

The Natal Mercury

22 Nov 1989

WHO'S TO SPEAK?

NELSON Mandela may have no special claim to leadership of the African National Congress, as a leading member of the Mass Democratic Movement, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, says in a magazine interview, but we'd wager that if he stood in an election against the secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers it would not be difficult to predict that the former, even if still imprisoned, would come out tops.

Certainly it's debatable, but that brings us to the point. Which is Mr Ramaphosa's rejection of some form of elections to find representative black leaders to participate in negotiations about the future, which is said to be what President de Klerk has in mind.

According to the miners' secretary-general, such an election would be premised on racism and he would not regard representatives elected in this way as authentic.

The question is, how else does

one determine who speaks for whom? We'd surmise Mr Ramaphosa's view is determined by his statement that the ANC has a 'collective leadership'. But that surely does not mean that that leadership — not chosen by open public ballot as far as we are aware — should simply be accepted, as the UN did with Swapo, as the 'sole authentic' representative of black South Africans?

Surely the Namibian elections have just proved how wrong such rash and undemocratic decisions are!

What objections could Mr Ramaphosa have to a similar test of parties, organisations, or what-have-you so that those at the 'Great Indaba' are in fact seen to speak for one or other viewpoint?

As for his contention that such elections would be premised on racism, what's there stopping any party or organisation canvassing support among any race group?

Relly, Rupert not attending Paris talks

22 Nov 1989

By Erik Larsen and Sapa

TWO top South African businessmen and an African National Congress leader will not be attending a conference in Paris, although a news agency report claimed they were expected to do so.

According to the report, some of the biggest

names in South African business and 25 top ANC officials will be attending the talks, to be held at a chateau outside Paris from November 27 to December 2.

The report said Anglo American Corporation chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, heir to the Rembrandt tobacco empire, Mr Johan Rupert, recently-released ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, and his

wife, Albertina, were expected to attend.

Anglo American communications manager, Mr Conrad Sidego, said Mr Relly had not received an invitation and the report was mere "media speculation".

Mr Relly was at present on a business trip in the United States and would definitely not be attending the conference.

Mr Rupert, who is in London on business, said last night that he had received an invitation to attend the talks, but had declined.

"I said I would be unable to attend as it is my mother's 70th birthday on Sunday and I will be returning home on Saturday to attend her party."

Mr Sisulu said that neither he nor his wife would be attending.

"I have received numerous invitations to go to Europe, but I am unlikely to go as I have undertakings to fulfil in this country from now until December."

His wife had just returned from a trip to Europe and had several local commitments.

Police have temporarily lifted restrictions on the United Democratic Front's acting general-secretary, Mr Mohammad Walli Moosa, to allow him to attend the Paris conference.

Mr Moosa's lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo, said police had permitted his client to leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg from 6 am on November 24 to 10 pm on December 3 for the purpose of attending the talks.

Mr Naidoo said Mr Moosa had been reminded that his restrictions, which prevent him from leaving Johannesburg, attending or addressing gatherings and speaking to the Press among others, would be reinstated at 10 pm on December 3.

The Paris report says the human rights group, France-Libertes, organiser of the forum, is keeping the list of 110 South African guests a close secret until the start of the meeting.

South African sources said the ANC was sending its leading external spokesman, Thabo Mbeki, and Kadar Asmal, Dean of Law at Trinity College, Dublin, and a key member of the ANC's constitutional team.

Other ANC leaders invited include Zola Skweyiya, who heads the Legal Department at the ANC's exile headquarters in Zambia, and Reg September, a member of the National Executive.

ANC used violence effectively

CITIZEN

22 Nov 1989

I REFER to your report, "SA Terrorism on the Wane" (The Citizen, November 11) and not that it is violence which has been the effective means with which the ANC has reached the negotiation table.

While the State President warns the AWP and other Rightist groups against the use of violence as a means to a political end, the Black radicals have used violence very successfully.

In other words, just bomb some shopping centres, kill some innocents, conduct a low-key guerrilla war and you will ultimately get what you want because your adver-

sary does not fight back in kind.

There were rumours at one time that bombings and acts of terrorism were purposely allowed to escalate just before elections to frighten the Whites into voting for the NP.

If one looks at a graph indicating the level of violence before elections, it is clear that it is definitely an escalation. Whether it was "allowed" or whether it just occurred to stop White elections, no one will ever know.

