FWâ\200\231s sta ce on ANC seems

to $\hat{a}200\230$ rule out $\hat{a}200\231$ ti $\frac{201}{201}$ about talks;

Political Staff

SOMERSET WEST $\hat{a}\200\224$ NP leade F W de Klerk $\hat{a}\200\231s$ strong stance on the ANC at the party $\hat{a}\200\231s$ Cape congress on Saturday appeared to rule out even $\hat{a}\200\234t$ alks about talks $\hat{a}\200\235$ at this - stage.

De Klerk sald government would not negotiate with the ANC while it sisted with acts of violence and intlmidation.

As long as it refrained from clear and honest commitment to peaceful solutions, \hat{a} 200\234it excludes itself from the

peaceful process of change in $SA\hat{a}\200\235$, he

said at the closing of the congress. De Klerk left little room for manoeuvre on the issue, Although he did say the ball was in the ANCâ\200\231s court, it seemed government $a\200\230$ meant the banned organisation would

have to renounce violence before talk-

ing could begin.

As the ANC has rejected any such .

move until government unbans it, releases political prisoners and lifts the emergency, the prospects of negotia-

tion in the near future do not look

bright.

De Klerk said he had no doubt that \mid the meeting between President P W Botha and Nelson Mandela was in SAâ\200\231s best interests.

 ${\rm \hat{a}}\200\234I}$ supported the planning of such a meeting throughout.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The commitment of Mandela to peaceful development places the meet- \hat{A} © ing in proper perspective. But it does much more. It confronts.the ANC with

a definite choice.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Because of its relationship to Mandela, the ANC cannot escape the issue: is it prepared to follow the lead given

~_exact opposite,

~he said its underly-

b him and commit
1tself to the pursuit

ceful solutions?

â\200\234If it does, it can become involved in the peaceful process of dlalogue and nego-. tiation.â\200\235 4
O Transport Minis-ter Eli Louw told the congress government spending was disproportionately high and out of balance with the private sector.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Somethmg must be done to rectify the situation, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Between 1970 and 1984 the public sector made 64% of SAâ\200\231s net fixed investment and the private sector 36%. The position should have been the

On deregulation,

ing aim was to make the economy accessible to entrepneurship, and particularly the small entrepreneur.

O] House of Assembly Budget Minister Kent Durr said sanctions and disinvestment had the advantage of SA having

to buy back companies, a process of .

decolonisation. But it had the disadvantage of creating greater concentration of the economy, as only big companies

were in a position take over disinvest-

ing companies.

. The over-concentration of the economy in the hands of a few large com-

F W de Klerk and President P W Botha at the NP oongrm In:',

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' Somerset West. Picture: REUTER
panies would have to be addressed in \hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31 i
the long-term.
He also accepted fhat there was also:
\hat{a}200\234greed inflation\hat{a}\200\235 but the best remedy
for this was competition.
a\200\234There was no way we could do any- {
thing about it.
\hat{a}\200\234However, over the long term we
will have to address that roblern 1
He also dismissed a call for more
controls over the imports of luxury
goods and said luxury goods were a
very small pecentage of South Africaâ\200\231s
\{\hat{a}\200\231 orts Most 1mports, 87%, were . cap-
mports
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AVSTRALIAVN

aâ\200\2311cf Fig9

WORLD NEWS

peaceâ\200\235. .

JOHANNESBURG: â\200\230 The
* South- African president-in-"
waiting, Mr Frederik de
" Klerk, yesterday made an;.
unprecedented challenge to".

the outlawed $\hat{a}\200\234$ African National Congress (ANC) to follow the lead of its jailed head, Mr Nelson Mandela, and $\hat{a}\200\234$ commit . itself . .to

Mr De Klerk asked a congress of his ruling National Party (NP): â\200\234Is the ANC prepared to follow the lead given by him and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutâ\200\230.xons"" E

He endorsed t.he unprecedented meeting on July 5 between Mr Mandela and Presidents

< â\200\230tr

dent - Botha, which raised:
speculation of the early release of South Africa's best-

_known poht.xcal pnsoner

 ${\hat a}\200\234$ The meeting . was linethe best interests of South Africa and I supported the planning throughout, ${\hat a}\200\235$

Mr Botha following elections

., on September 6 and will have to decide whether to free $\mbox{\rm Mr}$

Mandela.

Anglican Archbxshop Desmond Tutu accused Mr De Klerk last night of trying to drive a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC. -

He said Mr De.Klerk was .

making a $a\200\230a\200\234$ crude attempt $a\200\235$ at

splitting the jailed black nationalist leader, from the . ANC, a move he described as ${\cal A}$

 \hat{a} \200\234deplorable, and which indic--

said â\200\234Mr De Klerk,>who -hopes -to- succeed:

peaceâ\200\231

ates he is $\hat{200}231$ not serious about negotiations $\hat{200}235$.

Mr De Klerk restated Pretoriaâ $\200\231s$ stand that it would never negotiate

future only - if it abandoned armed resistance.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We are ndt prepared to compromise with violence and terrorism, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Mr De Klerkâ $\200\231s$ condmons for talks with the ANC were his

 \hat{a} 200\230most specific since he was

nominated by the NP in February to succeed Mr Botha after the President suffered a stroke in January.

