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JOIN NP ON'
PATH AHEAD

â\200\224FW's CALL

1 AN appeal to the elec-
torate to support the
National Party and be-
come involved in â\200\234a
great effort to break

~ out of the cycle of con-

flict, despondency, is0-
lation and hardship

which the countryâ\200\231s
enemies have thrust
upon herâ\200\235 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 radical-
ism. :

If it turned right, it
would place South Africa

in a mire of growing con-
flict, isolation, im-
poverishment and power-
struggles.

This would drive the si-
lent majority into the
arms of the radicals.

Unable to turn left or
right, the countryâ\200\231s road
lay ahead with the NP,
Mr De Klerk said at an
NP meeting in the Johan-
nesburg City Hall.

â\200\234The truth is that the
National Party has taken

a unique complete and
all-embracing policy di-
rection, on the way to a
new and just dispensa-
tion, away from the ra-
cism of the CP and the ca-
pitulation of the DP.
â\200\234Our generationâ\200\231s
greatest test has come.
The challenge before
which we stand is to unite
the forces of peace,

TO PAGE 2

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| .
Qâ\200\230A youth raises his hand in defiance after igniting
Monday in the South African

over new protests in S. Africa

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!" M\â\200\224"v
4 ion 1 Chicago Tribune, Tuesday, September 5, 1989
SIS S S R T RS :

Nation/world

L T R T
e â\200\224

a barricade of tires

Reuters photo |

township of Athlone during a protest against
Wednesday's elections.

Liberals fear backlash at polls

By Tom Masland
Chicago Tribune \

JOHANNESBURG, South Afri-
caâ\200\224Renewed protest against
apartheid and the exclusion of
blacks from Wednesdayâ\200\231s parlia-
mentary election could spell
trouble for liberals at the polls.

The violence continued Monday
as police in Durban used shpt-
guns, tear gas and water cannon o
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, ac-
cording to witnesses. 2

The government has detained
without charge at least 226 people
since the Aug. 2 start of the civil-
disobedience campaign and has ar-
rested nearly 1,600 others, the in-
dependent Human Rights: Com-
mission reported Mondav.

Clear evidence that the â\200\234defiance
campaignâ\200\235 -has - the- liberal Demo--
cratic. 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 governin National Party the weapon that for 41 years has proven most effective in fighting off ritic the voteless black majority. . Specifically, the Democratic Party faces accusations of being .soft on the African National Congress, which runs a low-level guerilla war against the state in an effort to bring the government to the bargaining table. The Democratic Party also would legalize the groups that have sponsored the protests. The groups have allâ\200\235declared themselves â\200\234unbanuedâ\200\235 as

off liberal critics: fear of

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 liberalsâ\200\231 dilemma doesnâ\200\231t 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 Wednesdayâ\200\231s 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 governmentâ\200\231s 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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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.

- i TS TR

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

Police halt mafâ\200\230xÃ©/h

on city hall

carrying demonstrators, were Mr Cyril Ramasphosa, 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 â\200\224 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 Presi-
dent Street. No arrests
were witnessed.

De Klerk's call to voters

FROM PAGE 1

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,

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,

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

â\200\234Discrimination must be eliminated. That is fair. There is no other alternative.

â\200\234The NP also offers a safeguard against domination. Domination in

whatever form s unfair.

â\200\234With consensus as the basis for joint decision, coupled with other constitutional checks and balances will be eliminated.â\204ç

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 â\200\224 â\200\234in a word, group secur-

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

â\200\234We will close the gap of distrust, suspicion and fear among South Africans.

â\200\234We will work towards a Great Indaba. Dialogue and negotiation are the key to the future â\200\224 a key we are going to turn.

â\200\234We are going to open the door to prosperity and economic growth through discipline and a sensible economic plan for the future.

â\200\234We 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 â\200\234'silent majorityâ\200\235 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

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opportunity to move forward in a planned manner; and,

@Â® That because it would win the election. the NP would necessarily have to take the leadership role in evolving a new South Africa â\200\224a responsibility which it accepted.

