

# Showdown for Citizen FW, CP at 5-June 1990 by-election

By Brian Stuart

DURBAN. — The political parties will watch tomorrow's White by-election in the Natal constituency of Umlazi as a barometer of White opinion, towards the reform policies of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

With four polling stations in the constituency, the results could be out as early as midnight tomorrow.

This is the first White by-election for the House of Assembly since Mr F W de Klerk set in motion his reform initiatives after becoming State President on September 21 last year, and is clearly being fought on national issues.

It is also a crucial by-election for the Conservative Party, which must show gains since last September in order to prove its claim of a White voter movement to the right.

Until this by-election, Umlazi was seen as one of the "safest" National Party seats in the country. The pressure has therefore been on it to retain its position against opposition from both the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party.

Natal is the only province in which the CP has yet to gain a seat. About 70 percent of Umlazi voters are English-speaking.

In the September general election, sitting member Mr Con Botha held the Umlazi seat with a majority of 2 835. The NP polled 6 149 votes, the Democratic Party 3 314, and the CP 2 419, in a 61 percent poll.

The by-election resulted from the appointment of Mr Botha as Administrator of Natal from April 1.

Since the September general election, political parties have registered more voters in Umlazi, pushing up the total from 19 000 to 20 000.

The primary fight has been between the NP and the CP, and both believe the DP will lose support.

The NP campaign, in turn, has been described as "negative" by its two opponents, who claim it was aimed chiefly as persuading NP and DP voters not to allow the CP a foothold.

NP candidate is Mr Piet

Matthee, former MP for Umbilo and now a member of the President's Council.

"We are very confident. Certainly, from our canvassing figures and from my own personal canvassing it seems the vast majority of moderate and reasonable people support the State President, irrespective of their previous party alliance.

"I am very heartened by that fact," said Mr Matthee.

"The main issue is obviously whether the people of Umlazi choose the dead-end road of the Conservative Party and their Right-wing allies, or whether they choose the road of negotiation of the NP and its leader, President De Klerk.

"Our task has been to show the voters that the road of negotiation and reconciliation will give us real security and a peaceful and prosperous future in this country," Mr Matthee added.

The main fight was between the NP and the CP. The only role the DP could play was that of "spoiler".

Mr Renier Schoeman, chief NP information officer, said the reason for caution by the NP was that in a situation of such

rapid change, it was difficult to determine whether there was a lie factor in the constituency, and whether there was a danger of a stay-away.

"But, if neither of these factors come into play, we are quietly confident of putting up a solid performance," said Mr Schoeman.

CP candidate Mr Francis Hitchcock, former Mayor of Queensburgh and who contested Port Natal for the CP last September, said about 65 percent of the CP support was coming from the English sector.

Could he win the seat, building up on the 2 419 CP votes last September?

"Absolutely. We are approaching that figure already on special votes alone, so we have substantially improved our support," Mr Hitchcock said yesterday.

"The major phenomenon is the uncertainty and confusion over the policy of Mr De Klerk. There is a tremendous swing towards us — I'm thrilled to bits.

"We have even signed up some former DP members, and 134 English-speaking people who supported the NP last year and resigned after February 2, joined the CP on March 9 and are working for us.

"I am going for a win — that's my aim," said Mr Hitchcock.

The DP candidate had fought a clean and gentlemanly campaign.

"As far as the DP is concerned, I find it difficult to tell the difference between them and the NP, except that the DP is more honest about the consequences."

DP candidate, Mr Trevor Coppen, a newcomer to the hustings, is a businessman and chairman of the DP's Pinetown constituency.

"We expected the Nats to use the opportunity to muster support for reform policies. Instead, they are still using the 'give FW a chance' campaign, and calling on Nats to keep the CP out," said Mr Coppen.





Allegiance to traditional healing in Swaziland, where people cling firmly to their customs, is unflinching, and even increasing.

# Traditional healers set up clinic in Swaziland

Star 5 June 1990

MBABANE — Swaziland's newest clinic is a cluster of whitewashed thatched rondavels on the outskirts of the eastern town of Siteki, perched on the Lubombo mountains.

It was built at a cost of R150 000 and employs six visiting specialists in various diseases, assisted by locally trained nurses.

What makes the Siteki Primary Health Care Centre different is that it is the first clinic set up by Swaziland's Traditional Healers' Association.

Association president Nhlavana Maseko explains that members paid for the building and the recruitment of traditional healers from South Africa, Zambia and Mozambique. Swaziland government medical authorities are not involved in any way, although, like many African traditional healers, Mr Maseko supports the principle of increased co-operation with Western-trained doctors.

Mr Maseko maintains that allegiance to traditional healing in Swaziland, where people cling firmly to their customs, is unflinching, and even increasing.

He says: "At the new clinic we already have patients from Transkei, South Africa ... all

over the region. I regularly treat patients from West Germany."

The clinic charges range from R25 to R50 for a course of treatment.

The general term for healers in the Siswati language is tinyanga (singular, inyanga) which simply means "doctor".

They are divided into four groups: possessed spiritualists, who cast out evil spirits torturing a patient; non-possessed healers, who rely on knowledge of herbs as cures; faith healers, who work mainly through churches; and alternative healers, who practise homeopathy.

The traditional healers' leader says the commonest complaints are skin diseases, open wounds, bronchitis, sexually transmitted diseases and infertility among women.

Mr Maseko is reluctant to comment on the role of traditional healers in finding a cure for Aids because, he says, Swazi health officials have not so far allowed traditional healers to examine a sufferer.

"Many patients now are coming to us because they are afraid the blood tests in hospitals might show up Aids."

THE STAR'S AFRICA NEWS SERVICE



# Don't stab us in back - Mandela

By Esmare van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

GABORONE — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has warned the world that the lifting of sanctions would be tantamount to stabbing the liberation struggle in the back.

At the start of a 13-nation international tour, which could dramatically influence South Africa's international relations, Mr Mandela took a hard-line against Western countries which believe punitive measures should be eased as a reward for President de Klerk's bold reforms.

Speaking at a mass rally in the Botswana capital on the first day of his six-week tour, Mr Mandela said he wanted to make the ANC's position clear at the start of "the long journey of thanksgiving and re-dedication".

## Armed struggle

The ANC stood by its policy of sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle. He told a crowd of about 15 000 that to denounce the armed struggle now would be "an act of immaturity", since the preconditions for negotiations had not been met, and political reform was not yet irreversible.

"We have noted the changes that have taken place and I have spoken of the courage of President de Klerk, but many tasks lie ahead before negotiations begin and apartheid ends."

He said the external pressure of sanctions and the armed struggle had helped create the climate for discussions with Pretoria.

Mr Mandela launched a scathing attack against objections by big business to nationalisation, saying they were not acting out of concern for the well-being of all South Africans, but purely from "greed, self-interest and ... profits at the expense of the poor".

Mr Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, ANC executive member Jacob Zuma and several aides, was warmly greeted by President Masire of Botswana yesterday.

He leaves for London today via Lusaka.

# 3 freedom groups 'near to signing peace pact'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

South Africa's three major anti-apartheid organisations are on the verge of signing a non-aggression pact which would recognise each other's right to exist and compete for membership.

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) projects co-ordinator and national executive committee member Muntu Myeza yesterday told The Star that Azapo, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were working on a statement on violence "and inter-organisational democratic culture".

If accepted, Mr Myeza said, the document would eliminate recent violent confrontations like the one between Azapo and ANC supporters at Maokeng township in the Free State and the one between ANC and PAC supporters in the East Rand township of Vosloorus.

ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu, who addressed a joint peace rally with Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe at Maokeng on Sunday, confirmed that such a document was being prepared.



STAR 5 JUNE 1990  
**A shock, but no surprise**

HOWEVER brave a face is put on it, Dr Oscar Dhlomo's resignation from the secretary-generalship of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Cabinet is a severe setback for Chief Minister Buthelezi. Though staunchly loyal to his leader in public and private, Dr Dhlomo has given signs of unhappiness at actions and policies he had to defend. Mild-mannered and conciliatory, he found himself increasingly compromised, his efforts to negotiate with the UDF/Cosatu alliance in Natal thwarted by the militancy of those around him. While his sudden resignation is a shock, it is no great surprise.

Dr Dhlomo is a rarity among politicians — a man able to reach out beyond the

barriers of his own constituency, adept at using the soft answer to turn away wrath. He was acclaimed by friend and foe for his skilful joint chairmanship of the Natal Indaba. He is well regarded in the wider black community, having been in the forefront of Inkatha's efforts to re-engage the ANC in discussions.

