



COSATU

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

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STATEMENT ON VISIT BY F.W. DE KLERK TO EUROPE 4/5/90

The Congress of South African Trade Union expresses its grave concern at the invitations which have been extended to the South African State President F.W. De Klerk to visit Europe and the USA in May and June. The international isolation of the apartheid regime has been a key element in the international pressure which together with the struggle of our people has compelled the Pretoria regime to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and to lift the bans on the ANC, SACP and other organisations as well as the restrictions on COSATU.

However we continue to live and work in an apartheid state and the head of that state is F.W. De Klerk. We cannot accept that the head of the apartheid state can be welcomed in democratic countries. Such a welcome can only give comfort and support to apartheid and to racists the world over. In particular it represents a relaxation of international pressure on apartheid South Africa in clear breach of the undertakings which the entire international community entered into when the UN General Assembly adopted the UN Declaration on South Africa 9 December 1989. The UN unanimously pledged itself to "maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country".

The Pretoria regime is attempting to take advantage of the steps it has taken, such as the release of Nelson Mandela, to try and break out of its international isolation and to secure the lifting of sanctions. If it succeeds this will reduce significantly the pressure on the regime and therefore undermines the prospect of securing an agreement on the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a united non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We therefore appeal to trade unionists to protest against any visit by De Klerk to your country. Ensure that the boycott of the apartheid regime is sustained. Do not allow your government to relax international pressure on apartheid South Africa. We also call on trade unionists throughout the European Community to protest against the meeting between F.W. De Klerk

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and the President of the European Commission. This meeting brings into question the European Community's anti-apartheid programme.

The situation in South Africa today requires us to intensify our struggles if we are to win our freedom. We look to the international community therefore to intensify its efforts. Now is not the time to give the apartheid regime the respectability that a visit by **F.W. De Klerk** to Europe and the USA will confer on it.

We expect democratic people and Governments the world over to make it clear to De Klerk that his regime will continue to be isolated until apartheid is dismantled.

De Klerk takes a 'lap of honour' through Europe

From Gavin Bell, Cape Town

PRESIDENT de Klerk embarks on a tour of European capitals this week in the hope of reaping diplomatic and economic rewards from his historic agreement with the African National Congress.

It is a measure of the changing political climate that he will be the first South African head of state to enter Europe by the front door since General Jan Smuts in 1945. His predecessors in the intervening period, tainted by the stigma of apartheid, were obliged to sneak in through the tradesmen's entrance.

During his 18-day tour of nine countries, Mr de Klerk will confer with a galaxy of kings, presidents and prime ministers in an attempt to win friends and influence people with his reform initiatives.

He leaves tomorrow night for Paris to meet President Mitterrand, and is scheduled to have talks with Mrs Thatcher in London on May 19. Other countries on the itinerary are West Germany, Greece, Portugal, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium and Italy.

Government sources say Mr de Klerk will endeavour to

persuade his hosts that he has already passed the point of no return in dismantling apartheid, and that they ought to replace their sticks with a few carrots — specifically to help relieve the economic plight of the black majority.

He does not intend to raise the issue of sanctions, although he would welcome any moves to lift them. Rather he will be seeking financial assistance in creating the more equitable society his foreign critics have consistently demanded.

The sources say it is of paramount importance that other countries help narrow the massive socio-economic gap between the black and white communities, and thereby reduce the potential for conflict. In practical terms, this means foreign investment and access to IMF funds to create jobs. Thus, in addition to the political discussions, meetings are planned with business leaders and journalists.

A member of the delegation said remarks by Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, that he had not the

slightest doubt about Mr de Klerk's sincerity, should be recognized abroad.

"We are not putting a high profile on sanctions, but if the Europeans are prepared to concede that there is no turning back, and there is not, then sufficient grounds exist for them to help us rather than hinder us. We are also coming to listen to their views, to ask them what they feel still has to be done before relations can be normalized."

As he sets off on what amounts to a tentative lap of honour in the hope of picking up a few prizes, President de Klerk leaves behind a bitter and disillusioned predecessor.

Mr P. W. Botha, who was unceremoniously bundled from power after suffering a stroke last year, resigned from the National Party at the weekend in a fit of pique at the reform process. He said he was dissatisfied with his successor's leadership.

Mr Botha told a reporter that he objected specifically to the inclusion of Mr Joe Slovo, the South African Communist Party leader, in the ANC delegation to last week's talks.

