

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

20/7/89

### The campaign

WITH nominations in on Monday, the election campaign will begin in earnest.

So far the Democratic Party has made all the running. Its three co-leaders have been firing off election speeches and statements for weeks.

Their arguments are predictable.

The government is to blame for the state of the economy, for inflation, for the country's isolation, for corruption . . .

It has no policy, the new leader, Mr FW de Klerk, is a captive of the NP's past . . . he will not deliver the goods . . . he has no goods to deliver.

The DP has wonderful/exciting/innovative candidates . . . it is not going to make any deals with the CP or the NP . . . its candidates are standing wherever local DP organisations want them to stand.

The DP has the answers . . . the policy . . . the charisma . . . it's new and different and it is attracting Afrikaner Yuppies as well as English-speakers disenchanted with the NP.

It is not soft on security . . . why, it has ex-military men and an ex-military lady to demonstrate it isn't . . . and anyway, after the State President's meeting with Nelson Mandela, the NP can't point a finger at the DP for having talks with the ANC.

One has a feeling that the DP has been firing off its election ammunition too soon.

On the other hand, by having the field virtually to itself, the DP has been able to establish itself, with the NP doing hardly anything to point out the DP's inadequacies and the dangers of its policies.

The DP has sent two of its co-leaders on missions outside our borders — Dr Dennis Worrall to Europe and Mr Wynand Malan to Lusaka for talks with the ANC and to Angola.

They have, it seems, been emissaries who are telling all and sundry that the DP expects a "hung" Parliament and if the NP is returned to power, it will have to rely on the DP for support.

The DP will then be able to moderate the NP's policies and force it into directions it would not have taken had it not been for the DP.

The fact that the DP itself has no chance whatsoever of becoming the government shows its claims to political clout are false.

Dr Worrall, it is true, is matey with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, and he does have the ear of Whitehall, but his political predictions and promises to them will not be fulfilled.

As for Mr Malan, his footsie footsieing with the ANC will cost the DP dearly, since we are quite sure the electorate will understand the difference between talks between the State President and Nelson Mandela, who has been in jail for 25 years and plays no part in the ANC's terrorist campaign, and talks between Mr Malan and the terror masters in Lusaka.

The Conservative Party, like the NP, has also been somewhat low-key, though predictably it accuses the government of being soft on the ANC, threatening the survival of Whites, kowtowing to overseas governments, being guilty of corruption, and making life difficult economically for the man in the street.

The visit overseas of CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was almost a non-event, since nobody knows whom he saw.

Which brings us to the NP, which has decided to hold back until after Saturday's Cape National Party congress.

We can understand its wish not to peak too soon; however, it has let its case go by default in the run up to the election campaign proper.

From Monday, however, the NP campaign will be in full swing and its massive party organisation will move into top gear.

The comparative lull of the past few weeks is a deceptive forerunner of what is to come.

We expect the campaign to be tough, hard and ruthless.

Since there is more political fluidity than there has been in years, what happens between Monday and September 6 will determine the outcome.

For its own sake, the NP had better climb in, boots and all.



## COMMENT

## Fight or talk?

**P**EACE agreements come, as Henry Kissinger was wont to say, when both parties to any conflict perceive in peace a greater advantage than in continued warfare. The moment is critical: leave it too long, and the balance is bound to shift one way or another, persuading one or other party that advantage lies in war rather than in peace.

Whether such a critical moment has arrived in the relationship between the South African government and the African National Congress is a matter for debate. Clearly, both sides are under the kind of pressure that makes peace desirable. In the case of the government, international sanctions and domestic disorder have combined to frustrate all national policies and to set the nation on a course of decline and decay; in the case of the ANC, the shift in Soviet policies has raised the prospect that the flow of arms and money which has sustained the "armed struggle" may come to an end. Both sides need to contemplate the possibility, however frail, that this is the moment to negotiate from strength.

South Africans can follow, from day to day, the shifts in the position taken by their own government; to follow the policies of the ANC is much more difficult. That is why we publish, on this page, the text of the ANC's latest discussion paper on the question of negotiations. Bits and pieces of this paper have appeared in print in South Africa, and have been discussed and interpreted, but

sensible analysis requires the full text.

Some allowance must be made for the ANC's political posture, and for its ideological stance, but in general the discussion paper confirms previous reports, many of them insistent, that the ANC fears it may lose the initiative in its relationship with the government. Previously, the ANC took the hardline position that it was prepared only to discuss the "modalities" of the transfer of power to itself; now (as Paragraph 11 says), the question has arisen "whether there is a need" to have another look at the hardline position.

The discussion paper puts the ANC's problem succinctly: "The issue facing us is how to keep the initiative in our hands on this strategic matter of negotiations ... Clearly, as a revolutionary movement, we cannot afford to fall behind the regime ..."

Of course, the ANC still pretends that its armed struggle is a crucial element in bringing the government to negotiation; in fact, if the liberation of South Africa were to depend on "armed struggle", it would be a generation or more away. The country and the region would be reduced to a wilderness before armed struggle, of itself, might be expected to cause a transfer of power. Yet the cost of refusing to negotiate is very high for both sides, and the possibilities that have emerged deserve careful study and public debate.

## A new realism

**A**DRIAAN VLOK's acknowledgement that government cannot isolate itself from the international community is a far cry from the defiant "do your damndest" of just a few years back.

Speaking to a platteland audience at Secunda, the Law and Order Minister conceded that sanctions were hurting the economy, and admitted that government was hamstrung because the economy was not growing as it should.

"We do not live alone in this world," he said.