Mr De Klerk described the NP as a revitalised party, which had gone

analysis and introspection with the Upington speech of the former State President. Mr P W Botha. with the theme â\200\234adapt or dieâ\204ç.

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 to Africa apart -- he had already

started with this process.

He had met representatives of all the self-gov-

erning 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 accomodation for groups.

Faimess 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.

Brion Swart. and AJ
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Donâ\200\231t be intimidated
by MDM campalgn,%
Vlok urges

THE Mmlster 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 päsent

situation of unrest â\200\234is
very explosiveâ\200\235 and
called on South Africans
to remain calm and not to
provoke each other to the
point where it could lead
to bloodshed.

Mr Viok also hit back
at aclusations that he had
unnecessarily â\200\234cried
| wolfâ\200\235 when the MDM be-
' gan with its defiance cam-
paign.

He went on to describe
the various defiance acts
that the MDM had initiat-
ed and that he was justi-
' fied in reacting to certain

instances with a strong
police presence.

â\200\234I didnâ\200\231t trouble myself

with these accusations,

* because I knew that the

results of the MDMâ\200\231s so

called peaceful process

would eventually become
the most important evi-
dence to substantiate
what I have said.â\200\235

Mr Viok said the MDM

for latge scale mobilisa-

The MDM wanted to
have strong owma
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 to-MOTTOW.

He said that most of the threats have been carried

â\200\234I W.ï-\202t to give voters the assurance that they

can vote on election day without fear and exercise their democratic right.â\200\235 Mr Viok added that all be guarded by the police

and that they would be readywhandlcam

that mi _hwn.

Student dies after stoning

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 A Stellenbosch student who was seriously injured when his car was stoned, died of his injuries in

Hospital on Sunday, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Mr Wouter Theronâ\200\231s car was stoned while he was travelling between Kuils River and Brackenfell on Thursday night.

Police were investigating a charge of murder, â\200\224 Sapa.

Tuesday 2305 September 1989

THE CITIZEN 204

Vlok gives vote
without fear
7-assurance

By Tony Stirling
THE Minister of Law
and Order, Mr
Adriaan Vlok, has
given the public the as-
surance that they will
be able to vote tomor-
row without fear.

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

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 ex-
pected.

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

force children into paruci-
pating in mass public
uprisings and civil disobe-
dience.

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

In Cape Town yester-
day Mr Vlok and his dep-
uty, Mr Leon Wessels,
met the Deputy Minister
of Education and Cul-

ture, 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 Viok and Mr Wes-

sels 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 Viok 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 develop-
ments will be closely
watched. .

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UN man backs
SA sanctions

GENEVA. â\200\224 Econ-
omic sanctions are the
best weapon against
South Africaâ\200\231s apart-
heid race laws, a UN
ofi¬\201ci:i_l said yesterday.

â\200\234Sanctions do work
and they are the only
peaceful means of bring-
ing apartheid to its
kneesâ\200\235, Major General
Joseph Garba, chairman
of the United Nations
Special Commission on
Apartheid, said.

Gen Garba, a former

ter,

Nigerian Foreign Minis-
said international
pressure to force South
Africa to abolish racial
segregation was more im-
portant than ever in the
light of tomorrowâ\200\231s gener-
al elections from which
Blacks are excluded.
Yesterday he opened
two UN-sponsored con-
ferences on apartheid,
one dealing with the need
to strengthen internat-
ional awareness through
the media and the other
on Pretoriaâ\200\231s sanction-
busting efforts,
Switzerlandâ\200\231s Centre
on Transnationals (CsT)
said in a recent Statement

that 277 foreign-based |

multinational companies
had stopped direct invest-
ments in South Africa
since 1984 â\200\224 49 percent
of the total operating in
the country.

Over half were US-
based Companies, jt
added.

Gen Garba also cast
doubts on the prospects

of acting South African

> %aPTM eer 1989

President F W de Klerk
moving against apartheid.
â\200\234Current government
Propaganda is not in line
with the latest action of
security forces,â\200\235 he said
referring to tough police
tactics against election
protesters in several
South African cities.

