CAPE TOWN ANC leader Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s family gathering today at his Victor Verster Prison house $a\200\224$ to celebrate his 71st birthday $a\200\224$ coupled with other recent

â\200\230and planned visits, did not signal his immi-

nent release, a spokesman said yesterday. Attorney Ismail
Ayob, who regularly
sees Mandela, said the
latest stream of guests
'was, as far as he knew,
the most that had been
received in any one
by the ANC

ceived no indication
that Mandela was
about to be freed.
â\200\234The visits are more
frequent than usual,
but not, I think, very
slgmflcantâ\200\235 %
Ayob said Mandela
had been given permission last year to
hold a family gathering on his birthday.

Advocate and Mandela family friend Dullah %: Ir said the gathering would be a family

Bonâ\200\235 - sadness, because after the reunion they w111

leave Mr. Mandela to resume his lonely life, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Omar said.

Over the pÃ@st week Mandela has received at

least 12 guests: six Rwoma â\200\230treason triahsts

on, but $\hat{a}\200\234$ hardly an occasion for celebra-v

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It will be an occasion with a strong theme of

Ariaga_s_7_'%

Own Correspondent

four Tembu chiefs, Prof Fatima Meer, and hxs wife Winnie.

This morning a^200^231 visit a^200^224 by the largest group of relatives to be received by him at the same time a^200^24 marks Mandela a^200^231 28th year in prison.

Family members were expected to arrive in Cape Town last night for his birthday gather-

- ing.

Winnie Mandela, the couple \hat{a} \200\231s daughter \hat{a} \200\231 :

Zindzi, and three grandchlldren \hat{a} 200\224 Gadafi, Zoleka and Zondwa \hat{a} 200\224 were due to arrive from

Johannesburg.

One of Mandelas andchildren, Mandla Mandela, was expected from Swaziland with

his father. He is the child of Makgatho Man-

 $\tilde{\ }$ dela, a son from Mandelaâ\200\231s first marriage. Among other expected arrivals were another â\200\230daughter, Maki, and her children.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that another function at Mandelaâ\200\231s prison â\200\234homeâ\200\235 â\200\224 to

- mark the conferment on him of an LLB degree

by Unisa \hat{a} 200\224 is in the pipeline. .

Prison authorities confirmed they were considering an application for an $a\geq 00\geq 34$ academica $200\geq 35$ function to be held at a later date.

Unisa principal Prof Cas van Vuuren said he had been asked to attend. -

The law degree was conferred on Mandela in

- absentia on May 17.

Van Vuuren said the Prlsons Service and Mandela were arranging the function. It was not an unusual event, he said, because he did

~ occasionally attend private functions for stu-

dents unable to be present at graduation cere-

 $\mbox{$\hat{a}$\200\230$monies.}$ No particulars of the final date or

venue had been conveyed to him.

AMPAIGN to grevent SA from rescheduling its debt repayments was launched by anti-apartheid organisations from around the world at a London congress over the weekend, ri¬\201ported Africa News Organisation (ANO).

ANO said yesterday the main objective of the campaign was to stop the SA government from renegotiating its foreign debt of more than \$20bn and in particular the \$11bn-Â\$13bn debt due for repayment by June 1990.

The re-scheduling of SAâ\200\231s foreignâ\200\231

debt would represent a new lifeline for apartheid and encourage an inflow of capital and investment into SA, ANO said. It would also contribute to the country $\hat{a}\200\231s$ rearmament programme.

Although the ANC still rejected selec-

tive or conditional sanctions, it believed SA was vulnerable to financial sanetions at present and concentrated international action could have a sharp and direct impact. i

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

The campaign would include action to stop creditor banks from using â\200\234exit clausesâ\200\235 where the debt is converted into long-term loans or equity, opposition to gold loans or gold swaps with SA, securing guarantees of no new loans or other credit to SA until apartheid is dismantled, ending trade credit facilities, insurance and export credit guarantees and the ending of double-taxation agreements.

Demonstrations

Sapa-AP reports that the ANC said its main target would be the banks involved in $SA\hat{a}\200\231s$ existing rescheduling agreement, most of which were located in France, West Germany, Switzerland, Britain and the US. -

1t said there would be demonstrations against those banks on October 4, but

 NG , campajen on debt reschedulingy

detailed plans and targets had not yet been worked out.

This would be followed by a week of action from November 13 to 19 when an ANC delegation would meet the relevant banks, reserve banks and governments.

During the week of action the ANC would be sending a senior delegation to meet the banks and governments to encourage them to impose sanctions and to oppose any debt rescheduling, the ANC statement said.

ANO said participation from bank trade unions, students, bank customers, local and municipal authorities, religious organisations, development agencies and international organisations would be sought for the campaign.

The European Parliament, US Congress and other nationsâ\200\231 parliaments would also be encouraged to pass resolutions supporting the anti-apartheid

campaign, the ANC said.

%ri¬\202tbthe desperation of the Democratic Party. -

It cannot win the election; it has no hope of becoming the Official Opposition. At best, according to Dr Dennis Worrall, co-leader of the party, it can win 40 seats; unbiased observers suggest 27 to 30 seats are more likely.

However, the party is sold on the idea that if - the National Party ends up with fewer than - 83 seats, there will be a $200\234\text{hung}\200\235$ Parliament.

That means the NP will not be able to rule without the assistance of the DP, which will then be able to bargain on policy.

The DP itself cannot take away so many seats - from the NP that it can achieve a $a\200\234hunga\200\235$ Parliament. o 1

So its answer is to put up DP candidates in constituencies which the DP cannot win. .

The DP will then siphon off enough votes to - enable the CP to come in.- $\hat{a}\200\234y\ 1$

If the NP loses enough seats to the Right, there will be a $a\200\234hunga\200\235$ Parliament.

Letâ\200\231s suppose there is a â\200\234hungâ\200\235 Parliament. Dr Worrall does not believe the NP will split to the Right, because he calculates that the NPâ\200\231s verkramptes on the platteland will be the ones eliminated and the partyâ\200\231s MPs will consist mostly of verligtes. :

We are not alone in believing, however, that if the NP suffered a severe setback in the election, the split would be mainly to the Right.

The CP might then be strong enough to become the government.

But supposing there is no $a\200\234hunga\200\235$ Parliament $a\200\224$ and we do not believe there will be one $a\200\224$ the DP will have given the CP seats it would not have won had it not been for the DP.

Then, if the CP emerged much stronger than it is now, the signal to the government would be that it was losing so much support that, for survival, it would have to put a brake on re-

forlli. S â\200\230."j',

Thus, the DPâ\200\231s gamble is a dangerous one for South Africa itself, for whatever faults the government has $a\200\224$ and nobody doubts it has faults $a\200\224$ it is the vehicle for reform.

And in the end it is reform that the DP harms most by its dangerous tactics.:

The DP-supporting Sunday Times voices its concern in a leading article, headlined \hat{a}^200^234 Three-cornered follies, \hat{a}^200^235 in which it says: \hat{a}^200^234 Democratic Party leaders should use the final week before nomination day to reconsider their strategy of entering three-cornered contests where their intervention

will have only one probable outcome $\hat{a}\200\224$ sending a Conservative to Parliament. $\hat{a}\200\235$ / Although it claims it is $\hat{a}\200\234$ perfect sense $\hat{a}\200\235$ for the DP to fight three-cornered contests in seats - like Pretoria East, Waterkloof and others \hat{A}° $\hat{a}\200\234$ where the DP has significant support, $\hat{a}\200\235$ in other seats $\hat{a}\200\224$ perhaps only six or eight in the Eastern and Northern Transvaal $\hat{a}\200\224$ the DP campaigns will be $\hat{a}\200\234$ little more than futile and costly flag-waving exercises. $\hat{a}\200\235$

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Right-wingery, a Tisingmenace, is perhaps | the most immediate danger in Southpf\fnqga? since its growth retards the search for sens!ble political solutions, $\hat{a}\200\235$ the newspaper says.

