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London meeting on the

Inkat

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Edendale Hospital Matron Mrs A.S. Mtimkulu pins a corsage on
. Chief Buthelezi on his arrival at Wadley Stadium yesterday. Matron
| Mtimkulu said she had been asked by the chief superintendent, Dr
| Peter Evans, to present the corsage. Senior Inkatha officials later

.ate lunch at the hospital. Picture by BRYAN PEARSON

Strong security at
Ppeace prayer rally

by BRYAN PEARSON and STRINI MOODLEY

BACKED by a strong security force presence and es-
~ corted by a fleet of his own security vehicles, Kwa-
â\200\230Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived in
Edendale yesterday to hold his controversial peace
prayerrally at Wadley Stadium.

A rather poor turnout of just over 2 000 people â\200\224
many of them bussed in from Durban â\200\224 heard that the
â\200\230man who was due to officially welcome the guests, Mr
Alfred Hlophe, had gone into hiding after death
threats had been made against him.

Chief Buthelezi said the turnout â\200\224 which he des-
cribed as â\200\234excellentâ\200\235 â\200\224 could be attributed to the
. dispute over the use of the stadium and the fact that
â\200\234Cosatu bus driversâ\200\235 had been unwilling to transport
people to the stadium.

Elsewhere in Pietermaritzburgâ\200\231s townships the
mood was tense with many residents, fearing vio-
lence, preferring to remain indoors. Buses and taxis
ran virtually empty and the atmosphere was similar
Turn to page 2

NATAL WTness

NC talks

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g 'the UDF and Cosatu approached the \

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Witness Reporter

A LONDON meeting in August of top Inkatha and African National Congress officials to discuss ways of ending the violence in Natal is on the cards.

Also included at the peace conference would be senior executives of the

United Democratic Front and Congress |

of South African Trade Unions.
While neither Inkatha president

~ Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi nor secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo would

be drawn out of the issue when they visited Edendale's Wadley Stadium for a peace prayer rally yesterday, Dr Dhlomo described a report in the Sunday Tribune speculating on the possibility

of a venue, which delayed

organisation.

London at the start of the

current talks between the UDF/Cosatu

and Inkatha.

The parties involved in the negotiations

met twice last week and have remained tight-lipped about the nature of the talks, but the two sides have said a meeting

of the four was a priority

which was being examined.

of such talks as being not without 1

foundation.

The report quoted sources as saying the peace conference would involve ANC national executive committee

members but that they would only be |

prepared to discuss peace in Natal with Inkatha. Dr Dhlomo flies to London tomorrow but Chief Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of KwaZulu, told

- The Natal Witness the trip had nothing

to do with the current talks about peace talks. Dr Dhlomo would not be meeting ANC officials nor would he be discussing the peace initiative at all, Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi refused to be drawn

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HE VISIBLE disintegration

of the National Party has
* inspired in its old foes a

curious anxiety, reminis-
cent of the townsfolk in a famous
;Cmem by the Alexandrian Greek
CP Cavafy called 'Waiting for
the Barbarians', whose work in-
spired the similar book of the
same name by our own J M Coet-
zee.

The townsfolk, realising after a
long wait that the barbarians will
never come, ask: 'What will become
of us without barbarians? They were
a kind of solution.'

I have taken this quotation from
an article that deals with the disap-
pearing 'Red threat' that provoked
the Americans to interest them-
selves in Africa, but it applies as well
to the disappearing National Party.

Hermann Giliomee, one of the
more prominent Stellenbosch refu-
gees at UCT, contemplates the pros-
pect of a 'hung parliament' in
which no party will have a majorit-
y with alarm bordering on panic. If
that happens, he conjectures, the Na-
tionalist right-wingers may well bolt
to the Conservative Party, putting
the CP into power.

If that were to happen, many intel-
ligent people agree, the roof would
cave in on this country. Mandatory
sanctions would be unavoidable, the
capital flight would become a flood,
the round-trippers would trip away
and not bother to come back, the
black population would be likely to

forth.

The transition to black rule might
well come sooner than we expect,
but it would surely be messy, violent
and possibly imposed by an interna-
tional force operating under the au-

thority of the United Nations, like the

'UN force in Korea. 'As a nightmare to frighten ner-

vers back into the NP, this

d hardly be beaten.

Worrall has rushed - an
gu

e Giliomeeâ\200\231s .

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hatever shall we
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our Barbarians?Â¥-

los

KEN OWEN

erupt into fresh rebellion, and so

ments, insisting that a CP victory is
â\200\234virtually a mathematical and poli-
tical impossibilityâ\200\235, and arguing that
a hung parliament will enable the
Democratic Party to exert unprece-
dented influence for rapid reform.