â\200\234On the surface, De
Klerk seems to represent
anew and positive force,â\200\235
said Gen Garba.

â\200\234But given the long his-
tory of oppression by his
party, we do not think
anything new wil] come
outâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

- THE CITIZEN
COMMENT
'Crucial poll

TOMORROW?â\200\231S 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 â\200\234armed struggleâ\200\235, 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 sooper of Since his party goes along with him â\200\224 Dr Denis Worrall praises him as the White politician with the most influence in extra-parliamentary politics â\200\224 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 "pulliicreuaâ\200\230:iâ\200\231dassayingthattheDPwamsthe 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 emergen-

cy.

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 of 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 reintroduce 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

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.

AT e e S S Rt s o

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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5 Seprrema=R 1989

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. E

pogr- N

If you don't want South Africa to be Carletonville and Boksburged, you must vote

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. s

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. A policy which will ensure that he can implement that. A

and order Left or the extremist Right.

A vote for the NP is a vote for peaceful change
pacefnlpmgms.andanchonthAhm.
PutyonrhithinMrDechrkandtheNatâ\200\224
ional Party. They need your support.

@ See also Page six.

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S g&PTEMBÃ©& 1989

N; ;eople had gathered to

| hold an anti-election rally
which had been banned.
Archbishop Tutu, Ang-
lican 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 wit-
nesses. .
The protest meeting
had been hastily resched-
uled at the church after
police refused permission

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

The dity hall was sealed
off and so was the neich-
bouring St Georges Ca-
thedral, forcing the can-
cellation of a concert by a
boyâ\200\231s choir. â\200\224 Sapa-
Reuter.

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5 Ce piemasn /929

By Brian Stuart
'POLITICAL parties in
the House of Assembly
are agreed that tomor-
row s general election

produce the Nat-
mnal Partyâ\200\231s 11th con-
secutive election victo-
ly, although its majori-

â\200\230NIVâ\200\231\anhonlyMto%'

ty 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

This would still give the

National Party about 55
or 56 percent of the seats
in the House of As-
sembly, 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 â\200\234hungâ\200\235
Parliament, leaving the

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

t\vopamacombnned for '
which it needs at least84'
SeSls.

â\200\234The opposition parties

t-are living in a foolâ\200\231s par-

adise,â\200\235 Mr Con Botha,

NP will win, hu&

lose SBGâ\200\230S

Nats will win election

FROM PAGE 1

Chief Information Officer
of the National Party,
said yesterday to the op-
position claims.

â\200\234They havenâ\200\231t got a
hope in Hades of winning
all the seats they have
forecast as sure things.â\204ç

He might have con-
ceded to the remote
possibility of a â\200\234hungâ\204ç
Parliament a few weeks
ago, â\200\234but 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 politicsâ\204ç.

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

â\200\234I believe the actions of
Mr De Klerk have saved

~us two dozen seats at the

very least,â\200\235
tha.

said Mr Bo-

At the dissolution of
Parliament; the states of
parties in the House of
Assembly was: National
Party 123, Conservative
Party 22, Democratic Par-
ty 20 and New Republic
Party one â\200\224 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 tomorrowâ\200\231s
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 break-
through 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, Sout-
pansberg, Carletonville
and Brakpan from the
CP, which would be inter-
preted as a severe set-
back, even if the party
makes gains elsewhere.
There seems no likeli-
hood of the DP taking
over from the CP as the

The C/TZ&N

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Transvaal's 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

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BIRMINGHAM, Ala-
bama. â\200\224 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 week-
end at which he was the,
recipient of an honorary
Doctorate in Humane
Letters from the universi-
ty which recently con-
ferred the same degree on
former ANC leader Nel-
son Mandela.

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

Dr Buthelezi accepted
the degree â\200\234on behalf of
the poorest of the poor

Plan for SA

among Black South Afri-
cansâ\200\235 and because, he
said, he knew that those
he was struggling to liber-
ate from apartheid would
want him to. â\200\230

He told fellow guests
that the time had come
for Americans to recogni-
se the need to ensure suc-
cessful peace efforts in his
country. :

They needed to make
sure that political success
in overcoming apartheid
was not bought at a total-
ly 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.