Vlok has articulated what constitutes an apparent switch in government policy. Where the approach was to batten down the hatches and try to weather the storm, the impact of the R27bn capital flight over

the past five years has led to a new realism in government thinking.

The keenness of NP leader F W de Klerk and other senior Ministers to meet Western and southern African leaders, and President P W Botha's celebrated meeting with Nelson Mandela are of course signs of this new realism.

When Ministers such as Vlok, charged not with winning overseas friends, but maintaining unpopular measures back home such as the state of emergency, detention without trial and policing apartheid laws, adopt the same position, it is clear that government has embarked on a new course — a course which takes into account that political actions can sometimes have harsh economic consequences.



**1.** ONCE MORE the question of a negotiated settlement of the SA question is being raised with growing insistence. It is therefore necessary that the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole should discuss this issue in order to arrive at a common view.

**2.** VARIOUS factors in world politics have brought this matter to the fore. Internationally, there is a tendency towards detente and relaxation of tensions. This process is accompanied by serious efforts to resolve outstanding problems through negotiations.

**3.** IN ADDITION to the issues of nuclear disarmament and the reduction of conventional forces that are subjects of negotiation by the Nato and Warsaw Pact countries, efforts are also being made to address the matter of regional conflicts. This process has, in varying degrees, affected such areas as Central America, Western Sahara, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Sudan, Ethiopia and South Western Africa.

**4.** THE Pretoria regime has participated in the negotiations concerning South Western Africa and is party to the execution of the agreements arrived at, which involve the withdrawal of the SA army of occupation and the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola as well as the implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia. The fact of these agreements is wrongly viewed by many sectors in world politics as proof that the SA regime is committed to the resolution of conflict by negotiation.

**5.** THESE sectors also view the change of leadership in the National Party, with FW de Klerk replacing PW Botha, as signalling the possibility of a change of policy as a result of which the Pretoria regime would enter into negotiations to end the apartheid system. Furthermore, to encourage this view.

# ANC discussion BUSINESS DAY 20 JULY 1989 paper on the issue of negotiations

**The ANC, worried that it may be caught off guard by a sudden move to negotiate in SA, has decided to prepare for negotiations. Business Day publishes the text of the ANC discussion paper as a contribution to the developing debate**

leading spokespersons of this regime have been making various statements suggesting that they are ready to enter into negotiations to end the system of white domination.

**6.** THERE is also recognition of the fact that the apartheid system is immersed in a deepening political and economic crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The assumption is therefore made that these objective conditions themselves oblige the Pretoria regime to seek a way out through negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people of SA.

**7.** IT IS in the light of this overall international, regional and national situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated reso-

lution of the SA question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now. The new US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, has stated publicly that during his tenure of office he will pay attention to this question. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is engaged in a series of discussions with apartheid Cabinet ministers with the same objective in mind. Even the Chairman

of the Frontline states, President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now, which could possibly include a reconstituted Eminent Persons' Group which would work with the Frontline states. The European Community countries have publicly rejected calls by the Frontline states to impose new sanctions against apartheid SA, arguing that FW de Klerk should be given a chance.

**8.** THE reality we face, therefore, is that all manner of forces, both within our country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations. These initiatives will, among other things, seek to set parameters for such negotiations, including such questions as the aim of the negotiations and who should sit around the negotiating table. For example, Mrs Thatcher has already said that the principle of one person one vote should be applied in such a manner as recognises the existence of "groups". She has gone on to say the Pretoria regime would have to negotiate with the leaders of all

groups. In this context, she has specifically mentioned such people as Gatsha Buthelezi. It is clear that the British government will seek to propagate these views throughout the world and seek their acceptance by the largest possible number of

countries, to the exclusion of views that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country.

**9.** IT HAS, however, always been our view that the resolution of the SA question is, first and foremost, the responsibility of the people of SA, supported by the international community. In this regard it is therefore clear that it should be the people of SA who set the parameters for any process of negotiations affecting our country.

**10.** ALREADY in October 1987, the National Executive Committee of the ANC put out a statement on the issue of negotiations. Among other things, that statement spelt out what the apartheid regime would have to do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, including the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the with-

drawal of troops from the townships and ending the state of emergency. It stated that the aim of negotiations should be to transform SA into a united, democratic and non-racial country. It addressed other questions, such as the termination of the armed conflict and the duration of the negotiations.

**11.** THE question that has now arisen is whether there is a need to have a look at this statement with a view to its expansion by the incorporation of other elements.

**12.** THIS is particularly important in the light of what we have stated above, that various forces internationally are working on detailed plans concerning the issue of a negotiated settlement of the SA question. It should also be expected that the Pretoria regime itself is

involved in discussion further to elaborate its negotiating plan, which has always pursued the objective of co-opting the oppressed so that they act as partners in the perpetuation of the system of white minority domination.

**13.** AMONG others, the regime has already addressed the question of the preconditions for negotiations by insisting that the ANC must, first of all, renounce the armed struggle and prove over a period of time that it has indeed abandoned this form of struggle. It has stated that the aim of the negotiations should be to produce an arrangement whereby, according to the language of the regime, no group dominates the other. It has passed legislation enabling it to create its negotiating mechanism, which it calls a National Council. This scheme visualises that the apartheid State President would preside over this process as a "neutral" person and that any agreement arrived at by this council would have to be endorsed by the apartheid tri-cameral Parliament. The regime is looking at these and other elements of its "negotiating" strategy to take the initiative into its hands by ensuring that it sets the agenda for negotiations.