Who is right? Giliomee or
Worrall?

The answer, I would suggest, is:
â\200\234Neither or both.â\200\235 Worrall is correct
when he dismisses Giliomeeâ\200\231s night-
mare for this election; but it might
well come true in the following elec-
tion, depending on how the players
behave in the meantime. Among
those players are the voters.

The matter is best analysed piece-
meal. Firstly, the chances of a hung
parliament in September, though it
is a favourite idea of Worrallâ\200\231s, are
so remote as to be fanciful. That
postulates a swing to the right of
startling proportions by Afrikaans
voters. i

Such a large swing is unlikel- , for
several reasons: most Afrikaans
right-wingers in the Transvaal are

already members of the CP; the NPâ\200\231s
remaining voters are more urban-

ised, more travelled, more educated
ore business-minded than their
ears; the NP, like the Â¢

?, :

ld United

Party, has become the natural home
of the fence-sitters, donâ\200\231t-knows and
wonder-whats; the English Nats are
more likely to break to the left than
to the right, and most likely to sit
tight for fear of change.

The best estimate at this stage (itâ\200\231s

reliminary, but it serves as a base
0 work from) is that the CP can
expect about 40-45 seats, and the DP
about 25. When Worrall talks of the
DP taking enough votes to become
the official Opposition or to hold a
balance of f{mwer in Parliament, it is
more a reflection of his sunny, opti-
mistic nature than of the political
realities. â\200\230

Nevertheless, a sea-change is in
the making. Almost everybody
senses a fundamental shift in white
politics such as last occurred in the
elections of 1943 and 1948 (which are
best viewed as a pair). Analogies in
olitics must not be driven too far,
ut the coming election can be
viewed as the NPâ\200\231s 1943; the disaster
of 1948 lies one step beyond.
The decay of the NP â\200\224 Giliomee
calls it verkrummeling, or crum-
[W

bling â\200\224 is moral, organisational and
political. It is evident in the cynicism
of powerful members; in the perva-
sive corruption of the bureaucracy
and the administrative elites; in the
insensitivity to public feelings; in the
bankruptcy of policy; in the vanity
and ostentation of leaders; in the dis-
solute exchanges of gifts and favours
between powerful men, as between
lovers; in the intellectual confusion
and evasion of realities.

A party so thoroughly rotten, so
used-up, as the Nationalists, cannot
long survive; but the power of inertia
in politics, the bonds of habit and old
loyalties, are generally underrated.
For the National Party, this inertia
will provide one more chance.

It will, under F W de Klerk, squan-
der that chance. De Klerkâ\200\231s propos-
als to deal with the South African
crisis â\200\224 â\200\234group rightsâ\200\235; four racial
chambers instead of three; consensus

and veto; own affairs and general affairs â\200\224 cannot surmount the challenge of the time.

nless he undergoes a conversion after his election â\200\224 which is a sensible time to be converted â\200\224 he will,

~_ like President Botha, spend the first

half of his term in office changing

the constitution, and the second half struggling to cope with the disastrous consequences of those changes.

That brings us to the second election â\200\224 the NPâ\200\231s 1948. Reform which does not resolve conflict simply sharpens conflict; there is no more certain formula for political polarisation than another spell of bungled, uncertain, inconclusive reform. While De Klerk and the National Party blunder about the no-manâ\200\231s-land between democracy and partition, the CP will grow on its right flank and the DP on its left.

If we escape the dire consequences

â\200\224which Giliomee foresees for a hung

parliament this year, the same consequences will anyway threaten us in the next election. There is no escape from the dilemma to be found in propping up the NP for another five years. -

This puts reformist voters in a curious and unusual position: they must vote in this election with an eye to the next. The real fight for the soul of white South Africa will come as De Klerk, the eternal compromiser, tries to find some fence-sitting compromise with the idea of a just society â\200\224 and fails. .

Nobody can foresee with any certainty what consequences will flow from that failure, but we may be sure of turbulent times. The disintegrating National Party will have to

unction under the threat of defections and losses on both flanks, whether by defeat in by-elections or by betrayal in caucus. Talk of coalitions, to left or to right, is bound to become a permanent feature of politics.

Of course, it is distressing to face up to the loss of oneâ\200\231s barbarians, but there is no need to join them. When .

the Nationalists have vanished into
the night, it will do no good to vanish
with them; we shall need a new
power base on which to build a new
party. This election offers what is
probably the last chance to do so

before we face the calamity of losing
our barbarians for ever.