â\200\234It 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,â\200\235 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.

â\200\234If half the energy put into thinking about sanctions and devising sanc-

O@uthelezi calls for Marshall

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.â\200\235 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: â\200\234It reached out across many thousands of miles of ocean to offer a hand of friendship to one of South Africaâ\200\235s 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.â\200\235

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e,
S YOU read. this, the UN @!

= prmcxpal and mterest owed on loans 1

Centre for. Transnational zj

Corporations is in the

A midst of hearing | three:
daysâ\200\231 worth of â\200\234expertâ\200\235 testimo-"
' ny on SA sanctions, on the basis,
of which an 11-member panel of .

â\200\234eminentâ\200\235 persons will issue a: |
regort at the end of the month." | |

he venue, as it so often is when
the worldâ\200\231s harsher realities are to.
be discussed, is Geneva. Lusaka, say,r

uanda or Maputo, though closer . |-
to the subject at and might not be |
so conducive to the sort of sober
thinking that will undoubtedly be go- *

ing on. Such thinking needs good food
and hygienic accommodation, not

the intrusive evidence of its | past 4

results. -

Aside from having yet another re-
port by a series of eminentoes whose
curricula vitae all begin with the
word â\200\234formerâ\200\235 (as in former US Sen-

ator Lowell Weicker, the Connecti- |

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glg make
ions Inc
business

SIMON BARBER in Washington

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 think-
ing, the wish is evidently to prolong
the agony, not end it.

The industry's view on trade sanc-
tions has become similarly long

A

term. The idea seems to be more to _::

retard SA's development than bully
it into change. Like the Common-
wealth's Joseph Hanlon (on whose
derisory report for the Common-

wealth's foreign ministers' commit-

tee on southern Africa its findings
seem to be based) UNCTC is intri-
gued by the notion of denying SA
access to various kinds of microchips
because the uses to which they are.

cut Republican who enabled the that owe [the]r livings to it: What- gramine from w

whatever it is the To the the innocent observer, this ~ put â\200\234are widely recognised to be la-

Democrats to describe most of their .| ever happend in the recipient coun- programme might be supposed to might suggest a certain realism. bour-displacingâ\200\235 and denial will | loopier proposals as â\200\234bipartisanâ\200\235), it }. trâ\200\230zs can lbe adduced to support the achieve. However, from the standpoint of the ~ therefore â\200\234not lead to mass i~ isnot at all clear where we willbe at | | maintena ce or extension of aid.â\200\231 Over th e past two months, the industry, slowness is a positive vir- unemploymentâ\200\235. â\200\234

the end of the proceeding that we were not at the start. -, i r, ,

B ut then getting somewhere has never been the point of such events, indeed is thoroughly contra-indicat- ed if such events are to continue. As they must. Does anyone serlously be- lieve the worldâ\200\231s â\200\234formersâ\200\235 and â\200\234ex-

pertsâ\200\235 will ever reach any consensus

that might put them out of business and associated expense- pald 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 virtual- ly immune.

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

| | Priogress is eyidence of its efficiency

angd so an ment for its expansion i progress is eyidence e has been insufficient increased.â\200\235 h sanctions. SAâ\200\231s with- l{Angola and Namibia,] telations with its neigh- its apparent willingness to negqtiation with the ANC, |that sanctions are work-

, as Archbishop Des-
and others keep saying,

| has never been SO bad

re pressure needs to be applied.

! L As if sych [logic alone were not

1

ufhcient to lensure the contmued

the sanctions biz, they
ha e take! additional precautlon
of turning their activities into a pro-

to which the outcome in SA is all
butfirrelevant {Put another way, they
i have .car ull delinked their pro-

UNCTC has put out a variety.of re-
ports on various aspects of sanctions
â\200\234to assist the panel of eminent per-
sonsâ\200\235 in producing their report.
These! documents are based in turn
on the work of many of those who
will b% testifying in Geneva and who
will nÃ© doubt, to complete the circle,
refer back to the documents in sup-
port of their own arguments.

