him to accept Buthelezi's offer to work with him to reduce the "level of black on black confrontation".

The ICC also called on Mandela to put the good of South Africa before the good of the ANC, by recognising that "all talk which inflames anger and which could lead to the heightening of violence must cease forthwith".

Earlier this month in a statement which has not yet been published, Buthelezi lifted the September 10 moratorium imposed by Inkatha on the South African peace process.

He said the moratorium was imposed because the ICC was concerned by the lack of progress of the joint committee.

However, the ICC had now decided to lift the bar on participation as it had become "redundant".

Since the ICC decision to impose the moratorium, the ANC repeatedly urged Buthelezi to reconsider his decision. The argument was that it created a log-jam which needed to be broken if peace efforts in the region were to resume.

Buthelezi appears to acknowledge that the moratorium has been lifted at a time when the circumstances in the region have changed — outdated the peace plan — and in his announcement ending the moratorium he urged both sides to "announce a new determination to establish a new, effective, representative and

Top ANC men deny they're dragging their heels on talks

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Senior ANC member Ahmed Kathrada has accused Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen of misleading the public by blaming the ANC for delaying negotiations.

Kathrada, head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, was addressing a crowd at the organisation's Freedom Day rally in Mdantsane on Saturday.

Kathrada said at the Cape Town meeting with President F W de Klerk and government representatives, the ANC had committed itself to negotiations once the demands laid out in the Harare Declaration had been met.

national executive member Manuel Padua told 800 people De Klerk, unlike his predecessor P W Botha, was prepared to cross the Rubicon and admit apartheid had failed.

"But how long must we wait for him to cross the Rubicon?"

He also denied Viljoen's allegations that the ANC was dragging its heels and suggested government was delaying things by not meeting ANC demands.

Offing

National APP membership organiser and Irithantini we Gawe commander Wilton Mkwazi told the crowd all but two of the 10 homeland leaders backed the ANC negotiating strategy.

On Thursday afternoon the erstwhile ANC and the out of the four independent homelands — Ciskei, Transkei and Vonds — had indicated backing for the ANC.

"A meeting with Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope is in the offing and I'm sure he will also come round and support the ANC's negotiating strategy to end apartheid." Of the non-independent homelands only KwaZulu headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthe stood out in the political cold, he said.

On Saturday ANC spokesman Raymond Mkhoko announced the ANC would establish political schools nationwide soon to equip members with political knowledge and discipline among their communities.

He was speaking at the opening of a new ANC branch in Zwide township, Port Elizabeth.

B1/DAY 2-5-6-00

capture after the fugitive

Inkatha asks Mandela to condemn attacks

ULUNDE The Central Committee of Inkatha has called on Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC, UDF and COSATU to "publicly and specifically condemn" recent attacks which razed the homes of Inkatha Women's Brigade leaders in Soweto and Durban.

The committee said Mr Mandela, the ANC, UDF and COSATU to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation, and to condemn violence in Black politics."

At a meeting in Ghandi at the weekend, resolutions of the Central Committee asked them to "denounce the violence irrespective of who was responsible" in the attacks on the West Rand home of Mrs Angelina Dhlomo last week and the Durban home of Mrs D.D. Ngco.

The committee said more than 70 Inkatha supporters have been murdered in Natal since 1985.

There are more than 5 000 homeless Inkatha refugees in the region.

The Central Committee called on all Black leaders and organisations

"to embark upon a common cause of shaming violence for political purposes out of existence."

The Committee said Inkatha had long campaigned for the release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners.

They were appalled at Mr Nelson Mandela's "outrageous" speech against the "peace and stability" of the country, and by the way in which he cancelled meetings at which he and Mr Buthe would have appeared together to end violence and an end to the violence. Mr Mandela had taken ignored invitation to meet with Chief Buthe privately after

he had agreed to such a meeting.

They asked Mr Mandela to recognise that "there will be no democracy unless reconciliation came about during the process of negotiating a democracy and unless there was a sufficient degree of Black unity of purpose to establish a democracy to make a South Africa a peaceful and stable achievement."

Mr Mandela should put the "unity of South Africa before the good of his organisation" and "recognise that all talk which inflamed anger and which could lead to the heightening of violence in this country must cease."

The Star

The view from the ANC's side

PERSPECTIVE plays curious tricks. This newspaper has criticised Mr Mandela for demanding sustained sanctions; it has argued that the move from apartheid is irreversible; and it has felt something of the irritation displayed by Government at what seems to be foot-dragging by the ANC. But it is important to note that ANC leaders are not simply being bloody-minded. The view from their side of the fence is decidedly different — and nervous whites ought to be aware that black politicians feel nervous too. Acknowledgement of this fact may help to prevent stereotyped reactions that will not help peaceful change.

True, Mr Mandela has publicly expressed his belief in President de Klerk's good intentions. That is progress considering Nationalist betrayals of the past. But four decades, indeed generations of discrimination, baasskap and plain white greediness have not encouraged blind faith. If wishes were horses, beggars would ride...

Apartheid, we have argued, is mortally wounded. But it is not yet dead. Like Dracula, it still needs the final stake. People are still being hounded because they are living in an area reserved for whites. Group Areas lives on. Race classification and discrimination are still facts of life.

Most crucial, political apartheid remains entrenched in constitution and practice. The tricameral Parliament that ended its session last week provides living proof of that. Despite bland assurances to the contrary, this "more democratic" tricameral constitution was full of tricks and political knavery. The journey to a democratic society has barely begun and political footpads lurk along the road.

No wonder black liberationists nurse their fears. They know the pressures on President de Klerk not to give away ultimate white power will be enormous. Honest and determined as the President may be, will he really be able to resist the right wing with its proclaimed willingness to fight to the end? Any South African will understand the traumatic choice facing the President as Afrikaner rises up against Afrikaner.

But of course there is no going back. Which brings the country to a great irony. Sanctions are harmful, undoubtedly. But the ANC determination to have sanctions sustained provides daily reminder of economic disaster ahead. And that "ghastly" alternative may just help the President to persuade most whites that reform cannot be resisted, no matter how vicious the far right gets.

STAR 26 JUNE 1990

NEWS

ANC demands political freedom

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The African National Congress has demanded the right to carry out political activities "with the same degree of freedom presently enjoyed by the Nationalist Party".

In a statement issued today by the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) to mark the the 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the ANC said it and its allies demanded the right to conduct meetings, mount demonstrations and processions, assemble and consult in the same way that the ruling National Party (NP) was doing.

The ANC said it made the this demand as its right and not as a favour to be dispensed or withheld as the Government saw fit.

The statement said that while the ANC's strength had never been greater both at home and abroad, and while a series of notable gains had been made since January this year, apartheid remained firmly in place.

Police brutality

Discriminatory legislation remained on the statute books, right-wing and vigilante violence was on the increase,

police brutality and the harassment of activists still continued and political and economic inequalities between blacks and whites remained.

"The history of our country and our region," the ANC leadership said in the statement, "makes it crystal clear that nothing in South Africa will change except at the insistence of the struggle of our people on all fronts."

The political changes which had occurred so far, including Nelson Mandela's release from prison on February 11, were not due to the NP with its "proven anti-democratic record". Instead, these changes were forced on

the Government by the people who had fought apartheid over the past 30 years inside and outside the country.

The ANC said that by the middle of 1990, a year it had designated as the Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa, it still appeared there was no evidence that the Government had any intention of creating a democratic system of government.

The Freedom Charter, adopted on June 26 1955, calls for a non-racial, democratic South Africa. It was this document which precipitated a split from the ANC by Africanists who later formed the Pan Africanist Congress in 1959.