â\200\230 Belt-tightening ordered in all government departments

Namibian Bud

DAty News 2b Tun

battle now that
cupboard is bare

FFICIALS of
the Depart-
ment of Na-
tional Educa-
tion haveâ\200\231been told
that trips out of town
must be drastically
reduced, because sub-
sistence and travel-
ling claims are not
being paid out.

Journeys by govern-
ment pool cars have
been limited to a
100km radius of Wind-
hoek.

In the Department of
Nature Conservation,
the screws have been
tightened to such an
extent that some re-
search scientists have
resigned in frustration
at not being able to do
'their work adequately.

~ One researcher had
his mileage allowance
â\200\224 the distance he was
permitted to travel on
research â\200\224 slashed
from 30 000km a year
| to only 5 000km.

Another Conserva-
Â¢ ice was said to
â\200\230have been allocated
-only R8 000 with which
to run, service and re-
pair three four-wheel-
drive vehicles for a
whole year.

Balancing the books

As finance experts in the South African admin-
istration battle to work out a Budget for the
transitional period to Namibian independence,
the word has already gone out to civil ser-
vants: The Treasury cupboard is almost bare.
BRENDAN SEERY reports from Windhoek.

â\200\224 or at least produc-
ing as low a deficit as
possible â\200\224 has been
the major headache

facing financial planners in the office of Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, as they prepare the Budget which will see Namibia through to independence next year. Legally, the Budget must be presented by the end of July, and many expected it to have been promulgated this month, but Fi-

.nance Secretary Dr

Johan Jones said this week that delivery had been postponed to mid-July.

Finding money will be the biggest problem.

South Africa has slashed its official budgetary contribution to Namibia to R85 million, compared with the R308 million it gave in 1988/89, thereby continuing the pro-

cess of financially weaning the territory, which was begun back in the early 1980s, when Windhoek first began drawing up its own Budgets.

Pretoria also determines the amount due to the Exchequer in Windhoek through Customs and Excise duties, through Namibia's membership of the Southern African Customs Union.

However, many economists known for

- their anti-apartheid

line have claimed that these contributions have, over the years, been substantially less than an independent government in Windhoek could have earned through its own levies.

The 1988/89 Budget

- presented to the Na-

tional Assembly here
last year by the then
Finance Minister Dirk
Mudge, showed a fair

e

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|

amount of fancy finan-
cial footwork, by justi-

fying a R774 million |
deficit, on a total ex- |

penditure of just on
R2000 million and by
saying that the previ-
ous six years had
showed fiscal sur-
plusses.

The deficit was fin-
anced largely by bor-
rowing â\200\224 from local
and South African
banks â\200\224 and through
an overdraft from the
South African Reserve
Bank.

Swapo â\200\224 as the next |

likely government in
Windhoek â\200\224 has hinted
it will repudiate all
previous debt, and the
South Africans them-
selves have said they
will not guarantee
loans any more. So, the
prospects of borrowing
hugely to meet a defi-
cit are not good.

It is expected that

income, under the
present tax regime,
will probably remain
roughly the same as
the R1300 million
eventually realised in
1988/89.

- Even assuming that
expenditure levels are
drastically slashed,
and that all capital
works are halted (even
though they comprised
a miserly 10 percent of

last yearâ\200\231s outlay), the Windhoek financial planners are faced with few options.

One of them will undoubtedly be to increase current GST

and income tax levels.

Economists and bankers here in Windhoek are freely predicting that GST will rise from the current level of nine percent to at least in line with South Africaâ\200\231s 13 percent, although some pessimists have said 15 percent is more likely.

A hike in personal income tax levels (which are currently slightly lower than in South Africa) as well as a cut in tax rebates, are also on the cards.

Whatever happens, the man-in-the-streets, as Dirk Mudge predicted earlier this year, is in for a severe round of belt-tightening.

And whatever government takes over after the Resolution 435 independence elections in November, will find itself faced with major financial problems.

Whether there is a golden pot of international aid money at the end of the indepen-

~dence rainbow â\200\224 to

bail it out â\200\224 remains to be seen.

|

Page 10

: S I move in age into the half century

mark; I often turn back the leaves in

- X\ the book of my life sometimes with a
great deal of sentimental nostalgia.

Apart from this being purely-an indulgence, I
believe it might help people like Strini Moodley,
who has written an excellent article on my
initiative. This will give those who write or speak
about me a type of reference, a background within
which to place me.

I might mention in parenthesis that I hugely

: jâ\200\230;_qnj_pyed the swagger in the description that our
Â\$ cfforts were similar to the Cervantes character,
| Don Quixote. That

SOWETAN Monday June 26 1989

â\200\230Black lea

~of Nation

Building

type of writing is sadly
missing from the pens
of many young
journalists these days.