Questions were asked

in parliament about how many bombs were defused and how many went off over certain periods over the past few years, but the Minister of Law and Order refused to answer. I wonder why?

If violence is a successful means to an end for Black radicals, and if Parliament becomes irrelevant for Whites as a means to their end, what must Whites do? Just sit back and watch their country handed over to a Black government?

J. VAN DER MERWE
Wentworthpark

MEDIA UPDATE

Media Council
has not attained
its main objective

NATIAL MERCURY

22. Nov 1989

THE Media Council, the prime objective of which was to uphold and maintain the freedom of the media in South Africa, had not been successful, the chairman of the council, Hon J H Steyn, said in Cape Town last night.

'The members of the council themselves would agree that — in spite of its valiant efforts and that of numerous other agencies — it must be conceded that inasmuch as Press freedom was more viciously proscribed during the past five years than in the previous 50 it could not claim to have been successful in the attainment of its principal objective.'

'The council was assailed from the left and the right, exhorted by Government spokesmen to be more assertive, denigrated and ignored by one component of journalistic opinion, labelled as "irrelevant" and criticised for not being "pro-active".'

'To have survived as an institution in these circumstances, especially where from time to time it had to find that the code of conduct had indeed been breached by one of its constituent members, was a feat in itself.'

However, the council, through the manner in which it conducted its affairs, scrupulous objectivity and fairness had carved for itself a very special niche of respect and regard.

Mr Steyn said that the quality of information provided by the media was of paramount importance for effective and constructive decision-making at all levels, from grassroots through to the public and private sectors' decision makers.

'The South African media in general and the Press in particular, especially in the light of constraints under which they have to operate, deserve our sincere commendation,' he said.

But the media also needed and had earned support for their struggle to resist any further incursions upon their efforts to communicate freely and fearlessly.

The public would always have a predilection to form partisan or one-sided views and the role and responsibility of the media was therefore to ensure that the average reader or listener had the opportunity to be exposed to views other than his or her own.

'From this principle you could with justification conclude that I am fundamentally opposed to censorship and restrictions on what the media may make public.'

This was not an unqualified endorsement of the right to publish. Indeed, the British Royal Commission on the Press declared that 'the freedom of the Press cannot be absolute, there must be boundaries to it.'

'However, these boundaries are not matters to be determined in accordance with arbitrary criteria laid down by Governments. Restrictions must be so circumscribed that "no Government can lawfully use them to silence critics of its actions and policies."

Mr Steyn said that while he was not rigidly obsessive about the right of the public to know, he believed that the public should be informed of all relevant events. Necklacing was a 'sickening socio-political aberration' but it had to be revealed, just as excesses in the conduct of those charged with security responsibilities had to be revealed.



Media Council chairman Mr Jan Steyn — the public has a right to be informed.

This approach was particularly significant at a time when early prospects of negotiation between the Government and relevant extra-parliamentary political groups was being seriously debated.

'There is in these circumstances a very special need for the public to be informed about the positions of political actors across the spectrum. There are many hundreds of thousands of people on the left, on the right and in the middle taking positions, waving flags and banners, without an adequate exposure of the policies of the groups they support or oppose.'

'Much of this is due to restrictions on the media under the State of Emergency and other laws constraining publication.'

'These restrictions are undesirable at any time, but they are at present particularly counter-productive.'

'One must bear in mind that these restrictions do not prevent people from forming their own views on what the information withheld may be. Censorship is more often than not self-defeating.'

Mistakes

Mr Steyn said he believed the media must be free to make its own mistakes because without that freedom the media could not fulfil its social function.

'However, the freedom to make mistakes does not mean that the media should not itself be exposed to critical scrutiny. Freedom alone does not ensure quality of information; it is a necessary but not a sufficient condition.'

Mr Steyn highlighted the emergence in the past few years of smaller papers which had been termed, inappropriately, the alternative press.

'These papers have made an important contribution to widening the political discourse and in stimulating an awareness of popular reactions and political dynamics outside of parliamentary politics and establishment interests.'

The black Press had done equally well in these respects, having rebounded from tragic curbs and bannings imposed in an earlier phase of our politics.

'We also know that they have encountered various forms of discouragement and attack from government. Punitive actions have made the inestimably valuable role of critical journalism very difficult.'

Nevertheless, Mr Steyn said that he had been able to understand one reason why the authorities had chosen to view some of the emerging press as negatively as they had.

