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" The Daily News, Saturday, March 4, 1989

VAN'S 10-

BRUCE CAMERON

Political Correspondent

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r F.van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative, and former PFP leader, has a 10-point plan to promote a non-racial, democratic, political climate.

His strategy, which includes possible selective participation in the system, is listed in a special mini project of the authoritative Indicator of the Centre of Social and Development Sciences of Natal University.

The latest Indicator publication is based on a major analysis of the political conflict in South Africa it published in December.

Dr Slabbert, with other contributors to the latest issue, said the extra-parliamentary forces often overplayed their hands, particularly when they tried to challenge the might of the State between 1984-88.

Dr Slabbert said the South African state was least vulnerable when its coercive power base was directly challenged but the state was certainly not invulnerable be-

cause of contradictions within the system.

| In taking advantage of these contradictions and with difficult and backbreaking work, mobilisation could begin.

The contradictions included:

B A white-dominated state that would increasingly depend on blacks to keep control;
B A white-controlled Government could not be seen to be acting on behalf of blacks, so little attention was given to jobless, urbanised and alienated youth who would drift into crime, homelessness and revolt;

B The state needed to recruit people to work within the system which it could not control totally such as the House of Representatives or Delegates, the homeland governments and the RSCs.

Â«\200\234This is the area where participation as.a

strategy has to be considered.â\200\235 AR

Dr Slabbertâ\200\231s ten guidelines to e?Piï¬\201i-t ;

these and other contradictions in South
Africa society were: :

B Donâ\200\231t dissipate popular or mass support
in confronting the state where it was stron-
gest; N

B Do not weaken forces for a democratic
alternative by adopting a divisive strategy.
For example if an unreflective and unselec-

tive blanket sanctions campaign had thisÂ®

result, then it was simple political lunacy to
re to such a strategy; i
%

W Never promise what could not be deli-

vered as it would lead to frustration, neu-
tralising many people who might undertake

POINT
PLAN

necessary but mundane tasks but who re-

frained from doing so because they believed
a miracle was around the corner;

B Take an immediate, princi led and clear !
view on all forms of uncontro ed, irrational

N R oy

Saturday 4 March 1989 - = - THE CITIZEN Â©

Tricameral issue not

~ being negotiated

ULUNDI. â\200\224 KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday emphasised he was not negotiating with the South African Government to make the tricameral parliamentary system work.

He said he had made this clear at a meeting with government officials yesterday, which included the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, also Minister of Constitutional Development and ~ Planning, Mr J C B Botha ~ Minister of Home Affairs - and of Communications, Mr R P Meyer Deputy - Minister of Constitutional

Development and Planning, Mr I M Rautenbach adviser, Dr O D Dhlomo Minister of Education

-and- Culture KwaZulu

and Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr F T Molalose Minister of Health KwaZulu and National Chairman of Inkatha, Mr R Arenstein of Arenstein Bros. Durban and Mr S J Maphalala Lecturer department of history University of Zululand.

Chief Buthelezi is serving on a committee formed to â\200\234identify and address obstacles that impeded progress towards solving the countryâ\200\231s political problems through negotiationâ\200\235.

The decision to establish the committee, Chief Buthelezi said, was made at a meeting between - himself and Mr Heunis on January 9.

He said the committee
had now been constituted
and faced the historically

.important task of identi-

fying reasons why politics
of negotiation had not got
off the ground in South
Africa. .

At yesterday's meeting,
Chief Buthelezi said, he
stressed his involvement
in the committee was that
of a Black South African.
I also stressed I have
never deviated, and will
never deviate, from my
insistence on the total
unity of South Africa as it
was brought into being by
the Act of Union in 1910.
I emphasised that I

was not at all interested in

negotiating in order to
make the present Trica-
meral Parliamentary sys-
tem work. I pointed out
that it was the South Afri-

can Government's insist-

ance of talking within the
framework of apartheid
that precluded me from

I demanded that the
committee work within
the acceptance of the
need to break out of the

limitations which produc-

ed past failures by being
prepared to have an agen-
da from which it becomes
possible to write on a

slate which has been i

cleaned.

I pointed out the com-

mittee would work under

national and international
spotlights and the Nat-
ional Party in this inter-

the politics of negotiation

up to now. -

national spotlight had to
convince the outside
world it is going to depart

)m its previous ap-
proachesâ\200\235.

He also pointed out
â\200\230that if the government
was serious about its com-
mitment to negotiation it
would have to â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234cease with
the politics of prescription
through which it foisted
the, present constitution
on us as well as Regional
Services Councilsâ\200\235.

â\200\234I made the point that
insistence on going ahead
with Regional Services
Councils was confronta-
tional and was incompati-
ble with the politics of ne-
gotiation.

â\200\234In my whole approach
to the committee I
stressed the importance
of the task that the com

Buthlezi

mittee had been set and
demanded recognition
that we dare not fail to
deliver the goods when
â\200\230we tackle something in
such a way that all the
world sees what we are
doing,â\200\235 eÃ©mphasised Chief
Buthlezi.

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Â© page 4.

" THE CITIZEN

U Mprer /129

'Death faces ANC men
~ unless they give .

By Darene Rothschild

THE four self-con-
fessed ANC members
standing trial in the
Delmas Circuit Court
were yesterday con-

victed ~ of attempted

murder and malicious
damage to property for
planting a limpet mine
in Silverton, Pretoria,
and a landmine in So-
shanguve, in July 1986.

The three convicted of
murder and attempted
murder when judgment
began on Thursday, have
been given a week to
change their stance of

non-participation in the

court proceedings and
give evidence in mitiga-
tion, or face the death
sentence. :

â\200\230They are Jabu Obed
Masina, Frans Ting-Ting

" mine went off four-and-a-

tended. It exploded at

| later than intended and

evidence

. Masango and Neo Grif-

fith Potsane, who were
found guilty of the mur-
ders of a former kaNg-
wane Minister and his sis-
ter, and the attempted
murder of his wife.
Masina was also found
guilty of murdering two

policemen, one of Soweto

. and one of Mamelodi, the

latter murder to which
Masango was found to be .
an accomplice.