I am intrigued,
rather have been
taken up, by a story
we carried last week
on farm labour and
conditions under
which people live on
such farms. This sent
my mind back some
30 years to the

black journalists like

h'alcgn days when.

Henry â\200\234Hankâ\200\235 Nxu-
malo investigated the
problem, took it by
the scruff of the neck
and did a great job
about it.

Among other things
Hank Nxumalo not

- only exposed the farm

labour conditions but
went one better â\200\224 he
got himself arrested
and worked on a
farm. Those were the

days of the vicious
pass system, of prison

~ labour, the days when

farmers had total
control over the black
labour.

I hope Strini would
also remember that I
was weaned by saintly
black leaders like
Robert Mangaliso

Sobukwe, a man who

lived far beyond his
age. Mr Sobukwe was
not only a saintly
leader, but an intellec-
tual giant. He was in
my eyes the embodi-
ment of what I these

the influences

days call ubuntu. Not
only did he love
Africa and Africans
but he was deeply
almost profoundly
concerned with hu-
manity.

I also had a chance,
briefly to be sure, to
meet people like
Nelson Mandela and
Mr Walter Sisulu. I
am not impressed
only by the fact that
these men spent all
their life in jail, but by
a type of transen-
dance they had over
petty things.

I lived and expe-
rienced the exhila-
rating days of Freli-
mo, when the Black
Consciousness sta-
warts made the mark.

â\200\230While I never met

Steve Biko, I was
most impressed by the
stature of his think-
ing, his courage and
type of nobility that
can also be translated
into ubuntu, *

All these leader
and this is only part of

- own fam

had on my life, have
impacted in their
various ways on my
thinking.

So that in the end
Nation Building is a
combination of such
influences. I cannot
be seen as original or
as separate from the
past politico-histori-
cal factors in my life
and the lives of other
South Africans.

I might mention
that the influences
from various political
leaders of the past are
still practically
effective in my family
and personal life. I
have members of my

people just as I respect
the leaders. who

Wits University
students when I said
my political or
ideological stance was
neutral. That is a
result of the murder-
ous infighting among
blacks that has made
the job of our
OpPpressors very easy.

Nation Building is
not original nor is it
the only solution. It is
also an endeavour to
get in the way of
orthodox political

movements. It is an
attempt, however,
quixotic to bring these
strands together.

I am ashamed to see
how the police laugh
at the June 16
anniversary services

when we fight one
another. I am

ashamed to be

giant claim.

leaders at the core

LAY
THE
LINE

Aggrey
I CERG

* painted as someone

who uses one
black organisation
over the other.

I am hoping that
pragmatic people like
me will turn our
leaders and their
followers into reflec-
tive people, people
who will not be afraid
to look into them-
selves, and even if there
are bad things there to
recognise them.

For too many years
there has been the
type of arrogance that
makes people believe
they have the mono-
poly to the political
truths of this country
and this world.
Nobody with any
sense in his head can
make such an extrava-

SOWETAN Monday June 26 1989

LONDON â\200\224 The Afri-
can National Congress
has begun discussing
â\200\234whether it could
negotiate with South
Africaâ\200\231s white minority
| rulers and on what
terms, an. ANC spokes-

ready.â\200\235

The spokeswoman at
the ANCâ\200\231s London
office, said the document

- had been drawn up at a

June 8 meeting of the

organisationâ\200\231s national
efec tive in Lusaka in

reactiontoa* chmateâ\200\235 of
expectationâ\200\231> among
foreign governments.
â\200\234It considers such
questions of how talks
could be conducted, how
a transitional adminis-
tration might be handled.

But this is all just

â\200\230theory,â\200\235 she added.

\Supporters of the

ANC, which has been-

waging â\200\230a political and

Africa for 30 -years,

ANC DEBATE ON |
TALKS WITH SA

demonstrated in central
London on Friday when
the head of South
Africaâ\200\231s ruling National
Party, F W de Klerk,

~arrived for talks with
guerilla strugglc in South

Prime Minister Margaret
Thatcher.

man said at the
weekend. E

- She said an interna
document, considering
ways in which Pretoriaâ\200\231s
apartheid system might

be dismantled peacefully.
was being circulated
within the ANC, the
main group fighting
white rule in South
Africa.

It was also being
discussed in South
Africa, where the ANC s
banned.

â\200\234We do not see. any*
evidence the regime .is
| willing to change its
| policies and make itself
| ready for talks,â\200\235 she said.

comes we are |

â\200\234â\200\234But_ we think it is ;
lmpOrtant to prepare a
{ unifi d posnxonsot.hat if |

- organisation will take

historic meet-
ing between
the African

National Congress and
Inkatha will take place
soon in an attempt to
end the violence in
Natal.