'There has been in some of these publications a distinctly selective emphasis in the covering of events. A hypothetically innocent stranger to South Africa reading the political comment and news coverage in a cross-section of editions might well conclude that the society is somewhat like a seething cauldron of strikes, protest, corruption, dubious justice, dissent, episodes of violence and repression.'

'Each event usually has a basis of fact but the overall impression might have been one of a society so stressed as to be beyond rescue by incremental change, accommodation and compromise.'

'This could have been interpreted by Government as having an implicitly violent, revolutionary purpose.'

'While this conclusion may not be justified it could be plausibly conveyed to political decision-makers.'

To be authoritative any newspaper or organ of the media had to be seen to be taking account of and dealing with views and interpretations which are opposed to those it espouses, instead of slavishly propagating an ideology, ideal or a cause.

South Africa was a deeply divided society and yet we had to move, indeed were moving, into a phase preceding negotiation and compromise, he said.

'In this process we are going to be best served by media which are capable of, and committed to, exploring contrasting and opposing views.'

'For genuine nation-building this quality could well prove to be indispensable.'

'I believe that our media will rise to this challenge with distinction.'

Mr Steyn said the Media Council was committed to help ensure, preserve and protect a free and responsible press.

'Only by being free is the Press able to respond adequately to challenges of communicating events in society. Only by doing so responsibly can the Press sustain the validity of its claim to freedom.'

'Upon this freedom and responsibility of the media depend the freedom and responsibility of us all; our freedom to make responsible judgements on the basis of news and views firmly and responsibly communicated.'

Holomisa: A homeland leader with a difference

NAIJA WITNESS 22 NOV 1989

General Bantu Holomisa took control of the "independent" homeland, Transkei, in a bloodless coup almost two years ago. Since then he has steadily consolidated his position and this year emerged, with promises of a referendum to decide if the homeland should return to South Africa, as a prominent player in the national political scene. Last week a top-level delegation from the Democratic Party went to Umtata to see the youthful General. WYNDHAM HARTLEY reports.



ROB HASWELL

LOCAL Democratic Party MP, Mr Rob Haswell, joined two of the party's co-leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, and the head of the political interaction committee, Mr Peter Gastrow, in Umtata for talks with General Holomisa and his military council. The MP for Simonstown, Mr Jannie Momberg completed the DP delegation.

Homeland leaders, with one or two notable exceptions, are generally regarded as illegitimate and the visit by a DP delegation, so close on the heels of that of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, illustrates the new-found political stature of Transkei's military ruler.

"Before landing in Umtata, the flight over the Transkei holds some chilling reminders of what has happened in this country — you fly over Oliver Tambo's birthplace and Umtata is very close to Nelson Mandela's home," said Mr Haswell.

"We were welcomed by General Holomisa and then involved in six hours of formal and informal talks. He told us of developments in Transkei.

"These centred on three main issues: the continuing campaign to eradicate corruption from Transkei; strategies to stimulate the Transkeian economy; and the possible holding of a referendum to test the views of Transkeians on reincorporating the country into South Africa."

He explained that, from the DP side, Mr Malan outlined the party's principles, its hopes and its fears for the future. During the questions and discussion that followed, much common ground was found and "both parties look forward to a non-racial South Africa in which democracy and human rights prevail", Mr Haswell said.

Referring to the way in which Transkei operates, he said: "We were fascinated by the unique Government structure which has resulted from the bloodless coup on 30 December 1987 when Stella Sigcau was ousted.

"Contrary to the practice of military leaders who take power, General Holomisa, after cleaning out corrupt Government figures involved in the scandals sweeping the country, reappointed most of the civilian cabinet to run the Government departments."

General Holomisa is the chairman of both the military council and the cabinet and this has resulted in a two-tier structure with the military council becoming a sort of executive senate, Mr Haswell said.

It was important to note that the cabinet and the departments still continued the normal functions of government.

"It is clearly efficient and there is a warm and even friendly relationship between the cabinet and the military council.

"Each member of the military council works in tandem with a number of cabinet ministers and is responsible for certain portfolios.

"The feeling is of a system which is working and is being run by a group of people determined to eradicate corruption and then return to civilian rule," Mr Haswell said.

He explained that one of the most significant pointers was that General Holomisa had resisted the temptation to impose the authority of military courts and that Transkei still operated with civilian courts.