**14.** AS A revolutionary movement, it is however our task and responsibility that we should, at all times, keep the initiative in our hands, particularly with regard to strategic questions. The issue facing us is how to keep the initiative in our hands on this strategic matter of negotiations. What positions should we elaborate to ensure that it is our opponent who is forced to respond to us and not the other way around? Clearly, as a revolutionary move-

ment, we cannot afford to tail behind the regime and allow ourselves to fall into a defensive posture, with the regime maintaining the offensive.

**15.** PART of the answer to this question must be that we ourselves should elaborate our positions on various questions concerning negotiations and set the agenda on this issue so that we give no opportunity to the apartheid regime and its international allies to impose on us and the people a process that would be designed to safeguard the interests of the racist minority.

**16.** IN THIS context we would therefore have to address such issues as the aim of any negotiations, the preconditions for genuine negotiations, the nature of the mechanisms for negotiations, and therefore the question who would sit at the negotiating table, the cessation of hostilities by both sides, the possibility of the formation of a transitional government, the duration of the negotiations and the role of the international community in any negotiated resolution of the SA question.

**17.** DISCUSSION of the whole question of negotiations in no way affects, and should not affect, the overall strategic operation of our movement and the tasks that arise from that orientation. Our strategic task is the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people. This we seek to achieve through mass political action, armed struggle, the international isolation of the apartheid system and by ensuring that the ANC plays its proper role as the revolutionary vanguard of our struggling people.

**18.** THE issue of negotiations has arisen precisely because of the advances we have made on all these fronts which have led to the emergence of the crisis of the apartheid system to which we have referred. We must continuously intensify our offensive on all these fronts with the sole aim of transforming SA into a united, democratic and non-racial SA. At the same time, we must be ready to deal with all consequences of our victories. One of these consequences may be, as has been the case in all the countries of Southern Africa where the liberation movements took up arms, that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously.

**19.** WE MUST therefore treat the issue of negotiations as one that also involves struggle, a struggle by other means and a struggle that is a continuation of our offensive for the fundamental transformation of our country. Such positions as may emerge in the course of our discussions should therefore be such that they strengthen our overall offensive and defeat all attempts to disarm us and immobilise the people.

## ANC DISCUSSION PAPER ON THE ISSUE OF NEGOTIATION



# SA short-term US debt up ~~long-term~~ down

*Business Day 20/7/89*

WASHINGTON — SA's debt to US banks with a maturity of 12 months or less rose by nearly \$100m in the first quarter of this year, breaking a long downward trend, according to Federal Reserve Board's latest lending exposure survey.

At the same time, debt having a maturity of more than five years fell by an even greater amount, from \$894m to \$780m.

Middle-range debt, falling due within one to five years, remained fairly constant at \$616m, suggesting that the short-term increase was not attributable to older loans coming due.

The figures indicate that SA borrowers owe US banks \$1,085bn by March next year, up from the \$987m

SIMON BARBER

the Fed reported was due by December in its last quarterly report.

Total US bank exposure in SA as of March was put at \$2,482bn, down from \$2,862bn a year ago.

## Anomalous

The surge in short-term debt and drop in longer term maturities were particularly anomalous given the decision by Citibank earlier this year to take the ten-year repayment option offered under the second interim arrangement.

The short-term increase could not be accounted for by any similar growth in trade credits, although loans to private non-bank borrowers

did increase in the three-month period by \$28m to \$316m.

The value of outstanding commercial and standby letters of credit and other similar commitments fell slightly, from \$23m to \$18m.

Some banking officials said banks that had not rescheduled under the second interim arrangements were reclassifying loans in their reporting to the Fed for the sake of political appearances but had no expectation of being repaid any sooner.

If so, this would seem to apply in particular to the large regional — as opposed to money centre — banks where the shift from long to short maturities was most marked.

Short-term debt to the 13 largest non-money centre banks rose from \$172m to \$258m in the first quarter, while five-year plus maturities fell from \$125m to \$61m.



Business Day

AFRICA

20/7/89

### Zambians 'have IMF support for reform'

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday the IMF supported Zambia's efforts to reform its ailing economy and he appealed to the international community to give more aid money.

His comments suggest a dramatic improvement in relations with the IMF since Zambia in mid-1987 abandoned an IMF economic reform programme.

Kaunda said his government's economic recovery programme, which included a recent sharp devaluation and lifting of price controls, had been accepted by the IMF and World Bank. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Kaunda extends invitation to De Klerk

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday he has invited SA's ruling party leader, F W de Klerk, to meet with him at any time.

Kaunda, one of Africa's staunchest SA opponents, told a news conference he had offered to meet De Klerk in Livingstone, in southern Zambia, "on any day that is acceptable" to the man designated as SA's next president.

"I have sent him a message that I would like to meet him in Livingstone, in the same place where I met (former SA Prime Minister) John Vorster,"

Kaunda said. "I will meet him in Livingstone — to size him."

Kaunda met Vorster in the town near the Victoria Falls during 1975 talks to settle the Rhodesian war.

Kaunda's statement came on the same day that De Klerk was in Mozambique, visiting President Joaquim Chissano. Earlier this month, President Robert Mugabe, a strong ally of Kaunda in their fight to isolate SA politically, economically and culturally, said he would be willing to speak to South African leaders if anti-apartheid groups thought it would be helpful.

Reuter reports that Kaunda said the white rulers of SA had no choice but to negotiate an end to apartheid with the black majority.

"I hope that common sense will prevail ... SA whites must understand that their future lies with the majority," he told a news conference.

Kaunda, who was flanked by Namibian nationalist leader Sam Nujoma, urged SA's government to start negotiating with representatives of the black majority like the ANC guerrilla group based in Zambia.

