

THE CITIZEN
5 SEPTEMBER 1989

JOIN NP ON PATH AHEAD —FW'S CALL

AN appeal to the electorate to support the National Party and become involved in "a great effort to break out of the cycle of conflict, despondency, isolation and hardship which the country's enemies have thrust upon her" was made in Johannesburg last night by the acting

By Brian Stuart
and Tony Stirling

State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

The country stood at a crossroad. If it turned left, it would destroy the hope and security of Whites and all minorities in South Africa and play into the hands of radicalism.

If it turned right, it would place South Africa

in a mire of growing conflict, isolation, impoverishment and power struggles.

This would drive the silent majority into the arms of the radicals.

Unable to turn left or right, the country's road lay ahead with the NP, Mr De Klerk said at an NP meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall.

"The truth is that the National Party has taken

a unique complete and all-embracing policy direction, on the way to a new and just dispensation, away from the racism of the CP and the capitulation of the DP.

"Our generation's greatest test has come. The challenge before which we stand is to unite the forces of peace,

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Nation/world



Reuters photo

A youth raises his hand in defiance after igniting a barricade of tires Monday in the South African township of Athlone during a protest against Wednesday's elections.

Liberals fear backlash at polls over new protests in S. Africa

By Tom Masland
Chicago Tribune

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Renewed protest against apartheid and the exclusion of blacks from Wednesday's parliamentary election could spell trouble for liberals at the polls.

The violence continued Monday as police in Durban used shotguns, tear gas and water cannon to break up a student demonstration. In Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev. Allan Boesak were arrested and others were whipped as they tried to gather for a church service, according to witnesses.

The government has detained without charge at least 226 people since the Aug. 2 start of the civil-disobedience campaign and has arrested nearly 1,600 others, the independent Human Rights Commission reported Monday.

Clear evidence that the "defiance campaign" has the liberal Democratic Party worried came last week when Wynand Malan, a leader of the new party, defended the tough tactics police are using in handling protests.

The protest movement has handed the governing National Party the weapon that for 41 years has proven most effective in fighting off liberal critics: fear of the voteless black majority.

Specifically, the Democratic Party faces accusations of being soft on the African National Congress, which runs a low-level guerrilla war against the state in an effort to bring the government to the bargaining table. The Democratic Party also would legalize the protests. The groups have all declared themselves "unbanned" as

part of the defiance campaign.

With the antiapartheid protests strengthening the Nationalist campaign against the Left, observers speculate the big winner Wednesday could be the right wing.

The liberals' dilemma doesn't bother leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement, the antiapartheid coalition that has organized the protests. They are pursuing their own agenda, and have publicly denounced Wednesday's elections as irrelevant. Privately, some activists say they hope the far-right Conservative Party will gain because that might hasten a revolution.

While the protest strategy may improve the government's fortunes in the short term, it also will create a dilemma in the period after the election: Acting President F.W. de Klerk must find a way to deal with peaceful, disciplined protest.

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LIBERALS

FROM PG 1

"Our actions aimed at advancing our struggle cannot be inhibited by inconsequential considerations like whether this will shift a few seats to the so-called Left or to the Right," said Sydney Mufamadi, assistant general secretary of the Council of South African Trade Unions, the country's leading black labor federation, in an interview Monday. "This explains why we have taken up this campaign."

The federation, known as COSATU, has called for a two-day general strike beginning Tuesday. Leaders thumbed their noses at De Klerk on Monday by organizing a march to Johannesburg's city hall, where the party leader traditionally makes his last campaign appearance.

In a tense showdown, police turned back about 120 union

members outside the hall, blocking them from reading a letter in which they charged that "the brutal reaction of the security forces under your control demonstrates that apartheid is alive and well." Dozens of journalists on hand for the campaign climax recorded the episode.

Inside, the 1,000-seat hall was only two-thirds full and there was tepid applause for the acting president's best lines, which promised greater security through negotiations that will give blacks a vote in national affairs but prevent "domination" of whites.

Private National Party polls repeatedly have shown security to be the top concern for white voters, followed by support for the maintenance of segregated schools, hospitals and neighborhoods.

Leaders of the Democratic Party, which groups independents and members of the disbanded Progressive Federal Party, have met repeatedly with the African National Congress. They would immediately remove the ban on all political parties and enter into negotiations with the congress without demanding that the exile group abandon its "armed struggle."

The party calls for abandonment of the "group" concept that undergirds statutory segregation and its replacement by guarantees of individual freedom. It would abolish segregation in housing and health care.

The National Party now holds 130 seats in the 178-seat House of Assembly, the white chamber of Parliament. The Democratic Party holds 20 and the Conservative Party 23.

The Nationalists are expected to win Wednesday's election; the only question is how big their majority will be.

The acting State President, Mr F W de KLERK, left, and Mr PIK BOTHA, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the start of last night's meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall, where the NP rounded off its election campaign.



Police halt march on city hall

A DEMONSTRATION consisting of about 60 people was last night halted by the police about 50 metres from the Johannesburg City Hall where the acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was due to address his final election meeting.