At this stage Dr Dhlomo's plans are unclear. Wisely, he has declared his intention of letting the dust settle before deciding where his future lies. But we urge him not to turn his back on public life altogether. Leaders of his experience and vision are thin on the ground. At the age of 47, he has a significant role to play in the search for a new South Africa.

STAR 5 JUNE 1990  
**Police disgusted with Govt**

As a white person I cannot understand why the National Party, by means of the Government, is so busy with a witchhunt against South African Defence Force and South African Police officers, but, on the other hand, is giving immunity to "former" terrorists.

Most of our Defence Force members and policemen are disgusted with the behaviour of the Government, especially with Malan and Vlok.

That is also the main reason of the loss of SAP members and not so

much their pay.

Contrary to what Malan says when he denies the future incorporation of Umkhonto we Siswe in the SADF and SAP, I strongly believe that this is the ultimate goal.

What the Government says is totally different to what it intends to do.

In other countries in Africa, which I lived in for many years, they would have ousted the Government long ago.

Quo vadis, South Africa?  
Vanderbijlpark

CH Haems



# ANC's stranglehold on US policymaking

*N. Mercury* *5 June 1990*

**L**AST WEEK — fittingly enough on Republic Day — the CIA held a conference on South Africa in Rosslyn, just across the Potomac River from Washington.

Participants included analysts from the intelligence community, leading academics and officials from the State and Defence Departments and the National Security Council. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen spoke after lunch.

He asserted that the United States must now 'tilt' towards the ANC as 'the most significant black majority party'.

To be sure, he was careful to add that the 'tilt' should not be so extreme as to concede the ANC 'exclusivity' at the negotiating table.

## Departure

Nonetheless, his remarks were an extraordinary departure from the 'even-handedness' that he himself had hitherto espoused.

More remarkable still was the logic by which he reached this conclusion. It was necessary, he said, to avoid 'undermining constituencies'.

Which, apparently, would be the effect of a balanced approach as it might weaken the authority of Nelson Mandela and others within their own movement.

American bias, in other words, was necessary in order to demonstrate to the ANC rank and file that the supposedly moderate and constructive steps taken by their leaders were not without reward.

There are a number of problems with this. First off, it puts Washington in the game of adopting a highly factionalised movement about whose ultimate objectives it knows little, and whose tactics and structure up to this point it would evidently rather ignore.

Indeed, since it is far from clear — even to the ANC itself — whether the movement commands the support of

voluntary majority, such a policy is tantamount to playing God, a habit that has yielded horrifying results everywhere from Vietnam to Iran to Nicaragua.

Also, if the US objective is not to undermine constituencies, what then about the white side of the equation?

What does a 'tilt' toward the ANC do for President FW de Klerk when his moves, all of them significantly bolder than any undertaken by Mandela, continue to go unrequited?

Unlike Mandela, who can expect an orgy of adulation here, De Klerk cannot even be assured of a polite welcome in Washington. Much less can he hope for any easing in US sanctions.

To the contrary, efforts are underway in Congress to tighten the existing ones as a gift for Mandela during his visit.

Cohen made clear at the conference that he takes the point. He also indicated that the Administration does not propose to act on it.

## Gesture

Not even a symbolic gesture like the restoration of direct flights between the US and SA is on the cards, he said, until after November's Congressional elections — whatever De Klerk does between now and then to fulfil the conditions laid out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Cohen has repeatedly pleaded that Congress should not move the CAAA's goalposts, yet he now appears to be moving them himself by acceding to the tight definitions demanded by the sanctions lobby.

He evidently does not regard the Groote Schuur Minute as having resolved the politi-

cal prisoner issue, even though, such prisoners are now effectively to be held by the mutual consent of the ANC and the Government.

Furthermore, he will not accept a lifting of the State of Emergency that excludes Natal — even if Mandela himself specifically accepts the exclusion.

This is more than a mere 'tilt' towards the ANC and its demands for the maintenance of sanctions, it is an abdication.

## Trap

It also goes deeper than mere ambivalence on the sanctions issue.

Cohen told his audience that he did not propose to fall into an 'ideological trap' by having the Administration endorse any particular economic or political outcome in SA.

To the contrary, he argued, the US should not even take sides in the nationalisation debate, but should rather limit itself to suggesting possible 'models'.

As it happens, Cohen's superiors have already fallen into the trap. At a Press conference shortly after Mandela's release, President Bush declared himself opposed to nationalisation in SA.

Secretary of State James Baker announced before he met Mandela in Windhoek last April that he meant to voice disapproval of the ANC's socialist inclinations. It seems we are now supposed to forget those statements.

It is as though, on the question of SA, the Bush Administration had been cleanly fileted of spine, principle, vision, even solid intelligence and analysis.

In fact, if Cohen is to be believed, it may not

ultimately even be committed to what has thus far been the one solid cornerstone of its policy: the principle that every effort should be focused on encouraging the parties to negotiate.

If negotiations were to break down, he argued, the US should be prepared to 'back away' from the process.

And then what? As far as SA's future is concerned, negotiation is the coin of the realm. Even to hint that it might be valueless, is to devalue it instantly and to admit to possible validity of other means.

And that can only encourage more horror that anything currently in store. Cohen might just as well have said: 'We support the unilateral seizure of power by the ANC'.

## Controls

As things now stand, the ANC already controls, through Randall Robinson, Jesse Jackson and others, that fraction of American public opinion which, on all matters relating to SA, controls Congress, and through Congress, an Administration that lives in terror of the appellation 'racist'.

Mandela's triumphal progress through the country can only strengthen this chain of command, giving the ANC all but absolute authority over US policy towards SA.

Cohen's 'tilt' is evidence enough of the ANC's existing power here. By even allowing that negotiations might falter, he has given the movement every incentive to take positions that ensure they do. The ANC will then be able to say it was Pretoria's fault, and the American body politic will believe it and react accordingly.

Regrettably, in this in-

stance, the US is still a superpower. Indeed, it is the only one.

Its backsliding on SA will ripple back across the Atlantic and to the Far East. As it happens, one nervous European country that had thought of easing sanctions after De Klerk's recent tour contacted the State Department last week to make sure of US intentions before it acted.

South African hopes that Europe may offset American folly should therefore be tempered.

The ANC's stranglehold on the US policymaking apparatus must somehow be loosened. De Klerk himself is perhaps the only person who can do that.

While he was wise to delay his visit here later this month — to let himself be overshadowed and last-worded by Mandela would have been folly — he should think again about accepting Bush's invitation once Mandela is gone.

Bush must be given a reason to take charge of his Administration's policy and undo the craven surrender presently in train. An hour or so with De Klerk would give him that reason and focus his attention enough to demand better work from his subordinates.



# Freehold communities demand official reprieve

N. Witness 5 June 1990

by ALEX CRAIB

SIX Natal rural freehold communities have demanded that if the Government is serious about a new South Africa, it should officially reprieve all communities under threat of removal and restore the title deeds and mineral rights of expropriated land to the rightful owners.

A memorandum from the communities of Matiwane's Kop, Steincoal-spruit, Roosboom, Stoffelton, Step-more and Cornfields was yesterday presented to representatives for the Minister of Education and Development Aid in the city.

The memorandum demands an official reprieve for all communities that have been under threat of removal, and

a notice in the Government Gazette to that effect. It also demands written withdrawal of land expropriation notices and the restoration of title deeds and mineral rights to their owners.

The Association for Rural Advancement (Afra), the Chairman of the Natal Church Leaders, Bishop Khoza Mgojo, and the Black Sash all supported the demands and called on the Government to react positively and immediately.

The memorandum, signed by elected representatives of the communities, said that since the advent of apartheid the people in these areas had been the victims of the Government's policy of forced removals.

"Some of us have had our land stolen

by the stroke of the Government pen. Others have seen our families and tenants driven into resettlement camps. All of us have had to face bullying officials, threats and intimidation.

"Some of us have stood helplessly by as Government officials have destroyed our schools and churches. All of us have been deliberately denied any help with the development of our community. All this has been done by a Government which we have never had the opportunity to elect."

Afra estimates that 103 freehold areas representing 105 000 people had been forcibly relocated by 1982. In official Government terminology, these communities were known as "black spots" — black freehold land that was

acquired before the 1913 Land Act and which fell within areas designated as "white" rural land.

An announcement in 1985 that the Government had suspended removals was met with "guarded optimism" by the communities, but left an estimated 183 areas in Natal (about 160 000 people) uncertain of Government plans for their future and whether they would still be moved.

"When we asked the Government to restore our land, we were met with deaf ears. We continued to suffer the visits of Government officials who continued to point us in the direction of the resettlement camps we had refused to move to for so long," states the memorandum.