Mr Botha shook ha.nds with Mr De Klerk at the congress

but stopped short of openly en--

dorsmg him as his successor.
: ~ Reuters, AFP .

~with - - people: it Viewed as terrorists, and said - $a\200\230$ the ANC could be included in talks . about South . Africa $a\200\231$ s

could face
_ poll defeat

JOHANNESBURG: South Africaâ\200\231s ruling National Party (NP) could face defeat at the polls on September 6, according to a survey commissioned by the Johannesburg Sunday Times newspaper. $\hat{A}Y$

The mass-circulation weekly said the survey revealed the seemingly invincible NP was facing the biggest political reversal of its history.

The NP leader, Mr Frederik

de Klerk, might be forced to seek an alliance either with the left-of-centre Democratic Party (DP) or the right-wing Conservative Party (CP) to govern the country following the elections.

The. survey, conducted by the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, revealed the most dramatic shift in white political opinion since 1948.

AFP

e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

violence

THE Pan Africanist Congress has rejected claims that it had renounced violence and sanctions.

The organisation was reacting to reports in South African newspapers which claimed it

By THEMBA MOLEFE

had taken a drastic departure frum its current policy on negotiations and the armed struggle.

An official of the ex-

ternal mission of the organisation said his

- organisation still

regarded the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle.

On negotiations, it said the PAC was

prepared to negotiate

â\200\224_â\200\224

the transfer of power to the African people and the return of their land, a position recently stated by its president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, at the United Nations.

The PAC also said it stood firm on its support for sanctions.

Several newspapers

recently quoted a state-.
| ment issued in London

and signed by a Mr Velekhaya Shange who described himself as

chairman of the Natal

region of the PAC-in-exile.

He said in the state-

 \hat{a} 200\230 ment which circulated

in Durban "We
denounce violence in

 \hat{a} 200\234any form, for it yields

undisciplined society. -

ZEPH MOTHOPENG

Culture in Another South Africa edited by Willem Campschreur and Joost Divendal

~ (Zed Books R36,00) Reviewed by KAIZER NYATSUMBA

 $a\200\234A$ sycophantic press is the most fertile

A 1987 festival-cum-conference in Amsterdam, attended by about 300 exiled and non-exiled South African artists and cultural workers, brought together some of the finest minds in literature to have come out of this country.;

There writers, journalists and otherâ\200\231/cultural

workers who had only heard about each other, or -

had last seen each a long time ago, discussed, debated and argued about the role of culture and cultural workers in a future, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Their discussions laid the groundwork for the book, Culture in Another South Africa, so called after the theme of the

\ â\200\230.

cultureâ\200\231

Jonas Gwangwa (left), blames the prevalance of low-grade, bubble-gum music in the black market on the reluctance of some recording companies to play the $\hat{a}200\234$ melody of freedom $\hat{a}200\235$,

while poet Mongane Wally Serote believes the $\hat{a}200\234\hat{a}200\230$ apartheid culture $\hat{a}200\235\hat{a}$ \200\231 of domination has to be '

j : replaced by a much more inclusive, democratic culture. i 5

ten-day meeting.

The book $\hat{a}200\224$ like the conference which involved the participation of the African National Congress $\hat{a}200\231$ s Department: of Arts and Culture, the mass democratic movement in South Africa and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of The Netherlands $\hat{a}200\224$ is an attempt by cultural workers to

e AT R e

» S; kihg excellence

! ;;;i\low we enter history, \hat{a} \200\235 shows that the man is \hat{a} \200\230| 'not only a great poet, but also a very articulate

grapple with the question of culture in $a\geq00\geq34$ another $a\geq00\geq35$ South Africa, and to draw distinguishing lines between a $a\geq00\geq34$ ruling class culture $a\geq00\geq35$ and a $a\geq00\geq34$ rogressive culture.

The dilemma of the South African $\hat{a}200\234$ situation $\hat{a}200\235$ where a $\hat{a}200\234$ superior, dominant culture $\hat{a}200\235$ is all-pervasive and exercises such a great subtle and not-so-subtle influence over the $\hat{a}200\234$ inferior, passive culture $\hat{a}200\235$ is well catalogued and exposed, and alternatives are suggested. | '

Significantly, however, the artists who attended the conference and participated in the festival were not called upon to lower themselves to the level of being poetasters mindlessly engaging in political pamphleteering and sloganeering.

Instead, they were urged to â\200\234pursue excellence in their respective disciplines,â\200\235 to practise vigorously their trades in the best manner they know, to consciously stand up against apartheid and to ceaselessly expose its ills through their works. Journalists were also not asked to be enthusiastic propagandists, but to leave no stone unturned in their duty to uphold freedom of information and the publicâ\200\231s right to know.

Mongane Wally Seroteâ\200\231s introductory essay,

~orator. In this essay Serote skilfully dissects the * $a\200\234$ apartheid culture $a\200\235$ and finds it to be what it really is: a culture of domination which has of $a\200\230$ necessity to be replaced by a much more inclu | 'sive, democratic culture.