All four of the accused,
which includes Joseph
Makhura, were found
guilty of the Silverton ex-
plosion which occurred at
a bus stop, injuring 17
people, and the Soshang-
uve blast which damaged
a road grader on a road
mainly. used by military
vehicles. X :

In a statement read to
the court by Mr Justice M
de Klerk, Makhuraâ\200\231 re- |

vealed while in custody, |

that both bomb Dblasts
were unsuccessful.
The Silverton limpet

half hours later than in-

5.30 pm instead of 1 pm.
The Soshanguve land-
mine exploded three days

was meant for a military
vehicle and not the road
grader. = Â¢

Mr Justice de Klerk

|. urged the accused to re-
veal extenuating circum-
stances which may _exist
and which may ;l;â\200\230quv.ï¬\202u}ï¬\202u-

enced them to â\202¬0 mit

murder. i
He said he had â\200\230heard

from the lawyer for theâ\200\231

L

accused. Mr Peter Harris,
that the accusedâ\200\231s families
were â\200\234beside themselves
with worryâ\200\235.

As judgment was near-
ing completion yesterday
relatives of the accused
wept softly in the gallery.

The brave chants which

" characterised the start of

the trial dissipated within
the first week and gallery
attendance thinned out.

Mr Justice de Klerk
said that the accused were
not found guilty of the
charges not mentioned
during the trial.

They initially faced

charges of treason and 49

other .charges including
murder, terrorism, at-
tempted murder, mal-
icious damage to property
and the illegal possession
of firearms and ammuni-
tion.

- They were remanded in
custody till Friday when
the accused will either
give evidence or sentence
will be imposed. ~ ~ Â°

* Mr Justice de Klerkâ\200\231s
two assessors are Dr D
Botha and Mr L V Kock.
Advocates Mr Harry
Prinsloo and Mrs Louisa
van der Walt are pros-
ecuting for the state.

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT |

L PR 1989

<â\200\224PW Botha

. THE State President, Mr PW Botha, has

made his position absqutely clear.

He intends to resume his task as State President in April,

Matters of the day to which he will give his attention, together with Cabinet Ministers, individually and jointly, include constitution-

al adjustments, possible election dates, for-

eign affairs, security matters and the economy of the country.

Mr Bothaâ\200\231s medical advisers apparently be-

lieve he is fit enough to resume his arduous-duties and Mr Botha has made it clear this is exactly what he will do.

His decision is not a surprising one, since Mr Botha has always regarded his duty to the country as of paramount concern to him.

To have expected him to give up the Presidency if he was fit enough to resume it would have been to underestimate his dedication, determination and sense of service.

Any lesser man might have considered a mild stroke as a warning to ease up, but not Mr Botha.

He thrives on the challenges that confront him and exercises power with the strength that comes from inner conviction and faith in what he does.

Such a man is not going to be floored by illness or chivvied into retiring.

Besides, his term expires only in September, and if he is fit, there is no reason why he should retire. :

However, the situation is not the same as it was before he became ill.

In the interim, at his own request, the ruling National Party has elected a new leader.

At the time, it seemed a wise move to prevent a leadership succession battle that would

have been as damaging to the party and to "the country as the fight for the succession when Mr John Vorster quit the Prime Ministership.

In retrospect, choose a new leader while there was an incumbent State President was one fraught with potential problems.

Mr Botha has all the power that comes from" being executive President and he clearly intends to exercise that power.

Mr De Klerk, as leader of the party determine the party's policy and direction, but the State President takes the decisions in government.

Mr De Klerk, in his first speech to Parliament and first public address as party leader, has shown that he is a man who is able to put the government's policies across with clarity and confidence.

however, the decision to

S5C much SU in fact fhg' He has opened new life in
1980, v AL all

to those policies and won favourable reaction both from Black leaders at home and governments abroad.

It is a matter of emphasis rather than one of principle, a matter of style rather than one of policy, that is the main difference.

But it is not a difference that need result in tension between the leader of the nation and the leader of the ruling party, provided their functions do not clash.

How the two positions are reconciled will therefore be important to the party, for if Mr De Klerk plays no major role in determining government policy, his leadership will be unlike that of any previous leaders.

He will, in essence, be a leader reduced to lesser status.

This could result in divisions and strains within the party, which it can ill afford to have, what with the challenge from the Right and the consolidation of the Left into one party.

From the nature of Mr Botha's announcement, it is obvious that a general election will not be held until later in the year.

Who leads the NP into battle will be determined

ed closer to the time â\200\224and unless he intends to seek a further term of office, Mr Botha should leave it to Mr De Klerk, who should get his own mandate.

In the meantime, the Botha era continues and nobody should think otherwise.

We congratulate the State President on returning to good health and we hope that, in tandem with Mr De Klerk, he will take South Africa further along the road of reform, stability and progress.

â\200\234Who among us has

the spark to light SA's

workable so

uï¬\201on?

WITH inMcsing
speculation about
another general election
this year, the spotlight
will continue to focus on
South Africaâ\200\231s political
system. In reviewing a
recently published book,
DAVID ALLEN reflects on
the state of democracy
in South Africa.

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SOUTH Africa can

never complain about

how to sort out its prob-
lems. What is lacking
though is the catalytic
spark of genius it will take
to precipitate out from the
confusion of thought a co-
herent, workable system.

How far off that spark still

being short of advice on

seems.

One delegate who attended last year's conference of the Political Science Association at which he presented a paper, commented afterwards that not even at that august meeting of fine minds was there even the glimmer of a solution: They are still too busy, he said, trying to agree on what the problem is.

Just how far off that spark is can be gauged when listening seriously to what intelligent, informed people have to say whenever they are put on the spot to suggest how they would change things if only given the opportunity.

The solution lies in sharing, is an absolute favourite, irritatingly intoned as if it were an original thought.

As a statement it is undeniable-

sharing invariably end up being about as inspiring as yesterday's

mashed potato.

ably true. But, because of a dearth of ideas on how to achieve it, most discussions on

A measure of the current levels of insight, knowledge and wisdom running through public political debate was reflected in the: millions of words that were written and spoken about last year's municipal election.

Although it was hailed by many as a watershed election,

ingly mediocre. Diffuse, evasive and lacking in any discernable coherence, it left the electorate with no clearer understanding of the issues than it had before.