While welcoming recent statements by State President Mr F.W. de Klerk that his Government was going to scrap apartheid, the communities outline "the steps the Government must take on the path to a new future".

Full compensation is demanded for expropriated landowners, where mineral rights have been ceded as a result of expropriation.

Compensation is demanded for the "pain and suffering, economic underdevelopment and impoverishment caused by the forced removals process or threat thereof". Assistance with infrastructural development for the communities is also demanded, and a "total rejection of the homeland system" is noted.

NEWS  
N. Witness 5 June 1990

## Buthelezi denies conflict with Dhlomo

by CARMEL RICKARD

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has denied there has been a power struggle between himself and cabinet colleague Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who resigned at the weekend.

Since Dr Dhlomo's shock announcement there has been persistent speculation about why he resigned his cabinet post as Minister of Education and Culture, as well as his seat in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, his position as secretary general of Inkatha and his membership of the

organisation.

Addressing the KLA yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said just as Dr Dhlomo had been free to join Inkatha, so he was free to quit the organisation.

He denied several theories aired in reports on Dr Dhlomo's resignation. In particular he denied there had been conflict between himself and his colleague.

He also denied a report that he had asked the State President Mr F.W. de Klerk to intervene and urge Dr Dhlomo not to stand down. Chief Buthelezi said: "Not one

word about the matter has passed between me and the State President."

Suggestions that Dr Dhlomo had been offered the job of "deputy chief minister" as well as a free hand in Inkatha's political policy were also denied by Chief Buthelezi who said he had not even thought of establishing such a post.

He said Dr Dhlomo was a "solid team man" who "always worked within the consensus of cabinet decisions", and he wished him well for the future.



## Dhlomo's departure

DAILY NEWS

TUESDAY JUNE 5, '90

THE departure of Dr Oscar Dhlomo from political life, however temporary, is to be regretted. He has been prominent in various roles, particularly as the influential chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, where he showed good sense and moderation. For Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement his departure will be a great loss. It will be felt

even more so at the national and provincial levels, however, where in the vital constitutional talks that lie ahead his negotiating skills will be sorely missed. It is said that he is contemplating a return to academic life. Perhaps, but many will be hoping that he will find the lure of politics too strong to avoid.



5 June 1990

# The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

## Umlazi dilemma

TOMORROW'S by-election at Umlazi poses an unusual conundrum for white voters, one that illustrates the new flexibility in South African politics. On the right is the Conservative Party, anxious to turn back the clock and playing on understandable fears in its appeal to the electorate. Somewhere to the left of this are the National Party and the Democratic Party, the former embracing new ideas with a zeal that has confused many of its followers, the latter unsure whether to be complaining or congratulatory as it points out, justifiably, that the NP has taken over its policies.

Notwithstanding the anxiety of the white community, a vote for the CP is a negative and ultimately self-destructive gesture. Support for the CP might be justifiable if the party had a practicable and viable alternative policy for the protection of white interests. It does not. It advocates an attitude of mind, rather than a policy, that can

only lead to further confrontation, violence and international pressure. Most voters see this clearly enough. Their dilemma is whether to vote for the DP, which has a record of moderate advocacy of a non-apartheid, shared society, or the NP, with a new vision that is shadowed by an ugly history.

The probability is that the National Party will hold the seat, and that it will do so comfortably enough. With that knowledge, wavering DP supporters must decide for themselves whether to change allegiance to help keep the CP out or whether to stick to their political principles. It would be a great pity if the DP did poorly, giving credence to the propaganda that it is now irrelevant. It is not. It has an important role to play as a spur to the Government and as the party in white politics that still has the greatest credibility in the eyes of black people.



Hartzenberg drops political bombshell from alleged leaked document

# ANC army to join up with police: CP

Daily News

5 JUNE 1998

## Political Staff

AN internal police circular leaked to the Conservative Party said that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could be integrated into the SAP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the CP's deputy leader told an Umlazi by-election meeting last night.

The document is set to generate a political row similar to the uproar caused over the document that was leaked to the CP by a member of the National Intelligence Service two months ago which alleged the ANC would attack right-wing targets.

Dr Hartzenberg used the SAP document to show that the National Party government was losing every political battle it fought with the ANC. He showed it to journalists afterwards and said it was an internal planning circular to prepare the police for the year 2000.

He said it reached the CP from somebody in the police. "I do not know who and I do not want to know who," he said.

Dr Hartzenberg told reporters Umkhonto we Sizwe could only form part of the police if the ANC formed part of the government. "It means the Government

has already decided to surrender. We are not going to do that. We will mobilise the majority of white people not to surrender. We want to do it constitutionally. If we could win an election it would be a tremendous victory."

More than 350 people attended the meeting. A few off-duty policemen were present, openly supporting the CP. Some were armed. Four Democratic Party members were ejected before the start. One CP-supporting off-duty policeman told them: "Eat, drink and be merry, because tomorrow you die." Another off-duty policeman said there was no way the SAP could enforce a ruling preventing their members from belonging to political parties.

In his address Dr Hartzenberg said that when the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, attacked the ANC for not sticking to the Groote Schuur Minute, the whole National Party remained silent as they were losing "all the way" to the ANC.

President de Klerk's visit to Europe had achieved exactly nothing, Dr Hartzenberg said, except that he received threats that he must allow political exiles back into South Africa and lift the state of emergency.

The ANC had not moved one millimetre, Dr Hartzenberg said. They were still continuing with the armed struggle and deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela had said targets were carefully selected.

Dr Hartzenberg described Mr Mandela as the acting state president and said he had taken control of the country to such an extent that he could now say he did not want to exclude the Government from negotiations.

News by R.M. Challenor and Nicola Cunningham-Brown, 34 Osborne Road, Durban.

See Pages 3 and 13



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

5 June 1990

### Change tune

SATURDAY night's meeting between the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, was pretty civilised.

Mr Mandela had been a few days in hospital and was to be discharged the next day.

Meeting Mr Mandela at his office at Union Buildings gave Mr De Klerk no doubt the chance to inquire after his health.

But they had other pertinent issues to discuss, like the progress that has been made in implementing the Groote Schuur agreement as well as the need effectively to reduce the level of violence.

Mr De Klerk's recent visit to Europe, as well as Mr Mandela's forthcoming visit to Europe and the United States, were also discussed.

Clearly there is a rapport between the two leaders, though why they should get on so well is a bit mystifying.

Mr Mandela, it is true, does admit that Mr De Klerk is a man of integrity and honesty.

But nothing Mr De Klerk has done seems to have impressed Mr Mandela. He doesn't appear in the least taken with his own release, or the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations.

He doesn't seem impressed with the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and other discriminatory measures.

He doesn't find it remarkable that the likes of Mr Joe Slovo, the SA Communist Party general secretary, have been allowed to come back from exile to take part in the Groote Schuur negotiations, or that the Groote Schuur negotiations took place at all.

The likely lifting of the state of emergency doesn't excite him either. In fact, he claims it would be a victory for the ANC, a remark hardly likely to make life any easier for the State President, who is accused by his opponents of being soft on the ANC.

All we can expect of Mr Mandela is the reiteration abroad of all the clichés he has uttered since his release – apartheid is still in place (untrue); if apartheid is at an end, why have I still not got a vote? (ignoring the fact that the whole purpose of Mr De Klerk's new South Africa exercise is to ensure that he and every other Black gets the vote); and although Mr De Klerk is an honourable man, his government could halt its reforms if sanctions were lifted (when it is quite obvious even to the politically untutored that the reforms are irreversible).

Mr Mandela will also tell the leaders of Europe and the United States that he can't end the "armed struggle" until the government has met all the ANC's demands, that the violence, in any case, comes from the government and its security forces (who, he will falsely claim, are massacring his people).

At every meeting, the suave Mr Mandela will project himself not only as the world's most famous ex-political prisoner, but as a man of reason.

Well, let him be a man of reason by changing his tune.

To ensure that the country whose leadership he hopes to inherit is economically able to meet the needs of the post-apartheid society, let him call for new investment for South Africa, on the understanding that even tougher sanctions would be imposed if the South African Government returned to apartheid.

Let him propose that the South African Government be given some carrots, like the easing of sanctions, to encourage it to get on with reform.

Above all, let Mr Mandela act like the statesman he claims to be by acknowledging the big changes that have come about and calling for the encouragement of changes which he knows are still in the pipeline.

Good relations with Mr De Klerk mean little if he tries to undermine Mr De Klerk at every turn.

Mr Mandela should stop his double talk, end the "armed struggle" and call a halt to township violence.