The peace conference,
possibly in London or
Lusaka, will involve
ANC national executive
committee members and
the leaders of the United
Democratic Front and
the Congress of South
African Trade Unions.

A major spin-off from
that meeting could be the
forging of ties, however
shaky at first, leading to a
closer relationship or at
least an agreement to
accept each organisa-
tion's differing anti-
apartheid approach,
according to sources.

But it has also been
learnt the ANC would
emphasise that it would
not discuss matters
outside peace in Natal
during the meeting with
Inkatha.

Although parties
involved in the peace
talks last week refused to
reveal the nature of their
discussions, independent
sources confirmed that a
meeting between leaders
of black political
organisations was a
priority which was being
examined.

These current talks
are the start of a logical
sequence of events. The
agenda will go beyond
peace in the region, said
a source.

An ANC spokesman
in Lusaka said last week:

“Our participation in
such a meeting is

necessary to end the

violence in Natal, the

part in
initiative.

Everybody wants the
peace process to succeed.
We all want the violence
in the townships to end,

the peace

Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi.

OPE FOR END

20 June

Now (.m

UDF's Archie Gumede.

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TO SLAUGHTER

Historic meeting between ANC and Inkatha set up

He was referring to last
week's talks between
Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu
which aimed to stop
the violence in Natal.

The ANC spokesman
said the organisation
would consider a request
to take part in a peace
conference if Inkatha
UDF and Cosatu made
an approach.

Sources in the country |

believe a meeting of the
big four would not
face the problem of a
suitable venue which
proved to stand-in the
way of recent attempts to
meet.

They
Minister of KwaZulu arid

I' the spokesman said. Inkatha president Chief

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&224

said Chief

f Mango (pthu Buthelezi had emphasised recently that without the involvement of the ANC, any

peace initiative would probably be futile.

Chief Buthelezi, in his presidential address to Inkatha about two months ago, said what was needed was a statement of intent that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu could sign as separate organisations with Inkatha.

Inkatha is not likely

to be involved in such

. initiatives unless there is

proof that the leadership of the ANC Mission in Exile support it, said Chief Buthelezi. Inkatha thereafter adopted a resolution calling on the presidents and national leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC Mission in Exile to meet our president and leaders of Inkatha at a mutually acceptable venue so that the political organisations directly involved in the violence can establish a joint initiative in the pursuit of peace in the region,

Last month in attempts to set up a peace conference, UDF president Archie Gumede sent a letter to Chief Buthelezi calling for a meeting to discuss, among other concerns, how the ANC and other organisations would be involved in the peace initiative.

Sources also refer to a recent letter sent to Chief

Buthlezi by imprisoned
ANC leader Nelson
Mandela who said:
â\200\234Obviously, my fervent
hope is to see in due
course, the restoration of
cordial relations which
existed between you and
OR (Oliver Tambo) and
between the two organi-
sations in the Seventies."â\200\235

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Itâ\200\231s the end of another session>x< . and of

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At the end of the sixth session of

Parliament, Political Correspon-

dent Peter Fabricius looks back

at the highlights of the session, the last of the Botha era.

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The â\200\234mild strokeâ\200\235
| which President Botha suffered in
' his official Cape Town residence,
| Westbrooke, at 2am on January 18,
| unleashed a chain of events which
dominated the sixth session of Par-
liament that ends today.

The repercussions of this medical event distracted the government from normal business and telescoped the session to only four months of mostly unremarkable legislation.

It precipitated the end of the 11-year Botha era. This brought a number of lesser political careers tumbling down, while elevating others.

. It was the stroke which persuaded

Mr Botha to abandon the leadership of the National Party so suddenly in an announcement to the NP parliamentary caucus on February 2.

The impromptu party election provided a rare insight into the mysterious power positions inside the NP.

It confirmed the demise of Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. Once the crown prince, he mustered onms votes.

linister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik

Botha, despite being at the peak of his career after pulling off the Namibian/Angola peace accords, won only 16 votes â\200\224 eight less than when

he stood for the leadership as a new Cabinet Minister 11 years ago.

. Minister of Finance Mr Barend du

| Plessis shot into new prominence as the verligte champion, drawing a surprising 61 votes in the last round.

~ But the safe choice and favourite,

By

o

Presirjent Botha's stroke precipitated events that ended an 11-year era.

Leon de Beer resigned to receive a jail sentence for electoral fraud.

Peet de Pos resigned after damaging charges by Harms Commission.

Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk, pipped him with 69 votes.