Nor, I suspect, do many of the new crop of councillors.

Much the same applies to debates on other topics such as humanism, liberalism, capitalism, free enterprise, and that other

oft-voiced â\200\234solutionâ\200\235 â\200\224 democ-
racy. By the time dinner-party
â\200\230thinkers have done their work,
these concepts are left with
about as much appeal as does

â\200\230Chris Heunisâ\200\231s vision of a better
South Africa.

So many words, so much ar-
gument, so little enlightenment.

the level of analysis was shock-

Political scientists are feeling
it. So are ordinary, non-academ-

_ic voters. As that election, and
â\200\234countless others before it, have
"Yestified: the electorate will

leave everything more or less
the same until someone comes
along with something better to
believe in. - Â¢
Many have seriously bid to be
that â\200\234someoneâ\200\235. Denis Beckett
is among the latest. But judging

. by his new book, a 200-page the-

sis arguing that democracy is
what South Africa needs, he is
not going to be.

The best thing about this book
is that it is well-timed. With the
memory of the recent municipal
elections still fresh; the an-
nouncement of a new delimita-
tion; the on-going speculation

' about the next general election,

Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s release and
the unbanning of the ANC; and

'the spirited challenges to the

government from the Conserva
tive Party opposition and the
Houses of Representatives, sel-
dom has our political system
been subjected to such intense
public scrutiny.

But, as with so much else spo-
ken and written today about our
_political plight, this book does

nothing to advance the debate.

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Beckett begins by stating in his introduction that he would prefer to live in a country where there is "a stolid democracy where the fights are fought by

. ballot box and council chamber.

"That is what this book is aimed at. That is the only thing this book is aimed at. I do not take any side of any issue. I argue solely for installing the ballot box as tyrant "a tyrant so terrible that none can prevail without it, a tyrant so powerful that each of us can find fruition with it.

"What follows is the skeleton of a principle which has been neglected in the South African debate: the extreme empower-

ment of the citizen."

s
Again, undeniably true,

but naive. South African voters "bar a comparatively few exceptions "have never evinced the slightest inclination to share their ballot boxes with the rest of their countrymen which, surely, is the very basis of a vigorous democracy or, as Beckett puts it, the "supreme tyranny" of the ballot box?

"

The â\200\234extreme empowerment of the citizenâ\200\235 is indeed a worthy ideal, and one which many South African voters claim to support.

But close questioning soon reveals that by â\200\234everyoneâ\200\235 they usually mean everyone of their

own kind. When the concept is Â«

expanded to include everyone else too, enthusiasm for the citizenâ\200\235s empowerment noticeably wanes.

At no time in the history of the Afrikaner has the citizen ever had anything approaching â\200\234extreme empowermentâ\200\235. The elders of family, church and state saw to that and still do. They made the decisions, took the initiative, and decided between right and wrong.

Much the same was achieved in the English-speaking community by the elders of business and the old-boy network, only with somewhat more refinement and subtlety.

In the black community, the burden of making decisions was lifted from the shoulders of the masses by chiefs and tribal elders, and in more recent times, by the political warlords of the townships.

Looked at in this way, there is

I â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

â\200\231

a surprising degree of cultural similarity between our various groups. ;

Thus have the majority of South Africans lived for centuries in the sunshine of blissful contentment, happy that their

- best interests were being served

by â\200\234those who know bestâ\200\235. No evidence has yet come to light showing that a majority would have it any other way.

That is why in South Africa, unlike the United States which is more or less the same age, English-speaking political opposition since 1948 has been, and

still is, sadly ineffective and the most often-heard cry from the voter on our problems is: â\200\234What can I do about it?â\200\235

Rather than â\200\234extreme empowermentâ\200\235, the citizen has had extreme impotence and his cry is eloquent confirmation of it.

If South Africaâ\200\231s voting elite were the democrats they claim to be, how has the National Party been allowed to retain its unassailable position for 40 years given that it is directly responsible for the state the country is in and which they (now) concede needs to change?

How has the ruling party been allowed to get away with using

W

delimitation to emasculate the - voters who do not support them?

How could they be permitted to deprive a majority of this countryâ\200\231s people of the vote, of access to land and of a string of rights usually enjoyed by citi-

Why have the countryâ\200\231s best brains and talents â\200\224 the most influential sector of our voting elite â\200\224 largely kept themselves above and beyond trying to influence the status quo even though they know, probably better than most, the extent to which the country is at risk?

Why, when we have

been hammered for years by the overwhelming social, political and economic problems that have been generated by our regimeâ\200\231s policies, do only about half of the registered voters bother to pitch up on election days?-

More to the point: if we are the democrats we claim to be, why have two organisations who actually have universal franchise as part of their official po-

many years â\200\230after â\200\224 it became : that their attempts to talk

licies â\200\224 the ANC and the PAC
â\200\224 been bannished into exile?

" We know about their attach-
ment to violence as a political
weapon. But the histories of
tht:g organisatins show that
violence came only after â\200\224

to Pretoria about the plight of
their people would get nowhere.

And why did the one-time of-
ficial opposition in Parliament,
the PFP, once flirt with the idea
of votes for all, then change its
mind rather smartly, and ever
since maintain a rather wishy
washy stand on the issue?

The new democratic move-
ment claims to support univer-
sal franchise. It will be interest-
ing, in the light of the PFP
experience, to see how long they
maintain it. A

South African voters are wont
to often compare their country
with those â\200\234elsewhere in Africaâ\200\235
and, in speaking eulogistically |
about the virtues of democracy
itself, to use conditions in other
countries to â\200\234proveâ\200\235 with no
small measure of self-righteous-
ness that their hopelessly lopsid
ed country is a democracy.

At such times it is always in-
teresting to reflect on what

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â\200\234p

these selfsame people have con- ,l
tributed, through the way they!
have used, or not used, th ir
â\200\230electoral muscle, to the emastu-;

@ Destruction of habeas corp!
@ Censorship of the Press.
@ Detentions of political op
nents.
@ Bannings of political org
sations. â\200\230
@ Restricted voting.