"Despite his boyish looks and comparative youth he is a very able and dynamic leader with a sound grasp of the need for fundamental reform in southern Africa."

Also on the agenda during the six hours of discussion were General Holomisa's con-

Leading S A men on 'list' for indaba

LONDON—A number of prominent South Africans, including Chief Justice Corbett, Prof Pieter de Lange, the leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond and Dr Wimpie de Klerk, brother of President de Klerk, are on a list to be invited to next week's Paris 'indaba' on South Africa.

An apparently authentic list of some 50 names, some of which were crossed out, was revealed to Sapa in London yesterday, breaking days of close secrecy on the identity of more than 100 South Africans to be invited to attend and debate the political future of the country with the exiled African National Congress.

Church leader Allan Boesak tops the list of prominent anti-apartheid campaigners arriving from South Africa.

Passport and other restrictions under the state of emergency were lifted yesterday for one of the delegates, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, of the United Democratic Front.

The South African Government made it clear in October, when news of secret preparations for the conference was leaked to the media, that it would have nothing to do with it.

Prof Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGK is on the list, but the name of KwaZulu's leader, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been crossed off.

Similarly crossed off are the names of Dr Chris Stals, Governor of the Reserve Bank, and Dr Conrad Strauss, head of the Standard Bank.

No comment could be immediately obtained from Frances-Liberte, the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, which is hosting the conference. — (Sapa)

hated morning

22/11/89

** Presumably Boesak + co
are calling the tune
here (it's like the
Mrs Martin Luther
King affair)*

W

W

Names of prominent figures revealed as part of Indaba

contingent

LONDON — A contingent of prominent South Africans, including Chief Justice Corbett, the leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor Pieter de Lange, and Dr Wimpie de Klerk, brother of the State President, is on a list to attend next week's Paris "Indaba" on South Africa.

An apparently authentic list of some 50 names, some of which are crossed out, was revealed in London yesterday, breaking days of close secrecy on the identity of more than 100 South Africans expected to attend and debate the political future of the country with the ANC.

South African diplomatic sources in Lon-

don and Paris confirmed yesterday that the Government's standpoint of having nothing to do with the conference remained unaltered, but conceded the Government would "obviously" be keeping a close eye on proceedings and monitoring press reports.

The guest list contained the names of many anti-apartheid activists, as expected, but included some of the prominent captains of the economic sector and leading academics. Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGK is on the list, but the name of KwaZulu's leader, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been crossed off. Similarly crossed off are the names of Dr Chris Stals, Governor

of the Reserve Bank and Dr Conrad Strauss, head of the Standard Bank.

It is not clear from the undated list whether the scratchings indicate invitations turned down or a change of mind by organisers. No comment could be immediately obtained from Frances-Liberte, the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, host of the conference.

Earlier, however, one of the key organisers in Paris, a South African exile who asked to remain anonymous, expressed confidence that a wide cross section of opinion from South Africa's political, economic, religious and cultural sectors would be represented.

A number of prominent guests had easy access to the Union Buildings, it was indicated.

Earlier reports said 25 top ANC officials, led by external affairs spokesman, Thabo Mbeki, were being sent to the conference, to be held behind closed doors in a closely guarded chateau outside Paris from November 27 to December 3.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa is playing a key co-ordinating role in the conference.

Some of the businessmen named are Nicholas Oppenheimer, Dr Johan Rupert and Neil Chapman of Southern Life. Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, Mr Jan

Steyn, head of the Urban Foundation, and KaNgwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza are also listed, as are editors Zwelakhe Sisulu, Max du Preez, Anton Harber and Ken Owen.

But neither ANC leader Walter Sisulu, nor his wife, Abertina, will be attending. Mrs Sisulu said yesterday this was due to the pressure of appearances in southern Africa.

• The seven recently-released ANC leaders will undertake a nationwide political trail beginning at the weekend, following the successful welcoming rally near Soweto last month. A rally has been scheduled for Durban on December 16. — Sapa.

F W DE KLERK is a spoilsport. Just when we thought it was safe to come to Durbs to make waves on the apartheid Addington Beach, he announces that beach apartheid is to be scrapped.

The tide has turned, that's for sure. He has taken the fun out of darker inland visitors' annual unannounced protest swims against apartheid.

Perhaps it's time to test the water elsewhere. After all, part of the fun was to look around and see which white person was going to summon the constabulary to eject us from the white surf.

