

De Beer calls for inquiry into violence

DAILY NEWS
15 SEPT. 1989

CAPE TOWN: A judicial commission into the recent unrest was justified by the violence which had occurred during and since the elections, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

Speaking in a debate on a motion on the security of the State, he said the simple fact that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had become involved in a war of words with leaders of extra-parliamentary groups over how many people died, proved that the most serious acts of violence had taken place.

South Africa could ill-afford events such as these.

What had happened over the elections held the most serious implications for internal security, external relations and economic problems.

There were encouraging aspects to what had happened in past weeks. Everyone was surely thankful for the manner in which Wednesday's



Dr de Beer

church service and march in Cape Town had been handled by the Government and by participants.

"I give praise where it is due, and I say that the acting State President deserves thanks for his statement and for the tolerant attitude he and the Government displayed.

"Further, I wish to testify personally that, although there were aspects of the march that made me concerned, I was deeply impressed by the real friendship

across the colour line."

The protests in recent weeks all arose from the decision by leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations to hold demonstrations in protest against the exclusion of their people from effective participation in the election.

It had to be asked whether adults, parents, workers and taxpayers were entitled to ask for effective participation in the political process.

"Surely there can be only one answer in terms of the Western civilised heritage which we all claim as our own. Political rights cannot be withheld from these fellow citizens of ours."

It would be ludicrous to claim that black people had been given political rights, while cognisance should be taken of the fact that the tricameral system had once again failed to win the confidence of the people it was intended to serve.

Dr de Beer moved an amendment to the motion which noted "with alarm" the serious conflict and unrest which had taken place, the loss of life, the extensive adverse publicity and harm to South Africa's external and relationships within the country and, in the light of disputes over what really happened, called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the facts.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said the Government would be failing in its duty to the majority of good policemen if it neglected to act against the black sheep in the force.

He said action had to be taken because only then would a climate be created in which the ordinary, decent policeman could do his job properly.

The violence and deaths which had accompanied the elections were a tragedy for the country.

Hate, friction and political polarisation had sprung up and increased in the past few days and it would take much hard work to repair the damage.

It was this climate that made the institution of a judicial commission of inquiry so important.

It was unsatisfactory that the police, who had been party to the conflict, should also act as a judicial authority in the matter.—Sapa

NEWS

Buthelezi slams ANC for trying to break up and divide Zulu unity

Daily News Reporter

CHIEF Mangosutho Buthelezi yesterday accused Chief Mhlábunzima Maphumulo and the African National Congress of "attempting to thrust a spear into the very heart of Zulu unity".

Dr Buthelezi, who was addressing a meeting of the tribal chiefs (Amakhosi) of KwaZulu at Ulundi, was referring to the establishment of the Congress of the Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said he had called the meeting because he believed the country was about to see great breakthroughs in the black struggle for liberation. But, he warned, there was no time as dangerous as a time of real transition.

The chiefs must be very much on their guard against any attempt to drag them into party political disputes against each other.

Now, with the new era dawning, attempts were being made to slash through their unity and divide them.

"The attempt by Inkosi Maphumulo to estab-

lish what he wants everyone to call Contralesa is an attempt to thrust the spear into the very heart of Zulu unity."

He said the organisation was established in 1987 as an ANC spear against KwaZulu's unity and against his leadership in particular.

Chief Maphumulo had also tried to turn the King of the Zulus, King Zwelithini Goodwill, against him.

Chief Buthelezi also said that the Zulu Senior Prince, Prince Mcwayizeni ka Solomon, "seemed to be walking on very thin ground". The prince had denied any connections with the UDF/ANC alliance and yet he consorted with a person who was reportedly secretary of Contralesa.

"We have met today to end all hopes of the so-called Contralesa ever becoming anything of any importance in our political life.

"We have come to close ranks and to rejoice in our unity and to tell Inkosi Maphumulo to go to hell.

"We expect the Senior Prince to co-operate with us."

Nation/world

Top Namibian rebel ends 30-year exile

New York Times News Service

KATATURA, Namibia—Sam Nujoma, leader of the South-West Africa People's Organization, came home Thursday to a tumultuous welcome after about 30 years in exile.

His chartered Ethiopian jetliner arrived at Windhoek's airport from Luanda, Angola, shortly after midday, and Nujoma knelt to kiss the tarmac, saying, "I am very happy to be home."

"We return in the spirit of peace, love and national reconciliation," said Nujoma, whose fighters waged a 23-year war against South African rule of Namibia.

Nujoma, 60, has spent half his life outside Namibia. Although greeted as a hero, he was technically admitted as a refugee, one of nearly 41,000 Namibians abroad who registered with the United Nations to return.

Their homecoming was part of the regional political settlement reached last December among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa. The accord, which was brokered by the United States, linked independence for Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighboring Angola.

Nujoma is widely expected to be elected Namibia's first president after the territory gains independence from South Africa early next year.

Arriving in Windhoek, Nujoma greeted his 89-year-old mother and senior members of the Namibian rebel group, then was driven to his new home in this black township outside of the capital.

Several thousand supporters waited at the airport for a glimpse of Nujoma. Many thousands more crowded the streets of Katatura to welcome him. Trucks jammed with singing Namibians honked incessantly. Young men vigorously waved the blue, red, and green flag of the nationalist group.

At a news conference in his new home in a middle-class neighborhood of Katatura, Nujoma admitted that he had sometimes been lonely in his long exile. But, he said, "we never lost sight of our people's objective—freedom and independence for Namibia."