I he argument will Db-

viously be raised, as does k-
ett, that democracy impli

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much the right to stay the e

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u, nĩ-\201 O Y \â\200\230,

as to change. It certainly ddes.
If we were writing about the
United States, it would be a tell-
ing~argument. But we are pot.
We*'are writing about South
Africa and that makes the dif-
ference.

We are not a country of rea-
sonable stability and prosperity.
We live continually with the
threat of isolation, stagnation
and upheaval. Therefore what
we need â\200\224 and have needed â\200\230for
40 years â\200\224 is change, not: to
keep things the same.

But if the majority of those
with the right to vote are cpn-
tent to allow those in power to
continue using legalistic meth-
ods to keep themselves in office,
is there any use in preaching un-
bridled democracy as Beckett
does?

Yes, for it is more important
now than at any time that the
idea of democracy is not jal-
lowed to be unceremoniously
emasculated in the pincers, of|
_extremist prejudice â\200\224 which it
is in danger of becoming.

But preaching is not enough.

" South Africans have heard about

every conceivable political ar-
gument, both for retaining the
status quo as well as for chang-

"ing it. What they need to be

shown are ways how to chan

. Before South Africa gets iis

catalytic spark of genius, it is

| going to need writers, in fact
lcommunicators across every
'medium, but especially writers,
â\200\230who can restate old ideas a if

. they are entirely new. Not many
| chances are given to interest the

citizenry in an idea, especially if
it is not new.

The citizenry should be d
interested in democracy at
time and be seeing to it that it
becomes a protected species, in
our intellectual landscape.

There is room for an insp'u{ng
book to be written about demjoc-
racy in South Africa. At the mo-
ment, it is not Beckett's. &

But Beckett, a journalist and

editor of wide experience, deep-.

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e el BaB s Gee Terus Ons BoeresTART
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: - \ ESKERM Ons Boerevax
& VOORTEESTAAN. 4
Moenie Boriia GLo Nie

BALLOT BOX AS TYRANT: The essence of denâ\200\231ocrccy is one man one vote, but South Afri
can voters have never evinced the slightest inclination to share the franchise. When
they talk of sharing the vote, or sharing anything else, they usually mean sharing with the
ir own kind.

De Klerk:

4 IF AND WHEN Frederik Willem de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, is inaugurated as State President, it will not be in Pretoria's NGK Church in Bosman Street, as is the tradition.

It will be in the Reformed Church in Church Street.

The difference may seem slight. But it is important for it will be the first time since the NP came

to power in 1949 that a member of -

a church other than the NG Kerk will rule the country. . And with it, a few changes in the country's leadership style will become apparent - such as a much more democratic, open and consultative way of leading, instead of the authoritarian, iron-fisted style i we have become accustomed to. ~ He has already shown a great willingness to restart the reform engine and talked this week about a new indaba among leaders. { Some political commentators continue to read little significance (especially as regards the Reformed Church) into this.

President Botha, despite his re-

Report by KARIN BRYNARD

of Insig, a political magazine regarded as being one of the most liberal publications in the Nasionale Pers stable

cent illness, is said to be still very much in charge.

Mr de Klerk's promises to inject new energy into the reform initiative seem at most to be little more than an attempt to shake Mr Botha's conservative image.

The NG Kerk is often jokingly

referred to as the NP at prayer â\200\224
an image of it being the official
conscience of the ruling party the
church is trying hard to shake.

â\200\234Doppersâ\200\231â\200\231

The fact that the countryâ\200\231s pos-
sible next ruler, Mr F W de Klerk,
was brought up within the strict
social and moral Calvinism of the
Reformed Church (Gereformeerde
Kerk) will not change that.

In both the NP caucus and the
Cabinet he remains one of but a
handful of â\200\234Doppersâ\200\235 â\200\224 as mem-
bers of the Reformed Church are
called.

The relationship between the

Reformed Church and the State,
especially a new State President,
might have been different during
the 1970s says Stellenbosch theolo-
gian, Dr Anton van Niekerk. That
was the heyday of â\200\234verligtheidâ\200\235 in
the Reformed Church, when well-
known verligtes such as Tjaart
van der Walt and Wimpie de Klerk
were prominent.

On the campus of the Potchef-
stroom University, alma mater
and cradle of the Reformed
Church, the 1970s were character-
ised by new verligte thought and
movements among theologians,
academics and students.

It produced people such as
Theuns Eloff, the Pretoria predi-
kant who stirred a lot of anger
when he joined the Dakkar safari
of 1987 and Professor Lourens du
Plessis, one of the Jawyers who re-
cently met the ANC in Harare.
The reformist magazine â\200\234Woord
en Daadâ\200\235 (Word and Deed), which
scrutinised and sharply criticised
Government policy from a moral
scriptural view point, was also
born here.

The Reformed Church is one of
the three Afrikaans Reformed sis-
ter churches, the Dutch Reformed,
Reformed (Gereformeerde) and
Hervormde Kerk. There is no fun-

~damental difference between the
" three, apart from things such as

different ways of serving Commu-
nion or singing different hymns.

But, since the late 1960s, the Re-
formed Church had a much more

progressive image politically than its two sisters.

For example: where the Dutch Reformed Church maintains separate churches and synods for the different race groups among its flock and the Hervormers do not

wgï¬\201bc_*:gï¬\201%e\ifferenc

[T have black members at all, the

â\200\234Doppersâ\200\235 adopted a single synod for all race groups. :

â\200\234The main reason for this lies in the fact that the RC (Reformed Church) has always kept close to the scriptures. Social issues have been evaluated strictly according to the scripture and outright political utterances and actions by the church and its leaders, such as the Dutch Reformed Churchâ\200\231s one-time moderator, â\200\234Oomâ\200\235 Koot Vorster was famous for, would not have been tolerated. ;)

This created a bigger independence of party politics and Teft the church much more room for moral criticism on political and social issues. During the 1930s, at the time of the poor Afrikaner under-

' dog, the Reformed Sister Churches became very popular as champions of the underprivileged, pleading with the government == for better conditions and criticising it for the neglect of the Afrikaner.
| But they also saw the

salvation of the poor Afrikaner in terms of strict segregation of the different race groups and were important mediators for apartheid.