It is part of South African folklore that Durbanites despise the holiday invasions by hordes of inlanders of all shades.

"Y'all don't even know how to swim," three-year-old Durbanites usually snort at us. That's because we brave souls from the Golden City tip-toe knee-deep into the Indian Ocean, face inland, and when a wavelet arrives, stretch out our legs and arms, shut our eyes, take a deep breath and plunge into the water.

Backwash

The wavelet sweeps us safely to the shore. We congratulate ourselves on this great achievement - despite the snorts from three-year-old Durbanites - and we spend millions of rands to seek such satisfaction.

But every now and again, just as we think we have safely ridden a 30 cm-high wave, the unexpected backwash knocks us into various directions - and into panic.

We inlanders are prewarned about the undercurrents but we prefer to turn a blind eye until they hit us.

That is what De Klerk did last week. He announced, to a grand wave of local and international acclaim, that the Separate Amenities Act would be scrapped as soon as possible.

Knowing the way Nats negotiate the seas, some of us were a little skeptical. Where was the back-

Wave reform goodbye. . .

Apartheid shark will appear in another guise

SOWETAN
22 NOV 1989

wash? Where was the undercurrent?

Why did De Klerk announce the immediate lifting of beach apartheid but the rest of the Separate Amenities Act "as soon as possible"?

Why not immediately? He talked about "civil standards" (a subtle Nat departure from "civilised standards," defined by whites of course), and added with an ominous undercurrent:

"There are a few sensitive areas where the institution of fitting measures will be necessary when the Act is repealed."

At the weekend *Sunday Star* lifted the cover, so to speak. It quoted the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, as saying the "sensitive areas" De Klerk referred to included State hospitals, clinics, local swimming pools, inland resorts, caravan parks and overnight camping spots.

Kriel said the National Party would draw a distinction between "differentiation" and "discrimination," and vested rights of commun-

ities had to be taken into account.

Sunday Star added: "He gave the example of Elsie's River, a 'coloured' area which had a vested right to their community centre. He said a swimming pool in such an area could be restricted to the use of the people of that community."

"Mr Kriel also suggested parts of some beaches could be 'privatised'."

There you have it. Wave reform goodbye. The apartheid shark will appear in another guise.

Curbs

It's so much like the emergency regulations. People and organisations are restricted, the media are curbed under the regulations. We clamour for an end to the emergency.

When the Government lifts it, the State Department in Washington, 10 Downing Street and our liberal media jump joyfully into the wavelets. They forget about the backwash.

That backwash is that we have the Internal

Security Act under which individuals, organisations and the media can be curbed.

But let's go back 10 years. The Government appointed the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) team, led by Professor Gert Scholtz, to probe sport in the country.

I was asked to serve on it but declined because, among other reasons, I knew exactly what it would recommend: the scrapping of apartheid laws that affect sport but not the other aspects of our lives.

In other words, "normal sport in an abnormal society." And predictably, the HSRC team recommended amendments to laws affecting "normal" sport.

Amendments

Amendments, note well. Not repeal...

The suggested amendments related to the Group Areas Act, the Liquor Act and Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

When I questioned Scholtz about it, he said: "It is not sport's function to change the whole political system but just to accommodate itself."

He added: "What sport can do is to make it easy for us to practise sport."

In other words, the Government could make it easy for racists to continue practising apartheid in every other sphere, as De Klerk's announcement implies.

Revealing

But what is revealing about the HSRC's recommendation was its reference to the same Separate Amenities Act. It recommended "comprehensive judicial probe" into the entire Act, because "it would artificial to exclude only sport" from its discriminatory effects.

The HSRC report was dismissed as inconsequential" by anti-apartheid groups such as Sacos but welcomed by bodies involved in "normal" sport.

Now, while anti-apartheid groups dismiss De Klerk's latest announcement as "inconsequential" and others welcome it, the white Conservative Party, which didn't exist a decade ago, talks glibly about the "theft" of amenities such as beaches from whites.

Something must belong to somebody before you can steal it. Now when did the beaches "belong" to white people? How did the beaches come into their possession? Did they buy the beaches?

Did the Almighty bestow them as a gift for exclusive use? Who is accusing whom of

The tide has truly turned, and if De Klerk and Treurnicht want to continue to hold it back like King Canute, they should swim away to the Antarctic where just about everything in sight is pure white.