Security was tight at Nujoma's airport arrival. Concern for his safety was heightened by the killing Tuesday night of Anton Lubowski, 37, the most prominent white member of the nationalist group.



Agence France-Presse photo

Sam Nujoma, leader of the South-West Africa People's Organization, arrives Thursday in Windhoek, Namibia, ending a long exile. Thousands of cheering people welcomed the rebel leader.

PO PG 2

TOP NAMIBIAN REBEL
FROM Pg 1

De Klerk elected to presidency

From Chicago Tribune wires

CAPE TOWN, South Africa—National Party leader F.W. de Klerk was elected Thursday to a five-year term as president and promised to bring voteless blacks into South Africa's government as soon as possible.

De Klerk, 53, was chosen unanimously by an electoral college made up of 50 members of his party and 33 delegates from the segregated Indian and mixed-race chambers of parliament.

The president-elect was criticized immediately by conservatives for allowing a Cape Town protest Wednesday that drew an estimated 20,000 people.

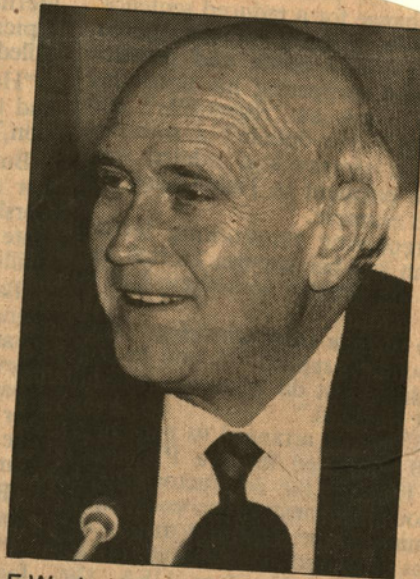
Moolman Mentz, spokesman for the Conservative Party, the largest parliamentary opposition, said approval of the Cape Town march was "a knife thrust in the back" of the security forces. Mentz called for immediate parliamentary debate on the matter.

In a rare show of unity, the anti-apartheid Democratic Party voted with the Nationalists to defeat the Conservatives' motion.

In carrying out his stated policy to allow peaceful protest, De Klerk faces opposition not only from right-wing parties but from the security establishment that enjoyed wide powers under former President P.W. Botha.

A spokesman said De Klerk will be sworn in as president in Pretoria next Wednesday.

His election had been almost certain since he became party leader in February. He forced



F.W. de Klerk

Botha, 73, to resign in a Cabinet dispute Aug. 14.

De Klerk has promised to build a new South Africa with wide but unspecified political rights for blacks, who were excluded from the elections last week that the Nationalists won with a reduced majority. The Sept. 6 voting was marked by violent police clashes with demonstrators.

"The state president in South Africa is ... the leader of all South Africans and not only of those represented in Parliament," De Klerk said after his election was confirmed.

"We are going to reach as soon as possible the stage where all South Africans will, in a just and equitable manner, become part of all the decision-making processes in South Africa," he said.

Rev. Allan Boesak, an anti-apartheid leader, appeared optimistic about De Klerk's election. "At last we have someone who is more pragmatic than ideological. This may herald something better for the future," he said.

Rebel leader back in Namibia after 29 yrs.

Baltimore Sun

WINDHOEK, Namibia—Sam Nujoma, widely expected to become the first president of an independent Namibia, returned Thursday to a jubilant welcome in the land of his birth after spending 29 years in militant exile.

Thousands of flag-waving Namibians, resplendent in the blue, red and green colors of Nujoma's party, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), thronged sections of the 30-mile route from the airport to Windhoek's black township of Katutura.

Supporters cheered as the gray-bearded, 60-year-old guerrilla leader stepped off an Ethiopian airliner from Luanda, Angola, and kissed the ground.

He hugged his 89-year-old mother and greeted senior SWAPO officials. Then he

sped off to Katutura, where thousands more Namibians, most of whom had not been born when he slipped out of the country into exile in 1960, celebrated with songs and flags in the streets.

"A welcome befitting a conquering hero," was how SWAPO's election director, Hage Geingob, described it.

SWAPO fought a guerrilla bush war for almost 23 years against South Africa's 73-



Sam Nujoma

year colonial administration of Namibia, also known as South-West Africa. The war ended with a cease-fire April 1 after U.S. and Soviet mediators negotiated a peace deal linking South African withdrawal from Namibia to Cuban troop withdrawal from neighboring Angola.

Namibia, Africa's last colony, is still under South African control. But a yearlong transition to independence began under UN supervision on April 1. An election is scheduled for early November to establish a constituent assembly, which will draw up a constitution and decide on a date for independence, probably before mid-1990.

SWAPO generally is expected to win the election, but no single party will be able to dominate the constituent assembly unless it

carries two-thirds of the vote.

Hours before Nujoma's arrival, several hundred supporters of the rival Democratic Turnhalle Alliance held a demonstration at the office of the United Nations here to protest the apparent disappearance of some 500 Namibians allegedly held as spies in SWAPO detention camps.

Nujoma, addressing his first press conference on Namibian soil Thursday, did not deny that SWAPO had been responsible for the detentions and deaths of many Namibians as "spies."

These were circumstances of war, he said.

He said that many Namibians had died in South African detention camps and in numerous attacks by South African military forces on SWAPO refugee camps.

The United Way needs your help

The United Way/Crusade of Mercy has rolled out the drums for its 1989 appeal, an ambitious campaign to raise a record \$100.1 million to help fund Chicago-area health and human service agencies.