Today the Afrikaner is privileged economically and many are leaving the

churches behind on the

morality of apartheid, |
says Professor Adrio
Konig, Unisa theologian.
The verligte image of
the RC did not, however, |
sink through to grass
roots level. Although the
church was closely asso-
ciated with people like
Professor Tjaart van der
Walt, there were still in-
cidents where black peo-
ple were not allowed to
become members of
churches on local level.

The chances of serious
| clashes on moral and po-
litical issues between the
RC and the Government
these days, seem slim.
Against this back-
ground, warns Professor
Hennie Kotze of the De-
partment of Political Sci-
.ence at Stellenbosch Uni-
versity, you couldnâ\200\231t
| argue that the relation-
ship between the RC and

State could be a factor in
Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s style of
leadership, p

INDABA IRONY: Rowley Arenstein could not be legally quoid in SA because he is a listed communist, now his former |m|en will themselves be forced to listen to his voice.

A silenced voice must be heard DX

IT has been decades since Rowley Arenstein could be legally quoted in South Africa or practise as a lawyer: he is a listed communist.

Now his former jailers, who continued to silence him, will themselves be forced to listen to his voice.

Mr Arenstein was part of a kwaZulu government delegation which met a South African Government team this week to thrash out the problems preventing the

two sides from havmg negotiations.

He is obviously amused by the irony, though Pretoria does not share his sense of humour; their side, announced after the implications of Arensteinâ\200\231s selection sunk in, is to be headed by Natal National Party leader and Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha.

Commenting on Pretoriaâ\200\231s choice, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal, Mr Roger Burrows, si-\202d if the talks were to work the Government

team should have been led by someone more senior.

Arenstein is quite happy to tell anyone who asks that he is a Marxist and has been all his life. He was the son of a Ikranian mother who was a â\200\234utopian socialistâ\200\235, and a Lithuanian father who was a â\200\234Smuts manâ\200\235 from the time he arrived in South Africa.

In despair about his sonâ\200\231s politics, he correctly predicted jail in

and
CARMEL RICKARD

years in .Pretoria Central with

Bram Fischer and others for furthering the aims of Communism. During World War 2 he was a Communist Party organiser in Natal; later, a legal adviser to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), to the African Na-

tional Congress in the province

and the then ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

Inkatha link

He was also the first Natal chairman of the Congress of Democrats, the white arm of the ANC-led Congress Alliance.

He was banned for 26 years, in house arrest up to 1980, and is still not allowed to practise.

Against this background his dedicated service to Inkatha strikes many observers as incongruous. For Arenstein, it is quite consistent. For him Inkatha is the ANC internally.

He knows Inkatha's president Mangosuthu Buthelezi from of old: he was his attorney in the days before he was struck off the roll, and Buthelezi would have been articled to Arenstein had he not taken up the chieftainship.

Arenstein's reading of the formation of Inkatha is that Buthelezi took over leadership of kwaZulu with the blessing of the ANC and that Buthelezi's relations

with the organisation were close

- until 1980.

The fact that Buthelezi is a firm supporter of free enterprise does not shake Arenstein's loyalty

as a Marxist.

For him backing Inkatha and support for the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba are quite consistent with his own beliefs. He believes that progress moves through stages and that there is still a long way to go to get to the socialist state he dreams of.

After apartheid will come the free enterprise phase, and he supports the Indaba and Inkatha as

means of achieving this phase.

While he calls himself a Communist, he strongly disagrees with the South African Communist Party because of their choice of violence as a way of dealing with the situation in South Africa.

He also accuses them of slavishly following the Soviet Union.

He is as critical of what he would call the Buthelezi would call the ANC in exile or the external mission of the ANC, for their decision to take up violence, a decision he believes was taken undemocratically.

However, he is enthusiastic about the possible influence of a free Nelson Mandela. He believes Mandela, if freed unconditionally, would work with Buthelezi and would successfully lead a non-violent struggle for democracy.
This article appeared in

Weekly Mail yesterday.

the end. Arenstein served four

NO CELEBRATORY bonfires were lit in
the black townships of Namibia after South
Africa made the seemingly historic an-

ouncement

its intention to allow UN

monitored elections in the territory.

Nor indeed did the right-wing parties haul out
organise a mighty saamtrek

their shotguns and

protest at the supposed threat to their cultur-

na government says that it will

a treaty, it

have too often learnt
to live: wxfh their dlsap-

A fair and free election :

held in terms of UN Res-

olution 435 will inevitably

bring about a black ma-
jority government com-

mitted to the destruction

* poll will with equal cer-
tainty herald the political

of apartheid.

This will signal the end

of apartheid in its legal
or de facto forms in
schools, hospitals, munic-
ipalities, trains and
swimming baths. .

A one-man,

/| The author is a Senior

DAVID SOGGOT

| Counsel at the
Johannesburg Bar, has
appeared in major political
trials in South Africa and
Namibia is the author
of 'The Violent
Heritage'. He now lives in
London. :

one-vote: ;

might of the Owambos of
the north of Namibia who
number approxlmately

half the populatxon ke
' The Owambos, led by

Swapo, will together with

[

their anti-apartheid allies ;

in the south ã constitute a
majority vote in the Na-
tional Assembly of-the fu-
ture â\200\224 sufficient to put
an end
structures.
In the face of all this,

to apartheid \

4 Hereros,

gOlly Il

: '+ Mofcy 1999

will â\200\230whites in Namibia
carry out an often-re-

- peated threat: to gather

together in a vast trek
into the Republic? -

Or will they resort to
violence, with or without
the collaboration of the
Basters and
others who â\200\230historically
have feared the numeri-
cal paramountcy of the
Owambos?

Jannie de Wet, a prom-
inent leader in the NP of

| Namibia, has vowed that

whites will resort to vio-

| lence if their infrastruc-
| ture and â\200\234civilisationâ\200\235 is

threatened.

Hendrik van Ass, the

| AWBâ\200\231s supremo, claims

massive white support

and the collaboratxon of

o

NO EASY TASK: In 1980, Pretoria's Council of Ministers was received amid angry protests. November's one-man, one-vote poll will see the Owambos led by Swapo win a majority vote, but after 22 years of war fears run deep, not only among whites but also among Hereroes, Basters and others who historically fear the - paramountcy of the Owombos :

senior officers in the se-

cunty forces. .