Then, indeed, there will be good grounds for friendship with Mr De Klerk and acceptance by all reasonable men who look for peaceful solutions to South Africa's problems.



Sowetan

5 June 1990

# Whites gunning for homeland

Sir - Allow us to comment on the remarks you recently made about the AWB, CP, etc.

According to Professor Karel Boshoff (AV) the majority of whites, or Afrikaners, seek their own homeland "Orania" in the Cape, where only whites are going to live and work, like it is also done in Europe, Australia or Northern America.

Anybody who denies us this natural right to govern ourselves in our own fatherland must be an ignorant and arrogant racist, because we (whites) also have a right to be in South Africa.

The borders of our

homeland can be negotiated with your true leaders, while the rest of South Africa (Azania) will be given to the blacks.

Nowhere in the world do people "share" power who are different from each other like we are. In the Lebanon, in Northern Ireland, in Ethiopia or on Sri Lanka people are killing each other because of their inequality, but your so-called "leaders" did not learn from experience.

They would like to introduce communism to South Africa, which is totally unacceptable to whites, because nowhere in the world has com-

munism worked.

We're prepared to fight for what is ours (no question about that) and nobody is going to deny us our own white homeland, otherwise it's criminal and unbiblical (unchristian).

We're not prepared to negotiate with hardcore Marxists like Joe Slovo about our future, but we're going to take (if necessary by force) what rightfully belongs to us.

*Lank lewe die.*

**Afrikanerdom.  
DHO Trample  
Cheetah Park  
Ed Muller and  
EK Cotzee  
Roodepoort**

## Leaders must get together

Sir - A constitution for a new South Africa won't be a success unless it is a product of political parties' participation.

Some people believe that there must be one political party representing blacks, but that is incorrect.

A state where there is only one political party usually becomes politically, educationally, economically and socially handicapped.

The rumours that Inkatha is the only cause of trouble in the violence in the black townships of Natal are utter propaganda.

I am not siding with any of the political parties concerned, but the leaders of those parties must join hands in order to stop the massacre.

**GMM  
Nkandla  
KwaZulu**

# Political ideologies will always differ

Sir - In their eagerness to win support, political organisations sadly try to capture schools and civic associations, both of which cater for the local needs of people of various political beliefs.

It is self-delusion to think that a whole school or township can subscribe to the same political philosophy.

At times the SRC or an executive committee of a civic association may be predominantly, or even entirely, consist of persons sharing the same political view. This alone does not give the SRC or the civic leadership the right to assume that the whole student body or the whole community share that view.

To be effective schools and civic associations must be free of political influence. Flags, chanting, slogans party political freedom songs should be allowed at student mass meetings

or residents' gatherings.

The SRC or the civic leadership in charge must either allow all students or residents to don the colours of their own movements or bar all of them.

The National Anthem, with its universality, must be the only song sung at the beginning and/or end of these meetings.

It will be a sad day when whole congregations would be deemed to have adopted a particular

political philosophy simply because the pastor in charge is a supporter of a specified political organisation.  
**Don Nkadameng  
Sovenga**



# Political ideologies will always differ

*Sowetan 5 June 1990*

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political philosophy simply because the pastor in charge is a supporter of a specified political organisation.

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# Whites gunning for homeland

## Leaders must get together

Sir - Allow us to comment on the remarks you recently made about the AWB, CP, etc.

According to Professor Karel Boshoff (AV) the majority of whites, or Afrikaners, seek their own homeland "Orania" in the Cape, where only whites are going to live and work, like it is also done in Europe, Australia or Northern America.

Anybody who denies us this natural right to govern ourselves in our own fatherland must be an ignorant and arrogant racist, because we (whites) also have a right to be in South Africa.

The borders of our

homeland can be negotiated with your true leaders, while the rest of South Africa (Azania) will be given to the blacks.

Nowhere in the world do people "share" power who are different from each other like we are. In the Lebanon, in Northern Ireland, in Ethiopia or on Sri Lanka people are killing each other because of their inequality, but your so-called "leaders" did not learn from experience.

They would like to introduce communism to South Africa, which is totally unacceptable to whites, because nowhere in the world has communism worked.

munism worked.

We're prepared to fight for what is ours (no question about that) and nobody is going to deny us our own white homeland, otherwise it's criminal and unbiblical (unchristian).

We're not prepared to negotiate with hardcore Marxists like Joe Slovo about our future, but we're going to take (if necessary by force) what rightfully belongs to us.

*Lank lewe die Afrikanerdom.*  
**DHO Trample  
Cheetah Park  
Ed Muller and  
EK Cotzee  
Roodepoort**

Sir - A constitution for a new South Africa won't be a success unless it is a product of political parties' participation.

Some people believe that there must be one political party representing blacks, but that is incorrect.

A state where there is only one political party usually becomes politically, educationally, economically and socially handicapped.

The rumours that Inkatha is the only cause of trouble in the violence in the black townships of Natal are utter propaganda.

I am not siding with any of the political parties concerned, but the leaders of those parties must join hands in order to stop the massacre.

**GMM  
Nkandla  
KwaZulu**





Tito Mboweni of the ANC's department of economics and planning. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# *Business Day* *5 June 1990* Tax, sexism worry ANC economist

ALAN FINE

ANC department of economics and planning (DEP) official Tito Mboweni dropped into the chairman's office at 44 Main Street for an hour last week, just prior to his return to Lusaka after his first visit to SA in 10 years.

Although he holds strong views on the excessive power of local conglomerates, his visit to Anglo American HQ was not for the purpose of selecting an office for his occupation after nationalisation.

Rather, he said, he went at Anglo's invitation and expected to continue the debate on economic issues which he believed necessary for achieving a "national consensus" in SA.

Mboweni, 31, was the ANC's top DEP representative at the recent Carlton conference. Now Lusaka-based, he plans to spend the next few months establishing the DEP in SA.

He holds an MA in economics from the University of East Anglia in Norwich.

Mboweni said while gatherings like the Carlton conference had their uses they also had limits.

On the one hand, it was important for the two groups — the ANC and the

business community — to have received the messages they did from leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly.

At the same time, Mboweni believed, the process through which the ANC would develop detailed economic policies would rather occur in smaller, more focused, surroundings.

He expressed unhappiness with Relly's attitude to two specific issues — taxation and gender.

"I am very worried about Relly's suggestion that our taxation system should be based increasingly on indirect rather than direct taxes," Mboweni said.

## Interaction

"More indirect tax dumps more of the burden on the poor and relieves the tax burden on the wealthy. We think such policies are based on pure self-interest."

He was also unhappy with the "frivolous" attitude both Relly and Donald Masson — the two business panellists at the conference — took to the question of women's advancement in the economy.

Mboweni emphasised that, as the ANC's main constituency was the black working class, discussions on these issues with Cosatu were very important and would continue very soon.

The ANC also was committed to further interaction with business, especial-

ly at company or industry level.

Mboweni used a trip to the cane growing areas of Natal last week to illustrate how he thought a future government should use such knowledge to determine the best form of state intervention in the economy.

He visited a Tongaat-Hulett mill and saw some of the farming done by 30 000 small growers.

He said a future government would have to devise ways of assisting the small farmers.

Powerful conglomerates and the vertical integration they had achieved in the sugar industry would have to be investigated in terms of the national interest, Mboweni added. "But we will not rush into breaking them up without careful consideration," he said.

The whole question of "conglomerates" (the ANC uses that word and "monopolies" interchangeably and not according to the strict economic definition of the latter, Mboweni explained) was critical for a future government.

"We cannot be blind to the fact that the power that Anglo and others hold is an issue. They are so all-powerful one cannot talk of free competition. They can squeeze and crush any smaller competitor..."

He said not only the ANC was concerned. The point of anti-trust legislation for SA had been made "many times" by white SA businessmen outside the major corporations.



## COMMENT

# Bus subsidies

**B**US operators plan to ask government this week for a massive increase in subsidies, warning that the alternative is equally massive rises in fares which are likely to bring social disruption and violent unrest.

For government, locked into a subsidy system now costing R575m a year and committed to reducing it, the alternatives may well be subsidies or civil commotion, but this does not necessarily mean increased payments to the large, organised operators. There are other possibilities to be explored to achieve the reordering of priorities which Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is seeking.

Given this country's long history of the boycotts and violence which invariably accompany large bus fare increases, the risk of a recurrence should the subsidy be withdrawn is unacceptably high. The number of bus passengers is declining steadily, but most of them are black, and many are scholars. Many, too, are long-distance commuters from areas into which they were forced by government policy and to whom government has acknowledged an obligation. Influx control has gone but, until residential patterns are freely determined by market forces, that obligation remains.