May those drums beat out the message with fervor. The campaign deserves full, selfless and unflinching support. Under the leadership of H. Laurence Fuller, president of the Amoco Corp., who is general campaign chairman of the 1989 drive, the appeal depends entirely on the continuing confidence of regular contributors and the enthusiasm of fresh donors.

As in past years, the United Way is relying on volunteers throughout the metropolitan work force to win renewed pledges and sign up first-time givers.

This year, there are 70,000 volunteers doing that job, an effort that enables the United Way to keep its administrative costs down to a fraction over 10 cents on the dollar.

The point cannot be made too often: Nearly 90 percent of every \$1 donated goes to recipient agencies. Its business-like practices distinguish the United Way and rank it as one of the most scrupulously conducted charitable organizations in the country, with minimal and cost-effective outlays for fund-raising and overhead.

That's another reason why the United Way, now more than 100 years old, enjoys the long-held honor of annually raising the largest total of any community United Way in the country.

Locally, its funds for 400 recipient agencies represent services to nearly 800,000 people—services that extend the tireless work of such organizations as the Salvation Army, that help sustain such character-building programs as the Boy Scouts, that enhance programs and spur new initiatives in helping the homeless, the victims of drug and

A new audit findings by the under Mayor I at a cost of \$ started. Since 120 workers. If Chicagoat government, th for all this fat According to public relation of these peop. And, the au the public m That cash c services, repa old dead tree to get done



Nujoma must clean up Swapo's tarnished image

STA 15 SEPT. 1989

WINDHOEK — After nearly 30 years in exile, the symbol of Namibian nationalism, Mr Sam Nujoma, returned yesterday to Windhoek, a capital shocked by the assassination of Mr Anton Lubowski.

The death of Mr Lubowski dramatically underlined the risk to Swapo's leader.

But in the run-up to Namibia's independence election in November, Mr Nujoma will be exploiting his aura of the liberation leader returning home in triumph. That invaluable asset should be enough to guarantee Swapo at least half the popular vote in an election for a constituent assembly.

But the chances that Swapo will win the two-thirds majority needed to dominate the assembly and write Namibia's independence constitution unaided look slimmer.

The party's image has become tainted with scandal. A military debacle, financial improprieties and evidence of human rights abuses have seriously jeopardised the movement's credibility abroad, and eroded support at home.

Swapo's first blunder was its attempt to infiltrate guerillas into northern Namibia ahead of an April 1 ceasefire. By that date, all Swapo troops were to have been withdrawn to Angola.

About 1 600 Swapo guerillas were sent across the border into Namibia, apparently in a vain attempt to establish the military bases which the movement had never managed to secure in 23 years of warfare against South African rule. South African troops repulsed the invasion, leaving over 300 Swapo fighters dead.

The chances of a complete Swapo victory in the Namibian election grow slimmer, writes **PATTI WALDMEIR** of the Financial Times News Service.



The true motives for the manoeuvre remain unclear, but the violation of trust on April 1 has left the international community with serious doubts about the integrity of the Swapo leadership.

This integrity was further brought into question by refugees returning to Namibia. Swapo has claimed international funding for

the support of 80 000 Namibian refugees in camps in Angola and Zambia, but when it came time to welcome them back to Namibia, only 41 000 registered to return.

Swapo officials explain the discrepancy by suggesting that Namibian children enrolled in schools abroad might not wish to interrupt their academic term to return, and that after 23 years in exile, some Namibians had opted to remain in their host country. But the gap between the two figures is huge and Swapo has not succeeded in explaining it away.

These two factors may put strains

on any Swapo government's international relations. But domestic political damage to the movement is likely to have been slight.

The same cannot be said of the human rights scandal over detainees held by Swapo during the liberation war. As part of Namibia's United Nations-sponsored independence package, both Swapo and South Africa were to release all detainees.

Swapo prisoners returning from camps in neighbouring states have made widely publicised allegations

of torture and maltreatment. And released detainees insist that many hundreds of prisoners remain in Swapo prison camps, despite the re-

quirement that they be allowed to return to vote in the election.

Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, a senior Swapo official, has admitted that some detainees were tortured. He told reporters in Windhoek last month that some Swapo officials had "taken the law ... into their own hands and carried out brutalities against these persons which we very much regret".

Swapo maintains that it now holds no detainees, but relatives have compiled a list of several hundred names of those still missing. Swapo says it holds South Africa to account for many who have disappeared, adding that others may have died in the fighting or of natural causes.

As Namibians prepare to vote for the constituent assembly which will determine their future political system, horror stories from returned detainees are clearly having an effect. And with nearly eight weeks of campaigning yet to take place, the election outcome remains in doubt.

The main challenge comes from the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a multiracial coalition which until last December's settlement administered Namibia, albeit under the close supervision of Pretoria.

It was a transition of sorts; the DTA repealed many of the territory's segregation laws, but its credibility suffered when Pretoria prevented the party from introducing a majority rule constitution.

The 60-year-old Mr Nujoma's role in the election campaign could prove critical and his safety is clearly essential.

The campaign is so far proving bloody, with Namibian newspapers carrying frequent reports of serious intimidation by the main political parties.

To PG 2

Nujoma

From pg 1

Swapo officials fear that Mr Nujoma could become an assassination target, either for an opposition political grouping, or for ultra-conservative whites. Any such incident would throw the entire independence process into jeopardy.