At AWB meetings, in | Windhoek, where hand-

_; guns were much in evi-

" dence, seditious calls for, violent resistance have been publicly expressed. They have also' gone unpunished

Chiefs

: Beyond the theatre of threatened white violence there are thousands

of tribal chiefs, headmen

and their followers, many

of whom are armed. They and the | mmxste(s) and civil servants in the

ethnic governments depend on the continuation of the status quo for

their power and their income.

and the possibility of nas-

- cent MNR-type groupings

are there. The churches in Namibia have recently

received information that - an Herero army is being

| trained by -

are

. The clouds of civil war_ â\200\230; :

Thita , and
that .other ethnic groups
_preparing arms

%/ e last 10 years a

vigorous pattern of vigi-
lante violence has estab-
lished itself. DTA sup-
porters have, for exam-

Pple, again and again

banded together to
launch attacks against
Swapo and other anti-

â\200\230apartheid supporters.

Leading churchmen
and Swapo have repea- |
tedly complained: they
have also protested that .
police have stood by -
without intervening.

Against the threats of
persecution, if not annihi-

- lation, who will there be

to protect Swapo and
other anti-apartheid-
minded activists in

â\200\230Swapo, NNF, NIP and

other organisations?

" When - members of .
Swapo enter Namibia to
participate in the elec-
tions, they will come m
unarmed.

In terms of the scenar-
io tersely sketched by
Resolution 435, the SADF

will be confined to barracks at Grootfontein.

- The sole responsibility for the maintenance of law and order will then lie with 6 500 members of the police, almost half of

whom are former members.

members of Koevoet who according to their own evidence before the courts have been trained to exterminate Swapo. A3 R

From the 4650-man UN contingent, the Blue Helmets, no meaningful protection can be expected. Their weapons will be there strictly for their own protection.

No campaign has been launched by the South African Government calling for a revision of attitudes, for reciprocal ethnic accommodation and an acceptance of the outcome of the elections.

This contrasts strongly

with the Government's campaigns prior to the

Turnhalle Constitutional

Conference in 1975. The mandarins of the administration

were then sent

out to prepare whites for the multiracial talks in the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference.

bt 8T

On the contrary, the contemporary emphasis in the media relates to the dangers of Resolution 435. R A

In terms of the provisions of Resolution 435, all apartheid laws must

be repealed. The home-

land-type governments, as well as the SWA Terri-

tory Force (SWATF).

must be dissolved.

Uncontradicted reports from Windhoek, however, indicate that the administration intends to keep thousands of civil servants, ministers and politicians on the payroll, including 25000 SWATF troops who have been trained | to perceive

Swapo as the enemy and

kill them.

Army

~This will create a vast

informal army available to be deployed against

the political opponents of apartheid.

ThÃ© assumption isâ\200\231 widely made that the South African . . Government,

â\200\230having opted for an un-monitored election, will'

not dare to flout world

- opinion by calling off or

sabotaging the electoral

_egy over Namibia. .

y â\200\224

process. This 'perception involves, perhaps, a fundamental misunderstand-

~ ing of the essential quali-

ty of South 'Africa&itgat-

- years of fighting off UN advances, the South African Government, in 1978, abruptly accepted the notion of elections in terms of Resolution 435 and declared â\200\224 just as it is doing at the present moment â\200\224 that there should be no delays in the run-up to the election. an

In a monumental re-buff to the world â\200\230body,

the Government appointed its own administrator-general to control the elections, giving the UN Special Representative no role other than the power to certify that the

% After_je\arsâ\200\230>gf"

elections were not _fair

The South ' Africans also insisted that their police alone should be responsible for the maintenance of law and order during the elections. For â\200\230obvious ' reasons Swapo hesitated before accepting such conditions. - -

" Then, when Swapo was â\200\230about to accept, South

African forces struck at a refugee camp at Kassinga, deep in Angola,

ing over 600 young refugees . and injuring many mor

e

8.,
e, *'South Africans

~ said that they were gue-

rillas; photographers

- from the international

Press and churchmen claimed, however, that they were refugees. â\200\230Photographs of mou

What was the timing and quality of the attack on Kassinga about if not an attempt to â\200\234persuadeâ\200\235 Swapo to keep out of the elections? ;

After that the South Africans, through their administrator-general, unilaterally - formulated and promulgated election regulations. ;

Outrage

â\200\234When UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim announced that the UN forces would comprise

7 500 men, the South African Government declared itself to be outraged, as if the Blue Helmets were to be invaders rather than monitors.

Finally, on September 20 1978, Prime Minister John Vorster, announcing his resignation, also declared South Africa's rejection of the UN plan. i

The Government experimented with various constitutional forms but has never faced up to the possibility of an independent black majority government.

From Prime Minister Vorster onwards, South African spokesmen have vowed that the Swap flag would not fly over Windhoek. :

Has Pretoria really undergone a revolution in its thinking?

Times have admittedly changed since 1978. There has been the emergence of the Reagan-Gorbachev rapprochement.

The war is more expensive and the SADF is apparently no longer able to wreak havoc in Angola without risking appreciable white losses.

But for the South African Government, obsessed with its own survival at the polls in South Africa, have things changed that much?

SA and Swapo: ballot battle looms

WINDHOEK The guns have
th Africa's -
gear border war against Nami-

gone quiet in Sou

ia's South West Africa Peo-

ple's Organisation, but hostility"

continues ;

+Thou Swapo gnenllas
and hundreds of South: African
troops died in the conflict that
_ started in 1966.

Now. the . wos;v es must co-

operate under Nations
supervision to bring independence
to the territory that was
their battleground. The con-
frontation has moved from the
bush to Windhoek, where the
United Nations Transmon As-

sistance Group (Untag) is set to

begin monitoring the territory's
transition to independence
from April 1.

We know what sort of thing
to expect from Sou
and we will appeal to
the United Nations. But if we feel our

h Africa.
he Unit-

BRENDAN BOYLE

position is being jeopardised in
we will take to the streets for
mass protests, said Swapo

. Chairman Mr Dan Tjongarero.