In their joint paper on $a\200\234$ Restrictions on the

media $a\200\224$ a reflection on journalism, $a\200\235$ Mono Baldela and David Niddrie catalogue the press $200\231$ s "woes in this country and the gagging effects o:

the now semi-permanent states of emergency. Cosmo Pieterseâ\200\231s â\200\234Towards a survey â\200\224 a re-

flection of South African poetry, $\hat{a} \geq 200 \leq 35$ is an academic discussion of the state of (black) South Afri-

can poetry. Unlike those who view the role of

â\200\230 (black) South African poetry as being only politi-

cal conscientization, Pieterse acknowledges that it is an art capable of much more than that.

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\hat{a}\200\234South African poetry, \hat{a}\200\235 he writes, \hat{a}\200\234that
" healthy sound, wWeeps, and smiles and it makes. It
is informed with history; it is there to help shape
history.\hat{a}\200\235 ';
Exiled South African musician Jonas Gwang-
wa and Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement spoke- .
sperson Fulco van Aurich point out in their joint
paper on a\200\234The melody of freedoma\200\235 that South
African music is held hostage by aparthei '
the reluctance by some recording compa
take a chance with records which may not get
airplay on SABC radio or television. v ulGh
â\200\234The apartheid record business takes a good
_care that the artists released by them do not
express themselves in political term . they say.
' It is no wonder then that low-grade, bubble-gum
music in the black market has flourished.
Black South African musicians have a
other disadvantage that few of them have a
cross-over appeal, \hat{a}200\230 and normally \hat{a}200\234 white \hat{a}200\235 radio
stations, according to Gwangwa and Aurich, are
reluctant to «proadcast black music.â\200\235
de. . : g
ersial cultural poycott
il and made lucid in
albeit not S
the necessity of the cultu
: Inter'ested in culture 1B
ca? Then you must read this book.
Conny
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ral bo cott.; i
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THE SR

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Alan Dunn, Political Staff

- * SOMERSET WEST â\200\224 There &-Was a warm smile on the Great Crocodileâ\200\231s face as he said goodbye to the Cape National Party here at the weekend.
- .. It had been his life-long car,eer his vehicle, his power base,

is love. His hour or so at the

party $\hat{a}\200\231s$ 74th congress was clearly inspired by his deep involvement with Cape Nationalism after 52 years in the thick of it.

His arrival with Mrs Elize Botha made nonsense of Tuynhuys excuses three weeks ago that because the State President was above party politics he could not attend the NP federal congress in Pretoria and a farewell banquet in his honour.

Slap

A4 Some viewed his appearance at the congress on Saturday as a slap in the face for Mr F W de Klerk.

4 But Botha men said he had made this exception because the Eape NP was almost family to im

â\200\234He Just came by to greet 0ld pals,â\200\235 said one aide as he watched the retiring leader Â\$hake eager hands.

* Had Mr Botha wanted to snub Mr de Klerk bluntly, he would have refused to accept the outstretched hand of his successor who crossed a roomful of teadrinking congress delegates to bid him good luck.

Mr Botha and his wife arrived

SETFEFEETE 11 ESABESESENEIEQBEERNELOYF "'!â\200\230#â\200\230T-f .

()ld Crocodlle
at Nat con res:

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shortly before the morning tea-

break. Wearing an NP rosette

and waving at the 600 delegates, he walked to the top table.

Mr de Klerk and his wife,

Marike, who had been occupying the seats of honour, moved to the far end of the table to make way for the first couple.

Mr Botha responded by trac

ing his links to the NP back to | the congress in 1936. Repeatedly |

using the word $\hat{a}\200\234$ loyalty $\hat{a}\200\235$, he said there had always been the same

loyalty between himself and the

Cape NP.

Turning to his health Mr Botha said he was happy to say he had recovered fully from his stroke of January 18. f:

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is not true what some peo-'ple say: $\hat{a}\200\230$ He is a sulkmgv old man $\hat{a}\200\231$, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he noted.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am a happy man. I lxve ina country of hope and a country with a future, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said in a short

- speech which did not see the

emotion he displayed in his farewell to the Defence Force recently.

Mr Botha smiled and laughed easily, -looking healthy and relaxed as he mingled with delegates.. j

~ This was not the leader who had run the Government with an. iron first for a decade, the man with an awesome temper.

Mr Botha w% out to prove he was not a sulking old man, that

he was leaving public life graceq .

fully. He did a convincing job.

. (Report by Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Streeq, Pretoria.) s

 $\hat{a} \setminus 204 \hat{c} = i vy$

shows he isn \hat{a} 200\231t a | sulking outcast

ing fo be exhumed,
>R - A4 fuLT lâ\200\230?.ï¬\201
given a fitting burial

UMTATA â\200\224 Preparations are under way to have the remains of former top ANC member and Transkei chief King Sabata Dalindyebo, exhumed â\200\224 to be reburied at a place fit for a chief.

Former Transkei MP Mr P S Fadana revealed this over the weekend at the Big Indaba at Sitebe Great Place near here.