Leading the placard

carrying demonstrators, were Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The group marched on

the hall from the direction of Rissik Street, but was halted by a sizeable contingent of police who were present for Mr De Klerk's meeting.

Mr De Klerk had arrived only a few minutes before the demonstrators turned up.

The police blocked the road, and the demonstrators then all sat down — relatively silently.

Scores of local and international cameramen and photographers were present.

Police then ordered Pressmen to leave the scene and dogs were brought in with handlers. The demonstrators then left travelling down President Street. No arrests were witnessed.

De Klerk's call to voters

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reason and realism behind common objectives, and to weld them against the forces of radicalism and violence.

"The NP is ready to give the guidance. Our action lays the basis for a new South Africa, in which all can achieve their rights, without domination or injustice."

Mr De Klerk said his call on the voters was to push grievances, petty-politics, slander and negativism to one side, and to place trust in the National Party.

"Our country is entering one of the most important periods of its history.

"If we are to secure a safe and prosperous future for our children, imaginative steps will have to be taken by a strong government during the next five years," Mr De Klerk said.

The Conservative Party's policies were unfair towards the majority of South Africans and could never successfully be put into practice.

The policies of the Democratic Party would inevitably lead to the domination of Whites and other minority groups.

Africa had proved there was no solution in one-man-one-vote on common voters' rolls.

"Only the National Party's policy and direction can assure a new South Africa — a new South Africa which will be just and strong," said Mr De Klerk.

The NP offered participation in government and equal opportunities to all South Africans.

"Discrimination must be eliminated. That is fair. There is no other alternative.

"The NP also offers a safeguard against domination. Domination in

whatever form is unfair.

"With consensus as the basis for joint decision, coupled with other constitutional checks and balances, group domination will be eliminated."

Mr De Klerk said the NP would also ensure the fair maintenance of own community life, own schools and a choice of own residential areas — "in a word, group security".

The NP was committed to sensible policies and dynamic action in the best interests of all South Africans.

"We will close the gap of distrust, suspicion and fear among South Africans.

"We will work towards a Great Indaba. Dialogue and negotiation are the key to the future — a key we are going to turn.

"We are going to open the door to prosperity and economic growth through discipline and a sensible economic plan for the future.

"We are going to develop a new constitution where every individual can participate without domination.

A number of points made by Mr De Klerk at his Johannesburg City Hall meeting, included:

- That the NP was as anxious as anyone to alleviate the plight of young South Africans in regard to national service obligations. The way to do this was not through election promises, but by reaching a lasting peace in South Africa;

- That there was a need to activate the "silent majority" in South Africa to find a just solution through which the radicals could be silenced;

- That the NP was the only party approaching the election with a truly South African spirit, that it would win the election and was ready to seize the

opportunity to move forward in a planned manner; and,

- That because it would win the election, the NP would necessarily have to take the leadership role in evolving a new South Africa — a responsibility which it accepted.

Mr De Klerk described the NP as a revitalised party, which had gone through a period of self-analysis and introspection. This had started with the Uppington speech of the former State President, Mr P W Botha, with the theme "adapt or die".

A system that was fair and just to all, and incorporating features such as a strong judiciary and a Bill of Rights had to be evolved.

Mr De Klerk said there had been a strong emphasis on the immediate need for entering negotiations. His trips into Africa apart, he had already

started with this process.

He had met representatives of all the self-governing states with the exception of one, whose Cabinet had been to see him, and had held wide-ranging discussions with Black, Coloured and Indian leaders.

The NP, he said, had an open mind on negotiation, provided there was accommodation for groups.

Fairness and justice to all was at the heart of the NP message that would take South Africa forward in a new spirit to a future offering security and full opportunity to all.

After a slow start, about 850 people attended Mr De Klerk's final election meeting. At the end of the prolonged campaign, he pledged that in future snap elections would be the order of the day.

(News by Brian Stuart, and A.J. Stirling, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein.)

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Don't be intimidated by MDM campaign, Vlok urges

Citizen Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, last night urged the public not to be intimidated by the efforts of the Mass Democratic Movement to disrupt the election.

Speaking at a meeting in Verwoerdburg Mr Vlok said that the present situation of unrest "is very explosive" and called on South Africans to remain calm and not to provoke each other to the point where it could lead to bloodshed.

Mr Vlok also hit back at accusations that he had unnecessarily "cried wolf" when the MDM began with its defiance campaign.

He went on to describe the various defiance acts that the MDM had initiated and that he was justified in reacting to certain instances with a strong police presence.

"I didn't trouble myself with these accusations, because I knew that the results of the MDM's so called peaceful process

would eventually become the most important evidence to substantiate what I have said."

Mr Vlok said the MDM planned to reorganise revolutionary structures for large scale mobilisation.

The MDM wanted to have strong opposition against and the creation of a total unrest situation around the election wherein terror would be the order of the day, he said.