M12



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South African leader aims to lessen isolation

By Philip Gawth in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S President F.W. de Klerk is due to leave today on a tour of Europe where he will attempt to convince leaders of the good faith of his government's reforms.

The three-week tour, which takes in nine countries, is itself recognition of the reform strides taken by Mr de Klerk since coming to power last September. It follows historic talks in Cape Town last week with the African National Congress.

Not since the time of Jan Smuts, who was prime minister before the Nationalist Party took power in 1948, has a South African head of state embarked upon such a high-profile overseas trip. Mr de Klerk will meet heads of state and government in France, West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Britain, Greece, Switzerland and two other countries to be announced. He will address businessmen and bankers in most countries.

From the Government's point of view the trip will probably be considered a success if it makes the country more acceptable internationally, after years of isolation.

Mr De Klerk will probably try to avoid making the lifting of sanctions a measure of the trip's success. The ANC have, in any event, recently softened its line, with Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president, saying after the Cape Town talks that they would not seek an intensification of sanctions.

Disinvestment, boycotts and financial sanctions have hurt the country over the past five years and Mr De Klerk will want to raise confidence in the country's future and attract new investment.

Mr De Klerk's tour will also diminish any adverse impact of the protest resignation from the ruling National Party by his predecessor Mr P W Botha over the weekend.

M4



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De Klerk and Mandela hail success of talks

By Peter Taylor in Cape Town

THE SOUTH AFRICAN government and the African National Congress concluded ground-breaking talks yesterday with a commitment to "the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation" and to "stability, and a peaceful process of negotiations". Both sides said the talks had been successful.

President de Klerk described them as an important breakthrough and the leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Nelson Mandela, said he viewed them with "satisfaction".

In a joint communiqué, they announced that a working group would be established to define political offences and advise on the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity.

Although no date has been set for the next round of talks, the working group will complete its work by May 21.

Temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences is also to be "considered on an urgent basis" for members of the ANC national executive committee and other selected members of the ANC in exile.

The arrangements to review the status of political prisoners and exiles who might be liable to prosecution were the only specific measures in a document which was otherwise mostly amiable generalities.

At a joint press conference, sitting side by side and sometimes engaging in somewhat edgy banter, the two leaders insisted that the talks had been friendly and relaxed.

"The striking feature of the discussions has been their cordiality," said Mr Mandela. President de Klerk said: "We talked straight. I applaud the good spirit, the earnestness and the honesty which was a hallmark of the discussions."

But they clashed on sanctions, when Mr Mandela said: "The strategies which we have adopted, so far as sanctions are concerned, will remain in place."

President de Klerk intervened: "May I just say that on this subject, Dr Mandela and I obviously disagree. We in the government do not believe that sanctions are justified. The time has come for them to fall away."

● Gunmen killed the Rev Victor Africander, 60, and a policeman in separate attacks in Natal, police said yesterday. — Reuter



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S African labour relations deal

By Philip Gawth in Johannesburg

LABOUR accords signed on Monday between the employers' federation, Saccola, and union groups Cosatu and Nactu will go a long way towards improving the industrial relations climate soured by the divisive 1988 Labour Relations Amendment Act.

The agreement on amendments to the act took more than two years to negotiate.

It will be forwarded to Mr Eli Louw, Minister of Manpower, "in the hope that it will be possible to debate and process the proposed changes during the 1990 session of parliament," a joint statement issued yester-

day by the three parties said.

The act provoked a massive campaign of resistance from unions -- in the process forging an unprecedented degree of unity between rivals Cosatu and Nactu. About 3m workers stayed away from work in protest against the amendments. Although initially supported by employers, it became evident that industrial harmony was not possible so long as the amendments remained on the statute book.

Changes in the agreements include removing the industrial court's right to forbid legal strikes and lockouts and

a reversion to the pre-September 1988 definition of unfair labour practice. It also contains a set of basic worker rights, including the right to bargain collectively and the right to strike.

Commenting on the agreement Mr Naas Steenkamp, corporate affairs director at Gencor, said: "It has gone a long way towards legitimising our labour law, in which the people most affected previously had no say. I don't think we will again see labour law being made without the full involvement of employers and unions."

Angolan rebels claim success

Angolan rebels said yesterday they had pushed back government troops near the strategic town of Mavinga in the south-east, killing 139 soldiers and capturing about 100 tanks and other military vehicles, Reuter reports from Lisbon.