King Sabata of the Tembus died in exile in Lusaka on April 6 1986 and was flown to Umtata

for burial after government-.

level talks which involved

Transkei, South Africa, Zambia

King Sabata left Transkei in 1985 after he was deprived of his chieftainship by the Matanzima government after his conviction on charges of undermining the authority of the president.

Mr Fadana told a gathering that King Sabata's remains would be exhumed in September

and there would be a funeral fit

for a king on October 1.

Sources close to the Tembu royal house said the family had obtained the services of a pathologist from Natal following persistent rumours that King Sabataâ\200\231s body had been tam-

for him. \hat{a} \200\224 Sapa.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ about his releas? ($\{\hat{a}\200\230\$ UMTATA $\hat{a}\200\224$ Rumours of the

possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela gained momentum at the weekend in Umtata when a chief, a member of the delegation that visited Mr Mandela at Victor Verster Prison. reported back to a large group of the Tembu clan. 5 Chief Bangilizwe Joyi told nearly 2 000 people at the Sitebe great place he had told Mr Man-

dela about developments regarding the paramount chief- | tainship of the Tembus. A 5 Mr Mandela had said he | wanted to address all the paramount chiefs in Transkei once |

he was released. * $\hat{A} Y$ Mr Mandela had requested \mid the Tembus to prepare a place \mid

and ANC officials.

pered with. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa.

S â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

> In ANC court

: THE leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has clarified the government $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ s policy towards the African National Congress as a consequence of the meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

The Botha-Mandela talks had been exploited by both the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.:

The DP saw in them justification for its own talks with the ANC in Lusaka. $\label{eq:loss} % \begin{array}{c} \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification for its own} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification} \\ \text{The DP saw in them pustification} \\ \text{The DP saw in the DP saw in them pustification} \\ \text{The DP saw in the DP saw in t$

If Mr Botha could have talks with Mandela, what was wrong with the DPâ\200\231s talks with the ANC? i 2

The CP attacked the government for other reasons, suggesting that Mandela was suddenly being presented as an $a\200\230\234\200\230\acceptable$

leaderâ\200\235, his status was being enhanced to that of a $a\200\234$ folk heroâ\200\235, and the government

was $a\200\230a\200\234a\200\230$ with the ANC. : While no statement was forthcoming about the NP $a\200\231$ s policy in the light of these develop-

ments, the DP was off the hook in the election, since the criticism that it was playing

footsie footsie with the ANC could not be effectively used against it. 5 And the CP could only gain votes if the government appeared to have softened its attitude to the ANC. 3%: Excited $200\224$ and exaggerated $200\224$ speculation here and abroad suggested the ANC had changed its stance. According to these reports, the ANC realised

it was in danger of being left out of the nego- -

tiations, the Soviet Union would no longer give financial aid and arms to the ANC, the ANC had lost its bases in Angola and was being driven further and further away from South Africa, and the dawn of peace in Southern Africa left it with no option but to give up its â\200\234armed struggleâ\200\235. However, an ANC discussion paper, circulating in South Africa and abroad, states: â\200\234Discussion of the whole question of negotiations in no way affects, and should not affect, the overall strategic operation of our movement and the tasks that arise from that orien-

tation. , Fak ke ' $\hat{a} = 0.2340$ ur strategic task is the destruction-of the

apartheid regime and the transfer of power -

to the people. This we seek to achieve through mass political action, armed struggle, the international isolation of the apartheid system, and by ensuring that the ANC plays its proper role as the revolutionary vanguard of our struggling people. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35 - 100$

The ANC must continuously intensify its offensive on all these fronts, while preparing for the possibility $a\200\234$ that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously $200\235$.

This hardly suggests the ANC is abandoning its revolutionary plan or $\hat{a}\200\234$ armed struggle $\hat{a}\200\235$.

Mr De Klerk has now given his answer.

He told the Cape National Party congress on

- Saturday that the meeting between the State President and Nelson Mandela had confronted the ANC with the definite choice whether to follow Mandelaâ\200\231s lead and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions.

 $200\234$ it can become involved in the peaceful process of dialogue and negotiation.

 $\alpha\$ and not, as some would make out, in the government $200\$:

The government remained of the firm point of view that it would not negotiate with perpetrators of violence and terrorism.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ As long as the ANC persists with its policy and acts of violence and intimidation and refrains from a clear commitment to peaceful solutions, it excludes itself from the peaceful process of change in Scuth Africa. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mr De Klerk also came out strongly against those who trekked to the ANC for talks, giving it a legitimacy in conflict with the legal and factual position; he also deplored the fact that the funds which paid for th \tilde{A} 0se ox-cursions came from foreign powers - who sought to promote their own interests. -

Mr De Klerk has made his and the government $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ position absolutely clear $a \geq 00 \geq 24$ there can $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ be no talks with the ANC until, and if, it abandons violence and commits itself to peaceful solutions. $a \geq 00 \geq 31$;

The ball is indeed in the ANC \hat{a} 200\231s court:

Churchmen meet 1n seécret

INFLUENTIAL members of the Anglican church $\hat{a}\200\224$ including top businessmen $\hat{a}\200\224$

[GRETA STEYN |

met Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other, tighter financial sanctions but could not Anglican bishops in Johannesburg last onfirt the call for a 15% repayment in

week for a secret exchange of views on SAâ\200\231s foreign debt conditions.