DAILY
New Media
Council **NEWS**
chairman
calls for **22-11-**
alternatives **87**



Mr Jan Steyn

Daily News
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The quality of knowledge and information depends not only on the veracity of any single item of information but also on the coverage given to alternative opinions and contrasting ideologies, said Mr Jan H. Steyn, chairman of the Media Council last night.

Mr Steyn, who replaces Mr L. de Van Winsen as the Council's new chairman, was speaking at a banquet given by the Mayor and City Council of Cape Town, in celebration of the Council's fifth birthday.

"Valid and reliable knowledge is knowledge which, in one way or another, has passed the test of refutability," he said.

Mr Steyn said it was natural citizens should tend always to be partisan and subjective. However the media had a responsibility therefore to expose the man-in-the-street to a multiplicity of opinions and ideologies.

"The role and responsibility of the media therefore, is to ensure that the average reader or listener has the opportunity to be exposed to views other than those to which he or she is inclined."

Mr Steyn said that while he was "fundamentally opposed to censorship and restrictions on the media, this was not an "unqualified endorsement of the right to publish."

He quoted Lord McGregor, who chaired the British Royal Commission on the Press, when he declared that "freedom of the Press cannot be absolute, there must be boundaries to it."

However, said Mr Steyn, these boundaries ought not to be arbitrarily laid down by the government of the day.

"Restrictions must be so circumscribed that, (to use Lord McGregor's words again), "no government can lawfully use them to silence critics of its actions or its policies."

Mr Steyn said the restrictions on the media were always undesirable but they were "particularly counter-productive" at present.

At a time when "the very early prospects of negotiation between the Government and all relevant political groups not represented in Parliament is being seriously debated," said Mr Steyn, there was a "very special need for the public to be informed about the positions of political actors across the spectrum."

He said there were too many people, at various points on the political spectrum, who were "taking positions, waving flags and banners, without an adequate exposure to the policies of the political groupings they support or oppose."

Mr Steyn paid tribute to the important contribution of what he said were "inappropriately termed" the "alternative Press," saying these newspapers had helped to broaden political debate and to create an increasing awareness of political dynamics outside Parliamentary politics and the establishment.

However he was critical of the tendency of some of these publications to display a "distinctly selective emphasis in the covering of events."

"Each event usually has a basis in fact, but the overall impression might have been of a society so stressed as to be beyond rescue by increment change, accommodation or compromise," he said.

SA chain stores come to the Transkei

Boom time

for Umtata

DAILY NEWS

22-11-89

UMTATA has an entrepreneurial bustle to it today, which was absent before.

At one level it shows itself in pavement hawkers offering fruit, vegetables and clothing. At another in a building boom, with current plans for more than 70 non-government projects. Last year building plans averaged 43 a month.

Under the rule of the Matanzimas, economic activity was heavily regulated and trading licences and business equity tended to vest in a tight little coterie around the political centre of power.

This has changed since Major-General Bantu Holomisa's Military Council seized power almost two years ago.

The monopolies have been broken up, there is free competition and a large South African chain group is coming to Transkei, while others are interested. This is expected to appreciably reduce living costs for the man in the street, putting more money into circulation.

The land tenure law has been altered to allow investors title to property and there has been a steady influx of white and Indian business and professional men from South Africa.

RMS Syfrets has just been awarded the contract for the R40 million Circus Triangle shopping complex, in which Pik 'n Pay will be the anchor tenant. Other South African tenants will be Edgar Stores, Woolworths/Truworths, Sales House and Express Clothing.

GRAHAM LINSCOTT
Special Correspondent

The complex will have 16 500 square metres of shopping space and is understood to be already 80 percent let.

Other major building projects in the pipeline are a hotel/office block/conference complex in the city centre and a high-rise tower block of government offices. Between them the two developments are worth R50 million.

The hotel complex (five star) will take up a 20 000 square metre block. It will feature penthouse apartments, high-rise parking, shopping arcades, international conference facilities and sports and entertainment centres, as well as the offices.

Umtata has a population today of about 120 000 people, having grown phenomenally from 80 000 in 1984. Yet housing has kept pace. The city does not have the sprawling shanty settlements of so many urban centres in South Africa.

Most expatriates — about 2 000 of them — live in the pleasant suburb of Fort Gale, which they share with the Transkeian elite, their children going to the multiracial Umtata High, which celebrates its centenary this year and is still administered by the Cape Department of Education.