The questions for government to consider then are whom to subsidise, and by how much? We would suggest that part of the answer is not to subsidise large companies which turn subsidies into profits for shareholders but have no hope,

without subsidies, of ever becoming viable. They operate large, costly buses which they cannot use efficiently nor, perhaps, even sell because there is no market for them. Minibuses have turned them into economic dinosaurs.

The black taxi association, Sabta, partly responsible for the problems large operators face, is not deterred by loss-making private or municipal bus routes and has offered to take them over. It must believe it could operate them at a profit, with full taxis or smaller buses instead of big, empty ones. The small black entrepreneur, too, is entitled to a share of the market without having to compete against subsidised corporations. All should compete equally without bigger subsidies going directly to bigger companies.

One way of levelling the playing field would be to subsidise passengers, not companies. Subsidised tickets, valid on buses, taxis or anything in between would free up competition and enable the operators to concentrate on their strengths without putting public transport beyond the means of those most in need of it. Let the market, not government, decide which routes should have large buses or minibuses, and which operators survive.

More efficient use of routes and elimination of the duplication and triplication of municipal services in areas such as the Reef should ultimately enable a reduction in the subsidies. So would an increase in affluence through economic growth, to which this rationalisation would contribute.



# ANC economic ideas revealed

Business Day June 1990

ALAN FINE

A FUTURE democratic state should — in the context of a mixed economy — assume a leading role in the reconstruction of the economy, a draft ANC economic policy document recommends.

The draft arose from the ANC/Cosatu workshop on a post-apartheid economic policy held in Harare a month ago and has been handed to the two organisations' policy-making structures for their consideration.

While seeing a key role for the state in building infrastructure, industrial restructuring and regulation of the capital market, the recommendations also propose conservative fiscal policies.

The document proposes a shifting of the tax burden from individuals to corporations to make the system "more equitable and effective."

## State role

to the extent of state ownership within the financial sector."

The basic goal of economic policy should be "to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power."

It argues for reconstruction to be financed by domestic, including personal, savings with foreign capital seen as supplementary rather than as a substitute.

The document stresses a future government "would not replicate the recent practice of using borrowings to finance current state expenditure."

□ From Page 1

It recommends the present system of exchange controls be retained, although in a modified form, to retain domestic savings in the country and prevent "destabilising speculative capital flows".

The document proposes a future government seriously consider countering the volatile nature of mineral prices by the formation of cartels, give high priority to the creation of industries to add value to mineral products, and improve miners' wages and working conditions "without weakening or making less efficient the mining industry."

□ To Page 2

Tough talk at Bonn meeting

# Business Day Germans tell Mandela to lift sanctions

12 June 1990

IAN HOBBS

BONN — Leaders of West German commerce and industry yesterday bluntly told ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela they felt the time had come to lift sanctions and asked him to start the process.

In a meeting at the Federal Chambers of Commerce Association in Bonn the captains of German industry said German trade with SA would make a better contribution to a settlement if it was freed from sanctions. They said economic growth and stability, not sanctions, were the key to the future.

The latest available figures show German exports to SA in the first six months of 1989 were worth DM3,16bn and imports from SA were worth DM1,6bn.

The majority of the German representatives appeared unmoved by Mandela's argument that they were playing into the hands of white supremacists by calling for an end to sanctions now.

Mandela warned that the majority of South Africans, black and white, would decide for themselves what was best for them. He told the Germans: "It is not for you to tell us what is good for us and what is not good for us."

"What right has anyone to say (to us) that 'sanctions are not good for you'. You have no legal or political right."

He said there had to be a "proper political solution" for the economy to thrive at all and the ANC maintained that negotiations to achieve democracy would fail with disastrous consequences if the pressure created by sanctions ended now.

But the bankers and heads of global

businesses, ranging from Siemens AG, BMW and Mercedes Benz to the major mining and steel houses like Krupp, reacted coolly.

Siemens director and chairman of the meeting Hans-Gerd Neglein said afterwards his personal strong opposition to sanctions had not been swayed by Mandela. He completely rejected the ANC position on sanctions and hoped that Germany and the other EC governments would adopt the British position on all trade sanctions being scrapped, when the 12 heads of state met in Dublin on June 25 and 26.

"Our worldwide experience and recent history and developments show us that sanctions always have a negative effect. They never have a positive effect. They hurt the poorest section of the community, who need most help," Neglein said in an interview.

He said only a very strong economy "would be able to guarantee the catch-up process of the black community".

Neglein said he felt it would be better if the ANC compromised on sanctions at this stage. It would be a very important first move if the ANC made even minor concessions, such as lifting the ban on sporting and cultural contact with SA.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that talks between US Jewish leaders and Mandela in Geneva at the weekend have persuaded members of the Jewish community in New York to suspend plans to picket Mandela when he arrives in the city on June 20.



# Redistribution, black upliftment part of PAC economic blueprint

PETER DELMAR

THE PAC, in its most explicit statement of economic policy yet, has detailed a sweeping programme of redistribution, coupled with the "massive" upliftment of black entrepreneurs and consumers.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander revealed the organisation's first detailed policy document in a speech delivered to an Achib dinner at the weekend on behalf of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng.

Elements of the "exploratory" PAC document — which was drafted by its external economists and is currently being circulated for comment — include the "localisation" of the ownership of resources to minimise the role of international finance capital in the economy.

It also proposes active state intervention in the economy and control over natural and economic resources, the redistribution of wealth in favour of the indigenous African people and the redistribution of land for use by all "Azanians". Land compensation will be paid in the form of interest-bearing government bonds.

Other measures envisaged include decentralisation initiatives by the state and efforts to discourage the concentration of assets in individual firms.

Alexander said it appeared a "negotiation stage" was unavoidable. In an interview yesterday he said the PAC believed meaningful negotiations with government were not viable in the short term.

Alexander said the organisation did not

wish to promote the illusion that only the state could develop the economy or start new economic organisations. Towards this end an Africanist government would promote businesses owned individually and by co-operatives of indigenous people.

Blacks would be encouraged to acquire managerial, technical and professional skills and to increase their growing ownership of the economy.

Further privatisation of state economic units would "not be encouraged" unless this enhanced the PAC's political and economic aims, he said. Despite this, the PAC preferred a "lean" civil service.

State corporations would be run autonomously by professional managers within the framework of the state's developmental and redistributive goals.

Private sector workers would have the right to participate in all investment and financing decisions, with representatives serving on companies' boards of directors. Workers would hold a "certain percentage" of the company's equity capital, initially to be financed by the state.

To overcome the "exploitative and inefficient activities" of private and state corporations, a strong consumer movement would be mobilised and supported by law.

The precise implementation of PAC economic policy, he said, would depend on conditions when the state's form changed.

# ANC economic ideas revealed

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While seeing a key role for the state in building infrastructure, industrial restructuring and regulation of the capital market, the recommendations also propose conservative fiscal policies.

The document proposes a shifting of the tax burden from individuals to corporations to make the system "more equitable and effective."

It recommends the state retain ownership of existing nationalised industries, the possible renationalisation of privatised industries and, "where necessary", the setting up of new state corporations.

Nationalisation "would be effected through due legal and constitutional processes", and state-owned industries would operate within strict budgetary controls.

But the draft steers clear of recommending the nationalisation of parts of the economy until now in the private sector.

The furthest it goes is to recommend "the possibility of the state making strategic investments in mines" be considered, while consideration should also "be given

□ To Page 2

## State role

to the extent of state ownership within the financial sector."

The basic goal of economic policy should be "to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power."

It argues for reconstruction to be financed by domestic, including personal, savings with foreign capital seen as supplementary rather than as a substitute.

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□ From Page 1



# The Natal Witness

5 June 1990  
**Press  
freedom**

**T**he tradition of censoring the bearer of bad tidings and the proponent of opposing political views is long established in South Africa, yet it is a sad reflection on society that, with the exception of a few liberal politicians, there has been no one to defend the press besides the press itself. That is why the statement at the weekend by the outgoing editor-in-chief of the Star, Harvey Tyson, is worthy of attention. From it emerges that the degree of protection afforded to the press in South Africa is almost in inverse proportion to its importance to our changing society. Perhaps even more depressing is the habit shared by politicians — from varying points on the political spectrum — of seeking to exclude from free expression opinions which they regard as incompatible with democracy. This is to miss the essence of democracy, which is that even anti-democratic views have a right to be heard, and that the truest test of any party's commitment to democracy is the vigour with which it defends its opponents' freedom of expression. The civil law of defamation and provisions of criminal law pertaining to incitement provide adequate protection against the abuse of freedom of expression.