Mystery surrounds the meeting, described as $\hat{a}200\234$ sensitive $\hat{a}200\235$ by a prominent

church member. Tutuâ\200\231s spokesman con-

firmed the consultation on financial sanc-

tions $\hat{a}\200\224$ called by the bishops $\hat{a}\200\224$ with 30 -

experts, mostly church members.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They included people both opposed: to and in favour of financial sanctions, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said, adding he could not divulge names.

He noted the archbishop had called for $^{\prime}$

0

June 1990. However, it is common know-

. ledge in banking circles that Tutu had

made such a call in his personal capa \tilde{A} olt {. The bishops have yet to formulate their official position on financial sanctions, hence the consultation. i

Top businessmen in the church, worried

about the call, asked a group of economists _

to research the implications of a debt squeeze. Their research, which as not dis-

. cussed at the consultation, found a foreign
.debt squeeze on SA would cause tremen-

&QtÃ@nm_pi¬\202i¬\201

on sanctions dous economic hardship.

=

The current repaymeï¬\201't agreement on

. $SA\hat{a}\200\231s$ debt caught inside the standstill net

expires in June next year. Before then, a new agreement on about \$8,5bn left in the net will have to be negotiated with $SA\hat{a}\200\231s$ foreign creditor banks. . $\hat{a}\200\231$

A 15% repayment, which Tutu reportedly would like, would mean \$1,3bn of debt Inside the net would be repaid next year â\200\224 instead of only \$170m. This would bring the total of all foreign debt falling due next

year, including that outside the net, to

more than \$3bn. \hat{A} ¥ \hat{A} ¥ [JTo Page 2

1} -4 -4 v FW â\200\230trying to split ANC, Mandela ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has accused NP leader F W de Klerk of trying to drive a wedge between Nelson Mandela and ' the ANC.

Responding in a statement yesterday to De Klerkâ\200\231s speech

 $a\200\230$ -at the NP Cape congress on

Saturday, in which he asked whether the ANC was $a\200\234$ prepared to follow the lead given by (Mandela) and commit itself to the gursult of peaceful solutions $a\200\235$,

utu challenged the assertion that, on negotiation, $\hat{a}\200\234$ the ball is

in the ANC \hat{a} \200\231s court \hat{a} \200\235.

L Business Day Reporter 1

" He said: â\200\234De Klerk has his history wrong. Our liberation movements have sought change peacefully since before 1910. It is his government which forced the ANC and PAC to turn to violence by banning them and it is his government which must unban them and create conditions conducive to negotiations.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ His crude attempt to try to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC is deplorable. $\hat{a}\200\235$

' @ See Page 2

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toppe = A '!'.' B e M

IHE TALK in Jobannesburg ..
. in the pas: week bas been
- of megatrends, so let's join
' ibe game and try to identify some of the negatrends that
bear upon the historic moment
â\200\234when PrÃ@sident Botha had Nel-

 $-\hat{a}\200\234$: m]i lela m ta $\hat{a}\200\235$ e RS TP

'At the top of the list I would put \[\] \alpha \\ 200\230\the failure of the sicial system of the ..SonetUuion, asdmnbedm

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ quenees are i like; In be sim communists, like -ingly hang amami in

or hude in tie distant coroers – of raguay.dmâ\200\230eptmblemnnam qfï¬\201m $_$ -0 o e et

s, o S

InAngulathumegatrurdhasalâ\200\224' _realy opened (e gâ\200\230n powers â\200\224 the United h!i.[!uha ~and Sowth Africa â\200\224 tohegmthar the eon-

.; i Hnthmg mgmies

mmiastbenwlvemeutoï¬\202he

e ANC - a miracle

Na.s $E-"J{lll_l"lv\"i^201 1^ LR \hat{A}}\,u\ad,_,$

Théfnext big question $a\200\234is*$ the shape of the "o ne gotlatln g table

KEN OYWEN

4 1

theï¬\202ongrm.forem has been wrestling with an nl:lle' gramme for Southern Africa will cost US§30m, en to rekabilitate ome . shattered per in Lusanda or 1o Maputo. Even iy Africa, $a\200\234$ you don't bay mch on the course of history. for such piffling amounts. Sadly. the retreat of the wealthy tions coincides â\200\224 this is e third me@mmd with the social and ecomomic disintegration of middle ' Africa. Decolonisation was warely a moral imperative, bat its esonomic wences have been eonseq! peirverse, .thankslargelytn.&irncanmchant 'f'auvemtoan uTay of sma | tory in the nations. Ve b . The retreat imle seli-int g - itself inosoall, but wnhmuvim: econommK Em)& ,andtheFarEastbommtr $a\200\230atlmhnqmqresi_ui^202ymi^202&zt$! i b T ST mntmthwdalat whelmed by poputation, elucation byignoramp hopebfdwm Everywhere, as aipan! said of Zamb; a, thewindnwfranm rlst that well, thapks (o the ecommic

recoverandmleadnmeuvuym

Somtherm Africa:

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As the Americans, the Russians
and the Euwr ns :depart, South
Africa looms
South African aid to Maputo, for ex-
arople, promises to dwarf all other
aid, mpanhecntrselimnn:mank}' et
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.¢a's aid to Namibia is irreplaceable,
~-as is its indirect assistance to Zim-
m and ; even sznhla. And so
Africaâ\200\231s peeds, andenrntg'e Africaâ\200\231s
reseurces, are prope region
into new ltlnunnstnp_s'jgm'lï¬\202e mot
higue, but also in the
toric of Zimbabwe's Robert Hugabe
and the anxiows goodwill of Zambia's
Kenneth Kaunda. They are all so
short of fureign currency as to be
without the means of progress. -
One side-effect of these mega-
tremds is to leave the African
National Congress terrib
and waiperable, unwelcome in
igoe and Angola, ap embar-
rassment Lo its hosts in Losaka and
arger-in the region.
" bereft of pol
fimbabwe, abandomed by Moscow
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vith Britain's Militaet Tendency.
Two ANC documents published lo-
the ANC, a
the wings. - o
its preatest disarray, Presid
Botha comes to the rescwe byst-a^200^231ka^200^230hi^2201
tea with Nelson Mandela, anfiet
so dramatic, so
i its that it has s\tilde{A} ©
4 for the ANC the recognition
ummmm.mml.;"!:'
cally in recent days \hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 24 the official ... j
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lusaka oo June §, asd a discussion japer oo negotiations drawn op o mid-Juse $\hat{a}\200\224$ expose the self-doubt ind political confusion within the JANC. It amounts fnacnslsofconl $\hat{a}\200\230i$:

JANC. It amounts fnacnslsofconlâ $\200\230i-:$ cence.

â\200\224Negotiations are alreally Piaki

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- mow that the foreign powers

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place, albeil mformally, ma forcos $a\200\224$ between irades cnioss employers, taxi-owners: and $200\231$. government, Mack doctors i

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by PRAKASH NAIDOO i
 THE hideous violence
between blacks in Kwa-
Zulu and Naï¬\201alf.l?'s;bezn ;
disastrous and j it con-
tinues, apartheid ~will
- hever be vanquished, the
chief minister of Kwa-
Zulu, Mangosuthu Buthe-
uï¬\201w{ zi said black
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anend to violence in Natalâ\200\231s township i
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Your anger at apartheid, â\200\235 Chief a lot further than just offering as. any
& 'Bu.fhelezisaid.,v " e S Sistance .,whereâ\200\231verg Inkatha
"HÃ@;tol&'thÃ@-c'nb at Nelson r:help',â\200\235_said-th.echief'mirnister. A
aMandelal:ad,si^201ida^200^231ing Ttohim . He said there was substantial
_in February that the violence in - agreement between Inkatha, the
Natal was " deplorable and had UDF and Cosatu that the killing
called for black unity and recon- must stop and that efforts must be
-ciliation.\hat{a}200\hat{a}7 e et 4 M0 - Mmade to help people fight the vio-
a\200\234I go a lot further than just ap- Ience SRR
pealing for peace and I want to go - a\200\234Inkatha was not formed to fight
can X formed to fig
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", Vieolence in Natal

â\200\230disastrousâ\200\231

Mercury Reporter - |
ORGANISATIONS involved!
in the Natal peace talks can!
assist in bringing about peace
in the region, but it was up to ÂS
those actually involved in vio- [
lence to bring about its end.

So said Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, president of i
Inkatha and the Chief Minis- {
ter of KwaZulu, reporting 1
back on the progress of recent talks between representatives of Inkatha and the
Cosatu/UDF alliance at an
Inkatha peace rally at
Taylorâ\200\231s Halt yesterday.

He said the violence between blacks in Natal and KwaZulu had been $a\200\230$ absolutely disastrous $200\231$, and apartheid would never be vanquished if it continued.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Those who live by the sword die by the sword ... it is the people themselves in the trouble spots who must be assisted to bring about changes of heart.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ We, as organisations, can assist but it is the people themselves who must act. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Dr Buthelezi said Mr Nelson Mandela had said in a letter to him that the violence in Natal was deplorable and he had called for black unity and recanciliation.

(Report by N Cunningham-Brown, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

DP, CP S _KLERK OVE

- MANDELA

THE Conservative

However, the govern-

By Erik Larsen ment remained of the

L,

Party, the Democratic

Party and Archbishop

Desmond Tutu yesterday criticised â\200\224 for different reasons â\200\224the policy statement by National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, on the African National Congress and the_talks between = the State President, Mr P W Bo-

tha, and jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mande-la.

Mr De Klerk said the meeting between the State President and Mandela was in South Africaâ\200\231s best interest and he had supported its planning throughout.

He told the Cape Nat-

ional Party congress that

the meeiing had confronted the ANC with the

definite choice whether it -

was prepared to follow Mandelaâ $\200\231s$ lead and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions.