They wanted the extension of school boycotts, and the organisation of defiance acts that would result in a national strike during the election tomorrow.

He said that most of the threats have been carried out by the MDM, and that many people have been arrested since the defiance campaign started.

"I want to give voters the assurance that they

can vote on election day without fear and exercise their democratic right."

Mr Vlok added that all the polling booths would be guarded by the police and that they would be ready to handle anything that might happen.

(News by A van Zyl, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein).

Student dies after stoning

CAPE TOWN. — A Stellenbosch student who was seriously injured when his car was stoned, died of his injuries in Tygerberg Hospital on Sunday, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Mr Wouter Theron's car was stoned while he was travelling between Kuils River and Brackenfell on Thursday night.

Police were investigating a charge of murder. — Sapa.

Vlok gives 'vote without fear' assurance

By Tony Stirling

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has given the public the assurance that they will be able to vote tomorrow without fear.

This assurance was given by Mr Vlok both after a visit to the unrest-torn areas of the Western Cape yesterday and in a speech last night in his constituency of Verwoerdburg.

A statement issued by Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Minister, quoted Mr Vlok as saying he was aware of plans to use or force school children to disrupt the elections over the next two days.

Strict action, including the arrest of certain ring-leaders and others behind the misuse of children for political and propaganda purposes, could be expected.

Mr Vlok said unrest was being planned from outside the schools as a part of a well-orchestrated effort to either emotionally involve or

force children into participating in mass public uprisings and civil disobedience.

The efforts of those misusing children to achieve "devious" aims would not be tolerated.

In Cape Town yesterday Mr Vlok and his deputy, Mr Leon Wessels, met the Deputy Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Abe Williams, and senior police officers, as well as representatives of the Department of Education, to discuss the large-scale unrest at schools in the Western Cape.

It was a sequel to last week's meeting with Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, and Education officials in Pretoria.

Mr Vlok and Mr Wessels

were given a detailed briefing on the situation in the Western Cape by the Divisional Commissioner of Police and senior officers.

Detailed plans to prevent possible disruption of the election were also discussed.

Mr Vlok gave the assurance that all people wishing to vote could do so without fear. Polling booths were already being guarded and protected, and voters could vote in the knowledge that the police were well prepared for any eventuality.

The statement said it was clear from evidence presented at Mr Vlok's meeting with Mr Williams and others that most of the unrest at schools in the region stemmed di-

rectly from the Mass Democratic Movement's campaign to disrupt the election.

Classes had been disrupted and those wishing to attend schools were being denied education by the activities of a radical minority.

Various options to end the violence had been discussed.

Police are expecting the main thrust of any planned disruptions to be aimed against Coloured and Indian voters, and contingency plans to counter interference among these two groups have been made.

But it was stressed by a police spokesman last night that all developments will be closely watched.

(Report by A J Stirling, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein.)

UN man backs SA sanctions

GENEVA. — Economic sanctions are the best weapon against South Africa's apartheid race laws, a UN official said yesterday.

"Sanctions do work and they are the only peaceful means of bringing apartheid to its knees", Major General Joseph Garba, chairman of the United Nations Special Commission on Apartheid, said.

Gen Garba, a former

Nigerian Foreign Minister, said international pressure to force South Africa to abolish racial segregation was more important than ever in the light of tomorrow's general elections from which Blacks are excluded.

Yesterday he opened two UN-sponsored conferences on apartheid, one dealing with the need to strengthen international awareness through the media and the other on Pretoria's sanction-busting efforts.

Switzerland's Centre on Transnationals (CST) said in a recent statement that 277 foreign-based multinational companies had stopped direct investments in South Africa since 1984 — 40 percent of the total operating in the country.

Over half were US-based companies, it added.

Gen Garba also cast doubts on the prospects of acting South African

President F W de Klerk moving against apartheid.

"Current government propaganda is not in line with the latest action of security forces," he said referring to tough police tactics against election protesters in several South African cities.

"On the surface, De Klerk seems to represent a new and positive force," said Gen Garba.

"But given the long history of oppression by his party, we do not think anything new will come out". — Sapa-AP.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Crucial poll

TOMORROW'S election is a crucial one. The ruling National Party is under attack from the Left and the Right.

The Democratic Party, funded by Big Business, is trying to achieve a hung Parliament. By that it means the NP will not have an overall majority and will have to turn to the DP for support.

Heaven forbid that this should happen.

The DP is the party that wants not only an accommodation with the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement, which is linked to the ANC, but is prepared to hand over the country to Black majority rule, meaning the ANC.

If ever a party should be halted in its tracks it is the DP, which is soft on law and order and is playing footsie footsie with the ANC while that organisation remains committed to its "armed struggle", meaning terrorism.

Mr Wynand Malan talks of the ANC being a necessary participant in any negotiations.

But he never gives credit to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his policy of non-violence, and never talks of other moderate Black leaders who also have a role to play in the peaceful negotiation of a new dispensation.

He excuses the violence of the ANC-SACP and the dangerous confrontations which the MDM is causing by its defiance campaign.