Mr Botha, it was to emerge, hoped merely to lighten his enormous workload by divesting himself of one of his lesser jobs while hanging on to

the all-powerful presidency.

It was one of his worst political mistakes. After choosing a new leader the NP caucus sat back to wait for Mr Botha to resign the presidency.

When he made it clear he had no intention of vacating Tuynhuys for some time, there ensued a protracted power struggle between him and the National Party under Mr de Klerk which in the words of one Afrikaans newspaper editor paralysed the government.

It was not until April 6, after intense behind-the-scenes negotiations, that Mr Botha announced he would be standing down after an election, later scheduled for September 6.

The session was eventful for the

three opposition parties to the left of the government – the Progressive

Federal Party, Independent Party and National Democratic Movement – which merged on April 6 to form the Democratic Party.

The merger showed the DP had a following among the electorate to boost it beyond its 19 seats in Parliament but doubts persisted about its ability to truly weld the three parties into one.

Parliament's legislative programme largely fell between the NP power struggle and the informal election campaign which began in Parliament even before the announcement of an election date.

Minister of Finance Mr du Plessis presented a mostly bland but mildly restrictive R63,5 billion Budget. He followed it up on May 5 with severe measures to restrict runaway consumer spending and protect foreign reserves.

Apart from the Budget, the important legislation dealt with by Parliament included: measures to force the

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sender of Lavie's letter.

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incorporation of the huge black township of Botshabelo into the QwaQwa homeland despite a court decision, new powers for the Advocate General to investigate corruption, tougher new measures to protect the environment, a bill to enable blacks to be co-opted onto the Cabinet, a bill to help businesses fight sanctions and a bill to privatise Iscor.

Outside Parliament the Namibian independence process dominated the news as Swapo's incursion upset the scheduled start on April 1.

The Conservative Party, eager to exploit the Government's sell-out of Namibia's whites, said the incursion showed Government negotiations had failed. However, diplomacy kept the peace process on track and earned the Government praise by all but the CP in Parliament.

It also earned South Africa rare

international kudos â\200\224 as did Minis-
and Order Mr Adriaan

| = Pâ\200\230%SQ'Q,

} Minister Adriaan Vlok fuclâ\200\231fully handled a hunger strike by detainees.

â\200\224 B TR TR I T R R
| Vlokâ\200\231s tactful handling of a hunger
* by emergency detainees.

â\200\230Vlok released about 900 emergency detainees, leaving only a handful inside â\200\224 but the Government still

seemed unlikely to lift the State of Emergency, due to expire on June 10.

Some of the international goodwill â\200\230 was squandered by the â\200\234Blowpipeâ\200\235 â\200\234affair. An Armscor official was trapped buying British missile parts from an Irish terrorist group.

This strained relations with Britain and France. Both countries expelled SA diplomats.

The re-introduction of petty apartheid by Conservative Party town

| councils â\200\224 most notably Boksburg and Carletonville â\200\224 and the ensuing consumer boycotts which threatened white shops, had important repercussions inside Parliament.

The NP gloated over the debacle as proof of the disastrous consequences of implementing CP policy.

~ But as criticism turned on the NP
' for allowing the CP to re-impose

Veteran P Helen Szman rotlod after 36 years in Parliament.

petty apartheid, the Government drew up a draft Bill to undo the action.

The Bill was finally dropped after meeting stiff resistance from the Labour Party. It demanded the full repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

Apart from Mr Botha, five other Cabinet Ministers announced their retirement.

The retirement of Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis visibly rocked the Government.

It prompted much speculation, especially as he had delivered a

major constitutional speech a few days before, spelling out a vision of freely forming groups from all races being represented in one Parliament, one Cabinet and offeeelectoral college to choose the State President.

The session ended with the Government's constitutional plans still unclear.

The expectations raised by Mr

Heunis were to some extent dampened by Mr de Klerk who in a major policy speech a week later talked of the need for drastic changes but strongly stressed own affairs and gave no endorsement Mr Heunis's tantalising hints.

All in all it was not a good session for the Government, racked by the leadership struggle, corruption scandals and, towards the end, a deteriorating economy.

Apart from the Government Mr forced to quit, Dr Gerrit Viljoen's Department of Education and Training, and to a lesser extent Development Aid, continued to be racked by scandals over contracts. Several senior officials right up to deputy director-general level were fired, tired or transferred.