South African Administrator
General Mr Louis Pienaar, who
will rule Namibia until inde-

pendence, acknowledged there
- would be many disputes before

independence is achieved. |
There are many rapids to be

negotiated. Make no mistake, it

will not be easy,â\200\235 he said. g

He has met with leadersâ\200\230 of

Namibiaâ\200\231s many moderate
black and white political par-
ties, has no plans to make con-
tact with Swapo.

- â\200\234If they want to see me they
can â\200\230ask for a meeting, but I

_think they should rather speak

to the UN representatives
here,â\200\235 he added.
a4 South Afrîâ\200\230 can officials pri-

vately acknowledge they ex-
pect Swapo to win more than

â\200\234 half the vote in the November 1

election of an assembly to draft
an independence constitution.

Their goal is to preventrâ\200\230-
Swapo from gaining the two-
" thirds maJorlty that would

allow them to adopt their own

socialist constitution without. .

compromise.

Wlth only 75000 whites
Namibiaâ\200\231s estimated

amon
1,5 million people, Pretoria will

need some blackâ\200\231 support to

prevent a sweep by Swapo. -
Pretoria is setting up recep-"

cess to the airwaves.

Mr Pienaar has outlined
â\200\230election rules that would give
â\200\230voting rights to hundreds of de-

- mobilised South African sold-

iers and civil servants and, by
raising the veting age from 18
â\200\234to 21, disenfranchise thousands
-of young blacks loyal to Swapo.

Though his proposals must be
approved by the UN he said he
had prepared a draft proclama-
â\200\230tion as a basis for negotiation
â\200\230with UN Special Representa-

i tive Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

In Windhoekâ\200\231s township of
Katutura, Mr Tjongarero
.vowed io fight every South

tion centres for returning gue~. ï\2011ï\2011can attempt to manipulate
e

rillas and refugees without con-
sulting Swapo or the United
Nations. Some are in former-
South African army camps. -
Broadcasting remains under:

Mr Pienaarâ\200\231s control with no:

immediate plans to give Swapo
or other left-wing. partnes ac-

November election.

â\200\234They are already out there,
'spreading horror stories about
~'Swapo and what they /say a
Swapo government /Qvould

rmean. We have to follow behind
them, telling people the real
_sStory.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

â\200\224

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'â\200\234THE CITIZEN

D

cath faces AN

unless they give

By Darene Roihschild

THE four self-con-
fessed ANC members
standing trial in the
Delmas Circuit Court
were yesterday con-
victed of attempted
murder and malicious
damage to property for
planting a limpet mine
in Silverton, Pretoria,
and a landmine in So-
shanguve, in July 1986.

The three convicted of
murder and attempted
murder when judgment
began on Thursday, have
been given a week to
change their stance of
non-participation in the
court proceedings and
give evidence in mitiga-
tion, or face the death
sentence.

They are Jabu Obed
Masina, Frans Ting-Ting

. o .]

Masango and Neo Grif-
fith Potsane, who were
found guilty of the mur-
ders of a former kaNg-
wane Minister and his sis-
ter, and the attempted
murder of his wife.

Masina was also found
guilty of murdering two
policemen, one of Soweto

. and one of Mamelodi, the
latter murder to which

Masango was found to be .

an accomplice.

All four of the accused, which includes Joseph Makhura, were found guilty of the Silverton explosion which occurred at a bus stop, injuring 17 people, and the Soshanguve blast which damaged a road grader on 2 road mainly. used by military vehicles. /

In a statement read to the court by Mr Justice M de Klerk, Makhuraâ\200\231 revealed while in custody, that both bomb Dlasts were unsuccessful.

The Silverton limpet mine went off four-and-a-half hours later than intended. It exploded at 5.30 pm instead of 1 pm.

The Soshanguve land-mine exploded three days later than intended and was meant for a military

vehicle and not the road !

grader.

Mr Justice de Klerk urged the accused to re-

veal extenuating circum-

stances which may exist and which may have influenced them tO commit murder.

He said he had heard from the lawyer for the

ence -

accused. Mr Peter Harris, that the accusedâ\200\231s families were â\200\234beside themselves with worryâ\200\235.

As judgment was nearing completion yesterday relatives of the accused wept softly in the gallery. The brave chants which characterised the start of the trial dissipated within the first week and gallery attendance thinned out.

Mr Justice de Klerk
said that the accused were
not found guilty of the
charges not mentioned
during the trial.

They initially faced
charges of treason and 49
other charges including
murder, terrorism, at-
tempted murder, mal-
icious damage to property
and the illegal possession
of firearms and ammuni-
tion.

They were remanded in
custody till Friday when
the accused will either
give evidence or sentence
will be imposed. :

Mr Justice de Klerk\200\231s
two assessors are Dr D
Botha and Mr L V Kock.
Advocates Mr Harry
Prinsloo and Mrs Louisa
van der Walt are pros-
ecuting for the state.

Mrs Mandela's bodyguards have been linked

'ANC opposes
call to shun
Mandela Swife

By Durash Patel

and Sarah Sussens
THE African National
Congress, accusing the
Government of infiltrat-

to the disappearance and

death in January of teen-

age activist Stompie

Moeketsi Seipei and the
abduction of four others.
A democratic movement
statement said the
community had been
outraged by the reign of
terror allegedly carried
out by members of the
team.

Â

A TOP-SECRET
document, published
by the Sunday
Tribune today,
reveals a remarkable
picture of the role
played by WINNIE
MANDELA (above)
in the Stompie
scandal.
The document, drawn
up by the Mandela
Crisis Committee and
sent to the ANC in
Lusaka, details
confrontations with
Mrs Mandela.

See Page 8

ing agent provocateurs
into the controversial
Mandela United Football

Club, has called on anti-apartheid bodies not to shun Winnie Mandela.

Yesterday's unprecedented call contrasts directly with a statement earlier this week by former United Democratic Front publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, and Cosatu president, Elijah Barayi, asking progressive members of the community to distance themselves from Mrs Mandela, who was denounced for allegedly dragging the family name into dishonour.

It is expected the organisations involved in opposing Mrs Mandela will probably heed the ANC's appeal for unity and soften their harsh attitude towards Mrs Mandela, but community outrage appears to have reached fever pitch, sources said.