A statement issued in Lisbon said Unita rebels had stormed government positions on Monday morning, sending the troops fleeing in disarray towards their base at Cuito Cuanavale. The Lisbon embassy of the left-wing government dismissed the report.

Threat of political price for S African privatisation

Dilution of a principle is seen as worth promise of progress on negotiation front, writes Philip Gawith

THE historic political developments that have taken place in South Africa in the past few months have made a more than usually contentious issue of a privatisation programme born of economic necessity.

The African National Congress and other organisations on the left are implacably opposed to a policy they believe will frustrate their plans for a redistribution of wealth under a non-racial government. Much of privatisation will have to be "reversed", they say.

With the government and the ANC having just completed a first round of talks, the programme is vulnerable. One side does not like it; the other is unlikely to let it impede progress in negotiations.

Many supporters of privatisation would probably agree with Mr Harry Schwartz, Democratic Party finance spokesman, who said recently: "It is necessary... not to use existing political power to impose economic objectives which are the subject of dispute, if we



UNBUNDLING THE STATE

hope that in the future political power will not be used to reverse the processes."

Dilution of economic principle is seen as a price worth paying for enhanced progress on the political front. Already the Government has shown itself sensitive to the political environment by stating that R1bn (£220m) of future privatisation proceeds will be put towards social upliftment projects.

A slowing of the privatisation programme would anyway

be more symbolic than real since there are few short-term candidates for sale. Even in the long term, there are not many - the country has never had a large nationalisation programme that needs unravelling.

When then President P W Botha announced the programme in February 1988, he named only five big candidates: the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom); the Iron and Steel Corporation (Iskor); South African Transport Services (then Sats, now Transnet); the Phosphate Development Corporation (Foskor) and Posts and Telecommunication. In 1989 they had cumulative book assets of R73bn.

The list could be lengthened considerably. One estimate, probably optimistic, is that there are government bodies worth R250bn which could be privatised.

So far there have been two big public flotations. Sasol, the oil from coal company, was privatised in 1979. At the time it was the biggest listing the Johannesburg Stock Exchange

had seen, with Sasol gaining 26,000 shareholders.

But a privatisation policy to speak of emerged only with the tabling of the White Paper in 1987. This represented one of the Government's first responses to the fact that the country was in serious economic difficulty and required drastic change.

The 1985 debt crisis, when foreign banks refused to roll over the country's debt, was pivotal. Until then the country relied on 20 per cent of capital for fixed investment coming from abroad.

Two other figures highlight adverse economic trends which had to be reversed. First, in the period 1970-85, 63.7 per cent of all net fixed investment in the economy came from government. Second, post-1973, the fixed investment required to produce R1 of gross domestic product was twice that of the period 1946-72.

Privatisation was only one part of a much wider strategy of economic reforms embracing greater fiscal and monetary stringency, tax reform, less

intervention by way of protection and subsidy, real interest rates and deregulation.

One key decision in the Government's programme was the realisation that it had to privatise the process itself, and a Privatisation Unit was formed.

The only listing to date under the policy was that of Iscor in November 1989. It raised R3.7bn, 1.85bn shares at R2 each. It was 4.16 times oversubscribed and saw 150,000 investors coming to the market, an increase of 50 per cent in the number of private investors active in the market, according to Mr Tony Norton, JSE chairman.

The listing was widely acclaimed, particularly in terms of the quality of information made available to the public and the pricing of the offer. Shares traded at first at a 10 per cent premium and the high volume of trading meant that price was established on a true volume market. After reaching a high of R2.85 on January 9, the share has since slumped back to its issue price, largely because a depressed world

steel market means earnings forecasts in the prospectus are unlikely to be met.