In short, parties engaged in the building of a "new South Africa" should concentrate on how to amplify and protect freedom of expression rather than on how to ensure that their opponents do not benefit from it.



WHEN Helen Suzman was first elected to Parliament in 1953, it was her grasp of economic issues and the clarity with which she expressed her views on them which first impressed.

Although she quickly became more prominently involved in the moral questions which were — and remain — the main stuff of South African politics, throughout her career she kept a sharp eye on the economic implications of government policy.

It was this component of Helen Suzman's intellectual armoury that gave such an effective tendency towards pragmatism and realism in politics. There is no better way to analyse abstract political theory than to think it through to its effect on everyday life — in jobs, standards of living, national product, distribution of wealth... in short, economics. This understanding continued to guide and define Helen's attitude in matters of race, and in the manner in which her condemnation of apartheid was expressed.

She saw clearly that apartheid was "worse than a crime, it was a blunder". The governing party, though called the National Party, never had true national aims or policies at heart. It was, until recently anyhow, a tribal party which tried to force its tribal interests on the whole nation. It asserted, and probably believed, that anyone with different ideas was unpatriotic.

Helen Suzman is tough and unsentimental; she fought for blacks'

rights not only because she detested injustice but because she saw there could be no secure future for white people in SA unless the black majority was free, prosperous and content.

She knew freedom was indivisible and could not be reserved for whites only, and as a trained economist she was always conscious that a very important element in freedom as a whole was freedom from want.

It was this clear grasp of the importance of economic realities that caused her to condemn the efforts by well-meaning people to help black South Africans through a policy of sanctions, which ignored their basic need to be preserved from the slow death of poverty and unemployment.

There was a time when migrant labourers were essential for the introduction of industrialisation to SA, and until fairly recently there may have been businessmen who did not grasp how completely the situation had changed. But Helen Suzman had a clear grasp of the real situation.

The system, she emphasised, flew in the face of industry's needs. She condemned it not only for tearing families apart but also because it held back the economic growth on which the welfare of all South Africans depended.

When, in 1983, she detected changes for the better in government

## HARRY OPPENHEIMER

policy she noted that this was not due to any change of heart, but to the pressure from an economy which could not move forward so long as most black workers were prevented from living permanently with their families near their places of employment.

Similarly her attacks on the Group Areas Act, job reservation, inferior black education and the pass laws were never separated from a solid material base in her understanding of the needs of the economy. From the same perspective flowed her advocacy of freedom of movement for all and of equal treatment for black and white trade unions.

Helen Suzman never lost sight of the link between a socially just system and a sound economy. She saw clearly, as most South Africans do not, that there is no meaning in freedom if it is tied to an economic system incapable of supporting the people in decent material conditions.

She was always conscious of the elementary economic errors behind the advocacy of racial separation. It was obvious to her that in a country with great national resources and a serious shortage of skilled workers, the provision of a sound education

and technical training for black South Africans and the opening of equal opportunities would be calculated not to decrease but to increase the number of skilled jobs available to whites.

On exactly the same grounds she argued for the encouragement of the immigration of skilled workers because it would make economic expansion possible. Similarly she advocated improved wages for blacks on the grounds that this would broaden the economy.

Helen Suzman never tired of pointing out that the relationship between black and white in the South African economy was not a zero-sum system but one of opportunity without boundaries for co-operation for the common good.

Nowadays all this seems simple and obvious, but it was not when she started to hammer relentlessly on the theme; and in so doing she introduced a new and powerful element into the battle against apartheid.

Her theoretical rejection of a state-controlled economy was powerfully reinforced by personal observation of this system in action in the context of Africa.

SA is now on the move. The risks and the opportunities are greater than at any time in my memory.

Progress will require idealism,

# BUSINESS DAY 5 JUNE 1990 Suzman, the economist



□ SUZMAN

certainly, and a love of justice and hatred of intolerance and bullying. It will call for deep human compassion and courage to stand up for individual freedom and dignity.

But all this, however beautiful and high sounding, will, as Helen Suzman saw so clearly, be no more than insubstantial froth unless it is founded on and supported by a clear understanding of the economic requirements of a modern democratic state.

□ This is an edited excerpt from a chapter in *Values Alive*, in which various contributors honour Suzman. The book is published by Jonathan Ball at R79,95.

LETTERS



## South African history

by Luli Callinicos

Natal witness  
5 June 1990

# Skeletons in cupboards

**Luli Callinicos, Senior Research Officer at the University of the Witwatersrand's History Workshop, reacts to last Monday's article by Ken Owen.**

I AM in full agreement with Ken Owen (*Business Day*, May 28) when he calls for the opening up of political debate in South Africa — until barely four months ago the majority of South Africans faced vicious persecutions for their political beliefs. I agree, too, that the South African Communist Party needs to come out of the closet. It would certainly help to avoid conspiratorial interpretations of its aims and agenda.

But, it must be said, it would be naive for SACP members not to be cautious, given the experience of countries such as Chile. There the brief period of open politics in the early 1970s lasted only long enough for the security police to gather information on the communists to stage their bloody counter-revolution. To facilitate the process of converting underground organisations into open political parties, we need to get our history into perspective.

Some response is required, however, on Owen's comments on the history of the SACP. To describe Sydney Bunting as a Trotskyist is simply wrong. To label Baruch Hirson an *agent provocateur* is not only wrong, it could be libellous. To label the Freedom Charter as a (white) communist plot is crude.

The idea of the Freedom Charter was first mooted in August 1953 by Z.K. Matthews, professor at Fort Hare and ANC president in the Cape Province but not an SACP member. The call to reach out to the people received an enthusiastic response from thousands of Congress supporters, including members of the by-then banned SACP.

In the following 22 months, "volunteers" canvassed among ordinary

people countrywide, in both rural and urban areas, to ascertain "the people's demands". The idea was that the process of grass-roots participation was as important as the finished product itself.

The committee which finally drafted a charter out of the thousands of little scraps of paper sent in from all over the country certainly included communists, both black and white; but that fact should not obscure the ANC leadership's democratic impulse, a turning point in its strategy for mass mobilisation.

As for the Congress of Democrats, this tiny, vocal group of white activists certainly seems to have had a large proportion of communists among its ranks, but they were among the few whites in the 1960s who were prepared to risk persecution and banning in the struggle against apartheid.

Of course they were not the only whites to speak out in those years. Individuals within the church, the Black Sash and the Liberal Party took personal risks to alert South Africa and the world to the evils of the South African system. But the Liberal Party's qualified franchise had the effect of turning away the more militant black and white activists. A large number of those who were prepared to practise full racial equality and to risk their privileges were socialists and communists.

Much of our past has been suppressed, distorted and maimed. But we now have an unprecedented opportunity to cast off prejudices and examine more clearly and honestly our difficult and complicated past. For Owen to twist the historic role of his political opponents will not help build the trust which he commended Govan Mbeki for seeking, and which is so necessary for working towards democratic solutions.

**Ken Owen, the Editor of *Business Day*, replies.**

I AM surprised and delighted that Ms Callinicos demands history to be objectively recorded, even by penny-a-line scribblers like me, but on this occasion, I regret to say, she has not done her homework.

Baruch Hirson writes (*Yours for the Union*, page xii): "I... visited many of the trade union offices as an organiser of the Workers International League." He adds that the local Workers International League (WIL) was formed during the war by Heaton Lee who had previously been "an organiser in the British Trotskyist movement" (page 169).

Peter Walshe (*The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*) and Edward Roux (*Time Longer than Rope*) refer to the WIL as "Trotskyite", or "Trotskyist". Roux says it came under fierce attack from communist Senator Hyman Basner.

Hirson himself is described by Tom Lodge (*Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*, page 240) as one of the "main personalities" in the ARM conspiracy that ended in murder. Hirson was linked, through the Socialist League (whose members were "nearly all inside the Congress Alliance"), to the Congress of Democrats. To speculate about his role as one of the main personalities in ARM, a Trotskyist among liberals, is not only permissible but, until the historical record becomes clear, necessary.



As Ms Callinicos says, the COD included many communists, but she understates the true position. Ian Bernhard, the man who "discovered" Miriam Makeba, told me a few years ago, rather hyperbolically, that he thought he might have been "the only liberal" in the COD. He recalled that no single member of the COD would pass judgment on the

Soviet invasion of Budapest until "the line" came from Moscow; then they all cheered.

It is true that S.P. Bunting was not a Trotskyist. I did not say he was a Trotskyist, merely that he was among those purged from the SACP as "rightists" during the Stalinists' struggle for supremacy over the Trotskyists. The point is that the bloodletting, as usual among communists, was indiscriminate.