It is doubly puzzling that the DP should act in

a way that $m\hat{a}\200\230$ criased the CP $\hat{a}\200\231$ s share of the

Op on market. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Enthusiasm iti is laudable, but not when naively e:rgrgiosgg >

The Sqnday 'I'ime_s also says: $a\200\234$ Reckless, CP-assisting $a\200\230$ campaigns in no-hope constity-en'cxgsgmay also have the knock-on effect of

 $\hat{a}\202$ away potential DP voters in other ::as?a!;l! $\ddot{z}\201$ re the party has every justification

It concludes: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Has the DP enough about these matters: $\hat{a}\200\231$ t $\hat{a}\200\231$ hou.ght ot

The DP Tesponse to this leading article is that 1ts nominations will go forward as planned.

In other words, it will not stand back in constituencies where its intervention will let the

in.

Political analysts say 20 NP seats in t vaal are inâ\200\230 \ddot{a} \202)e balance. iy e If Ntlh;e CP Wlnsd more seats, it will be from the â\200\224 and some of these seats will co three-corne red contests. -

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ We hopc i_{({tefs will take the DPâ\200\231s tactics into f conjdgr.atgon;,at the polls and will vote not

g:iy_ agai the DP, but also to keep the CP 4 T $\,$

Mm& i^{201} !ote. i, three-cornered contcsts '

forthe NP.v

Tuesday 18 July 1989

THE! 'CITIZEN

Lesotho military chief to testify at inquest H

MASERU. The chairman of the ruling Military Council in Lesotho, Major-General Metsing Lekhanya, will give evidence at an inquest into the death of a student, Mr George Ramone (20), who was allegedly shot dead on December 23 last year.

The inquest will be held from July 31 to August 4. Ramone (20), was shot dead at the Lesotho Agri-

cultural college, but despite pleas by his parents, no inquest of inquiry was held.

Attorney-General Kelebone Maope last Friday scheduled the inquiry for July 31, after South African, British and American newspapers reported that Maj-Gen Lekhanya had admitted shooting the

Mugabe warns

~ over claims | of SA â\200\224 funding

HARARE." â\200\224 Zim-

babwe President Robert

Mugabe yesterday said

his government will

 $a\200\234$ take action $a\200\235$ if it is sat-

isfied South Africa is

funding the Zimbabwe

Unity Movement Â\$ (ZUM) led by Mutare urban MP Edgar Tekere, the national news agency Ziana reports.

 $\hat{a}\200\234As$ soon as we get satisfied that = South Africa is involved we will take some action, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he told newsmen in Harare.

Top Zanu (PF) officials allege that ZUM was being funded by Pretoria and last week Political Affairs Minister, Mr Herbert Ushewokunze, said he intended sending a statement of protest to the South African Government.

On the allegations, Pres .Mugabe said: â\200\234This is what we understand. If the South Africans are trying to build out of ZUM a monster

like Renamo . . . we will have to take some action at some stage, but as long as thereâ\200\231s an approach which is peaceful by ZUM thereâ\200\231s no reason for any action.â\200\235

Mr Tekere has denied that South Africa was funding his party, which he formed in April, dismissing the allegations as a $a^200^234a^200^230$ smokescreen a^200^235 .

On allegations that the Zanu (PF) candidate, Mr Ephraim Masawi in the Dzivaresekwa Dby-election contested by Zum two weeks ago had a criminal record, Pres Mugabe said: â\200\234I donâ\200\231t know what his record is but if in fact he was not eligible as a candidate they can fight it out in court.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It may be true tht he did some bag snatching and that he committed some offence some time ago $\hat{a}\200\224$ that obviously will stand against him in the eyes of people. $\hat{a}\200\235$ $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa.

student - in a memoran-

dum to the six-man Mili-

tary Council.

Originally, the reports said, Maj-Gen Lekhanyaâ\200\231s bodyguard has told police he shot Mr Ramone. Maj-Gen Lekhaynaâ\200\231s memorandum reportedly said the shooting occurred while he was patrolling the campus and stopped an attempted

Maope said on ¢

Monday that the foreign newspaper reports about

â\200\230the contents of Maj-Gen

Lekhanyaâ\200\231s memorandum and the statement to the police were accurate.

In addition to Maj-Gen Lekhanya, the body-guard, Sgt Khothatso Mojakhomo of the Lesotho Defence Force, and the alleged intended victim, Puleng Makara, will also testify, the Attorney-General said.

There has been no explanation for the sevenmonth delay in holding an inquiry into Mr Ramoneâ\200\231s death. Mr Maope said last week that Lesotho law requires an inquiry when someone is killed and no one is charged.

Maj-Gen Lekhanya led a military coup in January 1986 to overthrow Leftist dictator Leabua Jonathan, whose support of the African National

some §

Congress led to a South African blockade of the

country.

The Military Council said it would restore the authority of King Moshoeshoe II, but has not done so although he has more power than under Jonathan. The Military Council has banned all political parties and refused demands to call | elections. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

Political KLOOF. â\200\224 The meeting earlier this month between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and

Nelson Mandela, fully vindicated the actions of those who began the process of talking to the ANC, Dr Zach de Beer, Parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said at a DP meeting in Kloof Town Hall last night.

â\200\234The meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela is certainly one of the most significant events of recent years.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It marks the very welcome end of all the $\hat{a}\200\234$ total onslaught $\hat{a}\204$ ¢ nonsense with which the Nationalists have fought the last few

elections. The Nats need .to talk to the ANC, and are now beginning to do \$0,â\200\235 said Dr De Beer.
"The DP welcomed this development and would continue with its own process of bridge-building with the ANC and other extra-Parliamentary groups, so as to lay the foundations for tomorrowâ\200\231s democratic South Africa.

The Progressive Federal Party had once been criticised for demanding the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, reviled for supporting Black trade union rights and attacked for saying influx control had to go.

On these issues it had

been proved right. DPâ\200\231s crusade for the scrapping of apartheid was a just and an absolutely irresistible one.

â\200\234A united, harmonious
South Africa is unthinkable as long as there is
any racial discrimination
here in our country,â\200\235 said
Dr De Beer. -

In addition to constitutional issues, the election focus was increasingly on bread and butter issues. It was an accepted fact that the economic position of the people was deteriorating fast and that they were experiencing creeping poverty.

 $\hat{a}\200\230Botha-Mandela$ talks dicate ANC trips $\hat{a}\204\$ y

Dr De Beer said gov-

-ernment expenditure. low

productivity and â\200\224lo sion from the world's financial markets, dueto some aspects of apartheid, were the main causes of the present economic crisis.

 $a\200\234$ The people of South Africa $a\200\224$ all people $a\200\224$ are crying out for peace, prosperity and security.

 $\hat{a}\200\234All$ these are attainable only through the implementation of democratic policies. That, in turn, demands the election of Democratic candi-

dates, \hat{a} 200\235 said Dr De Beer. (News by Brian Stuart, 51 Parfiament Street, Cape Town.)

ATV2&EMN -

AN

HARARE. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Zimbabwe $\hat{a}\200\231s$ President, Mr Robert Mugabe, yesterday expressed support for the recent meeting between jailed African Nat-

ional Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.and the State President. Mr P W Botha, the national news agency, Ziana, reports.:

â\200\234We find nothing
wrong - with such a
~meeting. This is what
we have been urging
. the leaders of the Nat-

ionalist Party to do, a\200\235 ~ President Mugabe told

~a Press conference in

~ Harare.

~ Zimbabwe had been urging the South African Government to talk to leaders of the Black majority and not try to circumvent them and talk to

ot!ler African leaders to gain acceptability.

President Mugabe, who

has constantly refused any contacts with Pretoria before it discussed the internal problems of that country with leaders of the Black majority, said: â\200\234I can only discuss with Botha matters that have to do with the programme of the African people in South Africa in regard to

their freedom and inde-

pendence.