He is, in other words, a political soft soaper of Black radicalism.

Since his party goes along with him — Dr Dennis Worrall praises him as the White politician with the most influence in extra-parliamentary politics — we must accept that the DP backs his being palsy walsy with the ANC and MDM.

Indeed, co-leader Dr Zach de Beer is also on public record as saying that the DP wants the ANC unbanned, without any preconditions like the renunciation of violence; wants the Communist Party of South Africa and other organisations also unbanned; wants all political prisoners freed, in addition to Nelson Mandela, and wants the emergency lifted although the MDM has shown with its defiance campaign that it is prepared to create the same kind of unrest that led to the emergency.

The DP is not only soft on law and order, but is a hands up and hand over party.

Moreover, by standing in constituencies in which it has no hope, but which the CP can win because of its intervention, the DP has engaged in deplorable political tactics.

Voters who favour change and fear the growing strength of the CP, which wants to return South Africa to the dark days of apartheid, will spurn the DP.

To give the CP seats it might not have won were it not for the DP's intervention is the height of irresponsibility.

For every extra seat the CP wins makes it more powerful.

There won't be a hung Parliament — of that we are sure — but there will be a CP that is stronger because of the DP.

Shame on the DP. Shame on its sacrifice of principle for the sake of expediency.

As for the CP, what kind of future will it give South Africa by returning to apartheid, that discredited and racialistic policy that caused South Africa so much harm, at home and abroad?

You may think, if the CP has scared you sufficiently, that there is no future except to re-introduce Wit baasskap, White sovereignty, White rule, White domination and all the restrictions on Blacks that were so damaging to race relations, like the pass laws, influx control and the dozen and one laws that made Blacks second-class people in the land of their birth.

But that will not give the Whites security, that will not ensure White survival. On the contrary, it will spell the doom not only of the Whites but of South Africa itself, bringing about racial conflict of mammoth proportions, bringing down on South Africa more sanctions and disinvestment and total isolation, turning our economic setbacks of recent years into a nightmare of economic deprivation and collapse.

We cannot hand over the country to the ANC, which is what DP policy would do, and we certainly cannot enter the laager and fight our own Black people and the rest of the world, which is what the CP policy would entail.

That is why we ask you to reject both the Left and the Right and give your support to the NP, the only party that has the will and policy to change South Africa without jeopardising the interests of all sections of the community and without sacrificing South Africa to the extremism of the Left and the Right. So vote NP tomorrow.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

TODAY, on the eve of the general election, we urge you to vote for the National Party. We do so in the belief that the NP holds the key to the future, that it is a party of moderation that will neither sacrifice South Africa on the altar of Black radicalism nor return it to the apartheid philosophy that made South Africa the polecat of the world.

The choice is clear.

The hands up and hand over Democratic Party would pave the way for Black majority ANC rule because that is what its federal policy means.

Ah yes, it talks about checks and balances when it knows full well that Black majority rule would come overnight if its federal plan were introduced.

Fortunately, it won't be.

The DP, with all its brave claims that it is going for power, has no support on the platteland and at most could win between 25 and 30 seats.

In 1987, the turbo-charged Progs thought they

would win sufficient seats to woo the so-called New Nats into a coalition.

In fact, the PFP did so poorly that it lost its position as the Official Opposition.

This time the PFP's successor, the DP, talks of a hung Parliament, in which the NP will have no overall majority and will be forced to rely on the DP to get its legislation, suitably watered down, through Parliament.

There will be no hung Parliament. All the DP will do with its deplorable policy is to strengthen the CP and open the way to ANC rule.

Shun it like the plague.

As for the Conservative Party, you know from Carletonville and Boksburg that it is a party of the past, a racist party that seeks to return South Africa to apartheid, Wit baasskap, White domination, when the times in which we live clearly show that there is no way in which Whites can rule on their own and ignore the Black masses, which heavily outnumber them; when Blacks are increasingly politicised and want a better life for themselves and their children as well as a say in the running of the country of their birth: when the world sanctions us, and disinvests from us, and seeks to isolate us totally.

The CP, if it came to power, would be a disaster, causing racial conflict on a scale that would be so terrible one shudders to think of it.

If you don't want South Africa to be Carletonville and Boksburged, you must vote against the extremist CP.

Which brings us to the National Party, a true reformist party under the strong yet pragmatic leadership of the acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr De Klerk has given you a vision of a new South Africa in which there will be no discrimination, in which there will be full political rights for all, in which group rights will be protected, and in which there will be no domination of one group over another.

He is a man of honesty, of integrity, of sincerity, a man who will not let you or any other citizens of South Africa down.

He not only deserves the chance to implement his policies, but also deserves a strong mandate to ensure that he can implement that policy without interference by the soft on law and order Left or the extremist Right.

A vote for the NP is a vote for peaceful change, peaceful progress, and a new South Africa.

Put your faith in Mr De Klerk and the National Party. They need your support.

● See also Page six.