 $a\200\234$ If it does, it can be-

come involved in the peaceful process of diaâ\200\224 logue and negotlatlon he said.

firm point of view that it would not negotiate with perpetrators of violence

-and terrorism.

â\200\234As long as the ANC persists with its policy and acts of violence and intimidation and refrains from a clear commitment to peaceful solutions, it

TO PAGE2 -

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DP, CP
- FROM PAGE 1
excludes itself from the
peaceful process of
change in South Africa.
a\200\234The ball is squarely in
the court of the ANC and
not, as some would make
out, in the govern-
g /99
mentâ\200\231s.
The Conservative Par-
tyâ\200\231s chief information offi-
cer and MP for Overvaal,
Mr Koos van der Merwe,
said that- by confirming .
that he had supported the
planning of the.meeting:
between Mr Botha and
Mandela, Mr De Klerk
had a\200\234a\200\234drawn a contemptu-
ous line\hat{a}\200\235 through the gov-
ernmentâ\200\231s undertaking
over the past few years
that it would not talk with
the ANC. - o,
\hat{a}200\234In \hat{a}\200\234fact, \hat{a}\200\230the govern- -
ment not only .wants- to
talk to the ANC; it wants
to negotiate - with
That\hat{a}200\231s the bottom line.\hat{a}\200\235
Mr Van der Merwe said
:~~the-fence:
T12&ey
the CP was difinitely
going to capitalise on this
in the build-up to the
election.
a\200\234I believe that what the
NP is doing will count
against them in the elec-
- tion. It\hat{a}200\231s simply unthink-
able that the government
negotiates with Mande-
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Mr F W de Klerk of â\200\234sit-

la.â\200\235

Co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, accused " ting on the fence $\hat{a}\200\235$.

Dr De Beer said that as

- he was driving home from

~Jan Smuts Airport yester-day, he noticed a news-paper - billboard which said: $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ De Klerk says yes to Mandela, no to the ANC $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ &= 2 $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ This seems to me to sum it up. Mr De Klerk is $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ In his $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ Usual position on

â\200\234To try "to "separate

in this way is utterly unrealistic and can only be

S l alyï¬\201;ggge I{m,}uï¬\201f@énd cre-

Mandela from the ANC -

an ex odging the issue. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 3

Dr De Beer said that the other comment he had seen in Nationalist newspapers indicated that the NP was undecided and divided on this issue. â\200\234It will be interesting to watch developments.â\200\235â\200\231

Archbishop Tutu accused Mr De Klerk of trying to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC, reports Sapa.

He challenged Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s assertion that, on the question of negotia-

- tion, \hat{a} 200\234the ball is squarely

in the court of the ANC \hat{a} \200\235,

Archbishop Tutu said Mr De Klerk had his history wrong. â\200\2340ur liber-

© ation movement§ have

sought change peacefully since \hat{a} \200\230before 1910 (the

~* date of Union). =

It.is_his . government

hich $\hat{a}\200\234$ forced $\hat{a}\200\234$ the ANC $\hat{a}\204$ ¢ and PAC to turn to violence by banning them and it is his government which

ate conditions onducive to negotiations.

â\200\234His crude attempt to
drive a wedge between
Mr Mandela and
ANC is deplorable and
indicates that he is not serious about negotiations.â\200\235

Professor David Welsh, head of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town told The Citizen that South Africa was approaching the ear-liest phase of negotiation between the â\200\234\200\234\Nationa] Party and the ANC.

He did not foresee these talks getting off the ground for the next two years. .

He was encouraged by _the fact that $a\200\234a\200\234$ the principal antagonists (NP and ANC) are on a learning curve and are recognising

" that _neither .can defeat the other outright $200\235.$ -

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ He stressed that Mr De Klerk $\hat{a}\200\231$ s statements at the | weekend were $\hat{a}\200\234$ little | more than a re-statement of the existing NP position $\hat{a}\200\235$, '

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ think he has been trying to drive a wedge between Nelson Mandela and the ANC, but almost certainly this will not be successful. $\hat{a}\200\235$.

Prof Welsh said on the whole, he was horrified by the use of violence by both sides and he did not believe that it was realistic to suppose that the ANC would unilaterally lay down arms.

â\200\234Moreover, the ANC
remains unimpressed with
the extent of change envisaged in the NPâ\200\231s fiveyear-plan of action.â\200\235

Clearly the $a\200\234$ spirit of negotiation $a\200\235$ was in the

air throughout Southern Africa.

The upside of this was that the state and politicians were beginning to recognise the immense costs of war and violence.

â\200\234In Angola, Namibia and. Mozambique. the signs are strong thar successtul accommodation will ~happen within the next two to three years.â\204¢

Prof Welsh said that whilz the MP had com-mitted itself to negotiation, the * distance be- !
tween itself and-the. ANC
â\200\234â\200\230remains _v_dis[ressingly wide.â\204¢:

 $\red{}^{\sim}$ _(News by Erik Larsen

Slreet, Dooriventain,) -

28" Height

By Brian Stuart CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The African National Congress could take part in negotiations about

South Africaâ\200\231s future if â\200\230it emulated Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s commit-

~ment to peaceful
change, Mr F W de
Klerk, leader of the
National = Party, told
the partyâ\200\231s Cape congress at the weekend.