DAILY NEWS - 15 SEPT. 1989

Radical change in Natal not expected

JOINT services boards when established in Natal-KwaZulu are unlikely to be radically different from the regional services councils in other parts of the country.

This is the view of Mr Ron Pistorius, retired Director of the Natal Town and Regional Plan-

Municipal Reporter

ning Commission.

Mr Pistorius told a symposium on a future Durban services authority that Natal-KwaZulu was unlikely to try "to re-invent the wheel".

He said one departure from the norm would be

that joint services boards would be established across the borders of KwaZulu and Natal, giving local bodies on both sides full membership from the start.

Mr Pistorius said the joint boards were likely

to be supervised by the Joint Executive Authority of Natal-KwaZulu.

"This implies that the duties of the Administrator in respect of regional services councils will be taken over by the JEA."

"The JEA will demarcate regions, set up services boards, allocate functions, appoint chairmen and, presumably, hear appeals."

Mr Pistorius said it was unthinkable that the function of regional services councils to redistribute fiscal income to peripheral areas where the need was greatest would not be incorporated in the Act governing joint services boards.

NEWS

Nujoma challenges De Klerk

Swapo leader calls for elimination of apartheid

AFRICA SERVICE

WINDHOEK: Swapo president Sam Nujoma, shortly after arriving in Namibia yesterday to end 30 years in exile, challenged President F.W. de Klerk to fulfil promises he made to European leaders that he would end apartheid after taking over as head of state.

An unrepentant Mr Nujoma also said if he had his life to live all over again he would "without regret" devote himself as he had done in the past three decades to the cause of freedom and independence for his country and its people "no matter the consequences".

Mr Nujoma told a packed media conference in Katutura township near Windhoek that Swapo had waged its armed struggle for the whole of Namibia, and that included the enclave of Walvis Bay and all the offshore islands north of the Orange River mouth.

He had devoted all his life to the cause of freedom and national sovereignty, to his country and all its people regardless of race, religion, tribe and colour.

Mr Nujoma condemned the murder on Tuesday night by "wretched assassins" of Swapo leader Anton Lubowski who "gave his precious life for the cause of freedom".

Mr Nujoma said: "Swapo has lost a cadre, Namibia a son, and the world an outstanding

fighter for the rights of the oppressed."

He continued: "My comrades and I return with peace, love and national reconciliation."

Swapo would support the black South African struggle for liberation, and would continue to insist on negotiations between the government and blacks to sit down and work towards a nonracial settlement.

Mr de Klerk had recently stated that the aim of the National Party was to eliminate apartheid. Now that he had been elected to the presidency, Mr Nujoma hoped he would carry that aim through and eradicate apartheid.

"Then we will have no problem with diplomatic relations with a nonracial South Africa," he said.

He claimed South African "lies" had continued on April 1 when South Africa collaborated with the "western press" by telling the world that Swapo guerillas had invaded Namibia.

"That was an insult to our intelligence, to say we could invade our own country. Pretoria is guilty of the massacre of our people. There is a conspiracy on the part of Pretoria, because it never wanted to leave our country."

But Swapo-led Namibia would trade with all countries, including South Africa, because trade meant give and take.



MOTHER AND SON REUNION AFTER 30 YEARS

SWAPO president Sam Nujoma embraces his mother, Mrs Helvi Kondombolo, on his arrival at Windhoek airport yesterday after 30 years in exile.

Malan gives Nats a 'history lesson'

CAPE TOWN: The Government should not lay down procedures for negotiation but negotiate consensus procedures with all parties, including the ANC, Mr Wynand Malan (DP Randburg), said yesterday.

Speaking in a debate on security, he said the peaceful protest march in Cape Town was a most important day in South Africa's history.

"But we are told there are certain procedures laid down and that is our dilemma."

"After the South African War, Lord Milner had also laid down procedures and established a national council to advise him."

"Not a single Boer general was prepared to participate, only so-called 'hensoppers en hans-khakies' (traitors)."

"There were massive protest marches..."

"He's giving us history lessons," a CP member interjected.

The situation had changed when a change in government in Britain in 1906 brought about direct negotiations with the generals and led to representative government, and ultimately union.

"To lay down particular procedures does not help. You must go out and have dialogue and find consensus on procedures," Mr Malan said.

Everyone knew the ANC leader Nelson Mandela was going to be released.

That would amount to a de facto unbanning of the ANC and talks would have to be conducted with them.

If the Government wanted to know the ANC's conditions for negotiation, as also Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who had said he would negotiate without the ANC being unbanned, then it should conduct dialogue with these parties to reach consensus.

On protest, he said the attitude had been that it was not justified because it led to violence.

The DP, by defending the right to protest, had been accused of defending violence.

"The right to protest is a democratic right. There are times when there is no other way to express grievances and then the police's role is just to have a presence in case violence does occur."—Sapa

De Beer is spokesman on State President portfolio

Daily News Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The Democratic Party has chosen Dr Zach de Beer as spokesman on the portfolio of the State President with the other DP leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, as alternates.

The DP announced all its new spokesmen yesterday.

Dr Worrall is principal spokesman only on law and order, displacing Green Point Mr Tiaan van der Merwe who retains the portfolios of Group Areas and Home Affairs.

Mr Malan is principal spokesman on Constitutional Development.

Dr Worrall is alternative spokesman on this portfolio and on foreign affairs — where Mr Colin Eglin is principal spokesman.

