

Diederichs' estate

Natal Witness 'insolvent'

JOHANNESBURG — The estate of the late Dr Nico Diederichs, former State President and Minister of Finance, has been declared insolvent by the executor.

After two years' delay and speculation, the executor has informed creditors by letter that the estate's assets exceed liabilities by about R500 000.

But one of the most important assets — a loan of R850 000 to Mr Diederichs' son, Mr Nico Diederichs Junior — has been written off by the executor. If the loan was recovered, the estate would be solvent.

This has come to light

two years after the death of Dr Diederichs in 1978, when he was State President. Before this appointment he was Minister of Finance and often referred to as "Mr Gold."

The executor, Mr C. Zondagh, says in letters to Dr Diederichs' creditors that "in my opinion and after a thorough investigation no amount can be recovered from the biggest debtor, Mr Nico Diederichs Jnr. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the estate is insolvent."

According to Mr Zondagh's calculations assets exceed the liabilities by about R425 000. The creditors include Volkskas (overdraft of R53 000), Trust Bank (loan with interest, R44 000), Rentmeester (loan of R93 000), J. H. Plane (loan of R93 000), Cape-Vaal-Trust (loan of R4 500) and Golden Arrow Finance Corporation (R4 800).

In accordance with the Act on Insolvent Estates, the creditors now have to decide whether or not they accept that the estate is insolvent. If they should insist on recovering the money from Mr Diederichs Jnr, it could lead to a long drawn out court case which could delay execution of the estate for months. — Sapa.

DP plea to big business on rates

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's national congress yesterday urged big business in Cape Town not to oppose the party's "successful attempt" in the Supreme Court to have the 1990 valuation roll declared invalid.

The congress also requested the DP-controlled City Council to use part of its reserve fund to assist "truly needy" residential ratepayers — especially in Mitchells Plain — negatively affected by the valuation roll being declared invalid.

In proposing the resolution, Sea Point city councillor Mr Chris Joubert said by not challenging the Supreme Court ruling big business would assist many Capetonians who could not apply for relief.

Secede

The resolution, backed by an overwhelming majority of the 550 delegates, was carried after a lively debate on the Cape Town ratepayers' revolt and the damage the rates debacle could do to the DP in the coming election if it was not resolved.

The head of the DP caucus in the City Council, Dr John Sonnenberg, warned of moves on the Atlantic seaboard and in the southern suburbs "to secede" from the Cape Town metropole.

He said that attempts by rebellious ratepayers to break away from the city and form their own "cosy arrangements" would result in part of Cape Town "unwittingly promoting Conservative Party policy".

Another delegate, Mr Hillel Turok, described the City Council as "a disaster area".

Mr Turok said he was "very sorry" the DP had decided to establish a formal caucus in the council because the party would lose votes in the election because of the council's frequent "botch-ups".

New-look DP campaigns for s

Political Correspondent

A NEW-LOOK Democratic Party this weekend launched its campaign for the "mother of all elections" — and the very survival of the party in a new South Africa.

Closing the DP's two-day national congress last night in the city, party leader Dr Zach

de Beer told the 550 departing delegates: "The election has started — don't relax for a second between now and April 27."

Earlier, Dr De Beer was re-elected unopposed as party leader and a proposal that the party should elect a deputy leader to assist him in the punishing months of cam-

paing which lies ahead, failed to gain the required two-thirds support of delegates.

A resolution proposing that the DP would be able to project itself more effectively in the run-up to the election if it adopted the name the African Democratic Party was heavily defeated.

However, the changing pro-

file of the party was reflected in the delegates attending the congress — more than a third were not white and the emergence of African, coloured and Indian members as a driving force of the party in many regions was evident.

The congress was marked by a series of lively debates on issues as diverse as abor-



TOP SPEAKERS . . . Speakers who were most enthusiastically received at the Democratic Party's national congress in the city this weekend were Ms Kate Alexander, southern Cape deputy leader, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Joe Marks, Western Cape deputy leader. Picture: BENNY GOOL

KwaZulu plans 'defence units'

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly will set up self-defence units, after six weeks training, to protect rural dwellers.

A weekend statement by assembly secretary Mr M R Mzimela said it was transparent that the government was failing to protect ordinary people from the ongoing violence. — Sapa

Party faster

Pol

THE Democratic Western Cape in Hennie Bester

In an interview Sea Point, he said the Western Cape country.

"We are signing Western Cape expansion is co had a limited p

Mr Bester said as a "power play am confident t party after the

Earlier, DP d Joe Marks, tol branches in th beginning of th

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Dr Allan Daitz, Essex, England daughter of Iv Town, v

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SA MARITIME MUSEUM 5pm. Call 419-2505. SA NAVAL MUSEUM — Admission free.

FISH HOEK SENIOR HIGH

*** 'Don't give ANC a blank cheque'**



Dr Zac De Beer

■ The Democratic Party launched its election campaign yesterday with a warning about the real challenge facing voters who want democratic government.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

DON'T give the ANC — or any other party — a blank cheque to write the constitution of the new South Africa.

This was the call yesterday from Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer in a hard-hitting election speech which he described as "the most important speech I shall ever make."

His warning to voters was that they could lose control over their destiny if they allowed any single party to gain a two-thirds majority in next year's election — and gain with it the power to write its own constitution for South Africa.

Amid enthusiastic applause and a standing ovation from more than 500 delegates and visitors at the party's national congress in Sea Point, Dr De Beer launched the DP into the election campaign with a "Let's march!" call.

He warned democratic-minded voters not to be misled by other parties claiming to adhere to democratic values, or begging for support to keep other parties out.

His warning included an emphatic reminder to voters that the 1994 election — already described as "the mother of all elections" — was to elect a body of people that would be both a legislature and a constitution-making body.

"Not only will these people make the laws for five years: they will also write a constitution which will shape the government in our country for many years to come, and which will itself be very difficult to change in the future," Dr De Beer said.

He explained that the present multiparty negotiating council was writing an interim constitution which had to define the "rules of the game" for the period between the 1994 election and the adoption of the final constitution — perhaps in 1995 or 1996.

The final constitution would be written by the body to be elected in next year's election.

It had already been decided that all decisions to determine the final constitution would have to be taken by a special majority. In all probability that majority would be two-thirds.

"The task of the democrats is to prevent any party from obtaining a two-thirds majority in the election, and therefore enabling it to write its own constitution."

Dr De Beer continued: "Let's call the thing by its name — we must ensure that the ANC does not win by a two-thirds majority."

De Beer is favourite to lead the DP

BACKGROUND

STAR

The troika is on its last legs, having stumbled disastrously at Umlazi after pulling the fledgling Democratic Party to unprecedented heights in last year's general election.

The triumvirate of Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan is on edge as it strains to pull the DP away from the dark precipice of Umlazi where the DP lost its deposit in the June 6 by-election.

The mood in the DP caucus is strongly opposed to continuation of the troika leadership, MPs told The Star. They predict that there will be a concerted move to opt for a single leader when the DP holds its annual congress before the end of the year.

"The troika is finished," a senior MP said. "It hasn't worked."

Another MP agreed, almost echoing his colleague's words. "The troika must end," he said emphatically.

A third MP, Tian van der Merwe, declined to comment on the mood in the caucus. Speaking for himself, however, he said: "I have not the slightest doubt that we should revert to a single leader. The speed at which the political environment is changing makes it vital

The Democratic Party's triumvirate looks certain to be replaced by a single leader. The urbane Zach de Beer appears to be the favourite to take over but the tenacious Denis Worrall is certain to make a fight of it. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

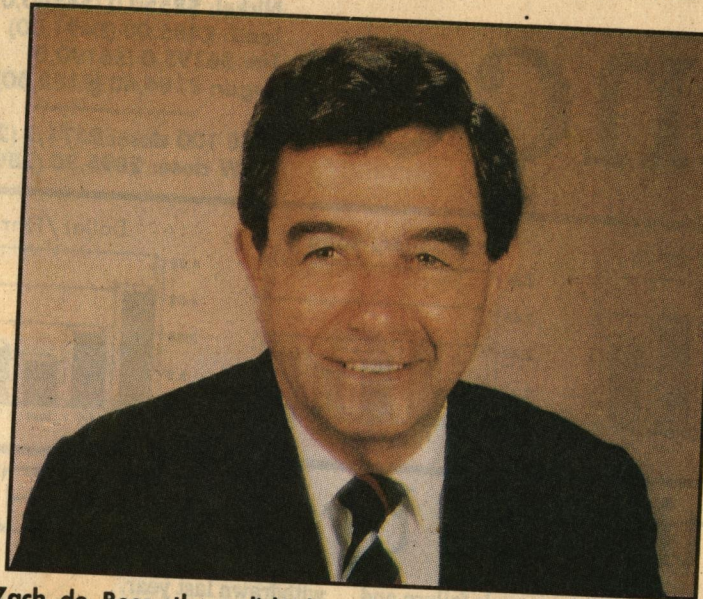
to respond quickly to events."

He, like many MPs in the DP, feel the troika is too ponderous an arrangement in the present rapidly-moving situation.

One of DP's triad of leaders, Mr Malan, has, in the opinion of several MPs, virtually dropped out of the anticipated contest to assume the leadership. He appears to have lost interest, having undertaken three overseas trips during the present parliamentary session, an MP said.

If Mr Malan — who is in the United States at present — has indeed opted out, the main runners are Dr de Beer and Dr Worrall, with Mr van der Merwe as an outsider.

The advantage at the moment lies with Dr de Beer, the polished and eloquent former director of Anglo-American who, in many ways, personifies the urbane and wealthy elite who led the old Progressive Party.



Zach de Beer, the polished and eloquent former director of Anglo American, holds the advantage in the leadership stakes.

Dr Worrall has been blamed for the Umlazi debacle, having reportedly insisted on fighting the by-election against the counsel of senior DP men.

He was warned, DP MPs told The Star, against entering the fray at Umlazi and thereby making it a three-cornered contest between the DP, the National Party and Conservative Party; DP supporters, he was reportedly advised, would

defect to new reform-minded NP rather than split the pro-reform vote and open the way for a CP victory.

Feelings ran high in the aftermath of the Umlazi result, as some DP men blamed Dr Worrall.

"He is charismatic," one of his sternest critics in the caucus acknowledged. "But he is impetuous and stubborn ... a disastrous combination."

Another MP insisted that Dr Worrall had disqualified himself as a serious candidate in the now looming leadership struggle. "I can't see how he can be a candidate," he said. "He'd be a disaster."

But Dr Worrall is not without friends and supporters, as a statement by David Gant, chairman of the DP's National Council showed. It detailed events leading to the decision to fight the Umlazi by-election, showing that it was taken by National Council and Regional Council of the Natal Coast.

The statement undoubtedly helped bolster Dr Worrall's position within the party. In the light of that, and taking account of Dr Worrall's ambition and tenacity, it would be foolish to write him off.

In 1987, after the Independent Movement excluded him from Mr Malan's National Democratic Movement, Dr Worrall appeared to be a defeated man. But he fought back, launching the Independent Party and winning a place for himself in the triumvirate which presided over the DP after its birth in April 1989.

If Dr Worrall cannot be excluded from the leadership stakes, however, two predic-

(1) To P 92

tions can be made fairly confidently:

- The days of the troika are numbered.

- The "going-for-power" philosophy, advocated by Dr Worrall in last year's general election, has been shelved. It rested on the assumption that the NP should be opposed wherever possible, even if DP participation carries the risk of facilitating a CP victory.

Since then, however, the situation has changed radically, not least because a negotiated settlement and subsequent non-racial elections makes a DP quest for power a quaint anachronism.

As Mr Gant puts it: "The party has agreed ... to reconsider contesting by-elections where its presence could directly assist the CP in achieving electoral gains. (It) is not a fundamental shift in DP direction but a responsible reaction towards the political demands of the particular time."

It is, however, a shift consistent with Dr de Beer's approach of fighting on a narrower, more selective political front in the interests of preserving liberal values, even where they have been belatedly adopted by the NP.

(2)



Bomb attack ... some operations carried out by MK guerillas "did not necessarily follow ANC guidelines and policies", according to Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff and deputy commander, Chris Hani. He says he did not encourage sporadic attacks on civilians.

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Deadly news

Residents of Soweto township in Johannesburg, South Africa read a Black newspaper's account of riots in which 12 people were reportedly killed by security forces.

12 die, 68 hurt after bloodiest S. A. conflict

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (UPI) — Fighting between security forces and Black protesters in the giant Soweto ghetto yesterday killed 12 Blacks and wounded 68 others in the bloodiest conflict under the current state of emergency, officials said.

In other violence, a Black man was burned to death by other Blacks near Grahamstown in eastern Cape Province, officials said — raising the day's bloody toll to 13 dead. The 12 dead and 68 wounded in Soweto was the heaviest toll in lives and injuries since President Pieter Botha imposed a nationwide state of emergency June 12 to maintain order. On June 16, 11 people died in clashes.

The deaths Tuesday night and early Wednesday brought to 277 the number of people confirmed killed in racial violence and security force actions since emergency rule took effect 11 weeks ago.

The violence erupted out of a rent strike by Blacks — who are caught between whites and militant blacks. The militant blacks are urging residents to withhold rent payment, while the whites seek payment to end the rent boycott.

The fighting was triggered 7:30 p.m. Tuesday when police broke up a meeting of rent strikers — who have refused to pay rent to the town council contending that the council is a puppet of Botha's white-led Pretoria government.

The fighting spread when eviction notices were delivered to Blacks.

Soweto Housing Director Del Kevan said in an interview Wed-

nesday in the Sowetan Black daily newspaper: "Some people have been in arrears with their rent even before the (rent) boycott started on June 1.

"These are the people I am now sending notices of eviction. These are the very bad ones."

Reporters of the Sowetan Black newspaper, ordered out of the area by security forces today, said an angry crowd hacked to death one councilman and attacked another.

But the Bureau of Information could not confirm the killing of the councilman and stood by its report of 12 killed in the sprawling Soweto ghetto outside Johannesburg.

At one point, police used tear gas to disperse about 500 people marching to Soweto council offices. Four police officers were hurt when a grenade was thrown at a patrol from a street barricade, the official said.

Police opened fire on the crowd, killing seven Blacks, the bureau said. It said more than 60 people were injured in the clash.

Government sources said unofficially the list of injured could rise to at least 85.