"They've no choice except to go that

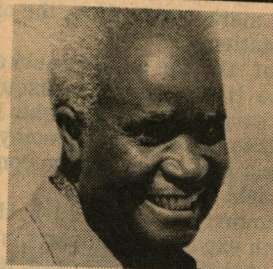
way," he said.

Kaunda said he had received a very positive response from the new head of SA's ruling National Party, F W de Klerk, to his offer to meet to discuss ending apartheid racial segregation.

Kaunda had said earlier this year he would be willing to meet De Klerk after SA completed the process leading to independence elections in its colony of Namibia. The elections are scheduled for November.

But early this month, Kaunda suggested he would meet De Klerk before or after the September parliamentary elections in SA. — Sapa-AP.





President Kaunda . . . "future of South Africa lies with the majority".

## SA must negotiate - Kaunda

STAR  
20 JULY 1989

LUSAKA — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday the white rulers of South Africa had no choice but to negotiate an end to apartheid with the black majority.

"I hope that common-sense will prevail . . . South African whites must understand that their future lies with the majority," he told a news conference.

President Kaunda urged the South African Government to start negotiating with representatives of the black majority, such as the African National Congress.

President Kaunda said he had received a very positive response from National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to his offer to meet and discuss ending racial segregation. —  
Reuter.



New city for Soweto overload?

# Resettlement of squatters plan scuttled

STAR  
20 July 1989

By Sven Lünsche

A Government plan to resettle about 500 000 Soweto squatters to the west of the sprawling township will probably be shelved in the wake of geological surveys that show the area to be almost totally unusable for high-density developments.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) is instead looking at plans for a new "megacity" south of Johannesburg, between Lenasia and Vereeniging.

The latest development comes after last year's announcement of the resettlement plan by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, despite warnings by mining houses and the SA Geological Survey that massive sinkholes could develop if settlement in dolomitic areas was allowed.

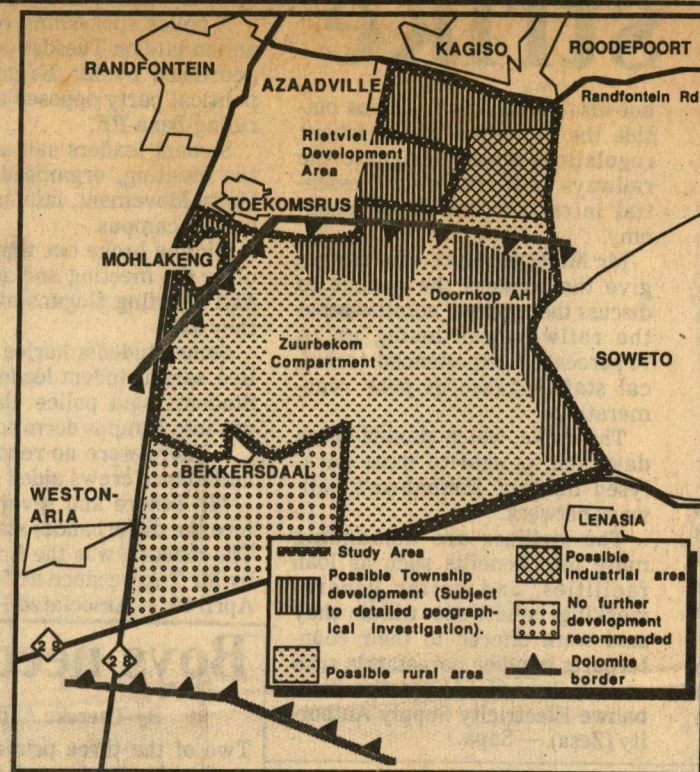
These sinkholes posed a severe threat to the property and lives of many of the more than two million people who would have been resettled, in terms of the scheme, to areas west of Soweto and to the Vosloorus-Duduza area on the East Rand.

Because of the surveys, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning and the TPA are believed to be looking at new areas to alleviate the population pressures on many of the townships in the PWV area.

The proposed city, to the south of Johannesburg, would encompass the settlements of Grasmere and Evaton, an area the size of Johannesburg.

A R100 000 study by a leading mining house, submitted to the Government last year, found the area suitable for high-density developments.

The Democratic Party spokesman on township affairs, Mr Peter Soal, welcomed the new development, but criticised the Government for scrapping influx controls and pass laws without making adequate residential land available.



The area west of Soweto which has been earmarked for residential, agricultural and industrial development.

After the initial objections, the Government in December submitted a second plan — incorporating the 13 000 ha area between Soweto, Westonaria, Randfontein and Roodepoort — making it dependent on a survey.

## Farms rezoned

Eleven farms in the area have been rezoned as part of the development, but initial findings by the Geological Survey, part of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, indicated that, at most, 30 percent of the land or 1 500 ha immediately to the west of Soweto, in the Doornkop area, was suitable for high-density development.

The TPA has nevertheless announced plans to investigate the land for development and a consortium of town planners is ex-

pected to release its findings by the end of the year.

A spokesman at the TPA said that no township developments would be approved until the area has been declared suitable, although there has been speculation by property agents in the area. About four applications for township development have been received by the TPA.

The "Soweto-West" area lies on dolomitic ground and according to Mr Dave Buttrick — head of the unit for applied studies on dolomite in the Geological Survey — high-density developments will lead to sinkholes in those areas.

"In highly congested low-cost housing schemes up to 40 people live on a 300 sq m stand and the high concentration increases the risk of sinkholes and the loss of life, if those sinkholes develop," Mr Buttrick said.



Reforms will be rewarded, De Klerk is told

# Chissano offers SA a message of hope

STAR - 20 July 1989

Staff Reporter

MAPUTO — President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has dangled a promise of South Africa being accepted by its African neighbours if there is change in the country.