Another major change is that the controversial defence portfolio which Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling took over just before the elections, now goes to General Bob Rogers, the new MP for Walmer and former Chief of the Air Force. Mr Dalling remains as spokesman on justice but also loses the job of media spokesman to Johannesburg North MP Mr Peter Soal.

Mr Soal also remains spokesman on information, the film industry and the SABC.

The alternate media spokesman is Ms Dene Smuts, the new MP for Groote Schuur and former editor of Fair Lady magazine.

New Umbilo MP Mrs Carole Charlewood — former TV journalist — is spokesman on women's affairs and new Simonstown MP and former athletics administrator Mr Jannie Momberg is sports spokesman.

Yeoville MP Mr Harry Schwarz remains finance spokesman as expected.

Bryanston MP Mr Rupert Lorimer remains environment spokesman and Durban North MP Mr Mike Ellis speaks on national health.

Dr de Beer is also spokesman on the portfolio of the chairman of the House of Assembly Ministers Council.

'CLARIFICATION' ABOUT MARCH

CAPE TOWN: Permission had been applied for the mass march through Cape Town, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

He said this as an interjection while the CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, was speaking in the debate on the security situation.

Mr de Jager said it appeared from the Press that no application had been made

for permission to hold the march legally. However, the Minister had indicated in the debate that there had in fact been an application.

"There was," interjected Mr Coetsee. "I'm glad to hear it," said Mr de Jager. "The Chief Magistrate (who granted the permission) would not have acted off his own bat... I accept the Minister's clarification."—Sapa

Praise for police over unrest

CAPE TOWN: The violent night of September 6 would have been far more dramatic had the police not taken timely preventive measures, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wesels, said yesterday.

He said in the debate on the security situation that the Government and the police deserved praise for this.

A "total atmosphere of unrest and violence" had been created in the run-up to the elections with the aim of bringing the country into the international spotlight and to create the perception that the Government intended to enforce apartheid at all costs.

"The people who tried to do this were the people who lost yesterday... South Africa won."

Wednesday's mass march was a victory for South Africa and for the tolerance of the police.

The "activist radicals" were just as scared of Government reforms and initiatives as were the members of the Conservative Party.—Sapa

INSIGHT

Can politics in South Africa ever be the same again?

Can politics in South Africa ever be the same again after this week's mass demonstration in Cape Town? What began as a march to demonstrate against the Government's reaction to protest is set to become a signal event in the steady transformation of modern South Africa. **MICHAEL MORRIS** of The Daily News political staff analyses the implications of the event.

JUST seven days after white South Africa expressed its political will and directed Parliament to carry it out, the disenfranchised and those who resist white hegemony packed the streets of Cape Town and raised their own voice.

While the country and the world digest the magnitude and the meaning of the demonstration, the Government will be taking stock of its own remarkable decision to sanction it.

Three-year-old emergency regulations were effectively brushed aside with acting State President Mr F.W. de Klerk's internationally applauded decision to let the march go ahead as planned.

Of course, it is questionable whether he could have afforded to ban it — or rather not to have brushed the emergency regulations aside.

But has he staked his and his Government's political credibility on what at first may have seemed a wise — possibly an unavoidable — short-term tactical decision? And will he and his Gov-

ernment be able to keep abreast of the events that are certain to have been set in train by it?

For, perhaps ironically, it was Mr de Klerk who endowed the march with a compelling significance by working it into the country's broader political canvas.

The door to a new South Africa was open. It was not necessary to batter it down, he said.

This week, the marchers went through that door. Will Mr de Klerk be there to welcome them in the entrance hall?

Admittedly, the analogy is stark, if not simplistic, even if the principle is quintessential. Mr de Klerk did, after all, appeal to protesters to find legal ways to convey their views. His actions in the weeks to come will define more clearly what this means... Whether finding legal ways will be rewarded, or whether failure to do so will be punished.

Furthermore, if extra-parliamentary elements wish to extend the scope of

protest and political expression and enjoy the same benign attitude accorded yesterday's march, clearly they will have to guarantee that future events are as peaceful and orderly.

Given that the Government will not readily, or immediately, meet all their demands, or accept their point of view, they will also have to show remarkable patience.

Behind the bewildered expressions of some white onlookers yesterday was, possibly, the recognition that for the first time in their lives they were witnessing an undisguised, unfettered and even officially sanctioned expression of the real extent of popular opposition to the status quo in South Africa.

ANC flags, hand-held posters bearing portraits of an aged Nelson Mandela, and unequivocal slogans made that clear enough.

If, to white on-lookers, the march was a fascinating spectacle, then to the Parliament to which they have entrusted their political future it was a challenge and one which will almost certainly be repeated in various forms in the months to come.

The inevitable implication of the event and the Government's attitude towards it is that it reflects a key shift in the process of reform and somehow points the way more clearly towards negotiation.

Quite how a mass protest, or even of series of them, might be translated into a negotiation process between white and black South Africans over political rights and, therefore, political power, is an equation no astute observer of contemporary South Africa would be confident, or foolish enough, to foretell.

If it is clear, as it should be, that there will be no quick transition from protest to power, then it should also be

clear that yesterday's lunch-hour march is an unprecedented signpost on the path towards dialogue, if not on the government's part entirely by choice, then certainly by virtue of the popular and strident voice of its opponents.

Both sides have taken a step. It is one of many to be taken, but it is undeniably a portentous one.





The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

De Klerk's options

MR F.W. de Klerk takes on the presidency at a time of narrowing options, political and economic. He simply does not have the time his predecessors squandered as they refused to address the realities.