â\200\234I can only talk to Botha through the ANC and even then, should there be discussions or detente between the ANC and the apartheid regime and I have decided to meet Botha or De Klerk (Mr F W de Klerk), I will have to get my briefing from the

- ANC, PAC, UDF and so

on to establish whether the course I am taking stands in the correct par-

TO PAGE 2

R

Y FROM PAGE 1

ameters as to the objectives that members of the liberation movements would want to achieve. $\hat{a}\200\235$

President Mugabe said it was very necessary that there be constant interaction between the National Party and the rest of the movements which were fighting for their freedom and democracy in South Africa.

Through such interaction, it was felt that some process could be found to solve South Africaâ\200\231s political problems.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We encourage them to continue, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. -

President Mugabe also expressed support for Zambian President Kenneth Kaundaâ\200\231s willingness to meet the NP leaders, saying Dr Kaunda, as chairman of the Frontline states, should try to give direction and try to assess

much as possible whether $a\geq00\geq34$ noises $a\geq00\geq35$ being made by the South African Government were meaningful and offered the opportunity for change.

President Kaunda had also a duty to impress upon South African leaders that $a\200\230a\200\234a\200\230a$ partheid is a wrong policy, that there is need for them to consider

the opposite to apartheid $a\200\224$ that is democracy.

â\200\234He will report to us, and where we feel that those steps taken are too hasty, we say so and where we feel they are jUStlï¬\201ed in terms of umâ\200\224 ing, we will also say so,â\200\231 said President Mugabe.

Commenting on tomor-rowâ\200\231s meeting between Mozambican President

DELA TA

Mugabe praises talks<

Joaquim Chissano and the NP leader, Mr -De

Klerk, President Mugabe

expressed the hope that Mr De Klerk would not speak in $\hat{a}200\234a$ hypocritical way $\hat{a}200\235$ as Mr P W Botha used to.

Mr Botha not only spoke in two tongues sometimes, but in three or four tongues, and did not therefore honour some of his agreements.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ hope that De Klerk will not speak in a hypocritical way to Chissano and behave in the same way.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We would want to know whether the South Africans will act to stop assisting Renamo. One hopes he (De Klerk) will

assist - positively, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said President Mugabe. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa.

viap
talks halle

by Mugabevp_â\200\230

- By Robin Drew,
' The Starâ\200\231s Africa News Service
"HARARE â\200\224 President Robert
â\200\230Mugabe yesterday welcomed tomorrowâ\200\231s talks between Mr F W
de Klerk and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and said
â\200\230he hoped it would help to end
the war in Mozambique.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We want to know if South Africa is prepared to act honestly, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

He hoped Mr de Klerk would not $\hat{a}\200\234$ speak with two tongues as President P W Botha had done at previous meetings $\hat{a}\200\235$. Mr Mugabe said South Africa had continued to help Renamo despite promises at the time of the Nkomati Accord.

On the meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, \hat{a}^200^230 the Zimbabwean leader said contacts like this should be encouraged. \hat{a}^200^234 We find nothing wrong with this. We have been

ging $\hat{a}\200\230$ whites in South Africa to

talk to black leaders there and : not to us. \hat{a} 200\235

- On domestic matters, Mr Mu-

~gabe said he stood by his deci-

- sion to pardon former Minister

 $\hat{a}\200\230Mr$ Frederick Shava, who had been sentenced to nine months $\hat{a}\200\231$ jail for perjury connected with

the Willowvale car scandal.

British MP: I
wonâ\200\231t see

By Joe Openshaw Because his request to visit Nelson Mandela had been refused by the authorities, there was little point in seeing Government Ministers, said British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman, who arrived in Johannesburg yesterday on a 10-day visit.

He told pressmen that although South African authorities had last week denied his request to see the ANC leader after many weeks of waiting for a reply, he had again asked to see him.

 $200\234$ Mr PW Botha can see Mandela, why canâ\200\231t I?â\200\235 he asked.

Mr Kaufman, who re-emphasised his and his partyâ\200\231s opposition to apartheid and support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, said the Labour Party

Nat Ministers

did not see significant reform in Mr F W de Klerkâ\200\231s statements. $\hat{a}\200\234$ We regard the only signifi-

cant reform in South Africa

would be a commitment to the complete abandonment of apartheid and the release of all political prisoners, among whom Mr Mandela is a leading figure.â\200\235

Mr Kaufman is in this country at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches and will also visit Namibia for two days.

His schedule includes visits to Johannesburg, Soweto, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Cross-

- roads where he will meet com-

munity leaders from the UDF, Cosatu and Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation as well as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Govan Mbeki.

Former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan was among those who met Mr Kaufman at the airport. Fâ\200\230bar of police 1&d to suicide bad â\200\224 accused

P By Celeste Louw

An.accused in a sabotage trial

told a Johannesburg Iegional

Cqurt yesterday that he had

tried to commit suicide because

he $a\200\234$ could no longer stand the tm; eats and treatment of the police $200\235$ after his arrest.

Mr Harold Matsididi (42) of Diepkloof was being cross-examined by the prosecutor in a

teial within a trial.

- * Mr Matsididi contested the admission of a statement to the court after he had allegedly been forced by the police to make the confessions to a mag-1\$trate
- *"Mr Matsididi has pleaded not guilty to a charge of sabotage for: allegedly attempting or planning to attack John Vorster Square last year. He has also pleaded not guilty to a charge of Hlegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

In previous evidence Mr Mat- $s, \hat{a}\200\230gx, dl$ told the court he/had re-

ved electric shocks éwxce at

Protea Police Station after hls arrest.

He had been assaulted and thr \tilde{A} Oatened by police and made the statement to a magistrate \tilde{a} 200\234out of fear of what could happen to me \tilde{a} 200\235.

Phe trial continues before Mr

Ι

Real test after election says Anglo chief

Govt showing more

tlexibility -

Staff Reporter

Nationalist Party leader Mr F W de Klerkâ\200\231s task is to consummate the reform process and give form and content to a post-apartheid vision for South Africa based on values and aspirations that unite rather than separate South Africans, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly says in his annual report published today.

Mr Relly says that while the five-year plan announced at the recent NP congress is $a\geq00\geq30a\geq00\geq34$ not always reassuring on these two fronts $200\geq35$, it at least recognises the

need to change the present *

order through negotiation.

 $a\200\234$ The critical test of the party $a\200\231$ s will and intent will come after the (September) election, $a\200\235$ says the Anglo chief.

Mr de Klerk has already been received by several European leaders and there are signs that the US, under President Bush, is trying to fashion a policy that will remain constructive yet not be perpetually opposed by Con-

Mr Gavin Relly.

gress, Mr Relly says.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was the least likely to entertain exaggerated ideas of how quickly Mr de Klerk can effect change. But even she cannot wait indefinitely for progress if her opposition to sanctions is to be sustained. $\hat{a}\200\235$

The Soviet Union, under its new willingness to support regional peace settlements, has not only brought into question

'Pretoriaâ\200\231s â\200\234cherished myth of

- Relly

prompted the ANC to look again at its constitutional and eco-

nomic prescriptions for South

Africa.

The new Russian attitudes have caused Marxist prescriptions to be widely questioned in Africa, as elsewhere, Mr Relly-« says. $^\prime$

Greater flexibility on the part of the SA Government was indicated recently by the historic meeting between President
Botha and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the Governmentâ\200\231s reassessment of the kwaZulu- Natal Indaba as well as the guarded reaction to the report of the Government-appomted Law Commission.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Such flexibility in tlmeshould facilitate the emergence of broader political alliances, and opportunities for domestic | opposition forces and exiled groups to participate in the $\hat{a}\200\230$ talks about talks $\hat{a}\200\231$ which must be a precursor to any formal move towards political negoti- | ation, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Relly says.

@ See Page 25.