He was addressing a news conference yesterday after a meeting lasting more than three hours with National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The leaders broke their schedule, cancelling lunch to pursue talks on Mozambique's internal war and how South Africa could help end it; relations between the two countries; a "Marshall Plan" for southern Africa; and the National Party's plan of action.

## Process of change

Mr Chissano's hint of a prize for progress in South Africa came after he had said he was pleased to hear of the NP's intentions to have a united South Africa and equality for all.

He said Mozambique was prepared to help this become reality.

Asked how, he replied: "If there is a sound process of change in South Africa, I think it will be part of the (southern African) group of countries in search of a solution." It would help create confidence among all Africans in the region.

Referring to remarks at a news conference on Monday that "some elements in South Africa" — but not the SADF — were aiding the rebel Renamo group, Mr Chissano said he could offer no proof.

If an aircraft came from South Africa, it was hard to say who the pilot was and who was behind him, he said.

"I accept assurances that the Government of South Africa doesn't do it."

## Cycle of violence

Referring to the possibility of supplies to Renamo, Mr de Klerk said his Government had been looking and would look into any particulars given it.

Nobody could totally prevent such activities in a country with a free economy such as South Africa's. It did not have an espionage system able to tell what was going on behind the scenes.

Mr de Klerk said all countries in the region needed to break out of their cycle of violence.

"What we need to do is grasp opportunities offered by recent developments inside certain countries in southern Africa."

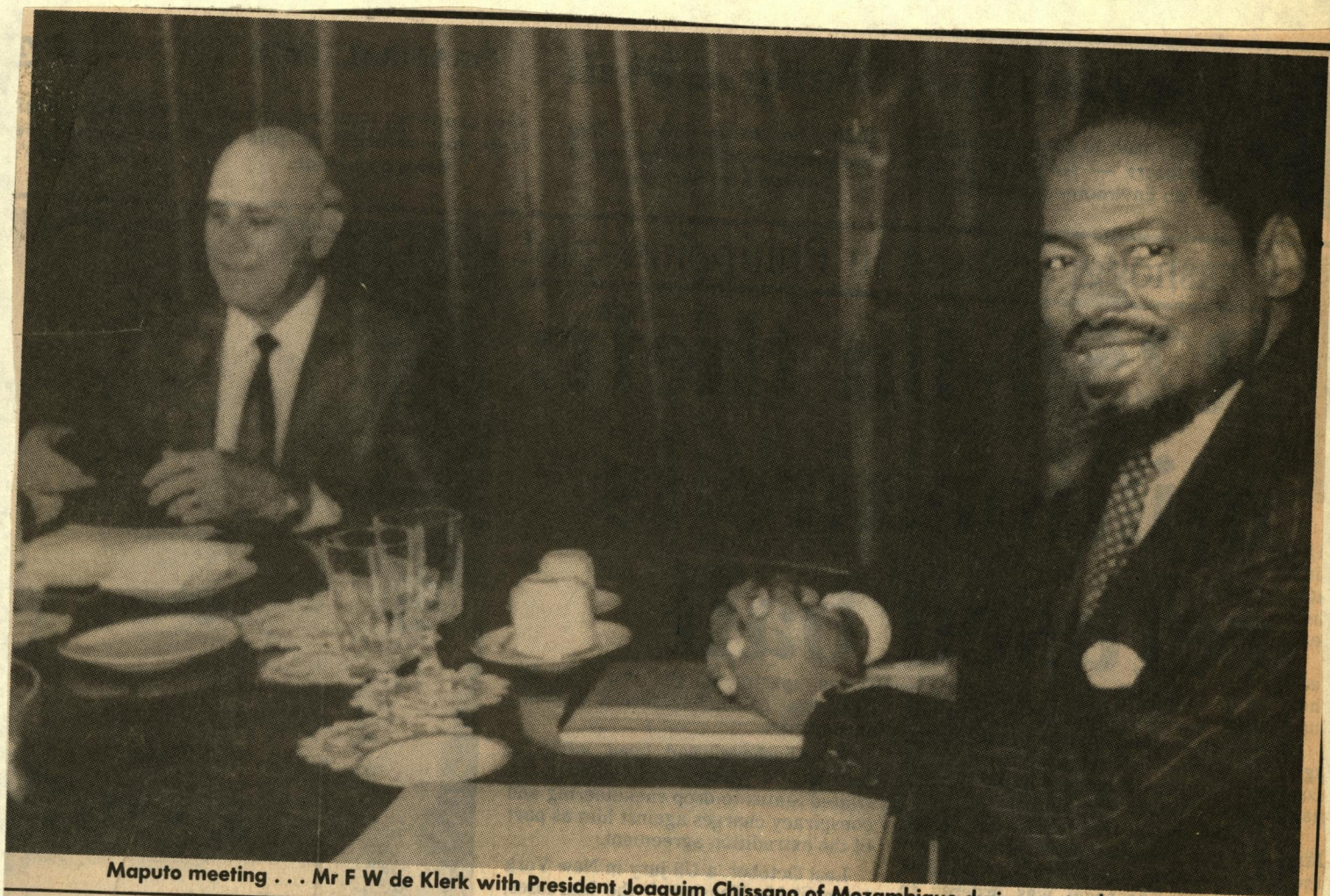
He added that South Africa was prepared to play a constructive role in the economic field, resumption of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme and related matters.

"Development must go hand in hand with making of the political peace."

Sources said a considerable part of the talks was taken up discussing the idea of a "Marshall Plan", first raised by Mr Botha several months ago.