He has to find something to replace apartheid and the layer of neo-apartheid represented by the tricameral system of parliament. It will have to be acceptable to the broadest spectrum of South Africans and will therefore have to be negotiated with them.

He has to rescue the economy. He has to reduce State spending and intervention. He has to attract foreign investment and induce overseas banks to make available once again the safety net of international finance. The last two will not be achieved without signifi-

cant steps to restore the rule of law and introduce political reform.

But Mr de Klerk has much going for him. Regional tensions have relaxed and South Africa does not face the military pressures it did. The election provided an overwhelming mandate for change. The Law Commission has provided the basis for a democracy anchored in a Bill of Rights. The African National Congress shows signs of edging toward a negotiating posture. And Wednesday's protest march through Cape Town showed that there are alternatives to kragdadigheid.

The process of settlement could be set in motion by symbolic and practical measures, such as the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of Nelson Mandela.

NEWS/ PARLIAMENT

CAPE TOWN: The organisers and instigators of the unrest over the past six weeks and no one else had to bear the blame for the senseless deaths of innocent people, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

He said in debate on a motion on the security situation that on September 6 alone there had been 600 incidents of unrest in the country. During that night 26 policemen had been injured, some with bullet wounds, in the Western Cape alone.

On election day women with small children in their arms were deliberately placed at the front of large crowds storming down on polling stations in an attempt to prevent the police from taking action.

Mr Vlok said he and the South African Police regretted that people were injured or died as a result of police action in the unrest.

He had already announced that a thorough investigation was being

Vlok blames Cape deaths on unrest instigators

launched into all allegations of police conduct in the Western Cape during the unrest.

He and the SAP were not prepared to approve any police action that did not meet accepted norms and requirements.

If mistakes had been made, without exception action would be taken against the guilty.

However, he would not allow the police to be falsely, recklessly and shamelessly accused by radicals and revolutionaries with no conscience.

The SAP was a force for peace, not violence, and for this reason he and the force were glad that Wednesday's march in Cape Town had gone peacefully.

The police had been present in sufficient numbers yesterday to perform their duty of

protecting life and property had it been necessary.

Untruths about the police were being sent into the world. He wanted to put into perspective the events that the police had been expected to deal with recently.

Incidents of unrest in the country had increased from 345 in July to 1 381 in August.

From September 1 to 5 there had been 198 incidents and on election day alone there had been 600.

This took place after the Mass Democratic Movement began its so-called defiance campaign.

On September 6 more than 2 000 members of the police had been present in the Cape Peninsula to try to ensure that voters could exercise their right to vote.

Even though the system was flawed, these people had wanted to exercise that right.

The revolutionaries had wanted to prevent this at all costs and had used violence for this purpose.

On that bloody day and night hundreds of people were violently prevented from voting.

Burning roadblocks were erected on the routes to polling stations and pedestrians were attacked by youths and "skollie bands" and intimidated into not voting.

People who nevertheless dared to try to reach the polling booths in vehicles were attacked and pelted with stones and petrol bombs.

Policemen were fired at and in some cases private motorists were obliged to shoot at attackers in self defence.

Small groups of policemen battled hundreds of rioters storming them with stones, petrol bombs and burning iron pipes dipped in tar.

Langley slates Government weakness in demonstrations

CAPE TOWN: After warnings against the MDM, the Government had only displayed weakness in dealing with demonstrations since the elections, particularly those near Parliament, Mr Tom Langley, Opposition chief spokesman on Foreign Affairs, said today.

He moved a motion expressing concern at the Government's "apparent inability to stabilise the security situation", listing a number of items ranging from terror attacks across the Zimbabwe border, violations of Resolution 435 in Namibia, Cubans in Mozambique, unrest in the Cape Peninsula and the "denigration" of the police by the media and actions of Lieutenant Rockman.

Mr Langley said the "toothless old hound" could not even bark, but "only wagged its tail".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs should tell South Africa which conditions of Resolution 435 and accompanying agreements had been broken by Swapo, Angola and Untag thus far.

There was evidence of 600 Swapo troops on the Botswana side of the north-eastern border of Namibia, which had been reported in the Press, but what had been done about this violation?

"The successes of the Minister, to the East and to the West of us are nothing

but a false peace," he said.

Mr Pik Botha responded by saying that Mr Langley's motion expressed concerns based on fiction. The country's military and security services intelligence could find no substantiation for his claims about troop presences.

"We did find a few leftover Hereros on the north-east border who apparently want to get back in order to vote," he said.

Mr Langley had also failed to give credit to the dedicated sacrifices security forces had made in his own constituency: "His party could do nothing about the attacks. Nobody can guarantee to close off the border so tightly that nobody can get through."

"Good diplomatic relations at least offer one the opportunity to take up the matter with your neighbour."

He moved an amendment which expressed appreciation for the Government's agreements to clear the way for Namibian independence; took note, deplored and sympathised with those who suffered as a result of the loss of life in Cape unrest, calling on the Government "To establish as soon as possible" the circumstances of these deaths; appealing to all parties to heed the acting State President's call on September 12, to join the negotiating table in a spirit of goodwill. —Sapa

WE experienced a sea change this week.

After Mr F.W. de Klerk's conciliatory appearance on television and permission for the Cape Town protest march, can things ever be quite the same again?

It is not as if there were ever any doubt that the authorities could have crushed the protest if they wished — whack the participants (and anyone else who might be unfortunate enough to be standing around), pepper them with birdshot and dye them purple if necessary.