A Wolmarans.

ik

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ the total onslaught $\hat{a}\200\235$ but has

" The government has said fion on the countryâ\200\231s polm

tion getting together.

committed to negofiaal problems. Opposition groups are also talking about negotiation. Senior Assistant Editor JOE LATAKGOMO examines the prospects of the Government and its black opposi-

Negotiation is firmly on the political agenda. At least, this seems to be the indication from both Government and its opposition on all fronts, not least of which is the African National Congress and the internal mass democratic movement.

Following the historic meeting between Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, some observers even went to the extent of suggesting that negotiation was already under way.

Last month, a high-powered team from Cosatu and the UDF held a meeting with the ANC delegates in Lusaka to discuss the possibility that Pretoria will submit to pressure from Western powers and launch a negotiating drive after the elections in September.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ As we are aware, the issue of negotiations has been placed on the agenda, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Cosatu $\hat{a}\200\231$ S Jay Naidoo.

For years, the Government has insisted that it is $a\200\230a\200\234$ negotiating $a\200\235$ with what they termed moderate black leaders, and added that they would not speak to anybody who does not forswear violence. This was a clear reference to the ANC, the PAC and internal organisations like the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People $a\200\231s$ Organisation and the two major labour groupings in the country, Cosatu and Nactu.

 $a\200\230$ Secret $a\200\231$ talks

The chief architect of the $a\200\234$ negotiations $a\200\235$ that the Government was referring to, Mr Chris Heunis, was adamant that he was speaking to, and consulting black leaders $a\200\234$ even though some of them do not want to admit this much publicly $a\200\235$. If true, the process was therefore largely secret.

But what the Government views as negotiation is not necessarily what the black majority accepted as such. Government created institutions were largely shunned by credible

black leaders, right up to the governmentâ\200\231s ' latest, the National Forum. Even at local government level, the Community Councils were largely rejected because involvement was seen as being co-opted by â\200\234the systemâ\200\235.

However, there seems to be a new climate, an air of confidence that negotiations can at last take place. But what are the prospects for the negotiation of a peaceful settlement of the South African conflict?

All the pointers, at the present time, indicate that negotiation will not even get off the

g B

eg

 $a\$

New climate and

air of confidence

starting block. And this is all because of the

different fundamental positions of the ad versarles in the struggle.

* The National Party has stated that group protection is the pillar of its new vision, and they believe that every group should participate as a component in the legislative and executive processes.

The ANCâ\200\231s position has been firm, too. Apartheid, they say, is incapable of being reformed and they will countenance no dispensation in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained.

And yet, there seems to be a feeling that the ANC would be willing to compromise provided at least some of their minimum demands are met.

The Government has in turn, admitted that its policies do not work. In the Nat five year plan, they point out that the present basis in terms of which groups are defined for the purposes of political participation $a \geq 00 \geq 34$ creates many problems. It must therefore be revised in a process of negotiation to establish a greater freedom of choice $200 \geq 35$.

The Nats have also shifted slightly from the position as to who they will negotiate with. $\hat{a}\200\234$ We are almost moving away from the meaningless requirement of the renunciation of violence, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Dr Stoffel van der Merwe told a briefing on the Nat plan.

However, they still insist that the Group Areas Act will stay on the Statute Books $a\200\234$ until an effective and generally acceptable measure can be substituted. $a\200\235$

The ANC has set down conditions for negotiation, chief of which are the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, the commuting of death sen-

tences upon those convicted of political of- -

fences and withdrawal of troops and paramilitary police from the townships.

The ANC has stated that it would suspend

violence if the Government met its precondi-

_

tions. $\hat{a}\200\234Far$ from being a block to entering negotiations, these (pre)conditions will allow the kind offree association that will make a negotiated settlement possible, $\hat{a}\200\235$ an ANC spokesman has said.

The ANC welcomed negotiation $\hat{a}200\234$ because we do not want to inherit a wasteland. $\hat{a}200\235$

Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that negotiation had to take place according to an open agenda, but the NP would approach negotiations with the principles of $a\200\234$ group security and the preservation of Western civilised values $200\235$.

Also, the Government has been firm on the question of the state of emergency. While there is at least some hope that Mr Mandela may be freed soon, it is unlikely that Government would free political prisoners in great numbers.

It seems, therefore, that negotiation at

least in the near future, is simply not on. A new focus will be required, as would a united front against the Government.

Common front

Already, the UDF, Cosatu, the ANC and Inkatha, under Chief Buthelezi, are working towards creating a common front which would create the biggest force ever ranged against Government.

However, that still leaves other parties out in the open and peace and stability can only be possible if those $\hat{a}\200\224$ particularly the PAC are included. As another observer said recently, the agenda for negotiation is not important. Who is negotiating is critical.

In the final analysis, the nature of the society we are striving for will be determined by the way we get to that society, and it seems all actors in the South African_ politi-

 $\tilde{\ }$ cal game at least realise this.

As Muntu Myeza warned before the last election: there is a force that the whites cannot ignore; this force is black people.

Cosatuâ\200\231s Mr Jay Naidoo: â\200\234Issue of negotiations placed on the agenda.â\200\235 - : h

Mr Chris Heunis . .. said to $a \geq 00 \leq 30$ huve bnsulted black leaders in secret. -

East Rand Bureau

The basic infrastructure and municipal services in the black areas were 20 years behind and would need about R6 000 million to bring them up to date, the deputy chairman of the East Rand Regional Services Council (ERRSC), Mr A W Kors, said yesterday.

He said these estimates did not include excessive growth through inereased urbanisation which was an international phenomenon.

Mr Kors said the ERRSC had budgeted R321 million for black towns during the current financial year for the installation of infrastructure.

About R85 million would be spent in white towns, R13 million in coloured towns, R7 million in Indian towns and R41 million for common projects in all these towns.

He said the RSC spent money through sponsored projects that were undertaken by local authorities on their own, or through their consultants.

RSCs improving

 $=SThR \ \ b$

black town\lship

Staff Reporter

A new deal is on the way for black local authorities now that regional services councils (RSCs) are in operation.

Speaking at a press briefing in Pretoria yesterday, the MEC .in charge of RSCs, Mr SA S Ferreira, said black townships would benefit greatly from the RSC system.

RSCs would give priority to providing infrastructure where it was most needed.

This meant that, initially at least, most of the councilsâ\200\231 budgets would be spent in black residential areas.

Mr Ferreira said RSCs would be playing an important role in improving black living conditions.

They would also be providing infrastructure in the poorer white areas.

Few if any white or black lecal authorities in $\frac{3}{200}$ be past had been able to raise funds out of taxes for infrastructural development. g

This meant they had to borrow for essential works, which was expensive.

Mr Ferreira said that at present interest rates, a R100 000 loan could ul- $a\geq 00$ and all authority between R341 000 and R630 000.

 \hat{A}° But the RSCs would now give local authorities a grant for essential $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ projects and would also follow this up with funds for the maintenance of these facilities.

Mr Ferreira said che:

saw RSCs as a means of transferring wealth from rich parts of a region to the poorer parts.

Blacks had a right to expect RSC funds to be spent in their areas. The levy on wages meant that part of their earnings â\200\230was being used to finance the RSCs.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ They were also contributing funds to the RSC through the levy on firms $\hat{a}\200\231$ turnover.

The Transvaal RSCs would have an income of

about R467 million this.

year. But when everyone who was liable to contribute to the RSCs was doing so, their income should be about R600 mil-

lion.

Firms trying to avoid paying the levies should realise that these funds

could be collected retrospectively and that interest would have to be paidon outstanding payments.

RSCsâ\200\231 income would also rise in line with inflation as wages and company turnovers rose.

Mr Ferreira said RSCs did not need to spend their budgets within the fiscal year if they could get a cheaper quotation by delaying a project. It was also RSC policy to have funds that had been allocated for a project to be spent in the same area.

FW to allay concerns over Mandela mec:tinJgj

il %3

NP has no

t gone

 $a\200\230$ soft on the ANC $a\200\231$

By Peter Fabricius Poli)t'ical Correspondent

The National Party says the recent meeting between, President Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not mean it has â\200\234gone soft on the ANCâ\200\235.