Hirson suggests the extent of that battle (page 41) when he says, "The story of African trade unions in the 1930s is also that of the Trotskyist groups whose members had been expelled from the CPSA." Other references abound in the works of Roux, Lodge, and Walshe.

All of this is, however, mere nit-picking. On the main question of how the Charter was drafted and adopted, Ms Callinicos does not even attempt to refute Edward Feit's account (*South Africa — The Dynamics of the African National Congress*) that the adoption of the Charter was rigged.

She resorts to assertion ("argument weak, speak loudly") to sustain the romantic nonsense about "little scraps of paper" which, for the Left, passes for the history of the Charter.

Lodge, whose sympathy for the Freedom Charter is not in question, does not talk of "little scraps of paper". He at least attempts to record history, noting among other things that the final stage of the campaign to test opinion through local committees "never really got off the ground", and that hostility to the Charter sprang in large measure from "the prominent role which members of the Congress of Demo-

crats seemed to have in the arrangements leading up to the Congress of the People".

To this I would add that an eminent writer told me recently that she

was simply informed by Albie Sachs, when she was a student at UCT, that she was to be a delegate to the Congress of the People. There was, in fact, no semblance of "democracy", not even of the left-wing kind.

Lodge, though he leans over backwards to rescue the Charter from its sleazy origins, is forced to record: "As far as the critics were concerned the Charter and the process which produced it were the results of manipulation and conspiracy. Peter Hjul ... contends that his function, along with other committee members, was merely to endorse pre-arranged decisions ... To Liberals, the dominant influence in the campaign was the Congress of Democrats, in their view no more than a front for the communists." (page 72)

Interestingly, Lodge does not level at Hjul or other liberals the accusations which Ms Callinicos levels at me. To sustain her charge that I twist history, she must refute not what I say but what the best available histories say — and that would require her to penetrate the mendacious myths which the propagandists of the Left, historians among them, have woven around the origins of the Freedom Charter. Ms Callinicos, if she will cleave to historical objectivity, is equipped for the task.

Finally, I must break a lance for the liberals who were left to carry on the fight when, in the Sixties, the communist leaders, with the notable exception of Bram Fischer, were running for exile. The communists, on orders from the Comintern, abandoned their earlier devotion to the "white workers" in 1928; the Liberal Party in 1960 abandoned the qualified franchise.

We all have skeletons in our cupboards.

• Both articles are reproduced with acknowledgements to *Business Day*.

N. Witness

5 June 1990



# Why FW postponed US trip

STAR 5 JUNE 1990

President de Klerk had sound reasons for postponing his trip to the United States.

He does not at this stage need the controversy which was being engendered there about his visit, especially about the fact that he would be there before Nelson Mandela.

The ANC itself was not unduly concerned about Mr de Klerk being there first, but some self-appointed saviours of South Africa in the US decided to start a campaign.

Mr de Klerk is not a self-important person and his reason for postponing the visit was not a dislike of demonstrations or the feeling that he would not receive the welcome he felt he was entitled to.

Behind the decision to postpone the trip was the concern that US congressmen would be pressurised into staying away from functions which would have been arranged for them to meet Mr de Klerk.

It was important for Mr de Klerk to meet these congressmen, especially as the Bush administration is pledged to co-operate closely with Congress in the field of foreign relations. It was therefore thought unwise to expose Mr de Klerk to boycott actions, especially after his successful European trip.

It was felt that it was unnecessary for him to visit countries where controversies could arise.

As Mr de Klerk said last week, he believed that it was in South Africa's interest that his visit to the US should take place in circumstances in which he could have a broad range of discussions across the political spectrum.

The decision not to go to Washington this month was not taken lightly and the US ambassador, Bill Swing, was called in for consultations. The message from the White House was that it was an open invitation and that Mr de Klerk was welcome to come at any time.

There may well have been a sense of relief because Mr de Klerk had decided not to come under these circumstances.

There was also some contact with

President de Klerk does not need any controversy, especially relating to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, that would be engendered by a visit to the United States at this stage, reports **TOS WENTZEL**, of The Star's Political Staff

the ANC which gave the assurance that it was not involved in the controversy that had started in the US and that it had no strong feelings about Mr de Klerk getting there before Mr Mandela.

Now it seems as if Mr de Klerk may go next year and that the visit may be combined with visits to other countries.

The Netherlands and Israel are being mentioned as countries that would like Mr de Klerk to visit. At some stage, there is also the possibility of visits to African countries, but for the present Mr de Klerk has decided to stay home to give attention to what he has described as certain important matters which require his personal attention in the next few weeks.

This was the second reason for his putting off the trip to the US.

He has had to attend to a lot soon after his return from his European trip.

One of his priorities will be to step up reform moves and to get negotiations on a new constitutional system going.

He chose first of all to confront the right wing, running rampant with its defiant statements that it will mobilise the Afrikaner to resist Mr de Klerk's reform moves.

On his arrival back from Europe, he made it clear that the Government would not be intimidated by large gatherings, a reference to the huge rally the Conservative Party had organised at the Voortrekker Monument. He maintained that the new South Africa was being born and that no one could stop this.

He followed this up with a sharp attack on the CP, accusing it of a total campaign of incitement based on the "blatant lie" that the National Party had now suddenly surrendered the whites to domination and suppression.

He also maintained that unless radical elements in the CP were stopped, the party would be on a slippery slide to a morass of violent broedertwis.

Dr Andries Treurnicht remained defiant, expressing the CP's determination to mobilise white resistance to Mr de Klerk's "surrender steps" and his undemocratic action.

The Conservative Party claims that the Government did not obtain a mandate for the far-reaching steps it is now introducing, a point hotly disputed by NP leaders.

The National Party kept its plans rather fuzzy in last year's election campaign and its propagandists exploited contacts Democratic Party figures had had with the ANC, especially with Communist Party leader Joe Slovo. Not so many months afterwards, Mr Slovo was at Groote Schuur talking to Government leaders.

Whatever happened at that election, the Government has now acknowledged that there will never be a whites-only election again. Plans for the redelimitation of constituencies for separate houses of parliament have been abandoned for all practical purposes.

There will not again be an election in which the CP can make much of a constitutional impact. Its last chance may be in a referendum on constitutional changes, but in this it is likely to face the joint forces of the the National Party and the Democratic Party.

There will be an interesting test of electoral opinion in the Umlazi by-election tomorrow.

Indications are that the National Party will lose some support to the CP, but that there will at the same time be a drift of DP supporters to the NP. Among voters to the left of the NP there appears to be the feeling that Mr de Klerk must be sup-

ported against the right wing.

In addition to his squabbles with the CP, Mr de Klerk will also be giving attention to consolidating his position after the good reception he had in Europe. He would like to ensure the impetus towards the easing of sanctions. This, in turn, may lead to investor confidence from abroad.

While giving him a warm reception, some European statesmen suggested to Mr de Klerk that more could be done, especially about political prisoners and the state of emergency.



Why FW postponed

5 JUNE 1990

These matters are now among Mr de Klerk's top priorities.

Both the Government and the ANC sides have spoken positively about an agreement which has been reached by the working group appointed after the Groote Schuur talks on the definition of political prisoners.

The agreement deals with norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa.

In the process, the Government appears to have made a concession on the question of people who have been involved in violence.

On the other hand, the agreement can also affect others, including people involved in clandestine South African destabilisation efforts. There has been the suggestion that Mr Mandela's recent sudden stop-over in Zimbabwe may have had to do with a South African agent held in jail there.

In Government circles, much has been made of the success of Mr de Klerk's European visit, but there is the realisation that more needs to be done before the crucial meeting of European Community heads of state on June 25.

Mr de Klerk must be hoping for at least a symbolic gesture from the EC meeting — perhaps the lifting or easing of sanctions affecting scientific and cultural relations.

This could start influencing foreign investment attitudes.

5-06-90



# Question mark over way DP supporters vote in Umlazi poll

*Daily News* Political Staff 5 June 1996

POLITICAL observers say that one of the issues of the Umlazi by-election tomorrow is whether Democratic Party supporters stay loyal to their party.

As members of Parliament from all over the country poured into the constituency yesterday, the DP's national organiser, Mr Neil Ross, was adamant that his party would hold on to its 3314 votes gained in the September elections.

"Our canvass figures are holding up. There has been some bleeding to the National Party but we are picking replacement votes up from our doubtfuls," Mr Ross said.

NP members are hoping to make up whatever support they lose to the Conservative Party from the DP. They are also hoping for a high percentage poll as they believe a stayaway vote will work against them.

The NP is also playing up the threat of a right-wing person such as Piet "Skiet" Rudolph taking action in the constituency between now and when polls close.