It is rather as if the enormity and perversity of such a course has penetrated Government thinking. When you do such things to leading clerics and the mayor of your mother city, it becomes something like self-flagellation — pointless and barmy.

There can be no doubt that the protesters won a moral victory over kragdadigheid. But FW was very careful not to identify with — least of all defend — kragdadigheid.

By saying the door to negotiation was open and there was no need to batter it down, he not only committed himself to an entirely new course but challenged the protesters to join him on it.

That is why there is a sea change. Mr de Klerk cannot follow his predecessors' instinctive reversion to kragdadigheid, while the others are under a moral obligation to at least join him in discussions before taking to the streets.

Whether FW can follow through with meaningful discussion is one thing, whether the unfranchised who genuinely seek peaceful change will be able to tame the hard men behind the barricades is another.

But for the first time it seems there could be a chance of breaking the spiral of protest and harsh repression, which ends inevitably in violence on both sides.

□ □ □

MANY political observers believe the police have a critical role to play in the years ahead. They have to hold the line and keep the peace as the country edges into a new and uncertain political future.

Yet the behaviour of certain police units over recent weeks has been disturbingly erratic.

In Cape Town, policewomen are sent to apprehend peaceful protesters — peace prevails.

Also in Cape Town, dogs, whips and teargas are used against protesters who peacefully invade the

LINSCOTT AT LARGE



DAILY NEWS Protesters' 15 SEPT. 1989 victory over kragdadigheid

beaches.

In Durban, police stand by as protesters good-humouredly invade two of the city's remaining segregated beaches.

The very next day in Durban, police fire birdshot at students at Natal University. Innocent bystanders are wounded, including a schoolboy.

Then the allegations of Lieutenant Gregory Rockman and of doctors at Cape Town's Red Cross Children's Hospital.

Are the police being used to keep the peace or are certain units being used to harshly suppress political dissent?

If the latter, it is extremely foolish and dangerous. How can they then play the future neutral, stabilising role they should?

□ □ □

IN Durban, black and Indian policemen vocally object to being required to enforce apartheid on the city's beaches.

In Cape Town, Lieutenant Rockman (a coloured officer) is backed in his statements to the national and world press by his (coloured) colonel.

It seems to underline the folly of involving policemen in any more than normal, non-ideological police work — fighting crime and keeping the peace.

□ □ □

PEOPLE tumbled into the Cape Town chemist's shop, a colleague tells me — eyes streaming, gasping and choking from teargas, drenched in purple dye.

Among them a six-year-old boy, screaming hysterically. He'd been bitten on the finger by a squirrel.

Evil times, my colleague lamented. Even the squirrels had turned kragdadig.

A new style

De Klerk



In the past few months, Mr F W de Klerk has given many indications of what he will try to be liked as Head of State. Now he is the State President and **TOS WENTZEL** of our political staff re-assesses his style and character.

DAILY NEWS - 15 SEPT. 1989

Reform process high on his agenda

ABOVE all, Mr F W de Klerk will try to be a conciliator. The bully-boy, finger-wagging days of P W Botha appear to be over.

The latest indication of this was the decision to allow the Cape Town march and his plea for the finding of common ground and for peaceful dialogue.

Some of his critics say that the decision to recognise peaceful protest were only crumbs from the Nationalist table but it was an indication of a new style.

Central to his thinking is the feeling that there must now be more movement, that the bogged-down reform process must get going again, that there must be more action on negotiations on constitutional reform.

Nationalist politicians say Mr de Klerk is doing some hard

thinking and exploring about negotiations on how to provide for black political rights right now.

Those who are close to him in the National Party also believe that he would attempt a more relaxed style as head of State, that he feels that there must be less talking at the people and more real reform action.

Cool

Mr de Klerk is not a pompous man. He has also shown that he can be firm, nearly ruthless, but that he can keep his cool as he did

in the leadership tussle with Mr P W Botha.

Unlike his predecessor he is a well-educated man, some-one who passed up the offer of a professorship in law to go into politics.

He is said to be a good listener and he has been testing some

of his ideas and approaches on various people, also on people outside the party including big businessmen.

He wants to get negotiations on constitutional reform going and is keen to have people such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi drawn into this.

He has also been heartened by the reaction to the possibility of negotiations from some urban black leaders.

At the same time he faces a series of demands on the lifting of the state emergency, the unbanning of organisations and the release of political prisoners especially Mr Nelson Mandela, before the negotiations could start in earnest.

Soon after he became leader of the National Party in February Mr de Klerk said he believed the Nation-

al Party's aims for South Africa would only be achieved when the party could say it had the support of each population group in the country for them.

He has not spelled out details yet but he has said that South Africa is on the way to a dispensation that would look completely

different what people were used to at present.

But not all assessments of Mr de Klerk are favourable.

Two chairs

His critics accuse him of being somewhat of a double talker — of sitting on two chairs, of talking verlig to the one side while being strongly committed to the concept of own affairs, one of the apartheid corner stones of the present system.

There are now, however, signs that he is, as one observer puts it, loosening his grip on this concept.

He has said that the interests of the people of this country were so interwoven that no-one could divide the different population groups into watertight compartments so that each could govern himself.

On the other hand he also stressed the diversity of the various groups and the need to ensure that one group did not dominate the other.

In his speech to Parliament on February 8, Mr de Klerk also said that white domination must go.

Open mind

He also stated that the National Party was not as ideologically obsessed with the group concept as had been suggested by many of its critics.