And despite the meeting, the NP is going ahead with its election campaign of running down the Democratic Party as being $a\200\234$ soft on, the ANC $a\200\235$.

Mr Con Botha, the NP \hat{a} \200\231s chief information officer, confirmed this today, responding to reports of confusion in the Botha/Mandela meeting.

Some NP members are dismayed that the meeting may have undercut their election strategy of attacking the DP for talking to the ANC.

Old atack

Sharp differences have emerged in the NP about the meeting. Some have seen it as step towards contact with the ANC and others believe it was aimed at driving a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC. .

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP hopes to shrug off the apparent contradiction and pursue its old line of attack on the DP.

He said the latest issue of the NP mouthpiece, Die Nasionalis, would make capital of remarks by former DP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam that the DP was in effect $\frac{a}{200}^24$ taking orders from the ANC $\frac{200}{235}$.

Mr Botha said that the meeting between Mr

NP ranks about the'

Mandela and President Botha was a $a\200\234$ break-through in the on-going saga about whether or not Mr Mandela would be released $a\200\235$. One could not read more into the meeting, he added.

But he objected to assumptions that the meeting meant the NP was softening its approach to the ANC. ; $\,$

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This doesn $\hat{a}\200\231$ t follow logically. The NP is still bound to the unequivocal renunciation of violence as a condition of taking part in negotiations. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mr Botha said that this standpoint was unanimously adopted by the NP and still held good for the ANC or any other organisation.

It had been re-affirmed by the NP in its five-year action plan endorsed at its extraordinary federal congress last month. A $\$

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We are not going soft on the ANC. In fact, the ball is on the other foot. If the ANC wants to take part in negotiations, it must renounce violence and I see no indication of that. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Mr Botha said he thought that NP leader Mr F W de Klerk would deal with the Mandela issue fully when he addressed the Cape NP congress in-Somerset West on Saturday.:

If there was any negative reaction to the meeting from the electorate, he added, it would only be from the $a\200\234$ unenlightened $a\200\235$ who did not think the NP was serious about releasing Mr Mandela.

Conservative Party general secretary Mr $\hat{a}\200\230An-$ dries Beyers yesterday said the Mandela meeting was going to win the election for the CP.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We are going to do to the NP what they did to

- the PFP in the 1987 elections, \hat{a} \200\235 he said.

Fleur de Villiers

cautions that Mr De Klerk should listen rather than talk in London this week when he meets Margaret Thatcher to discuss

the state of emergency and Nelson Man- \mid dela

!

s,

 $Wl/\ \hat{A}$ «j iwge \hat{A} «mq. bk Music

AS South Africa $200\231s$ putative Eresident $200\224in 200\224waiting 200\230$ boards

is jet this week for a foreign tour that will take him from Helmut Kohl's Chancellery to 10 Downing Street and (just possibly) a grand finale at the White House, he would do well to keep a tight grip onreality.

Invitations to South African leaders to come calling in the West have a rarity value which would excite a Sothebyâ\200\231s auctioneer.

The cards which now litter Mr F W de Klerkâ\200\231s mantelpiece will almost certainly extract new heights of journalistic hyperbole from those ever anxious to claim that South Africa is about to be readmitted to the world commun-

ity.

lt is to be hoped that, as a sensible and rational man, Mr De Klerk will close his ears to such nonsense and realise that this weekâ\200\231s travels are not a ti¬\201, raud tour but a study tour. If he flunks his exams â\200\224 some time in the spring of next year â\200\224 not only will he not be invited back, but South Africaâ\200\231s iselation from the West could well be terminal and complete.

That time frame $a\200\224$ some nine months after he assumes office $a\200\224$ is not an idle threat or an attempt to persuade Mr De Klerk to move faï¬\201ter than his constituency will allow.

Crisis

It is simply Whitehallâ\200\231s realistic assessment of how long Mrs Thatcher has to use her muaâ\200\224 sive powers on the South can leadership before the world closes ranks against her and she stands alone.

And that the British Prime Minister, her government evincing all
the signs of a serious midlife crisis, beset by a slumping pound,
| rising inflation and a resurgent
~ Labour Party, is no longer pre-

to do.

This weekâ\200\231s seminar over tea and biscuits at No 10 therefore does not mark the beginning of a new public Thatcher initiative on South Africa. That speculation, which had its origins in some wild over-interpretation by the British Press during her African safari earlier this year, was not feasible tlâ\200\2301x' jand is even more high-risk now â\200\230when conspicuous failure

could expose her {g ridicule in

Europe -and the Commonwealth and dangerous divisions at home.

Nevertheless, the phoney peace which South Africa now enjoys in the councils of the world derives, at least in part, from Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s commitment during her African trip to use her influence with Pretoria and thus prove that dialogue works where isolation has most conspicuously failed.

The exemplar of her hopes remains Namibia and she remains convinced that $\hat{a}\200\224$ if the agreement stays on track $\hat{a}\200\224$ Namibia is all she will need to defend her $\ddot{a}\200\201$

eads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur in the autumn. After that, however, the time frame begins to shorten.

Hounded

By early next year, if their hopes of the new South African leadership are disappointed, the Bush administration and the centrists in the US Senate will no longer be prepared to battle with the sanctioneers. In West Germany Chancellor Kohl, already something of a broken reed on South Africa, will in all probability be serving out his last months in office before handing over to an SDP-Green alliance.

American pressure on Euro) and European pressure on Thatcher to show a united front on South Africa will mount â\200\224 and will meet with decreasing resistance. For, while she will remain op) to sanctions in principle, her opposition will no longer be as loud or as resolute. Simply put, in terms of her own political inter-

ests, South Africa will no longer be worth the candle.

If Mr De Klerk fails to show willing, so will she.:

So what does she expect Mr De Klerk to do to prove that he is a risk worth taking? The answer $a\200\224$ which betrays close consultation with the Bush administration $a\200\224$ should surprise nobody. It includes the lifting of the state of

. emergency, the release of all poli-

tical detainees and the release of Nelson Mandela into a negotiating process. If any or all of these events take place, Mrs Thatcher

will not rush to claim the credit,

although she will most certainx use them to argue that a Sou Africa not hounded by the sanctioneers is capable of facing up to its future with imagination and courage.

The discussion is unlikely to end there. Deeply and justifiably an-

gered by the $a\200\234Blowpipea\200\235$ fiasco, the British Prime Minister is also concerned by the continuing capacity for mischief by elements of South Africa $a\200\231s$ security establishment in both Mozambique and Namibia.

In assessing Mr De Klerk \hat{a} \200\231s reformist instincts, she will also assess his willingness to reassert civilian authority.

Challenge

1t is not a little ironic that Mr De Klerk owes this trip in no small measure to his failure to dislodge Mr Botha from office in February. The subsequent hiatus may have all but paralysed government but it was also largely responsible for the brief respite South Africa has enjoyed as the -world waits to take the measure of Mr Bothaâ\200\231s successor. .

Its willingness not to leap gg ent has been fuelled by Mr

erk \hat{a} \200\231s own adroit use of language which in turn has fed hopes that he is not simply a younger, more emollient version of Mr

Botha, but a leader who, despite his conservative background, is capable of responding to the challenge of the times.

But language is no longer enough to satisfy a world grown wise to Pretoria-speak. If Mr De Klerk is to widen South Africaâ\200\231s diminishing options and end the | hand-to-mouth existence it has led both economically and politicall for the last four years, he will listen very attentively when he takes tea at Downing Street.

If he fails, the opportunity will not come again.

THIS week, Mr Herman Cohen passed through the final stage of becoming US Assistant Secretary of

State for Africa. He put his hand u fon

and swore to uphol

to the best of

a dog-eared Old Testament the constitution and do the job is abilities. A curious ritual for a

country so obsessed with the separation of church

and state.

That was not the only curiosity. Another was the | extraordinarily ecumenical flavour of the occasion. There can hardly be a broader slice of Washington

opinion than that shared by those who gathered to witness the ceremony and pay their respects.