They revealed yesterday that NP provincial secretary Mr James Waugh was threatened by right-wing thugs who said: "We will get you before June 6".

About 500 of the NP's posters have been vandalised, damaged or stolen, including 200 of the controversial "CP equals Conflict Party" hazard posters.

They have laid charges against a man from Cape Town who was caught red-handed ripping posters down.

They also released affidavits from Yellowwood Park residents, which stated that a man pretending to be NP candidate Mr Piet Matthee told residents he would publicly denounce the NP on June 6.

In another affidavit a resident stated that a man who said he was from the CP had made anti-Semitic remarks, and said he approved of the holocaust during World War 2.

The DP said one of their canvassers had been chased off a CP supporter's property with a firearm.

The CP hit back by saying that they were also concerned for their safety because in spite of talks between the NP Government and the ANC, black groupings had still not renounced violence, and it was unfair to play up threats of right-wing public disorder.

■ VOTERS in the Umlazi constituency tomorrow can register their votes at four polling stations in the area.

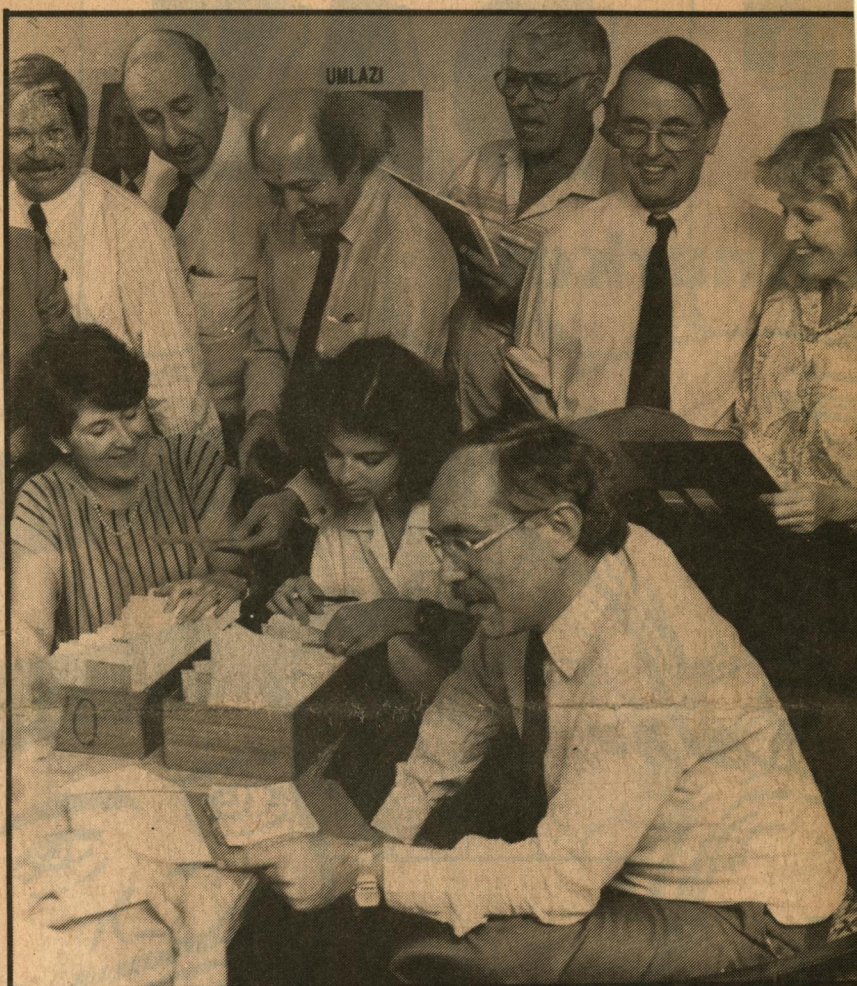
Polling stations will be set up at Seaview Primary School in Seaview Road (for voters in Polling District 14), the Yellowwood Park Civic

Centre (for voters in PD 25), Bellair Primary School in Sarnia Road (for voters in PD 86), and the Montclair Senior Primary School in Bangay Road (for voters in PD 228).

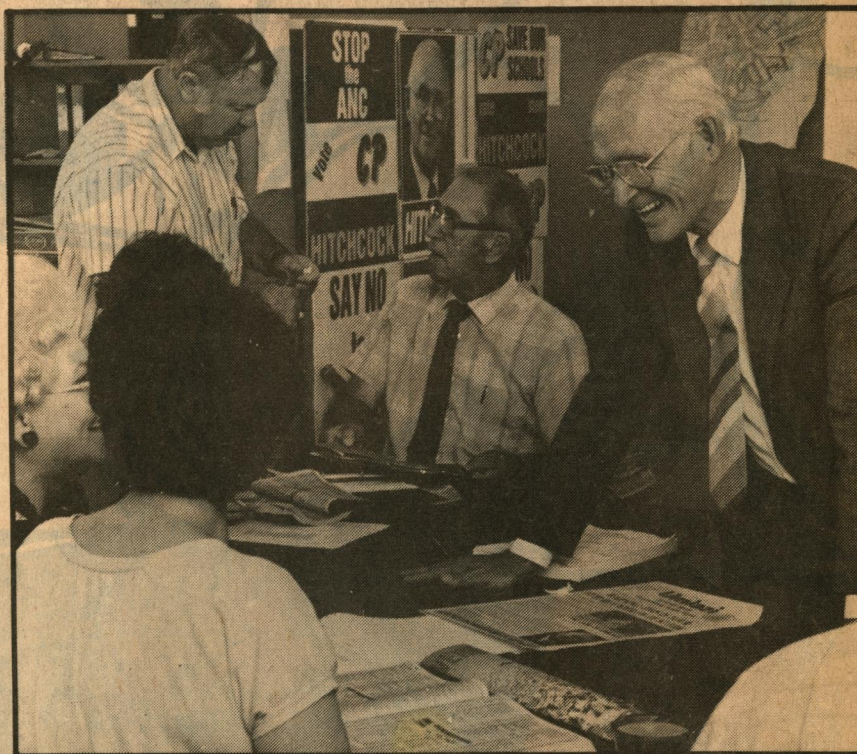
The stations will be open from 7am to 9pm.

At 9pm the votes will be counted at Montclair Senior Primary.

News by R.M.Challenor and N.Cunningham-Brown, 34 Osborne Street, Greyville.



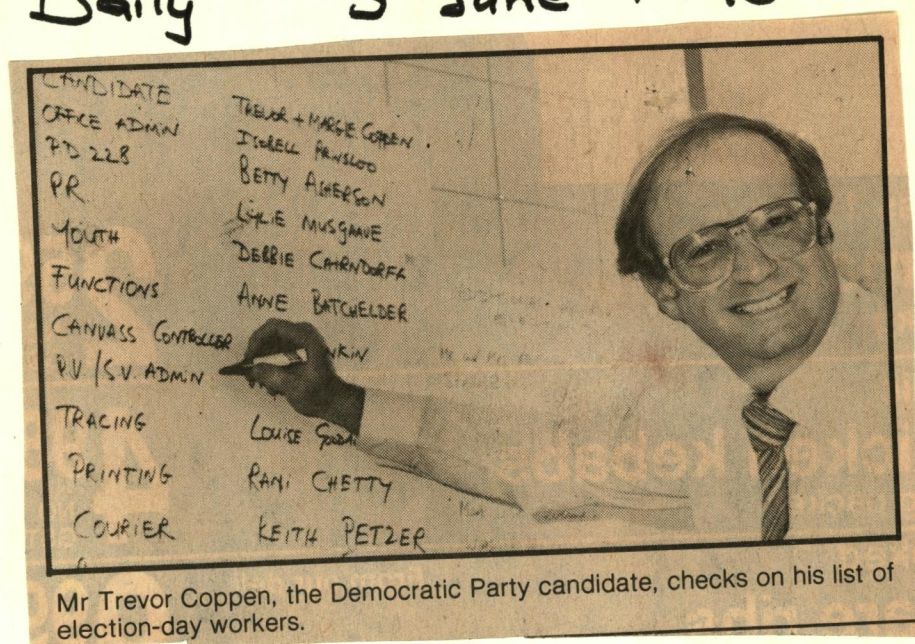
THE parties are winding up their campaigns for tomorrow's Umlazi by-election. Here Mr Piet Matthee (NP) confers with helpers.



Mr Francis Hitchcock of the Conservative Party, making sure that everyone was canvassed.



Daily 5 June 1990



Mr Trevor Coppen, the Democratic Party candidate, checks on his list of election-day workers.