Nowhere in these studies is there
any analysis of what the sanctions
they describe might actually accom-

plish beyond the strangulation of the .

SA economy. The merits or other-
wise 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.

tue. Just as its Namibia subsidiary is in its death throes as a result of the implementation of UN resolution 435 â\200\224 a development it is now trying desperately to obstruct â\200\224 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 SAâ\200\231s debt repayment in such a way that the maximum pain may beâ\200\231 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

Not so long ago, Sanctions Inc was

showing little concern for the employment effects of its recipes. Is |

employment effects of its recipes. Is |

reality dawning? Have SAâ\200\231s 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

jsaNy

et

grow civilised. Whence will come the ...

research grants, the stipends, the

junkets, the ability to raise funds, the ..

pulpit from which to speak when
apartheidâ\200\231s gone? One senses such'
questions are starting to gnaw at the "~
industryâ\200\231s consciousness. Its re-
sponse is unsurprising: long live "'", "
apartheid.

Â¢ 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

Mokati took by planting the limpet mines at the

power station in Soweto

â\200\230and 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-

ANC bom

doubt that the actions.

ber convicted of

Â® ["f[oEN 5â\200\224, 5â\200\231? drom the ANC to attack

lg tre aSO the police, members of
lcommittees, informers.

/ . .

j . / power stations, police sta-
causing damage in eXCeSS > iqns, Magistrateâ\200\231s Courts
of R60 000. \/

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

Mokati â\200\224 in a confes-
sion made earlier on in
the trial to a magistrate â\200\224
admitted to planting lim-
pet mines at both the So-
weto power station and
the bus terminus.

A trial within a trial
had been held to deter-

- mine the admissibility of

the statement he claimed
had been made under du-
ress. The court had ruled
it was admissible.

The court therefore
found Mokati guilty of
planting the limpet mines
with another conspirator,
a â\200\234Silverâ\200\235, in a paper bag
in a cement refuse bin at
the Vanderbijl Square

_bus terminus on Septem-

ber 21, last year. -

Mokati planted the lim-
pet mines in the bin at
3 pm but one mine deton-
ated at 5 pm during the
rusk 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

~ Mokati further ad-
mitted 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 givenr military training by the ANC in Lusaka.

In January 1987, Moka- - were _

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 a 200\224 and even dismantling and assembling a 200\224 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
that this man operated mainly
in Soweto and that he

ti. and others returned to - chose the targets where

South Africa.. via Bo-
tswana with instructions

.the . limpet . mines . exploded.)

I TR S S

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Workers commuting from black

f areas to central business districts

. and industrial townships 'today "
. largely ignored a Mass Democratic

l â\200\230Movement call for the start of a | .
i {two-day protest action agamst the

generaf election. - â\200\231

Â@ % Initial assessments by South Afrlcan
;Transport Services (Sats) indicated
â\200\230commuter, rail traffic was not as
serxously[affected as first feared. - | .

' - A Sats spokesman said computer flg-
: ures were awaited.

Barricades of burnt tyres â\200\230blocked
' some Soweto streets and some shops
iwere â\200\230shuf, but sxgmï¬\201cant numbers of *
â\200\230commuters travelled in to work and

peared to be uncertainty whether the

| protest, called jointly by the Congress " â\200\234*

bl Xobh, : ..and school:

' pupils â\200\230went â\200\230"to â\200\234school as there ap- = ~ i

National Council of
i-scheduled for tomorr Â\$ Praiaalsy
At two' nmary â\200\234schools in Zola
Soweto â\200\230pup Is arrived in large num-
â\200\234'bers, and rses 'alighted, as usual,
from buses nd taxis at'the Baragwan-
ath bus and taxi terminals. i< !
â\200\234Rail traffic appeared normal at Na-
â\200\231ledl and Tkwezi station: : :
Â«In :Johannesburg, pa
huge work qorca said they preferred
i to wait until late c in'the day for accu-
rate attend figures, â\200\234 but Â© Gold
Fle]dS of South Africa (GFSA) reported
,normal turnguts at its mines.
The Starâ\200\231s Pretorla Bureau reported
normal attendance at the workplace
black areas. :