He envisaged a partnership between Europe, South Africa and southern African states. Mr Botha wanted a project where European money and South African know-how and management could steer the region away from what had happened in much of Africa.





Maputo meeting . . . Mr F W de Klerk with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique during yesterday's talks.



# DEFIANCE PLAN: VLOK WARNS MDM

CITIZEN 20/7/89

By Tony Stirling

THE so-called Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) plans to launch a national defiance campaign aimed at causing a similar climate of unrest to that which prevailed in 1984.

Details of the plan — which is to be preceded by a Press conference in Johannesburg today — were revealed in a speech at Fochville last night by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

At the same time Mr Vlok indicated that the ANC-SACP alliance — which he blamed for being behind the proposed defiance campaign — was busy with a terrorist campaign aimed at disrupting the coming elections.

There had been a sharp rise in the incidence of terrorist acts over the past three months, Mr Vlok disclosed.

The government plans immediate action to stop the defiance campaign. The first step will be to serve the 30 radical "generals" behind it with warnings not to proceed with it.

Top security sources said that if the campaign went ahead as planned, further steps would be taken, including restric-

tions on, or detention, of individuals involved and the prohibition of the defiance campaign under the emergency regulations.

In his speech last night, Mr Vlok said that at its third national congress in Johannesburg earlier this month, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) distributed a document which set out a number of plan-

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# Defiance plan: Warning by Vlok

**FROM PAGE 1**

ned defiance activities.

This had been proceeded by nationwide meetings of the United Democratic Front (UDF) at which the defiance campaign was planned.

## Announcement

The list of actions set out in the Cosatu document included:

- The announcement of the defiance campaign at a Press conference in Johannesburg before the end of July. (It was ascertained from further inquiries last night that the Press conference is scheduled to take place today.

- A campaign on July 30, for the mass occupation of buses and parks reserved for Whites.

- A campaign on August 2, for large numbers of people to descend on White hospitals on the pretext of obtaining medical attention, but aimed at disrupting services.

- A planned march on the Union Buildings or the home of the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, on August 9 or 10.

- The planned handing in of a petition at the Union Buildings or Par-

liament on August 15, demanding the release of so-called political prisoners, the lifting of restrictions or bans on individuals and organisations, the removal of the SADF from the townships and other matters.

- House-to-house visits by activists to intimidate people against voting.

- The use of petrol bombs against candidates in the election.

## Slogans

- A slogan campaign to build up peoples' emotions against the elections, which was planned for early in September.

- A campaign to get persons under restriction in terms of the emergency regulations to break their restriction orders and to converge on foreign embassies to get the maximum publicity.

Not mentioned by Mr Vlok in his speech, but confirmed by security sources on inquiry, was efforts to maximise the Black school boycotts and disrupt White schools by sending in groups of Black pupils.

Mr Vlok said the defiance campaign could be directly traced back to the annual ANC anniversary address of ANC President, Oliver Tambo, on January 8, this year.

In this speech Tambo referred to 1989 as being the 40th anniversary of "that outstanding document of our struggle for liberation — the programme of action".

"Drawing on and continuing that experience,

and developing on the heroic actions of church leaders and other patriots last year, our approach must be one of militant mass defiance," Tambo said.

## Mobilisation

This had been followed by the following announced plan of action by Cosatu at its annual congress, earlier this month:

"We must mobilise a national defiance campaign. We commit ourselves to mobilising every Cosatu member to take part in this ongoing defiance campaign, that will culminate in a week of militant mass action during the first week of September."

Mr Vlok said that since developments in 1984, experience "has taught us what militant mass action means".

"Necklace murders, the destruction of property, and forcing people to observe boycotts — those are the characteristics of militant mass action," he said.

In 1986 more than 2 500 people had been killed and damage of about R100 million caused by such actions.

"The revolutionaries and the radicals must no longer maintain that they are planning these actions because they have no other choice," said Mr Vlok. "The National Party has bound itself to peaceful reform".

"The actions of these perpetrators of violence is part of a revolutionary offensive to seize power in South Africa, to force the

aims of Socialism and a 'classless Communist society' on our people," said Mr Vlok.

"The government will not allow this to happen. I thus want to warn the ringleaders planning this violence — stop your violent plans for South Africa and its people."

If the plan proceeded, the government would be obliged to act in the interests of law and order and public safety.

Mr Vlok said this warning would be conveyed, and investigations were taking place into the alleged breaking of restrictions by persons included in the group of ringleaders behind the campaign.

## Will stop it

"South Africa cannot afford to let its people to again be engulfed by a wave of violence," said Mr Vlok. "Murder, slayings, the spilling of blood and chaos cannot be the fate of our people".

"We will stop it at all costs."

Earlier in his speech, Mr Vlok referred to the expansion of the campaign of terrorism in South Africa, which was traceable back to the 1989 annual congress of the SACP and its theme, "The path to power."

Statistics revealed this was precisely what was occurring. Over the past three months the number of terrorists incidents had increased to 61 against 39 in the first three months of the year, and the number of unrest incidents had risen to 914, against 785 in the same two periods.

The highest number of incidents in any month this year so far were recorded in June, in which there had been 24 terrorists acts, while overall the incidence of terrorist acts for the first six months of 1989 was 12 percent up on the figures for the comparable period last year.

Commenting on Mr Vlok's speech, top-level security sources said that it was hoped the police action in warning the 30 "generals" behind the planning of the disobedience campaign would put a stop to its implementation.

Otherwise more drastic action could be expected.

The sources did not want to comment on the deployment of ANC units inside South Africa at present, but said that it could be taken as fact that the increase in the number of terrorist acts indicated the start of the ANC's terror campaign against the elections.