Stressing that the NP

would not negotiate with those who committed violence and terrorism, Mr
De Klerk said the ANC
excluded itself from negotiations as long as it persisted with its present
policy.

_ He condemned those who went on ANC $\hat{a}\200\234\hat{a}\200\230$ safa-ris $\hat{a}\200\235$ with no mandate or accountability.

Mr De Klerk said a key facet of NP strategy for a new and just South Africa was the need for intensive dialogue, in order to achieve meaningful negotiation.:

It was the NPâ\200\231s objective to engage recognised leaders of all groups, who were committed to peaceful solutions, in talks and negotiations about politi-

~ cal, social and economic

systems for a new South Africa.

â\200\234Any effort unilaterally

- . to impose a new dispensa-
- * tion is doomed to failure.

A new dispensation, if it is to succeed, must in the final analysis have the support of the people who will be affected by it.

 $\hat{a}\200\234In$ a diverse society such as ours, that support will have to be cultivated through a process of intensive dialogue, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Mr De Klerk.

A first requirement for participation was â\200\230â\200\230com-mitment to the pursuit of peaceful - solutionsâ\204¢. It was against this back-ground that the.meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mandela should be viewed.

Mr De Klerk repeated
Mr Bothaâ\200\231s statement to
Parliament on April 17, in
which he said that if Mandela was prepared to
make a contribution to
the peaceful settlement of
South Africaâ\200\231s future, the
government would react
open-heartedly.

â\200\234I have no doubt that the meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela was in the best interests of South Africa, and I supported the planning of such a meeting throughout,â\200\235 said Mr De Klerk.

â\200\234The commitment of
Mr Mandela to peaceful
development places the

" meeting in proper per-

spective. But it does

much more: it confronts the ANC with a definite choice.

â\200\234As a result of its relationship to Mr Mandela, the ANC cannot escape the issue at stake: is it prepared to follow the lead given by him and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions?

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ If it does, it can become involved in the

peaceful process of dia-

logue and negotiation.

 \hat{a} 200\234The ball is squarely in

the court of the ANC and not, as some people want to make out, in the government $a \ge 0$

â\200\234It remains our firm point of view that we shall not negotiate with the perpetrators of violence and terrorism. There can be no compromise with regard to the security of South Africa and its people.

â\200\234As long as the ANC persists with its policy and acts of violence and intimidation and refrains from a clear and honest commitment to peaceful solutions, it excludes itself from the peaceful process of change in South Africa.â\200\235

Mr De Klerk said the NP would continue its efforts to broaden the base of participants in the peaceful pursuit of negotiated solutions.

It was not afraid to talk

Mr F W de KLERK

to people who differed from it, as only through real interaction could basic understanding be achieved among the people of the country. â\200\234But we are not prepared to compromise with violence and terrorism, â\200\235 he added.

Mr De

often paid for by foreign powers who were trying to promote their own interests.

Only the $a\200\234$ diplomatic face $a\200\235$ of the ANC was seen and not its reality. There were usually com-

. plaints about ANC viol-

ence, but it was added that there was $a\200\230a\200\234a\200\230$ understanding $a\200\235$ for its view. The implication was an acceptance of the ANC as an umbrella organisation

in whose hands the future

lay, and a measure. of legitimacy was accorded it, while its terrorism and violence continued. \hat{a} 200\2341 make a call on the voters to stand unanimously behind the NP in its opposition to any ac- ! tion which plays into the hands of those forces, such as the ANC, which are out to destabiliseâ\200\231 South Africa and who would destroy good or $der, \hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 35$ said Mr De Klerk. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Iiis essentially the responsibility of the government to examine the position of banned organisations in regard to peaceful negotiations, and to evaluate and regulate their legal position in this light. : \hat{a} 200\234The ANC may not be allowed to slip in through the back door, and the NP will never allow it. \hat{a} \200\235 Mr De Klerk said there was a difference between $\hat{a}\200\234$ forswearing violence $\hat{a}\200\235$ Klerk condemned those who made trips to talk to the ANC, and $\hat{a}\200\234a$ commitment to the pursuit of peaceful solutionsâ\204¢. It was possible \hat{a} 200\234to reject violence, but to - do nothing positive. It was therefore malicious to suggest, as some of its opponents were doing, that the NP had become $\hat{a}\200\234\hat{a}\200\230$ soft $\hat{a}\200\235$ in its rejection of violence ' because it was committed to the pursuit of peaceful solutions. \hat{a} \200\230

Secondly, .the NP wanted to engage in talks with $\hat{a}\200\234$ recognised lead-

- ersâ $\200\235$. In this respect, far

too much credence was attached to the ANC. Scientific surveys proved beyond doubt that ANC support was over-rated in many quarters.

The NP would not allow propagandists to undermine the legitimacy of leaders who had the courage to play a constructive role through negotiation. The NP respected them and acknowledged their contribution to the process of building a new South Africa.

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