A major obstacle to the ANC peace call is the release of a secret document apparently sent to ANC president Oliver Tambo detailing the alleged activities of the football club's bodyguards and Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement. This document could be used to try to split the anti-apartheid organisations, sources say.

Organisations which challenged Mrs Mandela and her alleged involvement in abductions and assaults on five youths, might refuse to change their attitude to Mrs Mandela.

Sources said until the full impact of the ANC statement sank in among the community, it would be difficult to predict how conflict surrounding Mrs Mandela and ANC support for her would be resolved.

The ANC statement,

released in Lusaka yesterday, appealed to anti-

apartheid groups not to ostracise Mrs Mandela.

To Page3 Â®

ANC opposes call to:9un s Mangei

From Page 1

But it also condemned the â\200\234unbecoming activitiesâ\200\235 of club members and said Mrs Mandela had been â\200\234left open and vulnerable to committing mistakes which the enemy exploitedâ\200\235.

Because Mrs Mandela had ignored ANC advice to disband the club â\200\234we consider it necessary to express our reservations about Winnie Mandelaâ\200\231s judgment in relation to the Mandela Football Clubâ\200\235, said the ANC.

â\200\234We have every reason to believe the club was infiltrated by the enemy and most of its activities were guided by the hand of the enemy,â\200\235 the statement said.

Meanwhile, it has been established that Mrs Mandela has not left the country and apparently has no intention of leaving.

Widespread speculation â\200\224 fuelled by a police statement â\200\224 that Winnie Mandela was â\200\234missingâ\200\235 and had left or was on the verge of leaving South Africa has been denied categorically by Professor Fatima Meer, a close friend of the Mandela family.

Professor Meer â\200\224 author of Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s biography Higher than

e â\200\224 said yesterday: â\200\234I am in contact with Winnie Mandela and I know that the thought of leaving the country has never entered her mind.

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela has advised Winnie to remove all the youths from her home in the wake of the Mandela football team crisis.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who held a five-hour meeting with Mrs Mandela yesterday, announced at a Press conference last night he would ensure this was acted upon promptly.

He also announced the fifth youth who had been abducted with the other youths had been released into his care for urgent medical attention.

The youth, Katiza Cebekhulu, is to lay charges: against Methodist minister Paul Verryn.

Police launched a murder investigation in connection with the football club and the team alleged involvement in the abduction and murder of 14-year-old Stompie. Police impounded Mrs Mandela's minibus for forensic tests.

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African Affairs
Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of
KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, has told repre-
sentatives of the South Afri-
can Government that their
insistence on going ahead
with regional services coun-
cils is â\200\230confrontationalâ\200\231 and
incompatible with the poll
tics of negotiation.

He released a statement
yesterday relating to talks
held at the first meeting of
the Joint Committee of the
| South African and KwaZulu
| Governments in Cape Town
on Thursday.

Dr Buthelezi said he had
emphasised to the Govern-
ment delegation, headed by
Acting State President Mr
Chris Heunis that he had
never deviated, and would
never deviate, from his in-
sistence on the total unity of
| South Africa as it was
brought into being by the
Act of Union of 1910.

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l emphasnsed that I was
in nego-

lating in order to make ti(:e

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o Ty system work,â\200\231 he

â\200\230I pointed out that
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the South African Goveâ\200\230r'?:

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rk
apartheid that precludeodf â\200\231
mentâ\200\231s insistence of talking
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tiation up to no

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Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Government is planning
to force Conservative Party-controlled coun-
cils in Boksburg and Carletonville to take
down the apartheid signs they have re-erect-
ed at the townsâ\200\231 amenities.

Far-reaching retrospective changes to the |

Separate Amenities Act, that will bar the re-
erection of apartheid signs once they have been
taken down and stop any new signs being put
up, are under consideration.

This could spell the end for attempts by CP coun-
cils to turn back the clock and segregate amenities.

As the Government moves to try to woo the
Labour Party into supporting a number of key con-

stitutional amendments, several beaches, including

the controversial Kingâ\200\231s Beach, are to be opened.

This means that Durbanâ\200\231s Addington and South

beaches could well be opened after Easter.

In other important developments:

qâ\200\230n President Botha has given the green light for a
shuffle in the Ministers Council in the House of Re-

* presentatives; and

[]The Labour Party has blocked a proposed con-

stitutional amendment that would have allowed a

black to be appointed to the Cabinet.

The Government has hinted at action to prevent the Conservative Party from re-erecting apartheid signs since the municipal elections on October 26 but it has not spelled out just what it plans.

Now, as part of a package to woo the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party and win support for a change to the constitution which would mean the creation of extra seats in Parliament, the Government plans to act.

Kingâ\200\231s Beach

The rest of the package would be the opening of facilities, including Kingâ\200\231s Beach, scene of Mr Hendrickse's now famous swim on January 2 1987 | which led to his resignation from the Cabinet.

Since then, relations between the Government and the Labour Party and its leader have been distinctly cool.

In spite of the moves by the Government on the Separate Amenities Act there is to be no compromise from Labour with Mr Hendrickse stating last night that the Act must be repealed.

â\200\230We donâ\200\231t just want Kingâ\200\231s Beach open, we want the whole coastline,â\200\235 he said.

The decision by Mr Botha to allow Mr Hendrickse to reshuffle his Ministers Council after refusing permission for more than a year, is one more indication of the Governmentâ\200\231s wish to negotiate.

Significantly, the decision was made by Mr Botha when he visited Cape Town on Thursday for talks with a number of Cabinet ministers.

The bad news for the Government is the Labour Partyâ\200\231s refusal to accept an amendment allowing a | black to become a member of the Cabinet.

Explaining the partyâ\200\231s decision, Mr Hendrickse said the decision was a result of talks with leaders of black constituencies who were opposed to moves to appoint blacks to the Cabinet.

â\200\230Power would still rest with whites,â\200\231 he said, adding â\200\230T was in the Cabinet for two years, so I should knowâ\200\231.

Mr Hendrickse, who has met Mr Heunis on a number of occasions since the beginning of the year, is scheduled to hold talks with Mr F W de Klerk, the newly elected leader of the National Party, on

Thursday.

- @ See Page 2