## Three cells

It was confirmed that at least three ANC cells were known to be operative — one in the west Cape where three limpet mines were exploded at the weekend — and two on the Reef, where there have been a number of recent attacks on individuals and other targets.

Further action, if the defiance campaign went ahead as planned, would include steps against the lower ranked radicals involved in the planning, and possible banning of the campaign itself.

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



# Abe-PAC bafuna ukuxoxa neNkatha

01. 20-22 - 1989

ELONDON.-Uphiko lwaseNatal lwePan African Congress (PAC) esekudingisweni, selukhiphe isitatimende esinxuse isigungu sikazwelonke salenhlangotho ukuba sibe nomhlangotho ophuthumayo neNkatha okuzosungulwa kuwo isu lokuba kuboniswa eSouth Africa.

Isitatimende esikhi-shwe eLondon ngusihlalo wophiko lwaseNatal olusekudingisweni, uMnu. Velekhaya Shange, siluhlabe kakhulu udlame lwanoma yiluphi uhlobo sathi udlame ludala umphakathi ongazihloniphi.

Isitatimende sibuye sancoma uMongameli weNkatha, uDr. M.G. Buthelezi, ngemizamo yakhe yokubonisa abeLungu eSouth Africa na-

kwezinye izindawo, ukuthi ukuboniswa kubaluleke kakhulu ekuzameni ukuxazulula inkinga ezikhona phakathi kwebaMnyama nabamhlophe.

Isitatimende sibuye sanxusa isigungu sikazwelonke sePAC ukuba sisebenzele ukuba kubumbane bonke abaholi abaNyama ngaphakathi eSouth Africa, sathi kufanele abaNyama bazenzele bona izinto, hhayi batshelwe ngabezizwe.

Sibuye sanxusa ne-Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) ukuba isebenzele ukutholela aboMdabu imisebenzi, ukuze kubenesiqiniseko sokuthula.



## SA attacked for 'complicating' Namibia election

By Richard Dowden  
Africa Editor

THE South African administration in Namibia has proposed a process to regulate the territory's independence election in November which is so complex it could take six weeks to produce a result.

Moreover, the draft proposes that when each ballot is completed, it should be put in an envelope by an election official and the voter's registration number written on the outside. This means that the authorities will be able to find out how people voted. The draft has already been condemned as "fraught with opportunity for mischief" by the United States Commission on Independence for Namibia, a non-governmental lawyers' organisation which recently visited the country.

The voting, which will take place over three days, is expected to start on 6 November. There will be 400 mobile polling booths throughout the country. Voters will have to sign or mark with a thumbprint their registration card before handing it over to the electoral officer. About 40 per cent of the expected 500,000 voters are expected to use a thumbprint rather than a signature.

When voting is completed, all the ballot boxes, containing the envelopes and the files of registration cards, will be taken to the national stadium in Windhoek, where each signature or thumbprint will be checked

against duplicates taken at the time of registration. Only when all the ballot papers have been verified will the votes be counted.

The US commission, set up by the US Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, said in its report that there could be a six-week delay in announcing the result of the election, which in turn could spark unrest.

A dispute over the draft law, a copy of which was obtained by Gemini News Service, is believed to have delayed its publication even though electoral campaigning began on 1 July. It is now due to be published on Friday.

Under UN Resolution 435, the South African administration is responsible for conducting the election for the constituent assembly, but under UN supervision. A spokesman for the UN said this gave it the right of veto over all proposals concerning the independence process.

The UN Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, arrived in Windhoek yesterday to lend his support to the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which has been caught in the crossfire of accusations between the South African administration and the Swapo national movement.



# Leaders say they can talk to FW — Durr

By Brian Stuart

PORT ELIZABETH. — World leaders and African leaders have said they can talk to Mr F W de Klerk, who is committed to reform, Mr Kent Durr, Minister of the Budget and of Works in the House of Assembly, said in Port Elizabeth last night.

"Mr De Klerk's recent visit to Europe was most important to South Africa. It enabled Mr De Klerk to talk freely, before having the constraints of Presidential office placed upon him," Mr Durr told a National

Party meeting.

"It also enabled him to listen to European leaders and to inform them of matters relating to the election and beyond, and of new actions planned.

"The visit was a great success and gave Europe a glimpse of the new generation National Party."

Mr Durr said European leaders clearly believed they could do business with Mr De Klerk. At the same time several African leaders had said publicly they could talk to Mr De Klerk, and many were doing just that.

By implication they were saying that Mr De

Klerk should be given a chance, and he was sure the voters would also say it on September 6. Responsible leaders had wished Mr De Klerk well and expressed the hope that he would succeed.

After the election, Mr De Klerk should be given the opportunity to create a new South Africa by negotiation.

Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American had said in his annual report: "The task of the new leader of the NP, supported by the younger generation of Nationalists, is to consummate the process of reform".

Yet the Democratic Party, which had said the NP should negotiate now, from a position of strength, was advocating in this election a weak NP in a hung Parliament.

Mr Durr said the challenge to South Africa was one of change and reform, to seek policies and structures of government that were more inclusive. Mr De Klerk, committed as he was to reform, should be "South Africa's man".

He offered the safest option for South Africa and for White South Africans, with a transition in which the rights, also of Whites, would not be put at risk.

"It would be the smoothest ongoing transition on a constitutional and incremental basis, with the best chance of succeeding and standing the test of time," said Mr Durr.

"With the necessary dynamism and commitment, it would be the most effective and efficient transition."

The world had entered a period of perestroika and glasnost, when peace and an end to regional wars was being sought. What was happening in Southern Africa was part of the same process. Africa too was ripe for peace.