At the start of his term of office his approach appears to be an open-minded one, aimed at unifying the different groups and not unduly emphasising colour differences.

He has created a pervading air of anticipation and expectation with his talk about the drastic changes that are needed in a new South Africa. Inside South Africa and outside, his performance will be closely watched.

JUST seven days after white South Africa expressed its political will and directed Parliament to carry it out, the disenfranchised and those who spurn white hegemony packed Cape Town streets and raised their own voice.

It is doubtful whether politics will ever be the same again after Wednesday's mass overture... what began as a march to demonstrate against the Government's reaction to protest, is set to become a signal event in the steady transformation of modern South Africa.

While the country and the world digest the magnitude and the meaning of the demonstration, the Government will be taking stock of its own remarkable decision to sanction it.

Emergency

Three-year-old emergency regulations were effectively brushed aside with Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk's widely and internationally applauded decision to let the march go ahead as planned.

Of course, it is questionable whether he could have afforded to ban it, or, rather, not to have brushed the emergency regulations aside.

But has he staked his and his Government's political credibility on what at first may have seemed a wise - possibly an unavoidable - short-term tactical decision?



The streets of central Cape Town were packed when about 35 000 people, led by the mayor of Cape Town, Gordon Oliver, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak, marched for peace in the city after the violence on election night. The march was sanctioned by Acting State President FW de Klerk.

Voteless raise SOWETAN - 18 SEPT. 1989 their voice

... and politics will never be the same again after the Cape march

And will he and his Government be able to keep abreast of the events that are certain to have been set in train by it?

For, perhaps ironically, it was De Klerk who endowed the march with a compelling significance by working it

into the country's broader political canvas.

"The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to batter it down," he said.

Yesterday, the marchers went through that door.

Will De Klerk be there to welcome them in the entrance hall?

Admittedly, the analogy is stark, if not simplistic, even if the principle is quintessential.

De Klerk did, after all, appeal to protesters to find legal ways to convey their views. His actions in the weeks to come will define more clearly what

FOCUS

this means... whether finding "legal ways" will be rewarded, or whether failure to do so will be punished.

Furthermore, if extra-parliamentary elements wish to extend the score of protest and political expression and enjoy the same benign attitude accorded Wednesday's march, clearly they will

have to guarantee that future events are as peaceful and orderly.

Given that the Government will not readily or immediately meet all their demands or accept their point of view, they will also have to show remarkable patience.

Behind the bewildered expressions of some white on-lookers was, possibly, the recognition that for the first time in their lives they were witnessing an undisguised, unfettered and even, officially sanctioned expression of the real extent of popular opposition to the status

To PG 2

quo in South Africa.

ANC flags, hand-held posters bearing portraits of an aged Nelson Mandela and unequivocal slogans made that clear enough.

If, to white on-lookers,

Voteless raise
their voice.
From Pg 1

the march was a fascinating spectacle, then to the Parliament to which they have entrusted their political future, it was a challenge and one which will almost certainly be repeated in various forms in the months to come.

The inevitable implication of the event and the Government's attitude towards it is that it reflects a key shift in the process of reform and somehow points the way more clearly towards negotiation.

Quite how a mass protest - or even a series of them - might be translated into a negotiation process between white and black South Africans over political rights and, therefore, political power, is an equation no astute observer of contemporary South Africa would be confident or foolish enough to foretell.

If it is clear, as it should be, that there will be no quick transition from protest to power, then it should also be clear that the lunch hour march is an unprecedented signpost on the path towards dialogue, if not - on the Government's part - entirely by choice, then certainly by virtue of the popular and strident voice of its opponents.

Both sides have taken a step. It is one of many to be taken, but it is undeniably a portentous one.

The Star

Rediscovering the ways of democracy

AFTER repression, freedom is heady. Hence the flurry of planned protest marches in the wake of the successful and moving demonstration in Cape Town this week. Attention today will focus on the march to be held in Johannesburg. It may or may not be as big as that in Cape Town; we trust it will be as peaceful.

Writing before its scheduled start, we sense a mixture of relief, elation, anticipation and apprehension in the country. The emotions are understandable. This fairly ordinary democratic right has fallen into sad disuse through years of restrictive rule; the unfamiliar is always unsettling.

But the fact that marches are breaking out all over should not unduly disturb State President-elect de Klerk and his Government. When a safety valve is released, steam escapes. It would be wise, however, for everyone to remain aware that we are dealing with emotions here — and that emotions can erupt. Crowds are volatile entities, whether they gather at sports grounds or political parades. Sometimes it doesn't take too much to set them off.

It was inordinate fear of this reality that encouraged the

Government to ban all protest meetings in the first place. It rationalised an arrogant rejection of protest by arguing that it inevitably led to violence. Then it turned this into a self-fulfilling prophecy by itself using anticipatory violence. We hope that Mr de Klerk's more enlightened approach means he has seen the error of that way. Certainly, the complete absence of uniformed policemen in Cape Town evoked an admiring foreign comment that such a phenomenon would be unusual in the most stable of Western countries.

Yet it is important too for marchers to remember that their licence is to exercise freedom, not abuse it. By all accounts, the Cape Town crowd was vigorously disciplined by official marshals. Provocation was avoided. This has to be the pattern for all future protests.

As long as discrimination is enforced, protests will occur. Mr de Klerk's real test will be to move fast enough with reform to make political demonstrations obsolete. In the end, that — and not mere tolerance — will be the true gauge of his commitment to a just society.