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Tutu, Boesak arrested

POLICE used tear smoke bullets and batons to disrupt anti-election rallies yesterday, arresting Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other Black leaders in Cape Town.

Police pointed an armoured truck at the door of the Central Mission Methodist Church where

people had gathered to hold an anti-election rally which had been banned.

Archbishop Tutu, Anglican of Cape Town, and Dr Allan Boesak, the

president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, were arrested at the church when they refused police orders to leave, according to witnesses.

The protest meeting had been hastily rescheduled at the church after police refused permission

under terms of the state of emergency for the organisers to hold it at Cape Town City Hall.

The city hall was sealed off and so was the neighbouring St George's Cathedral, forcing the cancellation of a concert by a boy's choir. — Sapa-
Reuter.

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NP will win, but lose seats

By Brian Stuart

POLITICAL parties in the House of Assembly are agreed that tomorrow's general election will produce the National Party's 11th consecutive election victory, although its majority could be reduced by 20 to 30 seats.

The National Party forecast is that it will hold 90 to 100 seats in the new House of Assembly, with the Conservative Party holding 35 to 40 seats and the Democratic Party having about 26 to 30 seats.

This would still give the National Party about 55 or 56 percent of the seats in the House of Assembly, compared with its present 72 percent.

In their forecasts, the Conservative Party claims it will win 55 to 60 seats, and the Democratic Party says it will win 35 to 42 seats.

If both are correct, the result will be a "hung" Parliament, leaving the

NP with only 64 to 76 seats, although it would still be the largest single party.

The NP, on the other hand, is convinced it will be returned with a clear majority over the other

two parties combined, for which it needs at least 84 seats.

"The opposition parties are living in a fool's paradise," Mr Con Botha,

Nats will win election

FROM PAGE 1

Chief Information Officer of the National Party, said yesterday to the opposition claims.

"They haven't got a hope in Hades of winning all the seats they have forecast as sure things."

He might have conceded to the remote possibility of a "hung" Parliament a few weeks ago, "but that was before Mr F W de Klerk emerged as a powerful leader and before the DP came out with their crazy idea of protest politics".

In the past few weeks, under Mr De Klerk, the position of the National Party had consolidated rapidly.

"I believe the actions of Mr De Klerk have saved us two dozen seats at the

very least," said Mr Botha.

At the dissolution of Parliament; the states of parties in the House of Assembly was: National Party 123, Conservative Party 22, Democratic Party 20 and New Republic Party one — a total of 166 elected seats.

The sole NRP seat was Mooi River in Natal, which both the NP and the DP claim will be theirs when tomorrow's result is announced in the constituency.

The Conservative Party appears to have the most to gain in today's House of Assembly elections. In addition to the 22 seats the CP won in 1987, the combined CP-HNP vote was greater than the NP vote in six Transvaal seats

and two Free State seats.

This should give it an additional eight seats — bringing its total to 30 — if it has not lost support in the past two years.

In addition to a breakthrough in the Free State, by winning at least two of that province's 14 seats, the CP also stands to win Newcastle in Natal and Kuruman in the Cape.

On the other hand, the NP claims it could win back Barberton, Soutpansberg, Carletonville and Brakpan from the CP, which would be interpreted as a severe setback, even if the party makes gains elsewhere.

There seems no likelihood of the DP taking over from the CP as the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly. Its best hope of victory in the

Transvaal is Edenvale, which the NP won by a slender 168 votes in 1987.

In the Cape, the DP's best chances of victory are seen as Albany and Walmer in the Eastern Cape and Simonstown in the Cape Peninsula. On the other hand, the NP is looking to win Green Point, which the Progressive Federal Party held by 39 votes in 1987.

In Natal, the CP seems almost certain of winning Newcastle from the NP. The DP believes it will win four seats from the NP, but the NP believes it will win Greytown from the DP.

Knife-edge victories are expected in many constituencies throughout the country.

● See Pages 5 and 8.
(News by Brian Stuart, 28 Heigh Street, Durbanville.)

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Buthelezi calls for Marshall Plan for SA

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama. — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed here for all American opinion makers to start planning for a Marshall Plan-type programme for South Africa.

He was speaking at a State dinner at the weekend at which he was the recipient of an honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters from the university which recently conferred the same degree on former ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The Chancellor of the City University, Los Angeles, came here to confer the degree at the dinner which was attended by more than 600 and at which the Mayor, Mr Richard Arrington, proposed the toast to the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president.

Dr Buthelezi accepted the degree "on behalf of the poorest of the poor

among Black South Africans" and because, he said, he knew that those he was struggling to liberate from apartheid would want him to.

He told fellow guests that the time had come for Americans to recognise the need to ensure successful peace efforts in his country.

They needed to make sure that political success in overcoming apartheid was not bought at a totally unacceptable economic price.

This was because South Africa was so important for the whole sub-continent and because the fur-

ther economic expansion of Africa south of the Limpopo depended on it being a gateway for the forces of development.