The expatriates are a vital part of the economic bustle and their numbers seem to be growing fast.

Top South Africans on Paris Indaba list

DAILY NEWS 22-11-1989

LONDON: A powerful contingent of prominent South Africans, including Chief Justice Corbett, the leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor Pieter de Lange, and Dr Wimpie de Klerk, brother of State President F.W. de Klerk, are on a list to attend next week's Paris "Indaba" on South Africa.

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African National Congress.

The South African Government made it clear in October, when news of secret preparations for the conference was leaked to the media, that it would have nothing to do with it.

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No comment could be immediately obtained from Frances-Liberte, the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterand, wife of President Francois Mitterand, which is hosting the conference.

Earlier reports said 25 top ANC officials were being sent to the conference, to be held behind closed doors in a closely guarded chateau outside Paris from November 27 to December 3.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa is playing a key coordinating role in the conference.—Sapa

4 days in Lusaka create new hope for future SA

STAR 22 NOV 1989

For ANC executive member Pallo Jordan a highlight of meeting people from "home" was to drink KWF brandy. Comparing it to Cuban rum, he beamed: "This is much better than that disgusting communist stuff."

This is one of the lighter moments described in "Four Days in Lusaka", a book compiled on the remarkable meeting in the Zambian capital between South Africans of widely differing political persuasions.

The discussions, described by FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier as "incredibly frank", centred on key issues of ANC policy and ways of bringing about a non-racial, democratic dispensation.

Intensely debated were issues such as negotiations, sanctions, violence, constitutional models, education and the role of whites in a changing society.

Noting that the book contains "major distortions" as a result of the Government's ban on quoting listed people, editor Raymond Louw

said: "Never before had so many South African interests been represented at a non-racial discussion exploring the future of their country."

Although cordial, the talks often turned into heated arguments. Delegates then agreed to disagree.

One such topic was the armed struggle. The ANC presented a detailed policy statement on violence, highlighting the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in the struggle for freedom.

The document stated that the banning of the ANC and other political organisations in 1960 had demonstrated that all forms of peaceful struggle had been exhausted.

The "People's Army" was formed in 1961 with the expressed goal to "hit back by all means within the power of defence of our people, our future and our freedom".

"Four Days in Lusaka" describes how speaker after speaker among the FFF delegation condemned violence as being brutal.

It created fear among whites, closed their minds to thoughts of change, and turned them away from concepts of negotiation and the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

Of particular concern to the FFF delegation was attacks on "soft targets".

The ANC explained that attacks on civilians had never been its policy and that incidents of this kind had been remarkably low.

The armed struggle was one element of many being used to destroy apartheid and there was strong support for all types of complementary non-violent action. The broadest possible anti-apartheid forces

should be mobilised.

It condemned the Government's attempts to hide from South Africans essential information about the ANC's view of the armed struggle and other forms of bringing about change.

To those who rejected the armed struggle as a strategy, the ANC raised two challenges:

- To show by practical example that non-violent strategies are effective.

- To withdraw their support from institutions which uphold apartheid and are themselves violent.

The ANC expressed a need for the role of MK to be viewed from the standpoint of the country passing through a period of transition.

MK, seen by the ANC as an instrument of change in the climate of negotiations, could become part of a reconstituted defence force in a new South Africa as a protector of the new society.

Brutality

During negotiations, it would act as the vital force behind the ANC as a party in the negotiations.

Retired Democratic Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman was loudly applauded when putting her anti-violence stance.

She said: "I cannot condone violence in any form, be it institutionalised violence from the state or the excessive use of power by the police, and equally I don't condone violence from the side of the ANC."

"Violence brings out all the aggression and brutality of the system. It will mean oppression, more detentions, more censorship, more restrictions and more bannings, and will put back the path of negotia-

tions, probably by years."

An unidentified speaker said: "To condone violence would be against every moral principle that has brought me to this conference. I agree with all that we stand for — a united democratic South Africa — but I don't believe we should try to get there through violent means."

"It actually condones the Government's violence. It allows the Government itself to use violence to counter the ANC violence and it does not achieve results. We must talk, we must talk, we must talk."

Lunch and tea breaks turned into extended debating time. For too much had to be said — and learnt — before saying goodbye.