Transport company officials said makeshift barricades in many township streets forced them to reroute buses. The barricades went up Tuesday night.

At about 1:30 a.m. Wednesday, a second incident occurred in the same area. The Bureau for Information said about 80 Blacks tried to hijack a truck. Police intervened and opened fire, killing four Blacks and wounding at least one person.



Inside S. Africa

U. S. Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, at a press conference in Johannesburg Wednesday, said proposed American sanctions against the South African government were an expression of frustration over continued racial discrimination in that country.

DAY OF SORROW

DP YES, CP NO TO

Citizen

7 June 1

NEW SCHOOLS

By Sapa, Keith
Abendroth and
Vivian Warby

PLAN

THE Democratic Party welcomed the new deal in education proposed in the Educational Renewal Strategy report released in Cape Town yesterday, the CP rejected the proposals outright and the Teachers' Federal Council, umbrella body of more than 80 000 teachers, reserved judgment.

If the proposals were accepted, it would have tragic results for the education of the Afrikaner and the White communi-

ty, the CP's education spokesman, Mr Andrew Gerber, said in a statement yesterday.

"The CP rejects the document's point of departure. We are not pre-

pared to give up our own education system, our teachers to unemployment and in the process to destroy our own future."

The introduction of the

TO PAGE 2

Details of
plan: P10

LETTERS

Desperate plight of flood victims

SIR — I am writing to you in a spirit of helplessness and frustration. Nearly seven months have elapsed since the "Natal Floods." Shortly after that I found myself in the role of interpreter and scribe for the "flood forms" that had to be completed (this took up to half an hour each) and signed before a Commissioner of Oaths.

I gave assistance to some 20 or so Zulus, many of whom were illiterate, but all of whom suffered the loss of most of their possessions and their homes. These people were employees at my place of employment, at my daughter's work and our own domestic employees from different flood-ravaged areas.

The worst case was an ex-gardener of ours, retired because of a severe disability, and who lived on the Umngeni flood plain. He lost everything and has not yet been granted disability pension, never mind any flood relief.

Now, seven months later, no aid whatsoever has been rendered to any of these unfortunate people. The only response, in some cases, has been that new forms were posted with the request that these forms be filled in and dispatched to their local magistrates.

One appreciates that cases have had to be investigated for authenticity, but these people are claiming so little — a few hundred rand — although to them this amount is their only hope of recovery.

Without savings or insurance, what can the rural poor do, but hope for a miracle, or that some powerful official will cut the red tape and release to them some of the funds that we all contributed to, such a long time ago.

D. De Rosemond, Kloof

● A spokesman for the Department of National Health and Population Development replies:

I wish to inform you that payments are being made on a continuous basis to applicants who suffered losses as a result of the floods which occurred in Natal at the end of September, 1987. Up to the present moment financial assistance to the value of R30,2 million has been rendered to 73 685 applicants in Natal and KwaZulu. A small number of applications are still under consideration. It is expected, however, that all payments would be finalised in the near future.

As no names are mentioned in your reader's letter, it is not possible to investigate the matter in full.

Inquiries in respect of applications in the rural areas of KwaZulu may be made at telephone 0358-202159 and in writing to Mr M. Majola, Private Bag X01, Ulundi 3838, and in respect of applications in the rest of Natal at telephone 012-3239311 and in writing to the Secretary, Disaster Relief Fund, Private Bag X63, Pretoria 0001.

Discontent smoulders in warm heart

MALAWI, which likes to call itself "the warm heart of Africa", is experiencing what might be described as severe cardiac problems.

In the latest of a series of setbacks to hit the beleaguered regime of President for Life Hastings Kamuzu Banda, wide spread unrest and looting has broken out in the country's two largest cities.

A number of people are believed to have died in the unrest, which is the first since President Banda took office 28 years ago.

The rioting was sparked, according to reliable sources, by an industrial dispute, with workers at one of the biggest concerns, the David Whitehead textile factory in Blantyre, dissatisfied with the pace of negotiations over wage increases. The civil service had already been granted increases ranging between 20 and 85 percent.

Suggestions that a coup was imminent have recently been discounted on the grounds that both the police and army were still loyal to the president. The

Malawi has been described as the success story of Africa — but this has not come cheaply, writes HANS-PETER BAKKER of The Star Africa Service.

suggestions have nevertheless persisted. Observers pointed out that internal political discontent has been growing and may well have contributed to this week's unrest.

At the same time Malawi has been under growing pressure by Western donor nations to follow the path to multiparty democracy.

Malawi has been described as a success story in the subcontinent. Where countries all around it have fallen into wars and been bankrupted by ill-conceived economic planning and corruption and weakened by tribal conflicts, Malawi has maintained a remarkably even keel.

But the stability and success have not come cheaply.

After independence from Britain in 1964, the enigmatic Dr Banda took power. He imposed one-party rule in 1971 and since then the once much-admired general practitioner has tolerat-

ed no opposition. Any who dared challenge him were either banished or jailed or were found mysteriously dead.

He is now old — believed to be about 93 — but his hold on power appears to be as strong as ever. Suspicions have been voiced that it has moved largely into the hands of his Minister of State John Tembo and the official hostess Cecilia Kadzamira, but this has been strongly denied by Sanjika Palace.

There has nevertheless been growing resistance to the firm rule he and his lieutenants exercise over the people of Malawi.

Opposition groups have formed in exile, especially in newly democratised Zambia, and are orchestrating a campaign for freedom.

In March this year an umbrella body, the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was formed in Lusaka under the chairmanship of trade

unionist Chafukwa Chihana, who returned to Malawi only to be arrested at the airport.

Also in March, Catholic bishops braved wrath by having a pastoral letter, condemning oppression and human rights abuses in Malawi, read in all the Catholic churches of the country.

Monsignor John Roch, accused by the government of masterminding the letter, was expelled on 24 hours' notice and the other bishops were interrogated by the police.

When students at the University of Malawi in Zomba demonstrated against the interrogation of the bishops, the university was closed.

In an angry attack on the Catholic Church, Dr Banda, who is an elder in the Church of Scotland, said he was "shocked to see that the very same bishops who had praised me to the sky, saying

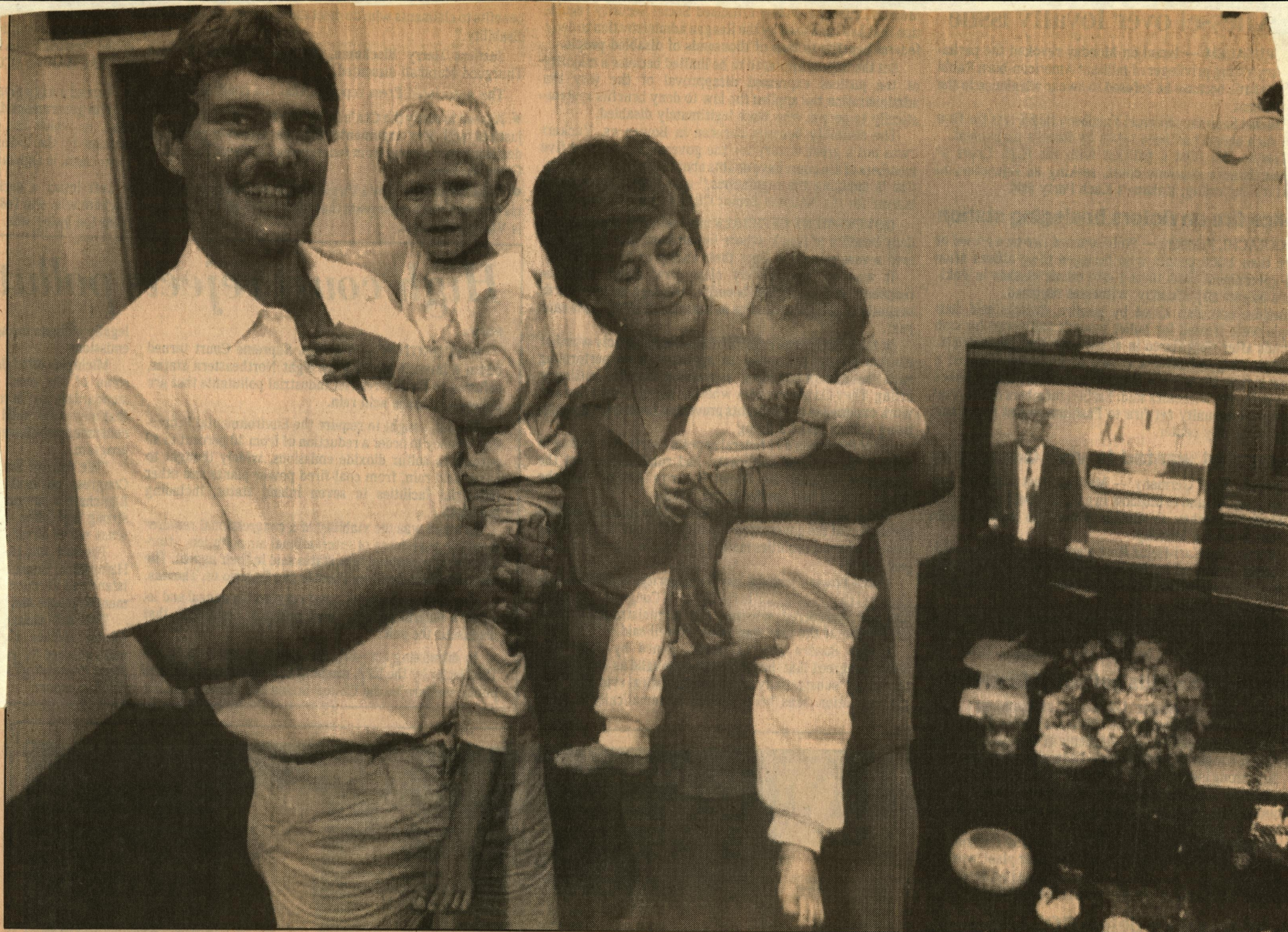
they were praying for me, said the opposite two to three days later. That is double-crossing."

But more recently even the non-Catholic churches, through the Southern African Alliance of Reformed Churches, have come out in support of the bishops.

Dr Banda's government has justified its one-party rule by pointing to Malawi's relative prosperity and stability during a time when other African states went into bankruptcy and chaos. But increasingly it has had to rely on aid from Western donors, who for their part have become more critical of Malawi's human rights record. As they have done throughout the world, the Western donors have begun tying human rights strings to their assistance to Malawi, putting Dr Banda's government in a dilemma.

Several political prisoners were released after Germany threatened to halve its aid.

Like all autocratic regimes, the Banda government appears to be finding that the more concessions it makes, the more are demanded. □



Dean and Ansie Prinsloo with their children Bradley and Nicholas in their home in Amanzimtoti, South Africa.

DAVID C. TURNLEY/Detroit Free Press

'Drought will cost 80 000 jobs, R1,5-bn'

By Michael Chester

More than 80 000 jobs were likely to be wiped out in the current drought disaster and economic losses threatened to reach as high as R1,5 billion, according to surveys by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The estimates were revealed by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo when he addressed the annual conference of the Institute of Directors in Johannesburg yesterday.

No fewer than 3 million children in the rural areas were suffering from malnutrition. The drought disaster, he said, added to a growing list of economic problems that confronted South Africa.

"Unless we can (soon) come to agreement on ways of effectively dealing with the problems of the drought, along with shortages of food, housing and other basic needs, our country will go backwards rather than forwards despite progress at a political level," he said.

"Clearly what a future South Africa needs to confront now is how to generate economic growth in a manner that can underpin and stabilise the transition to political democracy."

There was no way that the "forces of the free market" would be able to correct the imbalances between white and black society that had developed in 300 years of government intervention to ensure the protection of white minority in-

terests. It was crucial to debate the role of the state.

"Cosatu has argued very strongly that we require a strong state which is able to intervene decisively in pursuing economic policies that promote growth," he said.

Cosatu would pledge full support to a massive rationalisation of the monolithic apartheid bureaucracy so that public funds could be redirected into job creation and building houses, schools and hospitals.

"The present Government and its allies in business and the media are trying to ensure that the socio-economic hands of a future state are firmly tied by decisions taken and implemented now," Mr Naidoo said.

"Clearly the political repercussions of this are not lost: a weak economy means a weak government."

"Cosatu will resist any attempts to impose an economic or political solution on South Africa, particularly in this transition phase when even this present Government recognises its illegitimacy and lack of representivity."

"It is for this reason that we have called on the present Government to cease its arbitrary and unilateral restructuring of the economy and enter into bona fide negotiations with the organised trade union movement and organised business to ensure that economic restructuring has a legitimate basis of support," he said.

● More reports — Page 9



Police and IFP and ANC supporters outside the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg yesterday following a confrontation between the two groups in which four Inkatha women were injured. Police used teargas to disperse the 300-strong crowd, and arrested three men: two ANC supporters and one Inkatha member.

Dutch Min to discuss planning of ANC aid

DUTCH Development Co-operation Minister Jan Pronk said yesterday he would contact Britain, Germany and Scandinavian countries to discuss the co-ordination of aid to the African National Congress during the transitional period.

Mr Pronk said at Jan Smuts Airport at the conclusion of a week-long visit to South Africa that ANC president Nelson Mandela had asked him for "direct assistance" at their meeting on Thursday, and that he had reacted favourably to this request.

Details on the Dutch aid package to the ANC would be provided before the end of the month.

He was aware that Mr Mandela had not left the UK and Germany "with empty hands" after his recent visit.

Mr Pronk said the ANC had also requested that a second intake of

ANC diplomats be trained in The Hague.

He would establish whether the Netherlands could accommodate another intake, and said his government would finance the course.

Mr Pronk and his staff remarked on the luxurious facilities at the VIP section of Jan Smuts Air-

port, compared to the poverty elsewhere in South Africa.

The dualistic nature of South African society was more pronounced than in Latin America, he said.

Poverty in South Africa was more alarming than in all other African countries because South African communities had

been settled in areas with no economic activity, whereas in other African countries people could still farm, trade and make a living despite their poverty.

There were "superfluous economic activities" in the richer sections of South African society, Mr Pronk remarked. —Sapa.

Illegal arms charges: Five accused get bail

Court Reporter

BROTHERS Mr Ivan and Mr Andrew Scott and three other accused appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday on a variety of charges including illegal possession of explosives and illegal dealing in cocaine.