"It is my appeal to thinking men and women in the United States to start planning for what will amount to a Marshall Aid programme for South Africa," he said.

"After the political victories there will have to be massive backing for what can be done to translate these wins into economic and social victories.

"If half the energy put into thinking about sanctions and devising sanc-

tions programmes could now be poured into the need to plan for when South Africa would be free, we would be a lot better off in the future."

It would then be far easier to move from fighting apartheid into a successful attack on poverty, ignorance and disease.

Referring to the conferring of the degree on Mandela, Dr Buthelezi said: "It reached out across many thousands of miles of ocean to offer a hand of friendship to one of South Africa's martyrs who has been incarcerated for more than a quarter of a century because he fought for justice and equality for man before God and the law."

AS YOU read this, the UN Centre for Transnational Corporations is in the midst of hearing three days' worth of "expert" testimony on SA sanctions, on the basis of which an 11-member panel of "eminent" persons will issue a report at the end of the month.

The venue, as it so often is when the world's harsher realities are to be discussed, is Geneva. Lusaka, say, or Luanda or Maputo, though closer to the subject at hand, might not be so conducive to the sort of sober thinking that will undoubtedly be going on. Such thinking needs good food and hygienic accommodation, not the intrusive evidence of its past results.

Aside from having yet another report by a series of eminentoes whose curricula vitae all begin with the word "former" (as in former US Senator Lowell Weicker, the Connecticut Republican who enabled the Democrats to describe most of their looper proposals as "bipartisan"), it is not at all clear where we will be at the end of the proceeding that we were not at the start.

But then getting somewhere has never been the point of such events, indeed is thoroughly contra-indicated if such events are to continue. As they must. Does anyone seriously believe the world's "formers" and "experts" will ever reach any consensus that might put them out of business and associated expense-paid junkets?

Not that there has ever been much danger of that happening. The logic of the sanctions industry (an industry that, incidentally, includes not a few of its critics, for they too get a share of the action) is such that it is virtually immune.

Lord Peter Bauer, in his excellent book *Equality, the Third World and Economic Delusion*, makes the following observation on foreign aid and the distributing bureaucracies

How to help make *BUSINESS DAY* Sanctions Inc *5 SEPT. 1989* a thriving business

SIMON BARBER in Washington

that owe their livings to it: "Whatever happens in the recipient countries can be adduced to support the maintenance or extension of aid. Progress is evidence of its efficiency and so an argument for its expansion (semi) lack of progress is evidence that the dosage has been insufficient and must be increased."

So it is with sanctions. SA's withdrawal from Angola and Namibia, its improved relations with its neighbours and its apparent willingness to consider negotiation with the ANC, all are signs that sanctions are working, and therefore must be stepped up that they might work faster. At the same time, as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others keep saying, the situation has never been so bad and catastrophe never so imminent. Incontrovertible proof, also, that more pressure needs to be applied.

As if such logic alone were not sufficient to ensure the continued prosperity of the UNCTC and its fellow traders in the sanctions biz, they have taken the additional precaution of turning their activities into a process to which the outcome in SA is all but irrelevant. Put another way, they have carefully delinked their pro-

gramme from whatever it is the programme might be supposed to achieve.

Over the past two months, the UNCTC has put out a variety of reports on various aspects of sanctions "to assist the panel of eminent persons" in producing their report. These documents are based in turn on the work of many of those who will be testifying in Geneva and who will no doubt, to complete the circle, refer back to the documents in support of their own arguments.

Nowhere in these studies is there any analysis of what the sanctions they describe might actually accomplish beyond the strangulation of the SA economy. The merits or otherwise of said strangulation are simply not addressed.

One point that does emerge quite powerfully is that the throttling will be drawn out over many years, regardless of the vigour with which the international community pulls together in imposing the various recommended measures.

To the the innocent observer, this might suggest a certain realism. However, from the standpoint of the industry, slowness is a positive virtue. Just as its Namibia subsidiary is in its death throes as a result of the implementation of UN resolution 435 — a development it is now trying desperately to obstruct — so Apartheid Sanctions Inc stands to be destroyed when its political demands are met.

Hence, the lowered emphasis on demands and the concomitantly sharper focus on things other governments can be prevailed upon to do, like pushing their banks to stiffen the terms for SA's debt repayment in such a way that the maximum pain may be inflicted without forcing default.

The schedule recommended by UNCTC seems to have industrywide acceptance and will be endorsed in Geneva by its apparent author, John Lind of the California-Nevada Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility (Caniccor). Under this arrangement, SA would be required in 1990 to pay back \$1,65bn in principal on loans under the standstill net, plus \$510m in interest, plus \$2,01bn in

principal and interest owed on loans outside the net for a grand total of \$4,170bn. This would rise in 1991 to \$4,9bn, then drop away to \$3,33bn in 1992, \$2,73bn in 1993, and \$2,54bn in 1994. Thereafter, repayments would shrink dramatically until the debt was completely retired in 1999.

UNCTC is convinced SA could meet these terms, even with gold at \$317 an ounce. If this is wishful thinking, the wish is evidently to prolong the agony, not end it.