"It is time to rebuild our shattered self-image and to put ourselves squarely on the side of the angels — where we belong.

"It is time for strong men to reach out in goodwill to each other in the region. It is time to be worthy of this great country and of the best of our traditions and of our past," said Mr Durr.

(News by Brian Stuart, 51 Parliament Street, Cape Town)



# European parliament will have foreign policy clout

SIAR - 20 July 1989

LONDON — European elections are conducted according to national election laws: all territories except Britain use proportional representation and parliament serves a five-year term.

They have been directly elected since 1979, before which MEPs were all nominated from their national parliaments.

The parliament is not a legislature in the conventional sense.

EC legislation is proposed by the European Commission and then enacted by the Council of Ministers of member-states. Parliament has powers of scrutiny and amendment, which are particularly strong in legislation relating to the Single European Market (1992) programme.

It also has special authority over the EC budget and external relations — something South Africa would do well to take note of.

MEPs earn the same basic salaries as members of their respective national parliaments.

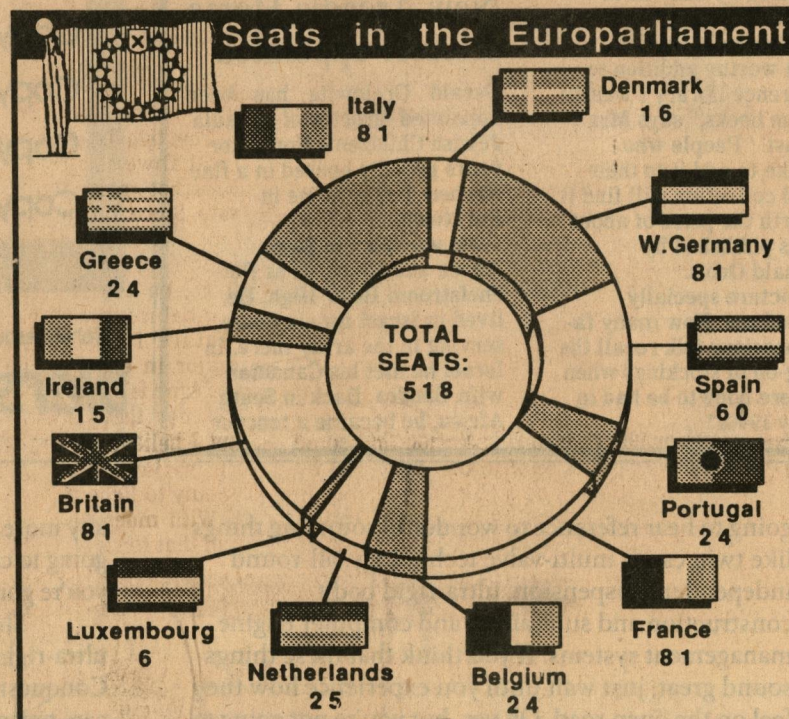
## Historical reasons

They meet in full session for one week of each month in Strasbourg, where they rent premises from the Council of Europe, a non-EC body.

The parliament's secretariat is based in Luxembourg for historical reasons, while most of its committee work takes place in Brussels in order to allow for easy liaison with the commission.

The parliament would like to move all of its functions to a new permanent home in Brussels but must first overcome opposition from the governments of France and Luxembourg.

The European parliament comprising 518 members has just been elected from the 12 EC countries. **ROBERT COTTERELL** of The Independent explains the function of the parliament.



Like-minded national parties band together into factions at Strasbourg. Britain's Labour MEPs ally themselves with the Socialist group, Conservatives with the European Democrats.

Full details of the new MEPs were not available at the time of writing, but in practice, the parliament tends to go about its business in a less partisan fashion than its left-right divisions would suggest.

Virtually all its members with the exception of some Danish and, decreasingly, British MEPs support motions promoting European political, economic and monetary integration, and virtually all want more power for the parliament itself.

A left-wing majority would probably make its presence felt in stronger pressure for a social dimension to the 1992 programme and in attention to environmental issues.

The parliament dates back to the Assembly of the European Coal and

Steel Community, founded in 1952 under the first of the treaties which eventually gave rise to the EC.

At the first direct elections, in 1979, it comprised 410 MEPs from nine countries.

The accession of Greece to the EC in 1981 and of Spain and Portugal in 1986 swelled the ranks to their present strength.

The number of MEPs from each country corresponds roughly to population, with the largest sending 81 each.

England is divided into 66 single-member constituencies, Scotland into eight, Wales into four.

Northern Ireland forms a single

constituency returning three MEPs through proportional representation.

Supporters of the parliament say that it provides the best working model of an EC institution which can transcend national barriers while at the same time preserving distinctive national character.

Those who argue for an extension of its powers usually do so by citing a "democratic deficit" — a lack of accountability within the EC's other institutions.

European commissioners are appointed by national governments, not elected, the Council of Ministers conducts its business in secret, often through elaborate horse-trading concluded on the initiative and instincts of the ministers themselves.

Critics of the claimed "democratic deficit" say that by extending the powers of the parliament to provide a true check upon the commission and council, the EC would gain a more healthy, open and broadly-based institutional structure.

But significant new powers for the parliament could only be reserved with the explicit agreement of member-states, through the variation or supplementing of Community treaties.

## New obligations

This happened with the Single European Act in 1985, it could conceivably re-occur if member-states agreed to create new treaty obligations binding themselves into an economic and monetary union.

Britain, however, is resolutely opposed to any treaty revisions and any further transfer of power away from national parliaments.

In practice, the next steps forward for the parliament are more likely to come from gains in efficiency arising from relocation at a single, permanent home, not from new powers which might raise MEPs above their single-country cousins.