The prosecutor, Mr J Boshoff, requested that the matter be postponed to June 29 for the decision

of the Attorney-General regarding prosecution on the explosive's charge and the forensic report in respect of a substance believed to be cocaine.

Other tentative charges are illegal possession of a rhino horn, illegal possession of ammunition, dealing in dagga and unpolished diamonds.

Magistrate Mr H Badenhorst, set bail at

R5 000 in respect of Mr Ian Scott of Honeydew, and R2 000 in respect of Mr Andrew Scott of Randburg.

Defence counsel, Mr H Brandt, also successfully requested bail in respect of the other accused, and bail was set at R1 000 each for Mr Bert Moya, Mr Silus Ncube and Mr Edward Xabansa, all of Honeydew.

Mr Paulo Andrade is 50 percent poll obtained 1

SUNDAY TIMES

WHY DR MANDELA SAID NO TO CHANCELLOR LEON

MANDELA biographer Fatima Meer disclosed this week that — at Nelson Mandela's request — she had tried to persuade Natal University to replace its chancellor, Mr Justice Leon, as the one to bestow an honorary doctorate on him.

She was responding to charges put to the Sunday Times by academic and legal sources that she had

BY ROY RUDDEN

helped stir up a threatened boycott of the ceremony by students.

This was not true, said Professor Meer.

However, she confirmed that she had alerted Mr Mandela to the fact that Mr Justice Leon was the judge who had sentenced ANC activist Andrew Zondo to death for the 1985 Aman-

zimtoti bomb blast.

Five people, including two children, were killed and scores were injured in the supermarket blast.

As there were no extenuating circumstances (a finding subsequently confirmed by the Appellate Division), Mr Justice Leon was legally bound to apply the death sentence.

Mrs Meer, a former professor of sociology at

the university, who gave evidence on extenuation at the trial, subsequently wrote a book sympathetic to Zondo.

She said: "When I alerted Nelson he was shocked and asked me to do everything I could to save him the embarrassment of receiving an honorary degree at Leon's hands."

"This was clearly unacceptable because An-

drew Zondo would go down in history as a national hero of the people's struggle."

She had then met "three relevant senior members" of the university staff and had told them about her concern.

Two of them had agreed with her.

Although the procedure had already been cleared with the chairman of the ANC's Southern Region, Mr

Jeff Radebe, it was undertaken to consult him again.

"It was quite extraordinary," said Mrs Meer.

"Jeff Radebe repeated that there was no objection to Ray Leon officiating."

In the event, Mr Justice Leon did officiate at last Saturday's graduation ceremony.

But Mr Mandela was unable to attend because of "reasons of state".

DP suspensions a 'hatchet job'

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

ing to get rid of them.

Dr de Beer said the MPs would be given a hearing next Wednesday or Thursday. If they were able to assure the party of their loyalty then he would concede that he had acted unjustly, apologise and would probably suffer considerable harm to his reputation.

But, if it turned out they had been trying to join the ANC, his decision to suspend them would be justified.

Two meetings between DP MPs and ANC leaders were held this week.

At the first meeting, on Monday, the

four suspended MPs were accompanied by Mr Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Mr Wessel Nel (Mooi River) and Andre de Wet (indirectly elected).

They met ANC president Nelson Mandela, national chairman Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international head Thabo Mbeki.

On Tuesday, a second meeting, attended only by the four suspended MPs and the ANC leaders, was held.

It is at this meeting that the MPs allegedly discussed joining the ANC and serving it as MPs.

One of the MPs confirmed that such discussions had taken place when

asked what the reaction of the ANC had been. He responded that it had been "initially favourable" but it would be up to the ANC's national working committee and the regions concerned to make a final decision.

He said it appeared as if one of the MPs who attended the Monday meeting had been "planted" by the party leadership. He suspected Mr Jordaan.

Mr Jordaan said he had informed Dr De Beer that he would participate in the Monday meeting. "He was not in the dark."

He had also spoken to the party leader on Wednesday, but by then, he believed, Dr de Beer had already

decided to suspend the four MPs.

The questions that needed to be asked, he said, was who had leaked the story about the Monday meeting with the ANC, and why.

"I can categorically state that it wasn't me."

He believed one of the four MPs was responsible and his reason for doing so was to force the hand of the ANC in accepting them as members.

A fifth DP MP, Mr Dave Dalling, is expected to force his own suspension this week if the decision on the other four is not reversed. Mr Dalling is the party's chief whip.

The DP caucus will this week discuss a strategy document compiled by

a committee headed by party chairman Ken Andrew.

It is understood that the MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Eddie Trent, has been mandated by his region to put forward a proposal that the DP seek alliances with parties on its left, such as the ANC, and rule out the possibility of an alliance with the National Party.

Mr Trent would only confirm that the Port Elizabeth region had had a brainstorming session and would be putting forward proposals on how the DP could expand its support base and strengthen itself in preparation for forthcoming elections.

Another option to be discussed is that favoured by Mr Tony Leon (Houghton). He proposes that the DP disband and form a new centre party with President FW de Klerk as leader.

De Klerk: the great black hope

IS HE Gorbachev or De Gaulle? The parallels between F W de Klerk and those two great reformers-who-came-unstuck seem horribly close. Those who want a peaceful and democratic future for South Africa must hope that appearances deceive, and that Mr de Klerk will turn out to be neither.

It was the collapse of communism in 1989 that persuaded Mr de Klerk to send his country hurtling down the road to reform. The erstwhile rightwinger of one of the world's most right-wing parties became the man who is now doing his best to turn the land of apartheid into a nonracial democracy.

But, while the world applauds, his own people, the whites — like Mikhail Gorbachev's Communists when his reforms gathered pace — are apprehensive; some are aghast. After his party's loss of the Potchefstroom by-election, it seems possible that Mr de Klerk, like Mr Gorbachev, will lose control of the beast he has unleashed,

plunging South Africa into chaos. In an effort to see off his opponents and regain control, he has now called a referendum — which conjures up memories of Charles de Gaulle. It was De Gaulle's attempt to reassert his leadership in 1969 by holding a yes-or-no vote on his constitutional reforms that led to the blowing of a big *fram-boise* and his resignation.

If South Africa's whites follow the example of France's voters in 1969, Mr de Klerk has said he too will resign. That would be bad news for South Africa. It is possible that Mr de Klerk would come back and lead his party to victory in the ensuing general election. It is possible that he would be replaced by another reformer. Still, the likelihood is that, if Mr de Klerk loses the referendum, white politics in South Africa will fall into the hands of mediocrities trying to turn back the clock, while black politics will become much rougher. More blood will flow.

South Africa has problems in

abundance, but in its two most prominent politicians it is fortunate. Nelson Mandela's 27 years in prison have helped make him the undisputed leader of the ANC without embittering him; under his leadership, the ANC will be a tough but not an intransigent negotiator. Mr de Klerk has already shown his political courage; the unanswered question concerns his political skill.

The chances are that this will not be found wanting. For, by calling a referendum, and calling it soon, Mr de Klerk is doing what Mr Gorbachev could never bring himself to do: submit his actions to the vote. Admittedly, an all-white referendum in which 86 percent of the adult population will not cast a ballot will hardly confer full democratic legitimacy on Mr de Klerk. But, as he points out, that is to miss the point. Nobody doubts that the bulk of the non-white majority supports his reforms. Opinion polls have suggested that more than 80 percent of

urban blacks are satisfied with Mr de Klerk's leadership; some have even shown him to be more popular among blacks than Mr Mandela, by a margin of up to 20 percent.

But will Mr de Klerk have his come-uppance from the white Right and thus suffer the fate of De Gaulle? This is certainly the risk. Many whites are frightened. Violence is rife. Some 2 600 people died in political disputes last year, and about half as many again were murdered by ordinary criminals. Meanwhile the economy, after contracting for two years, is set to grow only slowly. The course on which Mr de Klerk has set the country will lead to the ending of many white privileges, fewer subsidies for whites, and probably a fall in their living standards. No wonder they are nervous.

They will be nervous, however, whatever course they take. One merit of Mr de Klerk's decision to hold the referendum early is that

it obliges his white opponents, notably the Conservative Party led by Dr Andries Treurnicht, to explain the alternative to reform. At present they are split. They have said they want self-determination for whites, meaning an Afrikaner homeland. But even extreme Conservatives admit there can be no going back to grand apartheid, and that there will have to be negotiations with the black majority.

The choice therefore becomes one of negotiations carried out by Dr Treurnicht. One is an adroit politician who can manifestly do business with the black majority and thus bring South Africa back into the world, ensuring an end to sanctions and the return of foreign diplomats, entertainers and sportsmen. The other is a wooden reactionary who can offer only constitutional fantasies, the certainty of greater violence and the continuation of South Africa's painful isolation.

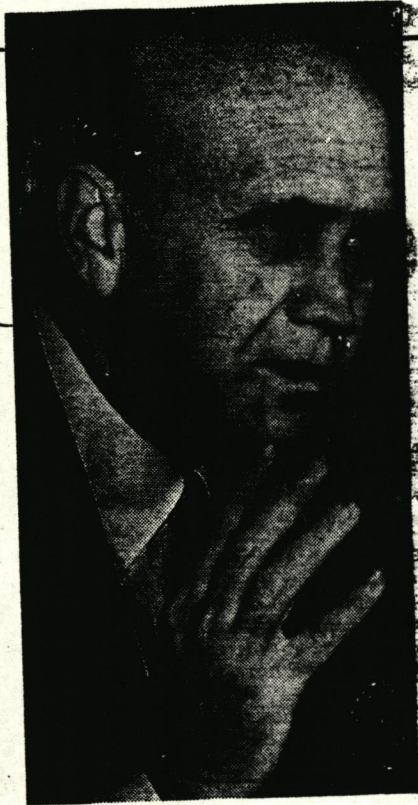
It is the starkness of this choice

that will, with luck, save Mr de Klerk from the fate of De Gaulle. De Gaulle was rejected because the French reckoned they could manage without him. Only the wilfully obtuse could believe the same of Mr de Klerk. The wilfully obtuse are not an extinct breed in South Africa, but nor are they the majority, even among whites.

Tiresome as it seems, the white Right is not all bad for Mr de Klerk; since the loss of Potchefstroom the ANC has rapidly given ground in Codesa. Plenty of obstacles still lie ahead, including the question of regional autonomy. This will not die with the referendum, because right-wing Afrikaners are not the only group interested in going it alone; some blacks want to as well.

In any event, Mr Mandela and his colleagues know that Mr de Klerk is the one man who can lead South Africa peacefully down the road to majority rule. He is the best white hope. He is also the best black hope. □

De Klerk subtly redefines



PRESIDENT DE KLERK: Now power-sharing means something a little different.



MR NELSON MANDELA: He proclaimed majority rule to be his bottom line.

Gabriel were to take over the country he would not be able to cope with the legacy of problems left by 45 years of apartheid. Housing, jobs and a better standard of living cannot be created overnight for the disadvantaged. A crisis of expectation is bound to arise and it is better that a single party, especially the main party of liberation, should not have to face it alone.

The ANC certainly didn't create the condi-

tions of structural disadvantage that will produce this crisis and it should not have to suffer the backlash because of it. Better for the sake of future democracy that the wrath of the disillusioned be shared for a while.

But not for too long. The problem with coalition rule is that it deadens opposition politics. The opposition parties become part of the regime so that their voices become muted and they acquire a vested inter-

est in covering up blunders. Adversarial debate ceases and there are no watchdogs. It is not much different to a one-party system.

As a temporary measure for binding a country together in a national crisis, in a war or through the kind of difficult transition we are now undergoing, it is useful and appropriate but beyond that "power-sharing" becomes an abomination.

If we want democracy, we must have opposition.

Deceitful, says professor

JEAN LE MAY

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE government's Charter of Fundamental Human Rights, published this week, went down like a lead balloon, with criticism from all sides of the political spectrum.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee quickly picked up the unfavourable vibes, saying the government did not intend pushing it through in legislation this session.

The most scathing criticism came from Professor Khader Asmal, who has the country's only chair in human rights (at the University of the Western Cape) and who described the charter as a "cynical, tendentious and deceitful exercise in public relations".

The professor, formerly of Trinity College, Dublin, is a member of the national executive of the African National Congress and helped to draft its constitutional proposals, so his criticisms could spell out the range of the debate once the negotiating forum gets around to discussing a Bill of Rights.

Professor Asmal said the published proposals were tendentious because they used the language of rights to obscure their real purpose, which was to enable privatised apartheid to replace official apartheid.

They were cynical because they would enable all kinds of discriminatory practices under the guise of free association, and they were dishonest because they pre-

■ The government's Bill of Rights is "a cynical, tendentious and deceitful exercise in public relations," says a Cape Town academic who is South Africa's only Professor of Human Rights.

sented uniquely National Party beliefs as "universally accepted legal norms".

"The Inkatha Freedom Party's charter is a far more balanced document than this," he went on. "The government is, as usual, trying to control everything".

"But, I don't want the ANC to control everything, either. A Bill of Rights should be a social compact to which the ANC, the National Party, the IFP, the PAC, the CP and the AWB can all subscribe and feel that it gives them protection, just as all Americans now feel that the American constitution gives them protection.

"Admittedly, it took time there — 110 years to protect the rights of women and 150 years to protect the rights of blacks — but eventually even that fine jurist the late Thurgood Marshall, the first black to be appointed to the Supreme Court, could uphold it."

Professor Asmal said a Bill of Rights could not be an interim arrangement, adopted by either "an illegitimate parliament or an unrepresentative negotiating forum".

"The government's statement that such a charter 'must be in place during the transitional period' is unacceptable and unrealistic," he went on.

For a Bill of Rights to be acceptable by everybody it had to be "openly debated, transparent in its procedures and adopted

through a mandate of the people".

Only a constituent assembly had the moral and legal authority to adopt such a vital constitutional document, in the context of agreed constitutional proposals.

The landscape of South Africa was littered with bogus charters, as in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, and we should not limit our future rights through a limited and party political document.