The rash of government scandals turned corruption into a major issue which threatened to hurt the Government in the elections. {

In the ever-fluid House of Delegates, ridden with intrigue, the NI

stitutional Peoples Party of Mr Ami-

chand Rajbansi lost power to Dr J Reddy's Solidarity. This was in the wake of the James Commission corruption inquiry which led to Mr Rajbansi being fired from the Cabinet and suspended from Parliament. . Perhaps the saddest event of the session was veteran Houghton Mrs Helen Suzman's retirement after 36 illustrious years in Parliament 13 more than any other present MP. Civil-rights champion Mrs Suzman went out on a characteristic high note. In the last days of her last session she presented an historic resolution of censure against Judge J Strydom for what she called his pet-version of the law in giving a suspended jail sentence and a fine

Hopes rise for ANC
talks with Inkatha

By Anthony Roblnson in Johannesburg

LAST WEEK'S successful second round of talks in Durban between the Zulu Inkatha organisation and the â\200\234masse democratic movementâ\200\235, aimed at ending two years of bloody fighting in Natal, has raised speculation about possible direct talks between senior African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha officials to resolve the underlying political conflicts behind the fight-

g.

Given the banned status of the ANC in South Africa, such a meeting would have to take place abroad, possibly in London or Lusaka, headquarters of the exiled leadership of the ANC.

The first hint of a new attempt to end the conflict

came earlier this year in a personal letter from Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC loader, to Mangosuthn Buthelezi, head of Inkatha. Mr Mandela called for â\200\234restoration. of cordial relationsâ\200\235 which | existed between the ANC and Inkatha in the 1970s.

Last month Mr Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) sent another letter to Chief Buthelezi calling for a meeting to discuss how the | ANC could be brought directly | into the peace negotiations as | Inkatha demanded. iR

The UDF is widely perceived as the de facto internal wing of the ANC and was in effect

banned on those grounds in
February last year. .

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THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1989 11

Sulking Botha may
spoil National party
election campaign

By Stephen Robinsom in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S ruling National party has run into early trouble in its campaign for the September general election because President Botha has turned his back on government to sulk in his seaside holiday home. The irascible Mr Botha is still seething over the way the party disposed of him shortly after he suffered a

stroke at the beginning of the year,

Mr Botha has grown so
estranged from the party he

AAA Nerve Ar mere than 0
years that a farewell banquet
for him this week has been
cancelled because he would
not confirm he would attend.

Beeld, the largest Afrikaans
daily newspaper, said his behav-
iour had â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230created enormous
embarrassment for a party fac-
ing possibly its most difficult
election campaign in its 40 years
of powerâ\200\235,

Another paper, Die Trans-
valer, likened Mr Botha to an
old bull buffalo driven out of the
herd, â\200\234sliding lonely and embit-
tered into oblivionâ\204ç,

When he stepped down from
the National party leadership in
February, Mr Botha had hoped
to stay on as a figurehead presi-
dent for at least another year.

But he was rapidly outman-
oeuvred by Mr Frederik de
Klerk, his successor as party
leader who turned MPs and
party apparatchiks against Mr

Botha and forced him to call an early general election.

Mr Botha will reluctantly step down as head of state to make way for Mr de la Rée, the

election on Sept 6. -

National party MPs fear their election campaign could be seriously undermined, Mr Botha said he will not get involved in it, and will certainly not offer any support for Mr de Klerk,

Clear evidence of a party split will improve the fortunes of the far-right Conservative party, which is expected to make further gains at the government's expense.

Mr Botha, who headed the government for 10 years, is understood to be particularly angry that Mr de Klerk undertook his current European tour before he was established as head of state.

When Mr de Klerk became party leader, one senior party figure questioned whether he had the steel in his teeth necessary to run South Africa.

But the ruthlessness with which he has marginalised Mr Botha suggests he has passed that test.

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<] SOWETAN :Monday June 26 .

apartheid system - might
be dismantled peacefully.
~was being :circulatec
A}wnhm the | ANC, the
i;mam group fighting
3 S8 in

also being
discussed in South
Africa, where the ANC is

Evidence |

Awmmg Â¢ to

policies and! make nsclt

'a, ready for talks," si¬\201e sa:d
"But . weidithink i it is
lmponanr o prepare a
um¬\201cd Wlon so lhat if

The spokeswoman at
the ANCâ\200\231s ' London

office, said the document
. had been drawn up at a
June 8 meeting of the

| org nisationâ\200\231s national
â\200\234â\200\234eyecutive in Lusaka in

" â\200\230reaction to a *â\200\230climateâ\200\235 of
expectationâ\200\235
â\200\230foreign governments.