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter

Between June 29 and July 2, a Five Freedoms Forum delegation went to Zambia to meet representatives of the banned African National Congress. It was the largest conference of the more than 70 meetings that have been held between the "exiles" and people from "home". Yesterday, FFF launched a book on the discussions to expose South Africans to ANC perspectives in the present political climate.

An Afrikaans delegate, Port Elizabeth city councillor Mr Flip Potgieter, summed up his experiences in a chapter in "Four Days in Lusaka": "As a result of the Government's propaganda campaign against the ANC, a slanted, distorted picture has been created which depicts the ANC as part of the problem rather than part of the solution."

"My visit to Lusaka ... has destroyed this view for ever. I now realise that no permanent solution can be achieved for South Africa without the ANC and that they with their non-racial policy are indeed part of the solution and not part of the problem."

"On a personal note, some of my experiences there will remain with me always. The friendships I made with fellow South Africans in the ANC was certainly the most outstanding happening."

"As an Afrikaner the fear that my language will disappear in a future South Africa evaporated as I spoke Afrikaans with several of the senior executive members of the ANC."

"Although it is quite probable that discussions and negotiations between all the interested groups will be protracted and difficult, for the first time I have real hope," he said.

"I look forward to an exciting period in the history of my country, perhaps the most exciting yet."

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1989

Maneuvering by South Africa Blacks

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 21 — In the new climate of change promised by President F. W. de Klerk, some black leaders have begun jockeying for the tacit right to take part in any future negotiations with the white-minority Government on behalf of South Africa's black majority.

The African National Congress, which has been outlawed since 1960, has long claimed to speak for the country's 28 million blacks from its headquarters in exile in Lusaka, Zambia. Last month, a rally at a soccer stadium near Soweto, held to welcome home seven newly released political prisoners, attracted a crowd estimated at 70,000 to 80,000, which gave rousing support to the congress as the legitimate voice of black South Africans.

On Sunday, King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi attracted another crowd of perhaps 75,000 Zulus at a rally of their political movement, Inkatha, in Durban. The Zulu King complained that he and Chief Buthelezi had not been invited to the homecoming rally, though he contended that they had helped win freedom for Walter Sisulu and the other prisoners. He accused them of excluding the Zulus, who number about six million.

Sisulu Replies

Mr. Sisulu responded on Monday that this was not his intention and accepted in principle an invitation for talks. Such a meeting, he said, would probably discuss how to stop fighting in Natal between supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, the anti-apartheid umbrella organization linked to the African National Congress.

Later Monday, the leaders of two popular evangelical church movements, which claim a total membership of seven million blacks, met with President de Klerk in Pretoria. After the two-hour session, Bishop Isaac Mokoena, the life chairman of the Reformed Independent Churches Association, and Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya, head of the Council for Apostolic and Zion Churches in Southern Africa, who were accompanied by eight fellow clergymen, said they spoke for the "silent majority" of peace-loving blacks.

They criticized other unnamed clergymen who, they alleged, were "misusing" their churches for political purposes. The allusions appeared to be to the Anglican Archbishop, Desmond M. Tutu, and the Rev. Allan Boesak, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Bishop Mokoena and Archbishop Masiya asked Mr. de Klerk to speed up his timetable for ending apartheid. They were also quoted as asking that the emergency-decree rule, in effect since June 1986, not be lifted before those they considered moderate black leaders were consulted. And they reiterated their opposition to Western economic sanctions and disinvestment.

De Klerk Recounts Talks

"They told me that radicalism is representative of a small minority of the total black population and that the vast majority of all black South Africans are striving for moderate solutions, reject violence, and have strong objections to sanctions and boycotts," President de Klerk said at a news conference in Pretoria.

The African National Congress has urged an intensification of sanctions and the withdrawal of foreign investment, and had made the lifting of decree rule one of its conditions for talks with the Government. The Pan-Africanist Congress, a rival group, has urged blacks to boycott the proposed negotiations.

The recent flurry of activity has shown a wide range of sentiment among South African blacks about the nature of change from apartheid. The degree of support, particularly for the African National Congress, is almost impossible to measure because emergency rule has stifled unapproved

political activity by blacks.

Mr. de Klerk has said he wants to bring a cross-section of the black majority to the table to negotiate terms of a new constitution that would give blacks more political rights. He has

said the African National Congress was welcome if it refrained from violence, though as one of many participants. Supporters of the group believe this amounts to a stratagem to limit its influence.