Professor Asmal said some of the proposals in the document raised questions about the government's real commitment to basic human rights. These were:

- The absence of a right to vote;
- The limitation of the charter to actions of the state, ensuring that private individuals and corporations could continue to discriminate;
- The retention of capital punishment and the failure to make legal defence obligatory in criminal trials;
- Ambiguous references to religious freedom;
- Rigid and insensitive provisions relating to property and economic rights which would forestall any debate on removing the effects of apartheid;
- Unique provisions relating to employers' rights which had no precedent in international law and which would form a Scab's Charter;

■ Ineffective provisions relating to women's and children's rights and the absence of any provision for disabled people;

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■ Detention without trial for up to 10 days.

The government would have to go back to the drawing board before it could place its proposals before the constituent assembly, said Professor Asmal.

Mr Siroz Cachalia of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand said the publication of the document crystallised a key issue in the debate between the government and the ANC, relating to the interpretation of constitutionalism in a future South Africa.

"The fundamental difference is that the NP sees the charter as an instrument to protect established private and class rights," he said.

"They see it as an instrument for regulating relationships between an individual and the state, which will not apply to private individuals and corporations.

"Much of it is very negative, such as its absolute failure to establish affirmative action. Moreover, the right to disassociate appears to give a green light to any individual or body which discriminates on grounds of colour. It would imply that private discrimination could not be challenged in the constitutional court."

WITS ACADEMIC WARNS:

Don't count on black prosperity alone for peace

By TOS
WENTZEL

THE theory that economic advancement for South Africa's blacks will go a long way to defusing tension and even to appeasing political demands is one dearly held by Nationalist politicians these days.

If the blacks are given a larger stake in the economy a responsible middle class willing to defend the capitalist system in-

stead of turning to communism will develop, so the argument goes.

Professor M. T. W. Arnheim, head of the Department of Classics at Witwatersrand University, has a bleak prognosis for South Africa in his new book, 'South Africa after Vorster'.

This is the idea largely behind the reforms in the labour field and the warnings by Mr P. W. Botha and others that a revolutionary situation must be defused or prevented.

In a book that has just been published Professor M. T. W. Arnheim, head of the Department of Classics at the University of the Witwatersrand, debunks this theory with some convincing arguments

and examples from history.

In "South Africa after Vorster" (published by Howard Timmins) he argues that the French Revolution, Women's Liberation, British working class attitudes and the history of black Americans as well as other case studies from history prove that prosperity alone does not make for contentment.

Revolution, he contends, is more rather than less likely to occur among an "upwardly mobile" section of society.

In white politics the

assumption is that the opposite of revolution is reform and that, by introducing reforms early enough revolution can be prevented.

The most interesting example from history Professor Arnheim quotes is that of the French Revolution.

"Far from being the result of the continued monopoly of wealth and power in the hands of the aristocracy, the French Revolution turns out to have been the result of exactly the opposite situation. The middle class had been doing so well, especially on the economic front, that it began to aspire to political power to match its economic position. This is what is meant by saying that revolution came about as a result of a 'crisis of rising expectations'."

As Professor Arnheim points out it is not correct to say that reform is never able to prevent revolution. He quotes as the best-known example of a successful reform of this kind the case of 19th century England.

The process began with the famous Reform Bill of 1832 which extended the vote to the rising middle class. The measure of its success can be gauged simply by comparing the internal stability of Victorian England with the tur-

bulence that beset countries such as France and Germany in the same period.

In England something happened which our white politicians here may welcome. "The newly enfranchised lawyers, small shopkeepers and the lower / middle - class generally almost immediately became staunch conservatives — to the extent of blocking the extension of the vote to the working class and others who were deemed to be below the salt."

The difference was that the British population was very homogeneous and that there were no social barriers to prevent a newly enfranchised middle-class voter from identifying with the ruling elite.

Professor Arnheim submits that the phrase, "responsible black middle-class" itself gives the lie to the validity of the concept behind it.

"The word responsible in this context means nothing other than contented, obedient and submissive. Once that is realised, it soon becomes apparent that the phrase 'responsible black middle-class' is a contradiction in terms. A black middle-class cannot but be revolutionary, or at least radical."

His projection of likely developments on the basis of the forces at work in the situation is bleak: reform leading to a polarisation between white reactionaries and black radicals, leading in turn to a radical black regime.

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DP slams Buthelezi

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
and Sapa

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is beating an ethnic drum which will inevitably lead to violence, chairman of the Natal Democratic Party Executive Kobus Jordaan said yesterday.

Jordaan, reacting to Buthelezi thumbing his nose at the dangerous weapons regulations and challenging the government to send him to jail, said Buthelezi is adopting the same tactics as the ANC-SACP alliance.

The Inkatha leader is inviting violence rather than contributing fully to the peace process, Jordaan said. "We also find it extremely disappointing that in beating the ethnic drum Buthelezi is actually not promoting national allegiance on shared principles but ethnic allegiance which in a divided country such as ours will inevitably lead to violence," Jordaan said.

The statement marks a serious rupture in DP/Inkatha relations.

He said in a statement it is a pity that a leader of Buthelezi's stature finds it necessary to "resort to the same tactics as one had come to

expect of radical elements within the ANC-SACP alliance" by inviting violence rather than contributing fully to the peace process.

Jordaan said the future of South Africa does not lie in the hands of politicians who practise ethnic mobilisation, but in a party representative of all the country's people.

"South Africa needs a strong, honest, caring party of the democratic centre untainted by violence, corruption, apartheid and socialism" he said.

Buthelezi must 'somehow' be accommodated for peace

THERE has to be a certain minimum accommodation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the traditionally-minded Zulu people before peace and democracy can be established in South Africa, according to *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez.

Addressing the Five Freedoms Forum in the city on Tuesday night, Du Preez said Buthelezi and the IFP have a potential unlike anyone else to bathe the country in blood.

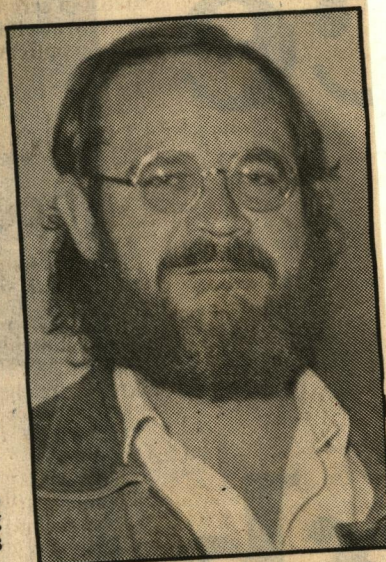
"It is a terrible dilemma: should we afford Buthelezi and his forces an important role in our national affairs merely because they have a significant potential to kill thousands of our fellow citizens if we

upset Inkatha?" At the same, he said, compromise is vital in order to build a stable, prosperous and tolerant nation.

He said the present state of play in the negotiations game is that the ANC is concerned that under a system with significant regional autonomy, Buthelezi is going to run Natal — and it is not prepared to accept that.

"At the very least, Buthelezi will have to remain leader of at least what he already has — that is the bitter pill the ANC will have to swallow." He said that the long term stability of the country rests on negotiations being rescued before the end of the year.

— Witness Reporter.



MAX DU PREEZ . . . 'Buthelezi has the potential to kill thousands'.

ANC threatens to take IFP to court

THE town council of Sundumbili in northern Natal has been given until today to allow the ANC to hold a rally in the area.

If a previous ban is repeated, the ANC will take the matter to the Supreme Court. The ANC repeatedly claims it is prevented from free political activity in KwaZulu, a claim dismissed as nonsense by chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu have released details of actions by local KwaZulu authorities which effectively bar the alliance from holding public meetings. Officials of the alliance in northern Natal said yesterday they had made three applications

to the Sundumbili council to allow a public rally. All were rejected, and the ban was "enforced by the security forces".

They claimed this triple refusal is "a blatant violation of the National Peace Accord". A fourth and final application was made to permit a rally on November 8.

A similar situation in Esikhawini has been referred to the National Peace Committee: according to the ANC, the KwaZulu government, the Esikhawini township manager and town council have prevented the ANC from holding public meetings in the area.

In a detailed letter to the peace committee, the ANC outlines the steps taken by the local authori-

ties to bar them from holding public rallies.

For example, the ANC was informed by the township manager that the IFP or related organisations had booked the stadium and hall "on every weekend and public holiday from February 29 until June 16". However, the ANC is not aware that it was used by Inkatha on those dates.

The ANC wants the NPC to order KwaZulu and other authorities to admit they are in breach of the accord. They also want the KwaZulu government to be instructed to issue official notices that all organisations must have full access to community facilities.

— Witness Reporter

By ALLISTER SPARKS

AS ONE who helped compose the first Rand Daily Mail editorial pledging support to the Progressive Party in the 1961 general election and who has consistently supported it and its successors ever since, I am saddened to see the Democratic Party beginning to disintegrate.

It has played a noble role in our history, a small band of people who for three decades kept the light of democracy and human rights burning through the long night of apartheid when black politics was silenced and most whites either supported the system or were too selfish or too scared or too morally effete to oppose it.

Success crisis

But times change and political needs with them. The United Party was a great institution once, when reconciliation between English and Afrikaner was the central theme of our whites-only politics, but when that changed and black-white relations took over as the core issue the UP became an anachronism, paralysed by divisions. When it failed to adapt it withered and died.

The Democratic Party's crisis is more honourable. It is a crisis of success: its ideals have triumphed to the point where they are now common cause, so that the DP no longer has a distinctive role to play. It has fought for democracy, and now that democracy is coming it is going to be swamped out of existence by it.

Its very success is producing a new political environment that calls for adaptation, and like the UP the DP is being wracked by that.

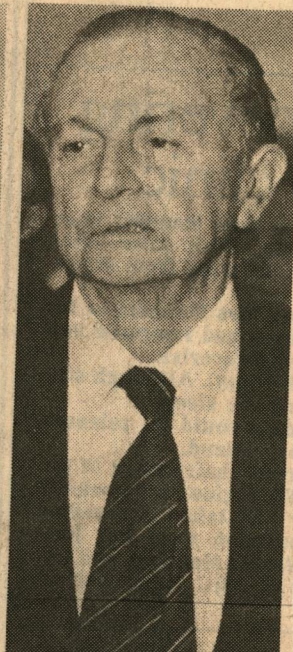
The DP's crisis became apparent at its congress in July 1990, just five months after the political scene was transformed by President De Klerk's famous speech. In an article at the time I urged it to choose a clear policy direction as well as a single leader, and suggested that its best course would be to form a pact with the ANC.

"There are obvious problems," I wrote. "As-

ZACH DE BEER:
Ducked the issue and soldiered on in old clothing.



HARRY SCHWARZ:
'Alliance with ANC would be like Warsaw Pact'.



pects of ANC policy, particularly on the economic front, are too radical for the DP, which will have misgivings, too, about the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party.

"But there is a way around these problems. What is required is not a merger or even a coalition, in which the DP would have to go along with policies it did not approve of, but a pact in which both would keep their separate identities and policies, but agree to the terms on which they would work together for the achievement of a common goal — a non-racial, multi-party democracy."

Fate sealed

A sizeable body of DP members liked the idea and put it to the congress, but others recoiled from any association with the ANC. "This will be a Warsaw Pact," shrilled Harry Schwarz in a Red-scare speech of memorable obsolescence before forming his own pact with the Nats and departing as ambassador to Washington.

In the end Zach de

DP disintegrating after playing noble role in SA history

Beer, the new single leader, ducked the issue in the interests of party unity. No clear policy direction was set and the DP soldiered on in its old clothing. That was the day it sealed its fate.

It has been able to play an important role at Codesa as a party of mediation, but its indecision ensured that it would have no sustainable place in the new, full democracy.

To survive, political parties must find a viable support base in the overall electorate. The PFP/DP had that while apartheid was the issue and the electorate was limited to the white population: it was the party of the anti-apartheid whites.

Like Genscher?

Now both the issue and the electorate are changing. The issue will cease to be apartheid and become a socio-economic one of how and to what extent to redress inequalities. In this the reformed NP is going to be the conservative free enterprise party, the equivalent, if you like, of a European Christian Democratic Party, while the ANC is going to be the Social Democratic Party.

It will be extremely difficult for the DP to find a viable niche between those two positions. Theoretically it can try to become the equivalent of the Free Democratic Party in Germany or the Liberal Democrats in Britain, and, like Hans-Dietrich Genscher, seek to make its way as a peripatetic coalition partner. But in practice the starker relief presented by South Africa's racial divide would seem to make that kind of nuanced position highly improbable.

The electorate, meanwhile, is going to balloon from 2 713 000 to about 20 million. At its best, in the 1989 election, the DP got a total of 452 000 votes, about 20% of the white electorate. Today opinion polls indicate its white support is be-

tween 6 and 10%.

To make the cut — probably 5% — in a one-person-one-vote general election run on a proportional representation list system, the DP will have to get a million votes. Can it really expect to win the support of three-quarters of a million black, coloured and Indian voters on an abstruse "liberal democratic" ticket? Or even half that if the cut is set at 2½%?

I doubt it. And even if it did that would give it only token parliamentary representation, not enough to play a Genscher game.

Convergence

The result is that DP politicians who want to play a role in the new democracy have little choice but to bail out. The first five MPs have already joined the ANC; another half dozen are likely to follow in time. Half a dozen more will end up in the National Party. A few will stay on to play a role in the interim government and then retire honourably. A hard core of loyalists will hang in until history overtakes them.

It could have been better. A closer relationship from the beginning with the ANC could have been beneficial for both, leading to a gradual convergence into a social democratic alliance and giving flesh to the non-racial ideal.

That, I believe, is where the true soul of the Prog-DP tradition belongs. It always was the party of humanitarian concern, of reaction against injustice and compassion for the underdog. There are those who today are trying to hijack the liberal tradition for the cause of ideological capitalism, latter-day saints whose voices were not heard during the hard days of real oppression. But it was never that. Its spirit was always that of Emily Hobhouse rather than Milton Friedman.

Some at least will stay true to that.

Die Mandela's betree die cocktail-circuit

DIE Mandela's het in alle erns die cocktail-circuit betree toe Winnie Mandela dié week 'n groep sakemense in Johannesburg toegesprek het. Vergesel deur haar man, Nelson, het Winnie dié groep toegesprek oor die rol wat sakemense met die terugkeer van uitgewekenes kan speel.

Die waardige, bedeesde Mandela's het die groep van sowat 50 mense van organisasies soos Eskom, BMW, Sasol en Anglo American heeltemal verower met hul grappies en geksekerdery.