The several hundred invitees ran the gamut from such rabid sanctioneers as Congressman How-

ard Wolpe and TransAfricaâ $\200\231s$ Randall Robinson on the left to such bitter-end cold warriors as Howard Phillips on the right. And all seemed rema kably content.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ only character who really looked out of place was Mr Cohen $\hat{a}\200\231$ s gredecessor, Chester Crocker.

esterdayâ\200\231s man.

As Shakespeare put it: â\200\234To have done is to hang quite out of fashion, like a rust.{'hmaxl in monumental mockery.â\200\235 Though in Dr Crockerâ\200\231s case, tan and rested might be more apt than rusty.

After the oath-taking, Secreta of State James Baker welcomed Cohen aboard and remarked, somewhat insincerely, that he and Presi-

- dent Bush had agreed almost from the moment they started thinking about it that this was the man for the job.

In fact, a former Crocker lieutenant, Mr Frank Wisner, had been the early frontrunner. Mr Cohen then gave a small selfeffacgg speech, most of which was tnthankmghkold% â\200\231 : . ors in the foreign service for gven him the promotions that per-Insrespxmefofi¬\202ka signment Fede * He also poin ".Ba ker for tu'x)':mg the job ovelz? to tedly thanked M career diplomat, something Dr Crocker was not, and which Dr Crocker had a problem. he there. Loyalty has its rewards, too. - If Mr Cohen mtendeï¬\202 no a% dofferedth no word of appreciat er g led off the one truly resonant glnlplomauc coup of the Reagan years and sown ever success the Bush a tion now may have in the reg:on, but as Mr Baker and Mr Cohen both made clear, as far as they are concerned he and his are history. In human terms, such treatment is unfortunate. But new boys will be - new boys, and Dr Crocker himself $^{\prime}$ was equally if not more dismissive of his predecessors. At least he had the t:xcnse that they were Demo-The Bush administration $\hat{200} = 231s$ excuse . isthatit wants a !reqh start Assoclmay have seeds for what-. dministra-Barber Coming and Cohen Washington Diary ated as Dr Crocker is with the triux:trh of Namibia/Angola, he is also

to an era in which the making

and implementation of Africa policy

gvas hand to hand ideological comat.

Â¥ e Kok

 $a\200\234$ The new team wants to put that $a\200\230$ era behind it. Chester Crocker $a\200\231$ s feelings, and h of reward, have therefore had to be sacrificed. He was et\ire $a\200\232$ denied a decent farewell

on
tiness, but perhaps it makes
sense and will help bring
! on a bitterly divisive
hsue. And yet the cavalierness of it

_betokens an attitude that may

 $a\200\230$ mean that, when the administmtlon finds it most needs friends, as inevitably it will, they will not be

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Besides, a little of Dr Crocker $\hat{a}\200\231$ s isdom might come in handy as the: ministration debates how to deal

wlth Mr FW de Klerk, if and when he

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ here next month. ~ Some truly asinine ideas are already being canvassed by Secre-Baker $\hat{a}\200\231$ s inner circle (though not

by Mr Cohen, it must be stressed)

_calling, among other things, for Mr De Klerk to be presented with a list ~ of demands and timetables for re-

£0er

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Let them try that stunt, and Pretorla s reaction will undoubtedly $\hat{a}\200\234$ be such that whatever common mmd may now exist here on South ca will rapidly become scorched

```
F.W.to"
speak on
Mandela
meeting
99 killed 1n
10 July 1939
[ carmeL rickarD | â\200\231
e â\204¢ f
lated. â\200\230
woman believed to be a
v firmed her death
. been established
whether she died from
burns or stab wounds.
i^2 201 mel T i^2 202 \tilde{A} s - \hat{a} 200 224
Mpu
TWENTY-TWO people
have died in Mpuma-
langa since Friday in
what is believed to be
the most violent week-
end of civil war in
Natalâ\200\231s townships. }
Colonel J.J.A. Fourie
of the KwaZulu police
has confirmed that 21
people were killed in the
Mpumalanga area over
the weekend. He said,
however, that it was still
not possible to say
whether all of these
deaths were unrest re-
Yesterday afternoon
the latest victim, a young
school pupil, died after
she was stabbed and shot
on her way to the clinic. |
When she tried to run
away petrol was poured
over her and she was set *
alight.
```

Colonel Fourie con-

brought the total to 22 but said it had not yet

A prominent member pf_the community, Ms Re-Joice Ncoyi, said that on Friday night she had

some things. When he did not re-

him and found him and the car riddled with bullets. His girlfriend was injured and taken to hospital.

"Ms Ncoyi said she believed she was the intended target and that! the killers assumed she wasin the car.

Other residents told of | many people being brought into the area in minibuses and taxis and of a\200\234wild shootinga\200\235. a\200\230

Colonel Fourie said that on Friday night $a\200\234a$ large gang of people $a\200\235$ were going from house to house to house $a\200\234l$ ooking for trouble $a\200\235$,

Township residents had no doubt all the deaths were the result of the continuing fight be-tween supporters of

m

"sent her brother, Mr Babs Gumede, in her car to her house to fetch

turn she went to look for

Some sources said the deaths appeared to be $a\200\234$ evenly divided $a\200\235$ be. tween the two sides.

Unrest monitors said that on the whole there haq â\200\230been a noticeable easing of Natal township tension. However, Mpu-malanga has consistently been the major exception to the general rule

and the area has been the scene of some of the worst fighting in the his. tory of the conflict.

The monitors added that 22 was the highest number ever to have died in a single township In one weekend of politicalviolence, .

Colonel Fourie said there was widespread stoning of vehicles yesterday. The situation was still very tense last night and there was a strong police presence, includ-Ing members of the South African Police in the area.

® Yesterdayâ\200\231s police unrest bulletin listed only twodeaths in the area.

UDF/Cosatu and Inka-tha.

alanga

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 | The National Party leader will make a formal statement on the P.W. Botha/Nelson Mandela talks at the end of the week.

The party has reaffirmed its standpoint
that it will not talk to the
ANC unless the organisation renounces violence. Director of Information Mr Con Botha
said Mr F.W. de Klerk
would make a formal
statement on the recent
meeting between the
State President P.W.
Botha, and ANC leader,
Nelson Mandela, at the
end of the week.

Mr Botha said he agreed with the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, that the talks should be seen as a breakthrough in the light of Mr Bothaâ\200\231s call last year to Mandela to reject vio- \mid lence. }

Mr Botha said he would stand by the NPâ\200\231s standpoint at their recent federal congress that all participants in the democratic process should settle their political differences in a peaceful and constitutional manner.

Only people and organisations who had this kind of attitude to peace would be allowed to take part in the political process. a\200\224 Sapa.

i

% JuLâ\200\230.1 1929

О

by Ke

- Preparing people for Mandela?

HERE is a conundrum: if the National Party cannot repeal the Group Areas Act for the fear of losing its power base, how can it negotiate with the ANC for a transition to democracy without losing that base? Put differently, how can the National Party under Mr F.W. de Klerk possibly meet the soaring expectations raised, here and abroad, by the historic meeting in Tuynhuys of President Botha and Nelson Mandela? : The obvious answer is by leadership of a very high degree; the more likely answer, concealed in the labyrinthine deviousness of the Nationalist political style, is that the party \hat{a} 200\231s words and

actions donâ\200\231t mean what they seem to

mean.

There is no need to be clear on the partyâ\200\231s intentions, for two reasons. Firstly, the elevation of Mandela to the status of negotiating partner and the election rhetoric of people like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, or Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok (â\200\234apartheid is an albatrossâ\200\235) have raised expectations so high that, if nothing much ensues, we risk another disillusion, here and abroad, as severe as Rubicon.

Secondly, the opinion poll conducted for Rapport by Mark en Mening $\hat{a}\200\224$ a poll which has a track record of reasonable reliability $\hat{a}\200\224$ shows a marked weakening of the party $\hat{a}\200\231s$ traditional base, from 48,7 percent of the electorate in April to 41,1 percent in June. This means that ralsed expectations coincide with a narrowing of room to manouevre.