â\200\234It considers such

"questions of how talks

could be conducted, how
a transitional adminis-
tration might be handled.

among -

But this is all just

;theory,â\200\235 she added.â\200\231

Supporters of the
ANC, which has been
waging -a political and
guerilla struggle in South
Africa for 30 years,

demonstrated in central
London on Friday when
the head of South
Africaâ\200\231s ruling National
Party, F W de Klerk,
arrived for talks with
Prime Minister Margaret
Thatcher.

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E - L.ETTERS

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Obstacles on the road to peaÃ©eâ\200\230 in

Dear Sir, _
John Qarlinâ\200\231s article (22 Junc)
correctly emphasises that the con-
tinuing deployment of Koevoet in
Namibia now poses a threat to the
UN plan envisaged in Resolution
435. He suggests, however, that
Swapoâ\200\231s demand that Koevoet
must go is a little excessive.
Koevoet, a force which gained
notoriety in recent years for the
murder and torture of so many
Namibians, was earlier this year
infiltrated into Namibiaâ\200\231s â\200\234exist-
ing police forceâ\200\235, charged in the
UN plan with maintaining â\200\234law
and orderâ\200\235 during the transition
period. The UN Secretary Gen-
eral and his Special Represen-
tative in Namibia are themselves
insisting on the proper demobilis-

.
ation of. this force, because it is.a

requirement of the UN plan that

Koevoet be demobilised and its

(1989). % o

On the admission of South Af-
ricaâ\200\231s police chief in Namibia,
General Dolf Gouws, the size of
the police force was virtually dou-
bled by the inclusion of Koevoet,
whose commander, Hans Dryer,
is now the â\200\234policeâ\200\235 commander
for the whole of northern Na-
mibia, South Africaâ\200\231s claimed de-
mobilisation of Koevoet has been
nothing other than a cynical cos-
metic exercise; aimed at keeping
the cutting edge of its military
machine in Namibia intact, armed
and mobilised. This is clearly a vi-
olation of both the letter and
spirit of the UN plan envisaged in
Resolution 435.

Members of Kogvoet, directly

â\200\234Dear Sir,
"The

involved in the brutal suppression
of Namibians over so many years,
could hardly be regarded as â\200\234suit-
ableâ\200\235 for employment in the po-
lice, another requirement of the
UN plan. John Carlinâ\200\231s accep-
tance of â\200\234South Africaâ\200\231s sincere
commitment to decolonisationâ\200\235
of Namibia begs the question as
to why Pretoria so persistently
refuses to demobilise Koevoet,
and why it has kept the suppos-
edly demobilised South West Af-
rica Territorial Force on its pay-
roll, still retaining â\200\234personal
weaponsâ\200\235, '
Yours sincerely,

PETER MANNING

Information Office for,

Western Europe

South West Africa Peopleâ\200\231s
Organisation (Swapo) of Namibia

- London, N5
22 June

command , structure dismantled
â\200\224 Â\$/20412, "\gara 42;. S/Res/632

international community
should know by now that to im-
pose social, economic and politi-
cal monotheism on people who

are still struggling for their libera-

tion is an extremely dangerous
thing to do. Come the day of their
liberation these people are torn
apart into factions of protracted
hostile battle fronts among them-
selves. We see this in Africa and
in Central America, International
opinion should therefore be re-
luctant to put its weight behind
any idea which promotes mono-
lithic tendencies.

Speaking to The Independent
(23 June), Aziz Pahad, a member
of the ANC National Executive
Committee claims that there is an

southern Africa

ANC consultative document be-
ing circulated inside South Africa.
If this is true, obviously this â\200\234doc-
umentâ\200\235 is only in the hands of the

'ANC surrogate organisations in

South Africa.. = -
Inkatha, for one, has not been
consulted about this, or for that

. matter, about any previous ANC

document used to consult South

.Africans about the future they {
want. I doubt whether the major- }

ity of black South Africans have
the faintest idea what Aziz Pahad
is talking about. J

It is arrogant and sinister of
Aziz Pahad to say that this version

. of the ANC constitutional pro-

posals â\200\234should not be seen as an
ANC document, but as represent-
ing a consensus of the Pople of

Â» South Africaâ\200\235. What his organisa-

tion calls â\200\234consensusâ\200\235 is, for all

- practical means, limited in char-

acter and scope of consultation.
One wonders whether it has
ever occurrd to Mr Pahad and
his committee that there are
other political organisations in-
side South Africa whose members
and supporters are grossly at vari-
ance with what his committee is

proposing for South Africa and .|
â\200\230whom the ANC does not care to

consult,

The future of South Africa and
its people will not be determined
only by those that the ANC wants
to sec around the negotiating ta-
ble, with the exclusion of others,
Yours sincerely,

BEN M. SKOSANA

Permanent Representative
Inkatha
London, NW8
23 June

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