Nelson Mandela was dié keer net daar as die eggenoot van Winnie, 'n feit wat sy, en 'n ander spreker, Lente-Louise Louw, hom nie laat vergeet het nie.

Dit was ook Winnie se verjaardag, en almal het hartlik vir haar "happy birthday" gesing, en later is sy 'n geskenkie aangebied. Sy het opgetree as die hoof van die ANC se wel-synsdepartement.

Winnie het haar toespraak begin deur te sê dat sy "nog nooit so baie goeie goed" oor haarself gehoor het in Suid-Afrika nie. Sy het Louw hartlik bedank, omdat sy vir Nelson Mandela op sy plek gesit het, iets "wat selfs De Klerk nie kon regkry nie".

Op 'n ernstiger noot, het sy 'n beroep op die sakegemeenskap gedoen om "nie op die kantlyn te staan en wag om die hand van die wenner te skud nie. Die sakewêreld moet strewe om 'n beter verstandhouding met werkers, en die gemeenskap te skep.

"Die taak om ons uitgewekenes en politieke gevangenes te herintegreer is ingewikkeld. Daar is tussen dertig- en veertigduisend van hulle wat behuising, opvoeding en gesondheidsdienste benodig. Ons het finansiële en ander hulp nodig om dié magtige taak uit te voer.

"Maar al die geld in die wêreld sal ons nie

meer tevrede stel as 'n bewustelike onderneming van jul kant om die herabsorbering van ons mense te bewerkstellig nie."

Sy het verder gepraat oor die rol wat die sakegemeenskap kan speel in die verskaffing van werkseleentehede en bygevoeg dat die ANC bereid is om hieroor met werkgewers te skakel.

Die mense by die skemerkelkpartytjie was duidelik beïndruk met die Mandelas, en baie het agterna gesê dat hulle nou ook die geesdrif en optimisme vir 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika aanvoel.

Lente-Louise Louw het vir 'n paar roerende oomblikke gesorg toe sy in deurmekaar Engels en Afrikaans vertel het hoe geraak sy was om Nelson Mandela se hand te skud. Louw is 'n stigterslid van die organisasie, Career and Resource Development Strategies (Cards), wat die geleentheid gereël het.

- AUDREY BROWN

16/1/11

alacrity and enthusiasm with media lapped up the PAC's pro that "no fewer than five senior litigants would be falling by the wayside" have anti-climaxed, it reveals what other theatrics are in store for Patricia de Lille.

Her outpourings remind me of my paternal grandfather's wise counsel: "What catches your fancy, but nothing you want to, because if you do not agree with you, you take a laxative, but what you say considering the consequences will be years to come."

She will now choose her words more carefully before firing off her salvos.

ha
p

Thirty-seven ANC leaders (including former and present cabinet ministers) were granted amnesty from criminal and civil prosecution by the truth commission.

The Cape high court set aside the amnesty on the grounds that, contrary to law, the applicants had applied as a group and had not specified their respective gross violations of human rights. They told the commission they were sorry for what they had done, but did not say what they had done.

The truth commission's amnesty committee erred in granting the applicants amnesty. After the court's decision, it was expected that the 37 leaders would re-apply for amnesty. As far as I can ascertain, they have not done so.

Could the commission's amnesty committee of and the ANC please explain?

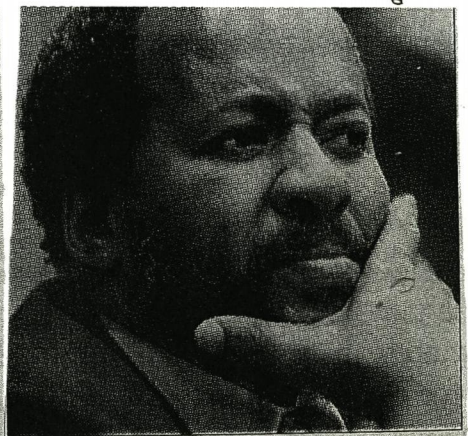
David Kessler
Cape Town

Defending rights is not appealing to base fears

When the ANC is challenged on its re-racialisation, the response invariably is to claim that the victims of these policies are morally undeserving of equal treatment.

What was most disturbing about Pallo Jordan's article ("A future for whites if they accept the past", *The Sunday Independent* April 29) is that a man once regarded as a standard bearer of the non-racial tradition, has fallen in with this line of argument.

The Democratic Alliance opposes the ANC's restrictive labour legislation because it leads to higher unemployment, the major cause of inequality. It is simply not true to claim that we castigate "any measures to deliver consistent relief to the



Falling in line: Pallo Jordan

poor". We have called for a basic income grant for the poor and for "opportunity vouchers" for the youth.

Jordan's major complaint is that the DP became official opposition "by stealing the tattered garments of white anxiety". The DA is also accused of impeding the advancement of the black propertied classes by labelling "affirmative action and equal opportunities legislation" as "racial quota systems".

In 1994 the ANC stated that affirmative action was necessary to allow "equal treatment". But by 1997 the ANC had shifted to demanding "aggressive" affirmative action to achieve "demographic representivity". Thus, the ANC set about once again enshrining race as a central determinant of life chances. The DP's real crime, in ANC eyes, was opposing this re-racialisation. I do not see how defending individual rights and non-racialism is an appeal to the basest fears of anybody.

Tony Leon MP
Leader of the Democratic Alliance

16/1/11

De Klerk warned: 'We'll deal with you'

New African Reporter

STATE president FW de Klerk must agree to a Constituent Assembly or find himself being 'dealt' with just as his predecessors were, African National Congress (ANC) Southern Natal secretary Sibusiso Ndebele said yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of the ANC Youth League's branch in Umlazi yesterday, Ndebele charged: 'If De Klerk objects to a Constituent Assembly, we'll deal with him just as we dealt with his predecessors.'

'But if he wants to join the progressive forces he is welcome. If he supports a Constituent Assembly then it's fine.'

Ndebele conceded that De Klerk's February 2 speech saw the ANC losing the initiative to the government.

'To put it bluntly, February 2 resulted in the demobilisation of our people,' he said.

Ndebele added that people were 'looking at the talks between the ANC and the government as the be all and end all.'

The reality, however, was different.

'The regime does not have the capacity (to end apartheid) because it is an instru-



Sibusiso Ndebele

ment of apartheid. The task of liberation is that of the oppressed masses, led by the ANC, not De Klerk's,' Ndebele said.

In this context, the ANC has reverted to mass action to press the government to meet its demands at the negotiating table.

'We are going back to the masses...democratising our structures...(so that) the masses, led by the movement, become the instrument of struggle,' Ndebele said.

Asked if he is sorry to lose Felgate, Buthelezi said: "Why should be sorry to lose him? I was sympathetic because he is a very sick man, but it seems to me he is also mentally sick, judging by the things he has done."

Buthelezi said while he worked closely with Felgate for 18 years, "for more than a year now I have not worked with him because he has not been well, and because he was bitter with me".

He said he believes Felgate harboured bitterness with him for not giving him a cabinet post when the IFP joined the Government of National Unity in 1994.

"President Mandela asked me to choose three ministers for the national government. (Felgate) felt I should have given him a cabinet post... He was bitter, saying I did not look after him well."

He also cited tensions between himself and Felgate when Felgate helped pilot the KZN constitution through. "I was told by (then premier) Mdlalose that if the constitution passed through there would be provision for new ministers. He had already promised Felgate a position as a minister."

"On 15 March last year, I was very bitter about the fact that Felgate told a blatant lie to members of the legislature in Pietermaritzburg. He said that the issue of the amakhosi should be put on the back burner, when I never said anything of the kind, because he was hurrying to get the constitution through."

Buthelezi said he was insulted that Felgate had suggested, when the IFP KZN caucus decided to suspend talks on reconciliation with the ANC this week, that this idea was "infused" into (premier) Ben Ngubane's mind by him. "Although I could perfectly understand that decision... it was their decision, not mine," he said.

Defector Felgate: 'IFP lost its way'

NW 15/8
by NICOLA JONES
Political Reporter

IFP stalwart Walter Felgate — the first white to join the party and longtime confidant of IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi — yesterday defected to the ANC, saying the IFP "has lost its way and cannot do what it needs to do".

Felgate accused Buthelezi of authoritarian behaviour and the IFP of lacking in democracy and backbone, saying he believes he can do more for peace and multi-party democracy within the ANC.

His unexpected announcement has taken the political world by storm, and has opened a hornet's nest within the IFP, with a number of members yesterday silently agreeing with Felgate's sentiments.

There is also now a possibility that Felgate could be subpoenaed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to give evidence about his political career.

Felgate told a crowded press conference at the ANC offices in Durban that his hardline views and confrontationalist stance were largely Buthelezi's voice.

"I had to play a very important set of roles in what I was told to do in the IFP," he said.

Felgate said there have not been a great number of crossings between political parties until now

for a variety of reasons, but there has been "a positive migration of IFP members towards the ANC".

He said the 1994 elections saw massive numbers of IFP members on the Reef leave the party. IFP members are growing disillusioned with the lack of party democracy.

IFP branches and regional structures are in a "shambles", and the last straw was the IFP's withdrawal from the peace process last week.

Felgate said he wants to be part of the new South Africa, and not trapped within "the confines of political confrontation".

Asked whether he was deliberately sidelined by the IFP, Felgate said differences arose during provincial constitutional talks, especially with regard to the role of the amakhosi.

Felgate said he has become "totally estranged from the man I worked closely with for over 20 years".

With regard to the provincial peace process, Felgate said the IFP's "commitment to other things ranks equal to their commitment to peace". He said Premier Ben

Ngubane "was obviously acting under instructions" from Buthelezi when he announced the IFP's withdrawal from the peace process last week.

Asked whether he will apply for amnesty, Felgate said he is "very fortunate not to have anything I want amnesty for" and the issues coming out in the TRC involve structures the national council knew nothing about.

However, TRC commissioner Richard Lyster said last night that although previously they had no intention of calling Felgate to testify, he has obviously had a "change of heart politically" and "we might consider it now".

Welcoming Felgate to the ANC, Transport MEC S'bu Ndebele said the ANC embraces all ideological tendencies in the country, people of all views, "and that is why perforce we must be democratic".

"What Walter has chosen is to be part of that church which seeks to transform this country and particularly this province," Ndebele said.

ANC provincial secretary Sipho Gcabashe said the party is expecting "many more to come home".

A number of IFP sources

said the sentiments expressed by Felgate are "spot on" and described him as a "courageous man".

Felgate, who suffers from a serious heart condition, has left the security of his position as a member of the legislature for the IFP and is now jobless within the ANC.

One source said that at a meeting about two weeks ago, the issue of Felgate's prolonged sick leave was discussed in the context of his absence from the legislature if a vote was being cast.

The source said Buthelezi was adamant that Felgate would on no account be thrown out just because he was sick.

Another source said Felgate's defection highlights the intense dissatisfaction within the IFP about the lack of democracy and of "Buthelezi running the show".

Felgate profiled: page 9

DETECTIVES CHASE RUNAWAY BOY



MRS Herf: My son needs a settled home life

'Didn't squander cash'

FROM PAGE 1

"At no time has any department of the ANC been accused of such misuse of funds, nor has any investigation concerning such a sum of money been instituted.

"These rumours are the product of overheated imaginations which a number of journalists have, unfortunately, chosen to accept as fact, despite explanations by the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity."

The ANC said allegations of Mrs Mandela's trips to the United States being funded by the ANC bordered on libel.

"On each occasion that she has travelled to the

US, she was the guest of the US organisations. These organisations assumed responsibility for the fares and for her upkeep and that of her entourage, while they were in US.

"It is wholly untrue that the ANC assumed any financial responsibility for these trips."

The ANC reserved the right to take legal action against any libelous action against its personnel.

The ANC expressed concern at the "excessive zeal" displayed by certain media persons to find fault with Mrs Mandela.

It had, in this instance, tempted a number of journalists to print inaccuracies which injured the

reputations of Mrs Mandela and the ANC, the organisation said.

The ANC reserved the right to take legal action regarding any libelous statements about its personnel.

In a separate statement, Mr Saki Macozoma, head of ANC liaison, admitted having spoken to a reporter regarding the allegations.

He, however, said the resultant report was "a shocking fabrication".

"I was not quoted out of context as sometimes happens. The reporter put words which I never uttered into my mouth," said Mr Macozoma.

He would, if necessary, seek legal advice on the issue.

Still deadlocked

FROM PAGE 1

day directly accused the government of planting the bugs, and this was rebutted.

Mr Gordhan said the ANC had had no immediate evidence available for the MC.

By the end of the day, however, a conciliatory statement was issued by the MC, saying the ANC would present its evidence to a Codesa-appointed technical group for it to be evaluated.

This group would make recommendations "to avoid this difficulty in the future".

Despite the lack of pro-

gress on WG2, Mr Gordhan noted progress in three other groups.

Outstanding matters in working groups one (creating a climate for free political activity), Three (interim arrangements) and Four (TBVC states) have been assigned to smaller committees.

These are the steering committees in WG1 and WG4 — which have been in place since the beginning of negotiations — and the WG3 technical committee, which was formed a few months ago to resolve a specific impasse.

Other decisions included an expansion of

the MC, which will now comprise two delegates and one adviser from each group represented at Codesa. The MC has until now comprised delegations of one delegate and one adviser.

The composition of the Daily Management Committee was also due to be reviewed, with a possible replacement of all members. No decision was made on this, however, and the matter was referred to the DMC's next sitting next Monday.

Mr Gordhan said the revised working groups would not meet this week. — Sapa.

16/1/11

Dobsons were ANC members

SUE Dobson and her husband, Peter, had been ANC activists for the past 10 years, the former Bureau for Information liaison officer said in London yesterday.

In a statement issued through the ANC's London office, the activists said they had operated with great success and undetected.

They added that they had gained access to the plans of security organisations, including the SA Defence Force and the National Intelligence Service.

The ANC said yesterday that it had withdrawn Dobson to avoid her imminent arrest.

It added in a statement that Dobson's position in the Bureau for Information, and more recently with the administrator-general's office in Windhoek, had provided the organisation with invaluable information.

The organisation also said that Dobson's position in Windhoek had resulted in a close association with officers of the security branch.

While admitting that Dobson had worked for them, the SA authorities have tried to play down the issue.

Democracy by imposition

THE constitutional negotiations in South Africa have produced many puzzling innovations.