The defections are especially worrying, not only because they are running high but because, once again, English and Afrikaans voters are acting in fundamentally different ways $\hat{a}\200\224$ Afrikan-

,

ers mainly go right to the CP, Engllsh g0
left to the DP. The hopes that Afrikaners could be attracted into a genuinely
reformist party are not being met. In
spite of all the efforts made by the DP
to accommodate Wynand Malanâ\200\231s NDM
and Wimpie de Klerkâ\200\231s â\200\234Fourth Forceâ\200\235,

. despite the appointment of a majority

of Afrikaners to the partyâ\200\231s governing board, and despite the nomination of hlgh-proï¬\201le Afrikaans advisers like Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the DP can muster no more than 7,8 percent of the Afrikaans voters.

The implication is inescapable that, so far at least, the National Party is $t\hat{a}\200\230$ allmg between two stools: it is doing little

in the way of fundamental reform to '

hold its English voters (and a small number of mainly young intellectual Afrlkaners), but too much to hold its own right wing. Its own base is shrinking from both ends.

Some points are clear: the NP has sensibly abandoned the illusion that it can win back the racists who have already defected to the Conservatives (barring, perhaps, a minority driven to defection by a decline in their economic fortunes or by the endemic corruption of government). The NP is competing robustly with the DP for what

might be called the $a\200\234$ moderate reform-,

ist \hat{a} 200\235 vote. That vote, it turns out, is overwhelmingly English.

At the same time, there are encouraging signs of an enlightened leadership emerging in the campaign. At one time, it was only Pik Botha who dared speak of the inevitability of change (remember his 1975 announcement, somewhat premature, of the death of apartheid? Or his talk, on the day before Slabbertâ\200\231s self-immolation, of a

=Y

Nelson Mandela . . . will whites be educated to look to him as leader of the future?

black president?) and he risked repudiation by his own party whenever he did so.

Now the party itself speaks of universal $a\200\234$ participation $200\235$ in government, and Coetsee, following the Law Commission, talks of defending $200\234$ group values $200\235$ by entrenching the rights of the indi-

vidual. Setting out his vision of a democratic SA he told the recent National Party congress: \hat{a} 200\234The system must not violate the principle of universal franchise, or it will be self-destructive. \hat{a} 200\235 That brmgs him close to one man, one vote.

Thirdly, the National Party has

i

plainly abandoned the â\200\234Albanian Optionâ\200\235 â\200\224 the belief, especially prevalent in the security establishment and among less educated whites, that the country might dig itself into a bunker of angry defiance of the rest of the world.

Previously strained relations with African states have $\hat{a}\geq00\geq24$ thanks again to the ever resourceful Pik! $\hat{a}\geq00\geq24$ been turned into an instrument to break the deadlocks in both foreign policy and local politics. A complex web of relationships has been woven to bind local, regional and distant parties into a single, multi-faceted political process, and the Botha-Mandela meeting has given the process almost unstoppable momentum.

Nevertheless, severe contradictions remain. Most obviously, negotiation cannot proceed very far unless Mandela is released. Nor can it proceed far unless the ban on the ANC and other political organisations (including the SA Communist Party of which Govan Mbeki is a self-confessed member, and of which half the ANC leaders are members?) is lifted. Nor, indeed, could negotiation proceed unless the emer-

 $a\200\230$ gency were ended, opening the way for

vigorous political protest against not only the Group Areas Act, but against all surviving vestiges of Verwoerdian apartheid. In short, the process creates its own imperatives.

The Law Cammission, much more sensible than government, has suggested a systematic purge of the statute book to eliminate all laws that might conflict with the provisions of a fully-fledged Western-style bill of rights.

That process would do more than anything else imaginable to a 200 234 create a climate for peaceful negotiation 200 235, but it

- ; -

:

<

NEWS

Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein resist incorporation into BophuthatsWana

U heaval comes to peaceful villages

NAM L WITHESS

JOHANNESBURG \hat{a} 200\224 The stark contrast between the Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein communities and other villages bordering the western Transvaal town of - Zeerust is hard to ignore.

Nestling among the Marico hills, the two villages $a\geq 00$ plunged suddenly into the international spotlight last month $a\geq 00\geq 24$ are a picture of rural tranquillity.

Surrounded by thickets and green bush, villagers canrightly claim that theirs is a land that many black people envy.

Neat plots, with worked vegetable patches and gardens, dot the landscape injecting a mosaic of colourin an otherwise dreary area.

There are no cramped quarters in Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein. Built of brick, mortar and mud, the stolid houses amply accommodate families.

There are modern brick-and-tile houses in both villages, but they do not detract from the ambience of an African village.:

And that ambience is one of settled, diligent communities bent on maintaining a measure of tradition.

For the two communities, numbering about 25 000 people, cattle and goats are the main interest. Large wooden pens are opened every morning to allow the cattle to graze. The cattle business has been good, allowing the residents of Braklaagte to own a neighbouring farm, Moswewu, which is also used as a

```
cattle post. g
```

The women of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein run the villages, brewing beer, tending the vegetable patches and gardens and cleaning the yards.

. Most of the men work as labourers in nearby Zee-rust for the town council or the army $\hat{200}231s$ Second Battal-

ion, in platinum mines near Rustenburg and on mines and railways in Johannesburg.

- Money is sent home and most of the men return at least once a fortnight. $\boldsymbol{\cdot},$

A strong community spirit has seen the establishment of schools and clinics, and working families pay asmall amount every month for a library.;

Behind this tranquility, however, lies a passion $a\200\230$ against anything $a\200\224$ and anyone $a\200\224$ that attempts to dis-rupt a community life established in the early 1900s.

So, when the community was informed of incor-

| poration into Bophuthatswana four days before a 1 | Government Gazette contained the details, that anger | - was bound to explode.

Since December 31, 1988, the peace and tranquil-

lity at Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein has been shat-

tered by sporadic clashes between Bophuthatswana |
police and residents. '

- I8 JuLy

/1989

Banning is a sign of

desperation $\hat{a}\200\224$ Trac

JOHANNESBURG \hat{a} 200\224 The ban placed on the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) and the Black

Sash by the Bophuthatswana administration â\200\234is a

measure of how desperate the homeland authorities are to sweep all grievances under the carpet and stop people seeking helpâ $200\235$, the organisation said yesterday.

In a Government Gazette yesterday Chief Lucas .

Mangopeâ\200\231s administration outlawed Trac and the Black Sash on the grounds that they $a\200\234$ endangered national security and public safetyâ\200\235. All organisa-:\lon: linked to the two bodies are also affected by e ban. v

Pointing out that they were a non-violent organisation, Trac said their work in the area, particularly in Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein, involved supporting people who suffered $\frac{3}{200}$ and a pervasive climate of oppression, particularly as a result of their opposition to enforced incorporation into the homeland $\frac{3}{200}$.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Banning$ us will not mean that opposition to the administration will cease $\hat{a}\200\235$, the organisation charged, adding that community grievances were

-real and would not disappear as long as the home-

lands system continued to exist.

Ultimately, Trac continued, the culprit was the South African Government which failed $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ to recognise the human worth of black people, and persists in treating them like pawns on a ridiculous checkerboard of its own design $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Those who still believe the homeland system is a success, particularly in Bophuthatswana, which boasts a Bill of Rights, should take a closer look at Bohpthatswana $\hat{a}\200\231$ s dismal record of human rights violations. The events in Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein in recent weeks have demonstrated this amply, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Trac said. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa. 3)

President LUCAS MANGOPE

The culmination came on July 1 when nine policemen and two civilians were killed and many others injured. The chief of Braklaagte, Papsie Sebogodi was arrested along with several other community leaders.

For Mr Sebogodi, it is a case of dÃ@ja vu â\200\224 it harks

back to the days in the late 1930s when both communities resisted attempts to wrest control of the land from them.