The industry's view on trade sanctions has become similarly long term. The idea seems to be more to retard SA's development than bully it into change. Like the Commonwealth's Joseph Hanlon (on whose derisory report for the Commonwealth's foreign ministers' committee on southern Africa its findings seem to be based) UNCTC is intrigued by the notion of denying SA access to various kinds of microchips because the uses to which they are put "are widely recognised to be labour-displacing" and denial will therefore "not lead to mass unemployment".

Not so long ago, Sanctions Inc was showing little concern for the employment effects of its recipes. Is reality dawning? Have SA's trades unions got their message across? Perhaps. But then again, perhaps the theory is that, since sanctions are now supposedly working, care should be taken they do not work too well. The medicine must be administered far more scientifically lest the patient be too quickly cured.

Fanciful? Maybe. The question remains, nonetheless, what will happen to these people when the barbarians grow civilised. Whence will come the research grants, the stipends, the junkets, the ability to raise funds, the pulpit from which to speak when apartheid's gone? One senses such questions are starting to gnaw at the industry's consciousness. Its response is unsurprising: long live apartheid.

ANC bomber convicted of high treason

CITIZEN 5/9/89
Court Reporter

THE ANC terrorist who planted limpet mines that exploded at the Johannesburg bus terminus and a Soweto power station last year was found guilty of high treason by the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Diminutive Edward Tsheisi Mokati (22), of Soweto, appeared calm as he shook hands with sobbing relatives before leaving the dock for the cells.

Sentence will be passed later.

Mr Justice Solomon said police evidence was that the ANC intended to overthrow the South African government.

And there was no doubt that the actions Mokati took by planting the limpet mines at the power station in Soweto and the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus last year would interfere with the normal functioning of the institutions of the country.

Mokati, without a doubt, actively associated himself with the ANC.

And, when a person with hostile intent joined an organisation well knowing it had treasonable objectives, the person identified with it and be-

came a co-conspirator. The evidence in the trial clearly indicated Mokati was guilty of high treason.

Mokati — in a confession made earlier on in the trial to a magistrate — admitted to planting limpet mines at both the Soweto power station and the bus terminus.

A trial within a trial had been held to determine the admissibility of the statement he claimed had been made under duress. The court had ruled it was admissible.

The court therefore found Mokati guilty of planting the limpet mines with another conspirator, a "Silver", in a paper bag in a cement refuse bin at the Vanderbijl Square bus terminus on September 21, last year.

Mokati planted the limpet mines in the bin at 3 pm but one mine detonated at 5 pm during the rush peak hour.

The remains of only one mine were recovered although he claimed to have planted two.

In the explosion, 19 people were injured and several buildings, cars and buses were damaged

causing damage in excess of R60 000.

Mokati further admitted in his statement to cutting through the wire fence around the power station in Naledi, Soweto on September 17, last year and planting two small limpet mines and one big one.

The explosion caused damage of more than R35 000 and a subsequent power failure.

Mokati was arrested on September 22, last year at Johannesburg Railway Station with parts of a limpet mine in his possession.

He later directed police to his room in Soweto where they found limpet mines and other ammunition.

In his confession, Mokati said while he was in Standard 9, he and two others illegally crossed the border to Lesotho and gave themselves up as refugees. They were given military training by the ANC in Lusaka.

In January 1987, Mokati and others returned to South Africa via Botswana with instructions

from the ANC to attack the police, members of committees, informers, power stations, police stations, Magistrate's Courts and lines of communication.

All these targets, according to the police, were in accordance with the targets of the ANC.

In a video taken by police after Mokati's arrest, his familiarity in dealing with — and even dismantling and assembling — AK 47 rifles, limpet mines and Makarov and Scorpion pistols was demonstrated.

All weapons which are not legally obtainable in South Africa.

In his confession Mokati further admitted he taught three other people in Soweto after his return to the country, the theory of how to use AK rifles, pistols and limpet mines.

He then met another ANC member and started to work for him.

He told the man his aim was to try to raise some money and then return to Botswana.

Mokati told the court this man operated mainly in Soweto and that he chose the targets where the limpet mines exploded.

Few heed MDM stayaway call

Business as usual as firms report 'normal turnouts'

Staff Reporters

Workers commuting from black areas to central business districts and industrial townships today largely ignored a Mass Democratic Movement call for the start of a two-day protest action against the general election.

Initial assessments by South African Transport Services (Sats) indicated commuter rail traffic was not as seriously affected as first feared.

A Sats spokesman said computer figures were awaited.

Barricades of burnt tyres blocked some Soweto streets and some shops were shut, but significant numbers of commuters travelled in to work and pupils went to school as there appeared to be uncertainty whether the protest, called jointly by the Congress

of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions, was scheduled for tomorrow only.

At two primary schools in Zola, Soweto, pupils arrived in large numbers, and nurses alighted, as usual, from buses and taxis at the Baragwanath bus and taxi terminals.