Foremost amongst these is the notorious bilateralism between the government and the ANC. Nowhere in the world has there been such blatant manipulation by the government of a country and a single chosen negotiating partner to the exclusion of others.

The bilateralism was initially concealed behind the bushes of the bosberade. Later came the fig leaf of the Multi-party Negotiating Forum at Kempton Park. Eventually the bilateral manipulation became so blatant as to be an embarrassment.

We are now confronted by another peculiarity of the South African constitutional negotiations. The government and the ANC are demanding that as a pre-condition for resumption of negotiations the Freedom Alliance must commit itself to participate in various institutions and in the forthcoming elections.

Such a demand is probably a breach of the rights that citizens are supposed to enjoy even under the present flawed draft interim constitution. The constitution actually recognises the right of citizens "freely to make political choices". Furthermore the draft constitution makes discrimination unlawful.

In this case a demand is being made of the Freedom Alliance which has not been applied to other political parties, organisations or administrations. If the Freedom Alliance agrees to the terms of the constitution they will additionally be required to make a commitment to participate in the process decided upon by two parties to the negotiations.

portion of the citizens of the country are having their rights defined and limited by the government, as aided and abetted by the ANC. It is precisely the notion of imposing democracy that led to the totalitarian horrors of the twentieth century in

Russia and Hitlerite Germany.

The demand being made to the Freedom Alliance is a cynical and shameful piece of posturing which will deceive no-one. Negotiations must be resumed unconditionally.

Democracy cannot be imposed on anybody. It is based on the voluntary principle. In many advanced democratic countries there are people who have never participated in various institutions or even voted. In the United States a little more than fifty percent of the people bother to vote in national and state elections. That is their inherent right even in a country where the constitution is perfectly legitimate and respected by all.

We have a flawed constitution whose legitimacy is very much in doubt. Representatives of a sizable pro-

TEC leader: A man with a long tail

IT is sobering to note that Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress has been elected to the Transitional Executive Council's management committee and a council co-chairman.

It is quite incredible how a man who has virtually no constituency can end up in key positions like this. Let us recap who he is.

Pravhin Gordhan is a member of the South African Communist Party and a prominent operative within the ANC's covert Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS). He was a leading member of Operation Vula, an underground plot to smuggle arms and other weapons of war into South Africa long after the reform pro-

cess had begun. The whereabouts of these arms caches have never been revealed.

He was arrested for this, but was granted amnesty because his actions were considered political.

It was Pravin Gordhan who ruled that "sufficient consensus" had been achieved at the World Trade Centre on the question of the April 27 election date. That ruling effectively meant that views of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu Government and others stood for nothing in the political life of South Africa.

It was he and his soul mates in the African National Congress who persuaded the Government to exclude the KwaZulu Government and the

Zulu King from negotiations when they began.

Ironically, it was also Pravin Gordhan who made the "sufficient consensus" ruling when the transitional constitution was adopted.

And now he is a key member of the TEC that actually plans to take over the government functions in KwaZulu and elsewhere without their consent and against their will.

As we have pointed out before, it is actually quite mindboggling. And it is frightening to realise that the South African Government is not only going along with this dangerous and foolish charade, but is actively involved in it.

IKHASI 7

DP slams new 'vote-rigging' Bill

THIS week, the Local Government Transition Bill, passed by parliament in December, becomes law.

This represents the first tentative step in the process of local government reform — a process which will take us from the present racially based local government structures to a truly non-racial, democratic dispensation.

But that is only a start. The Act will deal with only the transitional process. What now needs to be done is to define the form the new local government dispensation will take, and the arrangements vitally needed on finance, services and service-rendering to provide the infrastructural improvements, the standard of services, and the resumption of payment for services rendered.

In other words, only the first tentative step has been taken in local government reform. In terms of the Transition Act certain immediate steps are required. These are the determination of the outer and inner boundaries of the metropolitan area and substructures, the powers and functions of the Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC) and the nomination of appointed councillors.

President De Klerk is scheduled to sign into law the new Local Government Transition Act at a national summit meeting of local government leaders at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, on Thursday. Prospects for the Western Cape when the new deal is set in motion are examined here by **JASPER WALSH**, right, Democratic Party MP for Pinelands and spokesman on local government affairs.



South African Press

Bill

But how ^{are} the new facilities be protected? They are exposed to

The Cape Metropolitan Negotiating Forum is already deeply engrossed in these matters and will report on its activities at its next plenary session, to be held on March 7. The deadline is tight as these matters must be resolved by mid-April; that is, within 90 days of the Local Government Transition Bill being promulgated. This is expected to happen on Thursday at the national summit on local government to be held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

The Democratic Party welcomes these developments. Present local government structures are totally inadequate and must be reformed to

represent all people. Equally important: people must feel the benefits of reform on the ground, in their homes, streets and living environment. We believe lack of facilities is the most important contributing factor to ongoing violence.

But there is one serious shortcoming; that is, the ANC/National Party agreement to rig the vote to give preference to black areas. In terms of the Transition Bill, blacks will be given over-representation in many parts of the Cape. Irrespective of numbers, blacks will control 50 per cent of the wards, giving them unfair representation contrary to the clause on funda-

mental rights in the new constitution which stipulates that all shall have an equal vote.

Here in the Western Cape we will have to adjust to that. The Democratic Party believes this is fundamentally unjust, is contrary to the constitution and, rather than encouraging normalisation, will promote racial tension.

Despite our objections, this will now become law. Despite our demand that regions negotiate their own solutions, both the ANC and the NP steam-rollered their own unsatisfactory compromise.

It is now up to the people of the Western Cape to progress with reform. Whereas the DP rejects this compromise, we believe it is vitally important to proceed with negotiations to replace present racial structures with ones that represent all our people.

People can no longer be expected to live as second-rate citizens in conditions of abject poverty. We see our role as being to ensure progress is made towards a fair, just dispensation in which people can live in dignity without fear of violence, and in which there is a future to work for; a future for ourselves and for our children.

Parties in the negotiations were cautioned last night not to use the plenary to re-open substantive debate on the contents of the final deal. They would be given limited time to convey their positions.

In a move reminiscent of the launch of Codesa in 1991, negotiators yesterday decided to ask Mr Justice Mohamed and Mr Justice Schabert to chair today's historic meeting.

The high point of the gathering will be the signing of a declaration of commitment.

Deepening Despair

South African Blacks' Growing Bloodshed Puts Heat on Mandela

Some in ANC Want to Fight,
But He Fears Violence
Could Set Back Reforms

Hacked and Shot in a Massacre

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
SEBOKENG, South Africa—One by one, the men from the cinderblock hostels step forward under the towering bluegum tree to bear witness to the slaughter of the night before.

It was 2:30 in the morning, they all say, when gunshots and explosions shattered their sleep in the wretched dormitories that house South Africa's migrant workers. A large man called Oupa says a bullet ricocheted off his metal door. When he opened it, he saw black men with red headbands, allegedly members of Inkatha, a Zulu-based political organization, rampaging with spears, machetes, guns and grenades.

An old man with a limp tells of peeking through a window and seeing a white man on horseback firing a rifle in all directions. A younger resident describes how the sun rose to reveal two dozen corpses. Some were horribly disfigured by machete blows to the face, he says. Others were both hacked and shot. As the men regrouped to confront their attackers, government soldiers opened fire on them. Eleven more hostel residents fell dead.

Anger surrounds the bluegum tree. Where, the men ask, was their organization, the African National Congress? Where was the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or MK? As ANC leader Nelson Mandela stood before them later that horrible day, they begged for weapons. They wanted revenge.

Instead, Mr. Mandela, himself boiling with anger after seeing a man's brain spilling out of a crushed skull at the morgue, appealed for calm. The savage fighting, which has left over 700 blacks dead in the past month—including more than 20 killed yesterday in an attack on a train in Johannesburg—has bloodied his own prestige and that of the other major peace brokers, the government and Inkatha. And it has staggered the negotiations he has delicately nurtured with President F.W. de Klerk.



Nelson Mandela

The ANC, Mr. Mandela explained to the vengeful men, had suspended its armed struggle. He had no arms to give them. Trust him, he pleaded. Trust the ANC.

But trust is a fleeting thing in South Africa these days. For the third time this year, the mortuary and hospital of Sebokeng are full. March 26, July 22, Sept. 4—three "massacres," as the residents here say, when the main road of this blighted black township south of Johannesburg became slick with blood. For the third time, Mr. Mandela came to visit and reassure. For the third time, the people, weary of battle, listened to their beloved leader and wanted to believe.

"Yes, we will trust Nelson—for now," says Petrus Dzanebe. But he now sleeps in his clothes, he confesses, and with one eye open. "We live in fear," he says, "that this will happen again, at any time."

Should it, local ANC officials fear that Mr. Mandela couldn't dare return to Sebokeng without weapons. Earlier this week, even Mr. Mandela himself said the grass-roots call for armed protection is growing too strong to resist for much longer.

Mr. Mandela, who has been a free man for seven months after 27 years in prison, faces a dilemma of Gorbachevian proportion: Wildly popular abroad, he is desperately struggling to control the tumultuous course of change at home.

Where optimism for a "new" South Africa once flourished following his release in February, dark despair now reigns.

"We don't know where we are going," says Phineas Mthimkhulu, a Methodist minister who dodged several bullets while assisting the injured during the hostel massacre. "Are we going up or down, left or right?" He shrugs. "Who knows anymore?"

Even the ANC, in an internal paper analyzing the violence, expresses doubt. "We need to ask if South Africans are ready to move in the direction of a new society. Are we ready to think in a new way? Is it possible for us to talk of a new South Africa or is it yet too early?"

Few have remained unscathed by the violence. Inkatha, the conservative, capitalist antithesis of the socialist-oriented ANC, can no longer profess its peaceful innocence after more than 100 supporters, including its regional leader, were arrested during the Sept. 4 hostel fight.

And the claims of propriety and impartiality by the security forces—who deny ANC charges that they aid Inkatha—are sounding ever more hollow after a judicial

Please Turn to Page A7, Column 1



F.W. de Klerk

THE COLOUR photograph Newsweek chose to illustrate its Namibia story in last week's editions is an aftermath Shot of PLAN corpses laid out to bloat in the Owambo sun. The extreme violence of their deaths is evident. A young man in the foreground appears to have been filleted from the waist up, his head reduced to an eyeless mask of skin. The image lingers.

Many over here will see in this picture further proof of South African savagery, because that is what they have been acculturated to seeing. They will shed the contemptuous tears of the white man, and in so shedding will become unwitting accomplices in the fraud that encouraged this utterly futile slaughter in the first place.

SWATF and Koevoet fingers may have been on the triggers, but the real killers are half a world away. The real killers are the churchmen, the United Nations bureaucrats, sleek and pampered, the intellectuals, journalists, activists and politicians who have sanctified the meaningless suicide of Africans in the name of "struggle".

Three-hundred people were sent to their death by the Swapo leadership," said Dr Chester Crocker on his return from Mount Etjo last week. Anybody who thought that SA would tolerate an incursion of 1 500 to 1 800 men, in violation of all the provisions of the settlement plan, was very unrealistic."

Whose was the unrealism? To answer simply Sam Nujoma or PLAN commander Dino Amaambo is not sufficient. There is a context to their reasoning.

Few who have had to deal with him would deny that Nujoma is a fool, but because he leads a "liberation" movement fighting the "racist regime" he has been made to feel wise and statesmanlike everywhere from New York to Moscow to Pyongyang.

Determined effort under way to shift blame from Swapo

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Commissars, Lutherans, Swedish parliamentarians, American Congressmen and, most egregiously, the UN, all have taken his propaganda and fed it back to him so assiduously that he can hardly be blamed for coming to believe it himself.

In the process, the Swapo elite — especially its external wing — has fallen victim to a new kind of colonialism, a colonialism that treats its subjects if anything more like children than the old kind ever did.

The result, not surprisingly, is a childlike leadership, spoilt, sheltered from reality, convinced that it can do no wrong: the "sole authentic representatives" of a people who have never been permitted a genuine vote.

For a generation, Swapo has waged one of the most fruitless and incompetent guerrilla wars anywhere on the planet. It has been shielded from its failings by its dotting, cossetting parents at the UN who have assured it that it is heir to the estate, so not to worry.

It has therefore given little thought to how it will run things once it inherits, or even to how it will handle the transfer of ownership. Instead, it has been content to have a

few hundred of its own people butchered each year by the existing tenants on the theory that this will demonstrate who's boss (it does so demonstrate, of course, but not quite in the intended manner).

One would like to think that the week of April 1 brought Swapo to its senses. Mommy's and Daddy's blue hats weren't there to come to the rescue when PLAN combatants surged over the border illegally.

This in itself was entirely the fault of Swapo and its sympathisers who had delayed Untag's deployment by squabbling for months over how many blue hats would be sent. Besides, as Swapo has belatedly discovered, Untag would probably not have been much help anyway.

All told, the result should have been instructive, especially since a number of previously tolerant grown-ups — principally Cuba, Angola and the Frontline states — finally lost patience and told Nujoma to get his act together. Unfortunately,

it is almost certain that others will seek to vitiate the lesson.

A determined effort is under way to shift the blame. Already we are being told that SA's response to the incursion was too vicious; that SA is hampering the intruders' return to Angola by placing menacing forces next to the UN assembly points and demanding the right to interrogate those who do come in; that, therefore, by some spectacular leap of logic, SA has no interest in free and fair elections.

Worse, the pro-Swapo hive seems to be itching to provoke Pretoria into some act that will make everyone forget just who it was who violated the agreement. The hive would love SA to insist on a house-to-house sweep through Owamboland to hunt down guerrillas who cached their arms and melted into the local population. An atrocity is needed. Innocents must die.

What good will this do Swapo? Not much, and even less for the rest of Namibia's people. But then, of course, they don't matter much because, if you believe a recent report on the McNeil-Lehrer news hour, they represent rather less than 10%

of the country and most are white neo-fascists.

The saddest part of all this is that those most energetically seeking to slow Swapo's ascent up the learning curve are Westerners. The Soviets, by contrast, having discovered the hard way the gross flaws in what they have so long preached, seem altogether more level-headed and less fawning. I doubt a Russian journalist would fall on his knees before Herman Toivo Ja Toivo as one reporter of my acquaintance felt inclined to do a few years back.