Braklaagte was bought under a freehold licence in 1907, and community leaders set about establishing schools, clinics and smallholdings.

The first clash with the authorities occurred 31 years later when about 40 families were removed from a neighbouring farm as a first step towards limiting a rising African population in and around Zeerust. Further removals were interrupted by the outbreak of World War 2.

In 1958, another attempt was made to remove 5 $\ensuremath{\mathrm{A}}$

Braklaagte residents. But it, too, was strongly resisted.

: When Bophuthatswana accepted independence in 1976, Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein were left out of the new territory as they were situated in a corridor of white farms.

But in the early 1980s a Commission for Co-operation and Development began hearings on the fate of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein.

At the end of 1985, the commission decided that all farms in the Marico area, including the two villages, should be incorporated into Bophuthatswana with compensation for whites who lost land.

Resistance to the decision soon became apparent, but the seal on the decision came in December last year with the publication of the Government Gazette.

A court challenge in March this year failed to -

halt the process with the judge ruling the proclamation ordering incorporation was legally valid.

Since March, the tempo of violence has rapidly increased.

In Leeuwfontein the proclamation was greeted with shock \hat{a} 200\224 residents were not informed of incorporation and heard about it from Braklaagte.

The communities say; eir living standards will drop if they fall under Bophuthatswana. They point to pensions lagging behind South Africa, poorer health

facilities, more expensive but lower quality education and lower wages.

But Bophuthatswana disputes this, saying the two communities wish to enjoy the benefit of both: worlds. A

Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope recently told a meeting of residents: $\hat{a}\200\234I$ was consulted by two people who came and said that they wanted me to incorporate Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein. They are the ones who initiated it and that is why this place is being incorporated into Bophuthatswana. Do not gain the impression that I did this on my own. $\hat{a}\200\235$

With accusations and counter-accusations, the prospect for peace looks grim.

Bophuthatswana authorities are adamant that the two communities-will fall under Mmabatho.

But the two communities remain committed to being within South Africa, whatever the costs.

With both parties refusing to back down, the tranquil and leisurely life at Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte is fast fading, and being replaced by the spectre of continuing upheaval. â\200\224 Sapa.

Soviets, yiew sjtuation in Africa with OptlIIIlSA

MOSCOW $\hat{a}\200\224$ Grounds for optlmism in regard to the political ion on the African continent

â\200\230 ov1_ded by developments in Namibia, Angola, Ethiopia and SA, Anatoly Adamishin, Soviet Qewty Foreign Mmlster said at iefing here. He has]ust re-

ed from a tour of African

\ in " underlined that the USSR backs the current talks between the ANC and SAâ\200\231s white opposition. The Soviet side, for its part, - contacts both with the

 \hat{a} 200\230the white anti-apartheid

ts with the official ities are only mainan settlement. the meeting between son Mandela and SA tha, Adamishin sald n,

the Pretoria regime and the fighters $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right)$

 $aga\tilde{A}@nst$ apartheld who are led by the

â\200\234The last session of the joint commission on settlement in South West Africa held in Angola resolution 435 and the UN plan on the granting of independence to Namibia are being implemented rather suc-

- cessfully. But certain difficulties
- emerge, in particular because of the
- SA police who are trying to intimi-

date inhabitants of the country

Welcomes

 $a\200\234$ But after the bloody events: in

- April the process of decolonisation

got under way. In the 1(}%mon of representatives of the secretary-general the situation in Namibia is

 $t\tilde{A}$ er than it may seem, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Adamishin sai

coma such develoglments and takes
active part in this process as a
l'vel' c e :

```
roved that
2 Ã@dr evt
- port for the end
\hat{a}200\234The USSR declares for just elec- \hat{a}200\224 ANO. :
tions in that country and wishes a
victory to Swapo which is backed by
most Namibians.â\200\235
A major positive breakthrough had
taken place in Angola, he said.
Leaders of 20 African nations
reached an agreement in Zaire on
June 22 on stopping hostilities in An-
ola. The USSR was actively working
or 1m1§lementatlon of this agree-
ment. But Unita violated the agree-
ment on a ceasefire and its leader
Jonas Savimbi made statements im-
peding the positive process.
During his talks with Angolan
_ President José Eduardo dos Santos,
Adamishin saw the Angolan govern-
ment as resolutely searching for a
litical solution to the Froblem. The
viet side was promo
~Cess.
In Pans, Adamishin meL Zau-ean
- S i sï¬\201e:'w_el â\200\230"fâ\200\231 President Mobutu, who played a
T pori oD *\hat{a}\200\230f\hat{a}\200\230,'e\hat{a}\200\230\hat{a}\200\234i\hat{a}\200\231:lm\hat{a}\200\230:\hat{a}\200\230,\hat{a}\200
\230{
e from
hï¬\201n of Soviet sup-
the war in Eritrea.
â\200\224
ing this pro-
```

Mandela

family
all toge

QAU

\LLN\) NQ\(\alpha\)200\231\]\ZS\\q 8 =11

ther

WINNIE SAYS NELSONâ\200\231S 71st IS â\200\230NOTHING TO GET EXCITED ABOUTâ\200\231

CAPE TOWN: Mrs Winnie Mandela is happy that the Mandela family would be with her husband on his birthday.

However, she said last night, there was nothing to get excited about, even though Mr Nelson Mandela turns 71 today.

â\200\234There is nothing to be happy about ... our leaders and other detainees are still in prison, the country is in a deepening crisis and the state of emergency is still with us.

â\200\234But we're delighted to be together with my husband. He has asked us to share his birthday with him,â\200\235 she said.
_.Mrs Mandela, her â\200\234daughter, Zinzi, and her three grandchildren Zo-leka, Gadafi, Zondwa, were the last of the Mandelas to arrive in Cape Town yesterday for Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s birthday.

They were due at 5.30pm, but arrived at 10.10pm after Mrs Mandela had changed her booking and were met at D.F. Malan airport by advocate Dullah Omar, chairman of the restricted United Democratic Front in the Western Cape.

Mrs Mandela, who wore a black leather

| jacket and a black beret on a cold night, showed

Daily News Correspondeizt

Mr Omar a poster-size birthday card which the National Union of Mine-workers had sent to her husband as photographers crowded around them to photograph the unusual birthday card.

3 omar saidithe capg o followed to the airport

was \hat{a} \200\234beautiful \hat{a} \200\235.

Asked if there were any other presents destined for Victor Verster Prison where Mr Mandela lives in a prison home, Mrs Mandela said $a^200^234yesa^200^235$, but declined to give more details.

Mother and daughter laughed when one of the battery of photographers around them almost landed on a tender part of his anatomy when the luggage conveyer belt on which he was standing was switched on.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ knew that this would happen, $\hat{a}\200\235$ a laughing Mrs Mandela said.

There was some concern when the Mandelasâ\200\231 luggage and that of a few other passengers were not on the conveyer belt packed with baggage belonging to passengers on flight SA 335.

Mr Omar and Mrs
Mandela went to inquiries and were eventually reunited with their
luggage.;

Mrs Winnie Mandela, her children and three grandchildren spent the

night at the home of Mr Omar, president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Western Cape region).

Police were keeping the Omar residence in

Rylands under surveillance.

Mr Omar said: $\hat{a}\200\234I$ take strong exception to being

and back home and my house being kept under police surveillance. There is nothing subtle about it. .

~ â\200\234I regard it as highly intimidating. There is no reason whatsoever for this kind of attention which reminds me that I'm in a police state in spite of all the talk of reform.â\200\235

The first of the Man-

delaâ\200\231s to arrive yesterday afternoon was young
Mandla Mandela, son of
Mr Makgatho Mandela,
Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s son
from his first marriage,
who flew in from Swaziland. .
He was followed later
by his father, mother,
and his aunt Miss Maki
Mandela, who came
from America for the
Mandela reunion, and
her three children.

They booked into a city hotel.

The two groups of Mandelas were due to meet this morning before travelling together to Victor Verster Prison.