No
The â\200\230only Â\$
staged by Numsa members at the Sam-
cor factory near Silverton. Numsa took
â\200\230a decision _earher to support the
"MDM's call. |

+ Activity appeared normal in Atterid-
gevnlle Mamelodi and Soshanguve,
where taxis, buses and trains were run-
ning â\200\234normally â\200\234with . about the usual

.. It is understood some workers were
told by employers yesterday that fail-
ure to report for work today would re-
-sult in the deduction of a dayâ\200\231s pay.
Others were told they would have to
work overtime. 3
/About 80p rcent of the Tembisa
,wOrkforce went to work today. Al-
though 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 fromj buses for work.

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By PATRICK LAURENCE

An overseas visitor observing the
countdown for tomorrow's parlia-
mentary elections could easily con-

- clude that seats in only one of three
Houses or chambers are at stake.

\ The media have concentrated al-
most exclusively on the poll for the
white chamber or House of Assem-
bl

Its selective focus is understand-
able; the tricameral Parliament ac-
cords pivotal importance to the
white chamber. The party which
captures the majority of its 166
seats can impose its will on the ma-
jority parties in the coloured and
Indian chambers in most matters.

But the elections for 80 seats in
the coloured House of Representa-
tives and the 40 seats in the Indian
House of Delegates are not totally
irrelevant. Tomorrow's election it-
self is proof of that.

Former State President Mr PW
Botha wanted to postpone the elec-
tion 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 un-
able to pay the price; he was thus
forced to call the election more
than two years early.

The blocking power of the subor-
dinate coloured and Indian cham-
bers will still be in place after to-
morrow, but it may be more rather
than less relevant. :

All three major white political
parties - the ruling National Part
NP), the Conservative Party (the

and the Democratic Party (DF) =
are committed (to find a

6 & t al. -
stitutional Change:

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The former State President, Mr
P W Botha. - '

measures for the inclusion of black peo-

wants to partition South Africa and
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 1775 750 regis-
tered coloured voters. Nearly 180 .
candidates are standing for the 80
seats in the coloured chamber. They
are largely drawn from three par-
ties: the Labour Party, the Demo-
cratic Reform
Democratic Party.

Leader of the Labour Party, Mr

The NP and DP offer different for-
mules in central government. The CP

to establish uniracial parliaments

the 1994
19

Party and the United

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White Assembly still
faces blocking power

Rev Allan Hendrickse.

These opposition parties were formed by Labour Party malcontents who quarrelled with Mr Hendrickse.

There are no prizes for predicting the winner. It will be the Labour Party. The only question is whether

or not it will improve on its 1984 - performance when it won 76 of the

. 80 seats. i |
Mr Hendrickse is helped by his

87 decision to protest publicly against racial segregation by diving

in â\200\234God's own seaâ\200\235 from a beach set - aside for whites only.

e was Minister without Portfolio in Mr Botha's Cabinet at the time. His protest cost him his easy

ost but may have saved him politically. It helped counter the accusation that he had become a servile

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 FW 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 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 (2?) chambers.

The architects of the tricameral constitution this 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 apart-

ment institutions.

The reason for that lies largely in the personality of controversial Amg@hi-\202nefalbgnsi, leader of the MNational Bopleâ\200\231s Party (NPP) and

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Mr Justice Janies 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 6f20 percent in 1984. It fuelled charges from extra-parliamentary opposition: organisations that Indian MPs have â\204¢ roots in the Indian community.

Mr Rajhansi'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 elec-
torate and thus encourage them to

fulfil election pledges & fight apart-
heid vigorously from within the sys-
tem. : &200\230

. The extra-parliamentary opposi-
tion, however, does not think so. It
believes they are incorrigibly ser-
vile and self-seeking.