The Soviets are happily free of the fatal sentimentality of left-leaning Western elites. They have done terrible things to Africa, but unlike the West — which has also done terrible things — they have never done them because they "cared".

They have supported communist regimes because the regimes were communist, not because they found them romantic or thought it was the Christian thing to do or felt sorry for them.

Few fashionable Western analysts would say that Mozambique's problem was not "South African-backed" Renamo but rather a case of "total social disintegration" of which Renamo was but a symptom.

A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official I met last week said precisely that, adding, for good measure, that Renamo was just one of many "bandit" groups each seeking to make a living from a society that could no longer provide it.

"The Soviets have said that socialism shall not be built in Namibia," Crocker remarked recently. "Whether that's a prediction or a command is not quite clear." Nor is it clear how sincerely they believe it.

But at least they are prepared to say it, which is more than can be said of many in the West. In their view, Namibia is still a land exploited by capitalists, and they will not be satisfied until many more Namibians have died to make it a land exploited by Sam Nujoma.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Defectors

WHEN five Democratic Party Members of Parliament defected to the African National Congress, we weren't impressed, but being who they were, we weren't surprised.

When six Democratic Party town councillors – three from Sandton and three from Randburg – defected to the ANC last week, we weren't impressed either, but these defections, according to other councillors, had been expected during the past year, but denied.

Call it expediency, call it opportunism, or call it a sudden conversion to ANC politics, the fact is they have made the move – and up to ten Johannesburg city councillors are likely to follow their example.

Apparently these defectors are not concerned about the ANC's involvement in a township war with the Inkatha Freedom Party, which hasn't spread, fortunately, to the White areas.

The rich bugs of Sandton haven't taken much account of ANC threats to redistribute their wealth; perhaps they think being part of the ANC would ameliorate their position.

They haven't, it seems, paid much attention to the fact that the ANC has been breaking up election meetings of the Democratic and National Parties, but being ANC's themselves, they may find there is less danger of the ANC breaking up their own meetings.

Naturally the ANC is cock-a-hoop about the defections. At a Johannesburg Press conference Mr Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC's PWV chairman, acknowledging the wide-ranging experience in local government of the six defectors, said the ANC was happy that they should continue for the time being as Independent councillors.

The ANC intended to use the collective talent and experience of the group in local government.

Speaking on behalf of the group, Randburg's Mayor, Mr Brian Crail, said they were honoured that the ANC had accepted their applications for membership after they had spent a political lifetime fighting apartheid through the means available to them.

"We firmly believe that the time has come for bringing together the forces for good in this country and uniting them under the ANC. This is a time for nation building."

The National Party caucus in Randburg Town Council intends to propose a vote of no confidence in the three DP councillors who defected, the defections being considered "undemocratic and unethical".

Mr Crail should have adhered to the tradition requiring mayors to refrain from political controversy during their terms of office, the NP said.

If the NP expects them to resign, it is asking for the moon.

It has been a habit in recent years for Members of Parliament to switch sides without resigning and fighting their seats again under the banner of the party they have joined.

Morally, of course, they should resign, but there is nothing to force them to do so, and in any case, the government has passed a law under which by-elections are no longer held.

Nevertheless, we think that town and city councillors are dealing mainly with local government affairs and they should represent the ratepayers who chose them – not an organisation which has policies that are diametrically opposed to all that these so-called liberal DP's stood for.

We can expect more defections after Randburg, Sandton and Johannesburg. Indeed, there will be a growing realignment of forces as the old order breaks up and the new one is introduced.

With a system of proportional representation in Parliament, there will be no constituencies and therefore no direct responsibility to constituents.

But the nation will be watching to see who jumps on the ANC bandwagon – and whether they can offer any reasonable explanation for doing so.

Local government will be changed with 50 per cent of enlarged councils being nominated and representing Black areas and interests.

But even then, the decisions of defecting town and city councillors will be closely watched to see whether expediency rather than principle motivates them.

Londoner's Diary

diary@standard.co.uk

Daughter's ire over van der Post biography

FIVE years after the death of Sir Laurens van der Post, mourned as a thinker of genius by Lady Thatcher and Prince Charles, JDF Jones's new book threatens to expose Prince William's godfather as a compulsive fantasist. Sir Laurens's daughter Lucia van der Post has expressed strong reservations about the book by Jones, who is Laurens' authorised biographer and an ex-colleague of Lucia's at the *Financial Times*.

"I found to my surprise that



Lucia and Laurens van der Post: 'a mythic dimension'

you just can't believe a word Sir Laurens said," says Jones. "He faked the date of his birth when he joined the Army. And he joined in May 1940, not September 1939 as he always claimed. He did have an extraordinary gift for telling a story, which is why I've called the book *Storyteller*."

Lucia van der Post, who, with other of her father's close advisers, authorised Jones to write the book, sent him an 18,000 word memo when she read the original draft, which she described as "profoundly mean-spirited".

"I haven't yet read the final version but I do wonder whether JDF has understood my father," she says. "My father wrote with a poetic force and a mythic dimen-

sion. A biographer should bring some generosity of mind to the business of examining someone else's life, and not use a disproportionate amount of space highlighting every single fault and flaw."

U-turn on terror tome

NO ONE wants to be seen to be cashing in on the American tragedy. But which publisher will be the first to break ranks and go ahead with a rapidly produced book on the terrorist attack?

It won't be the Orion group, despite a story in the *Book-seller* saying that the chief executive Anthony Cheetham had already commissioned a quickie book. The company has now decided not to go ahead. "We did have an author proposal," I'm told by a spokesman, "and we dis-



Cheetham: no quickie

cussed it at length at an editorial meeting. But there were very strong emotions about it from everyone involved."

"In the end it was generally felt that there wasn't enough support from all of us. I'm sure that someone in the publishing world will decide to go ahead though."



Despite megastar treatment, he kept his dignity in PARIS says Desmond Colborne of the South Africa Foundation

Parliament in Strasbourg last Wednesday, he said lifting of sanctions at the European Community summit in Dublin later this month would be a disaster, and he expressed confidence this would not happen.

So, to what extent did Mr Mandela's message neutralise that of President De Klerk in Paris and elsewhere?

De Klerk's visit was obviously much more low-key — no singing strings and lights on the Eiffel Tower. But there were unexpected smiles and some meeting of minds. The 'Big Chill' of the Botha days gave way to a De Klerk thaw, and a lot of diplomatic mileage was made. France is seen

as holding a swing vote on sanctions policy in the European Community.

"Which way France jumps," said a British expert, "would be crucial".

Bankrupt

But given the almost cosmic significance bestowed on Mr Mandela's visit to Paris and, given Mr Mitterrand's reputation as a master of ambiguity, France, despite its rethink on the sanctions issue, might prefer not to jump just yet — not in Dublin anyway.

President Mitterrand has just completed a visit to countries in the Indian Ocean area, where South

Africa's economic influence is particularly palpable.

He returns to France to participate in the Franco-African summit at a time of deepening Afro-pessimism. Africa is seen as economically and politically bankrupt, drowning in debt and demography.

President Mitterrand is surely aware that if these alarming African trends are to be reversed, South Africa must play the role of economic locomotive.

Other European politicians, such as the former chairman of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, are saying that "South Africa's role is to be Europe's development partner in Africa".

It's a message I, too,

was able to put over on major French television programmes recently and the idea is gaining ground.

Despite all this, however, the glorification of Mandela is such that when he appeals to Europeans and others to maintain sanctions, his appeals are difficult to resist — for the time being, anyway.

And if this deprives President De Klerk of an immediate and visible reward for his political courage that he can show to his wavering electorate, many a European leader would regret this.

Braving

But they would add that whatever is said at the Dublin summit, sanctions, like the cultural boycott before them, are crumbling, withering on the branch.

At a practical level, normal diplomatic and economic relations are being restored between South Africa and other

countries. Leading politicians in Europe court Mr Mandela's presence and the photo opportunities it gives them.

But they are also braving the boycotters and going out to South Africa to "see for themselves". Visiting the country at the moment is France's Secretary of State for Humanitarian Aid, Bernard Kouchner, on the first official visit by a deputy minister since 1975.

Adieu

France's rugby bosses visited recently — possibly to discuss a tour.

And business missions are also on the move. An important group visiting Namibia, and also South Africa, arrives next week, led by former Minister Jean-Pierre Prouteau, now French business's "Mr Africa".

Given all this, no wonder a major French newsmagazine was able to give this verdict: "Sanctions-adieu".

By R L SELVAN, member of the Johannesburg Bar, and committee member of the Johannesburg branch of Lawyers for Human Rights

DETENTION

How it works against the State

TOMORROW is International Human Rights Day.

It has been commemorated all over the world since December 10, 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

A case may be made for detention without trial as a method of combatting terrorism. By threatening the safety of the State, terrorism threatens also the rights and freedoms which the State promises to provide for its citizens.

One of the objects of terrorism is to achieve political ends by violence. This cannot be tolerated in a democratic State.

Some may challenge the proposition that South Africa is a democratic state. Most blacks certainly would. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss that question.

Let us assume therefore that detention without trial

QUOTE

□ Unless a balance is struck, the rights and liberties of individuals threatened by terrorism will instead be surrendered in the cause of defending them. There are also practical considerations. One of the main objects of a terrorist movement is to elicit from the State a repressive response. Then, the resentment of those oppressed is increased, resulting in yet greater dedication of its members to violent actions and an increase in the number of its adherents.

is morally justified. Even so, its most enthusiastic proponents must concede the need for some moderation in its implementation.

For unless a balance is struck, the rights and liberties of individuals threatened by terrorism will instead be surrendered in the cause of defending them.

There are also practical considerations. One of the main objects of a terrorist movement is to elicit from the State a repressive response. Then, the resentment of those oppressed is increased, resulting in yet greater dedication of its

members to violent actions and an increase in its adherents.

If the predictable reaction of the authorities to this is yet more repressive responses, in the end the most doleful prognostications of the most pessimistic among us will be fulfilled.

These ideas are not novel. A similar point of view was put forward by Advocate D P De Villiers in the course of an address to the Stellenbosch Branch of Lawyers for Human Rights on September 20, 1982, which was

later published in Bulletin 1 of Lawyers for Human Rights in February 1983.

He also mentioned the danger that in the eyes of a great part of the South African population and of the outside world the respect in which our proud system of justice is held will be undermined.

Sadly, we have to record that the authorities seem impervious to these ideas. Undoubtedly, detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and its successor, Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, has resulted in subversion

being uncovered and convictions being obtained. But at what cost?

And what will the cost be to the State of the latest detentions in the wake of the unrest in the townships and the massive stayaway? Can it be doubted that many thousands of trade unionists resenting the detention of their leaders will become radicals?

And at what cost to the people most concerned and their families? In all Western democracies, liberty and security of the person is regarded as a basic human right.

Must we be resigned to that right being indefinitely suspended in our country?

As Human Rights Day approaches it behoves us all to think about these matters. For it is not only the lawyers whose holy temple is in danger of being profaned.

Dissent Splits South Africa's Black Unions

By STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DURBAN, South Africa — Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is launching an avowedly capitalist trade union to rival South Africa's largest and more left-leaning black trade federation.

Yesterday, Chief Buthelezi's political organization, Inkatha, bused supporters—thousands armed with shields, clubs and spears—to an inaugural rally for the union, called the United Workers Union of South Africa, or Uwusa. As 70,000 people watched, an Inkatha leader conducted a mock funeral for the rival Congress of South African Trade Unions, or Cosatu, then trampled a black coffin with the names of the competing union and its two top officials written on it.

Tension in this east coast city ran high as just two miles away, the well-established Cosatu held a smaller rally. Extra police and army troop carriers guarded the city streets.

Both rallies were part of nationwide demonstrations that brought the country to a near standstill as millions of blacks stayed away from jobs and schools in what appeared to be the biggest anti-apartheid protest in South African history. The "stayaway" was organized by black labor unions and political groups to demand that May Day be made a public holiday, replacing the existing national holiday that honors white Afrikaner nationalist Paul Kruger.

Hovering Shadows

But the impressive show of black strength was overshadowed by the friction between Cosatu and Inkatha, which could have dire repercussions on the black struggle to end the apartheid system by pitting the two most-organized black groups in the country against one another.

Cosatu General Secretary Jay Naidoo said Inkatha's May Day rally "makes a mockery of a working-class symbol." Cosatu blames Inkatha for more than a dozen attacks on Cosatu leaders in the past four

months, including the shooting of a union organizer last week.

Chief Buthelezi charged Cosatu leaders with "piracy" in turning the union federation to political objectives. He said Cosatu would destroy free enterprise and added that the union's support of foreign-investment sanctions would rob blacks of needed jobs. A poster held by one follower criticized Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, who backs foreign disinvestment. "Bishop Tutu deserves execution," the poster said.

In addition to splitting the black camp, the labor competition also marks a shift by black trade unions away from workplace issues. Black unions risk becoming attached to political parties, threatening their traditional independence. "It is tragic for the labor movement. Labor unions elsewhere in Africa subordinated their demands to national liberation movements and in the end became quite toothless," said Ari Sitas, a University of Natal labor professor.

Chief Buthelezi Attacked

The showdown has been brewing since the country's largest trade unions united under the Cosatu umbrella in December. Cosatu endorsed the outlawed African National Congress and attacked Chief Buthelezi for dealing with the government.

The half-million-member Cosatu federation also threatened to burn passes restricting blacks' freedom of movement. After the government's sudden abolition of pass laws last week, many South Africans credited Cosatu with hastening the end of the loathed system.

The images of the two unions differ vastly. Cosatu is headed by Elijah Barayi, a lifetime mineworker whose fiery rhetoric excites the union's militant membership.

The top official of the new United Workers Union is Simon Conco, a soft-spoken businessman without any previous union experience. A leading Inkatha member, he ran a general store and is a director of a group of wholesale and retail outlets. He opposes the needless use of strikes, saying, "If you destroy the economy—as you do through strikes—it will be difficult to rebuild it when you are liberated."



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Meet With AFL-CIO

Inkatha leaders met in the U.S. recently with the AFL-CIO labor federation to appeal for support, but American union and government officials deny that the AFL-CIO plans to give money. Earlier attempts by AFL-CIO officials to cultivate South African black trade union leaders failed.

Inkatha is appealing to workers worried about job security at a time when black unemployment generally runs between 25% and 60%, depending on the area. Uwusa says Cosatu's demands for higher wages and disinvestment threaten jobs.