Rail traffic appeared normal at Naledi and Ikwezi stations.

In Johannesburg, companies with huge work forces said they preferred to wait until later in the day for accurate attendance figures, but Gold Fields of South Africa (GFSA) reported normal turnouts at its mines.

The Star's Pretoria Bureau reported normal attendance at the workplace and schools in black areas.

NORMAL ACTIVITY

The only significant stayaway was staged by Numsa members at the Samcor factory near Silverton. Numsa took a decision earlier to support the MDM's call.

Activity appeared normal in Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Soshanguve, where taxis, buses and trains were running normally with about the usual number of passengers.

It is understood some workers were told by employers yesterday that failure to report for work today would result in the deduction of a day's pay. Others were told they would have to work overtime.

About 80 percent of the Tembisa workforce went to work today. Although bus stops and taxi ranks were less congested than usual, children in school uniforms were seen in their usual numbers.

At the Kempton Park industrial area of Spartan, large numbers of workers alighted from buses for work.

STAR SEPT. 5, 1989

LP can set co-operation price

By PATRICK LAURENCE

An overseas visitor observing the countdown for tomorrow's parliamentary elections could easily conclude that seats in only one of three Houses or chambers are at stake.

The media have concentrated almost exclusively on the poll for the white chamber or House of Assembly.

Its selective focus is understandable; the tricameral Parliament accords pivotal importance to the white chamber. The party which captures the majority of its 166 seats can impose its will on the majority parties in the coloured and Indian chambers in most matters.

But the elections for 80 seats in the coloured House of Representatives and the 40 seats in the Indian House of Delegates are not totally irrelevant. Tomorrow's election itself is proof of that.

Former State President Mr P W Botha wanted to postpone the election to 1992. But, as that required an alteration to the constitution, he needed the consent of all three Houses to do so.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the majority Labour Party (LP) in the coloured House, put a price on his agreement. He wanted Mr Botha to scrap the Group Areas Act. Mr Botha was unwilling or unable to pay the price; he was thus forced to call the election more than two years early.

The blocking power of the subordinate coloured and Indian chambers will still be in place after tomorrow, but it may be more rather than less relevant.

All three major white political parties — the ruling National Party (NP), the Conservative Party (CP) and the Democratic Party (DP) — are committed to fundamental constitutional change.

White Assembly still faces blocking power



The former State President, Mr P W Botha.



Leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The NP and DP offer different formulas for the inclusion of black people in central government. The CP wants to partition South Africa and to establish uniraclal parliaments for each of the major races.

But to alter the constitution, all three parties need the approval of all three Houses, voting separately.

There are about 1 775 750 registered coloured voters. Nearly 180 candidates are standing for the 80 seats in the coloured chamber. They are largely drawn from three parties: the Labour Party, the Democratic Reform Party and the United Democratic Party.

junior partner in Apartheid Inc.

The LP stands for a universal adult suffrage in a non-racial and undivided but federal South Africa. Its broad objective is shared with a wide spectrum of political forces from the parliamentary Democratic Party to the outlawed African National Congress.

If the NP's leader, Mr F W de Klerk, takes over as President after the election, the LP will be in a position to set a price to its co-operation and nudge him closer to the establishment of a non-racial South Africa.

Mr Hendrickse told The Star his party's immediate aim was the abolition of three legislative pillars of apartheid: the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act. The LP was prepared to withhold its assent from vital but non-controversial legislation to achieve this aim.

A total of 158 candidates are appealing to 665 670 registered Indian voters to elect them to the 40 seats at stake in the House of Delegates.

That averages out at nearly four

candidates for each seat, well above the average for both the white (2,6) and coloured (22) chambers.

The architects of the tricameral constitution thus do not have to face the acute embarrassment of being unable to attract occupants for the seats in the Indian chamber, even though the House of Delegates has the reputation in extra-parliamentary circles of being the most contemptible of South Africa's apartheid institutions.

The reason for that lies largely in the personality of controversial Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party (NPP) and

the first Indian to be appointed to the national Cabinet.

He was sacked from the Cabinet last December after a judicial inquiry into allegations of irregularities in the House of Delegates.

Mr Justice James recommended that Mr Rajbansi be excluded from any official post which called for integrity; Mr Rajbansi has since been charged in court with fraud, defamation and making conflicting statements under oath.

Members of the Indian chamber were elected on a low poll of 20 percent in 1984. It fuelled charges from extra-parliamentary opposition organisations that Indian MPs have no roots in the Indian community.

Mr Rajbansi's behaviour sharpened the charges. A related accusation is that the differences between the various Indian parties are marginal and overshadowed by their common opportunism.

One of the issues at stake in the elections for the subordinate houses is whether or not they can improve on the 1984 percentage poll. The coloured poll was 30 percent in 1984.

An increased poll may make them more accountable to the electorate and thus encourage them to fulfil election pledges to fight apartheid vigorously from within the system.

The extra-parliamentary opposition, however, does not think so. It believes they are incorrigibly servile and self-seeking.