How well that pitch will work isn't clear. Inkatha claims one million members, many of them also members of Cosatu. Chief Buthelezi is now throwing the weight of Inkatha behind the new union. But Cosatu unions have proved their mettle in negotiations over the past decade. Chief Buthelezi risks alienating loyal followers by trying to force them to choose sides.

Cosatu alleges that Inkatha is pressuring employers in Natal, where Chief Buthelezi has his base of support among six million Zulus. Cosatu says employers are favoring Uwusa and contributing money to the new union. Mr. Conco denies the allegations.

Inkatha's only prior experience with unions has been with sugar workers. That union was started with money from a sugar-growing company and with the help of a company personnel manager.

WSJ May 2

Down go the barriers of hostility

WHILE the American media focus almost exclusively on the horror of South Africa's political violence and the turbulent politics of Codesa, a heartwarming revolution of sorts is taking place virtually unnoticed in the relationship between the United States and South Africa.

Almost every day small items of news flicker through the agency wires pointing to the steady rehabilitation of South Africa's image among ordinary Americans, items which in themselves are not earth-shattering and which tend to be eclipsed by events of greater moment.

But every now and then something happens which demonstrates just how dramatic has been the transformation, how enormous has become the cumulative impact of the many small triumphs in breaking down the barriers of hostility and suspicion that were built up over the dismal years of apartheid. Some recent examples:

Earlier this month, for the first time in the history of Illinois, the home state of Abraham Lincoln, a foreign envoy was invited to address a joint session of the state legislature's two chambers. The envoy was South African ambassador Harry Schwarz, who was given a standing ovation.

A few days later, at a ceremony where President Bush broke the ground for a new Korean War memorial in Washington, there was a marked crescendo of applause when Mr Schwarz was introduced and the South African flag was hoisted.

While this was partly due to the changed political climate, the stout-hearted clapping by the large US military contingent at the ceremony bears some explanation. While apartheid was rampant, South Africa's involvement in the Korean War often was obscured and few Americans knew of it, let alone the fact that 34 South Africans were killed fighting alongside US forces in the war.

But shortly before the latest ceremony, a military historian wrote a belated homily to the 826 South Africans who fought in Korea, which appeared in a US military magazine under the headline: "The forgotten country". The article reportedly caused a stir — and a recognition that the time had come to make amends.

South Africans in the United States are in demand as never before and being applauded for reforms at home. HUGH ROBERTON reports from Washington.

In the same week, Renaissance Women, a large and influential educational foundation which operates in all 50 states of the US, decided that they wished to honour the efforts being made by South Africans to come to grips with many of the problems which Americans themselves are battling to resolve.

They chose to declare South Africa to be an honorary state of the US, in recognition of the "renaissance" of democracy and freedom taking place in the country — a somewhat patronising compliment, but patently well-intentioned and, from the acclaim which the announcement drew, obviously widely supported.

All over the US, South Africans are in demand as speakers at seminars, at service club luncheons, at schools and universities — on a scale unimaginable only two years ago. And all over the country ordinary Americans are coming into contact with individual South Africans on an unprecedented scale.

Many black South Africans, for instance, are visiting the US as guests of foundations, universities, multi-national companies and government agencies. Last week, some of the biggest names in banking — Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Chemical Bank, J P Morgan, among others — welcomed the first group of black South African managers to a six-month "professional development experience" in the US.

The previous week the first of a group of black South Africans who have been undergoing an internship at the International Monetary Fund completed their course and embarked on a tour around the US. Earlier, several — including some of the ANC's top economic planners — were invited to attend a getting-to-know-you seminar at the World Bank where a continuing programme for South Africans is under way.

Some large US cities, including Washington, have begun to sponsor black South Africans who seek further know-

ledge of such things as drainage and sewerage, town planning, recycling and community health services. The number of South Africans at US universities reportedly has risen dramatically, and several organisations are now at work raising funds to provide more scholarships and study grants.

One group, Medical Education for Black South Africans, has raised millions of dollars and now has several hundred South African students among its beneficiaries.

In line with foundations and leading companies, watchdog groups like the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, which monitors new US investment in South Africa, have recently appointed South African trainees to their staff, and several major US trade unions have South Africans undergoing courses under their aegis.

So large has the South African community become that two newsletters now circulate among expatriates all over the US and Canada, keeping countrymen abreast of what is happening at home and putting them in contact with one another. Both appear to be flourishing.

And in Washington a group of South Africans, black and white, have advanced plans for establishing a South African restaurant and meeting place where entertainers from home could have a commercial venue, and where the homesick could find company — and a lekker bord kos. As it is, boerewors is freely obtainable in the city, and an enterprising South African in Connecticut will send biltong anywhere in the US by overnight air freight.

It is a silent revolution, with many facets, and it is growing in scope and momentum. On both sides of the political and racial divide there are some who view it with uncertainty and suspicion — those blacks who are still mired in the ideological hostilities of the Cold War, and those whites whose isolation at the hands of successive US governments has engendered resentment and a readiness to pour scorn on things American.

But most appear to have embraced the change with enthusiasm, or at least with a recognition that whatever their own feelings might be, the process under way portends a deep and intimate new relationship with the US for many years to come.

you were in USA for this reason recently, were you?

97 p as well?

Debacle will not stop at Test

A MILITANT liberation movement, the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, has to give permission to our South African Rugby Football Union to play a Test match, provided certain "demands" are met. What a disgrace!

The outside world must be looking at our weak and feeble sports administrators in amazement. Can you imagine the IRA giving England the go-ahead to play cricket against Australia in England, on condition that certain procedures are met? The thought is

laughable.

This debacle will not stop at the rugby Test against Australia. The ANC/SACP alliance will be monitoring the behaviour and attitude of the spectators and, if it is not to their liking, action to cancel this tour and other tours will be instituted.

How many of the spectators must misbehave? Ninety percent, 80 percent or as low as 10 percent? I bet that our rugby administrators are quivering in their boots in anticipation of tomorrow's "behaviour".

The ANC must realise that adults do not like being dictated to.

I predict thousands of South African flags being waved at Newlands and Die Stem being sung time and time again by the majority of the spectators, to the annoyance of the ANC officials. Watch your television screen tomorrow at 3 pm.

The sporting public is tired of being told what to do and what not to do, like naughty schoolchildren.

KILTON

Bramley

Wonderful sight

IT was such a wonderful sight to see all the South African flags being waved at the rugby on Saturday and when the anthem was played, well, that just made my day.

I felt cold shivers throughout my body and had tears in my eyes. It was a wonderful sight to see. I just wish I was there.

Well done, you rugby fans. To hell with the ANC, who do they think they are anyway? They can go toyi-toying around, waving their flags, strike, have mass actions, etc. and sing their anthem at their soccer matches, but they expect us to do as we are told by them. Think again, we will not be manipulated by you or any other politicians for that matter.

I hope that the ANC now realises that it is not so easy to manipulate the Whites in this country as it is with their people. If their people are told to jump in the fire, out of fear, they will do so.

We are different, we only fear God, no human being. We think for ourselves and do not allow anybody, not even the government to manipulate us.

Sport and politics are two different things altogether. I agree with the Wallabies that they have

come to play rugby and are not interested in our politics.

I think it is unfair of the ANC to expect people who come from overseas to play sport in this country to get involved in the ANC's politics.

Grow up, you ANC leaders. You are like small children who sit and sulk if you don't get your way. Forget about trying to manipulate the Whites as you won't get very far. If we want to carry the

flag that we grew up with, so be it.

We have never complained if you wave your flags, so why can we not be left alone and allowed to wave ours?

Just a warning, don't ever try to take our flag away from us. Even if we have a new government one day and a new flag, our flag will always be imprinted in our minds and our hearts.

SPRINGBOK FAN

Johannesburg

Victory for ANC

BY agreeing not to allow the South African flag to be hoisted (officially) or to sing the anthem, South Africans have unwittingly conceded victory to the ANC as being the government of the day, simply to save rugby, the South African god in a sports-mad country, and in doing so, they have sold their birthright!

Have we sunk so low that we are prepared to sacrifice our nationalism, independence and freedom on the altar of sport? Do we no longer have any pride?

Tomorrow's game at Newlands is definitely not a victory for rugby or even sports in general, but a great personal victory for the ANC and its cohorts in establishing a

Communist dictatorship in South Africa.

The ANC continue to make demands which are acceded to and this emboldens and makes them more arrogant and vociferous in their demands and every concession which the government makes is misconstrued as weakness.

When you observe a minute's silence at Newlands, (ostensibly to remember the victims of violence), hang your heads in abject shame, because in reality you should be mourning the fact that you have bowed the knee to the dictates of the new ANC government!

Shame on all of us!!!

H W VAN ZYL

Roodepoort

Silence at rugby is farcical

IN the rather gloomy and depressed atmosphere that pervades in South Africa at present, I would like to thank the ANC for providing some light relief.

To expect the White population, and especially rugby fans, to mourn the deaths of Black on Black savagery is, indeed, laughable. Naturally, the White community does not condone the killings, but to try and force us into silence at a rugby match is farcical.

I would also like to thank the ANC for assisting to boost the popularity of the South African flag. The public has always been rather apathetic in "showing the flag", however the ANC has helped to change this.

Never before have so many South African flags been seen at a sports gathering and it is reported that national flags have been sold out country-wide.

I am sure that the flag manufacturers would also like to thank the ANC.

Once again, thank you ANC for helping to boost the popularity of our flag and Die Stem.

NICKY OELOFSE

Johannesburg

Die Stem lovely

AS a South African (incidentally an English-speaking one at that) watching the build-up to the game last Saturday, it was plain to see that the singing of Die Stem was spontaneous and it was lovely.

I cannot think for the life of me, how it can offend anyone, least of all the ANC for whom nothing can ever be peaceful. You are a bunch of people that thrive on making trouble, trouble and more trouble!

I and many more are heartily sick and tired of the ANC and their threats and demands!!

SICK AND TIRED

Randburg

De Klerk meets Chief Buthelezi

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk had a lengthy meeting in Durban with kwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend.

The talks, which could indicate a further thawing in the once-icy relations between kwaZulu and the Government, were confirmed in a brief joint statement issued after the meeting.

The statement said "discussions covered a wide range of topics, including constitutional reform and the security situation in kwaZulu and Natal".

The statement said both leaders found the exchange of views positive and fruitful. They also agreed to follow-up talks in the near future.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by two of his Ministers, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and chairman of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba, and Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Heunis absent

Mr de Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and Minister of Home Affairs and Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Significantly, the outgoing Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, was not present, despite having been instrumental in helping to achieve the breakthrough in easing the rigid standoff between kwaZulu and the central Government.

As a result of the meeting held by Mr Heunis with Chief Buthelezi last year, a joint kwaZulu/central Government committee was established under the rotating chairmanship of Mr Stoffel Botha and Dr Dhlomo.

The committee's task was to establish what stumbling blocks were preventing real negotiations.

The committee has met three times.

Bid to end kwaZulu violence

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha launched its own initiative to end political violence in Natal and kwaZulu yesterday when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed a mass prayer rally at kwaMakutha on the South Coast.

Chief Buthelezi quoted from a letter to him from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who had said there had been no time in the country's history when it was so crucial for black people to speak with one voice and pool their efforts.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu had to "stop swearing at each other politically" and provoking each other into vicious responses.

He endorsed Mandela's call for the restoration of cordial relations between Inkatha and the ANC.

Blacks barred from Buthelezi function

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will visit Krugersdorp on July 26 as guest of the West Rand Chamber of Commerce and Industry, but his reception will no longer be held at the town's Centenary Hall.

The CP-controlled town council stipulated that Chief Buthelezi, his wife and members of his Cabinet could attend the function at the municipal hall but no other blacks would be allowed. — West Rand Bureau.

Zach the gooseberry

DR ZACH DE BEER, who chairs the Codesa steering committee, says realpolitik dictates that "once you get agreement between the NP and the ANC you have a decision".

Such is the relationship between the two, Dr De Beer says, that when they are in agreement he feels like "a third party at a love affair" or, even worse, "a gooseberry".



CITY/NATIONAL

DP rebels give ANC fist salute

1992 May 18
Burger

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

FOUR of the ANC's five white MPs, with arms raised in clenched fist salutes, drew singing, chanting and applause from an audience of about 800 in the City Hall last night when they gave emotional accounts of their political conversion.

The audience, framed by huge banners draped from the boxes, listened in silence to the MPs' carefully phrased, respectful references to their former political home, the Democratic Party, but fervently applauded their alignment with the "struggling masses", a switch the first speaker, Mr Jannie Momberg, believed must have made his father turn in his grave.

The former DP presence went beyond Mr Momberg, Mr David Dalling, Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Pierre Cronje to former DP regional chairman Mr Bill Sewell and two of the MPs' wives, Mrs

Eunice van Eck and Mrs Trienie Momberg.

And more than a third of the audience represented the white constituency — at least some of whom were assumed to be uninitiated and, on that account, given some tutoring on ANC songs. (Later the meeting was also assured that the clenched fist salute was not a symbol of black power, but of unity within the ANC, just in case there was any concern about that.)

In speeches that were a mixed bag of serious, pre-election politicking the MPs warned the ANC to expect a tough battle with the National Party election juggernaut, and made angry attacks on the credibility of the government. Mr Momberg and Mr Van Eck also described their "liberation" from the confines of white politics when they embraced the ANC.

There were moments of humour, too.

Mr Momberg told how he was known in parliament as "Jam-

mer Jannie" for having apologised for once supporting the NP.

But he drew an emphatic "shame" from a woman in the audience when he added: "Nobody who has been part of these people can ever stop saying sorry for what we have done. I personally feel responsible."

Mr Van Eck told the meeting he had been asked many times if he felt he had done the right thing in joining the ANC.

"Well," he said, "as soon as Chief Buthelezi criticised us for leaving the DP, I knew we had done the right thing."

Since then, he said, many of his white constituents had phoned to say: "Thanks, you have now made it easier for us to join too."

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the MPs' decision to join the ANC would send a signal to South Africa's whites that "the only place to work for genuine non-racialism was in the ANC".



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

ROAD TO DAMASCUS: Part of the audience of about 800 who gathered in the City Hall last night to hear former Democratic Party members of parliament Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling and Mr Pierre Cronje explain their "conversion" to the ANC.