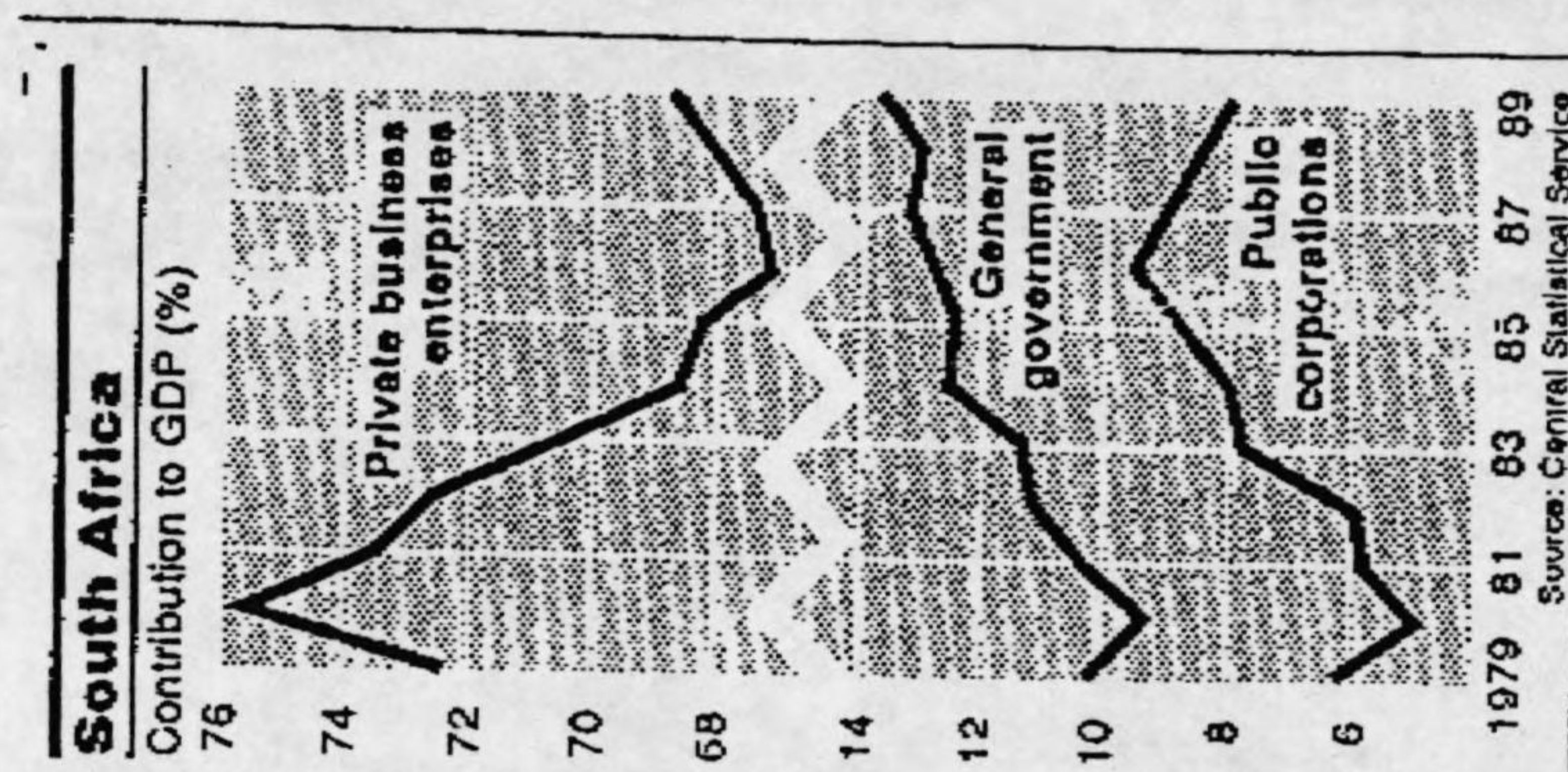
Iscor's share price, the flat state of the JSE and the dampening effect of ANC threats of renationalisation all mitigate against another listing in the short term. Foskor will probably be next up, but Transnet, Escom and Posts and Telecommunications are more distant prospects.

Transnet recently took a big step towards privatisation by dividing itself into five separate business units and changing its status from a state corporation to a private company. But it will be some time yet before any division has built up a sufficient business record to justify a listing.

Escom has been run on commercial lines for some years now, but worries about lack of competition have put its sale on the backburner. However, as Mr Norton, puts it: "Privatisation is the crowning of the commercialisation process. You can defer the coronation so long as you get on with the commercialisation."

Given the political sensitivities of the moment, the Government is likely to agree.

Previous articles in this series appeared on these pages on February 28, March 6, 13, 23, 29, April 4, 11, 19, 25 and May 1



THE TIMES WEDNESDAY MAY 9 1990

De Klerk moves to end apartheid in local authorities

From Gavin Bell, Johannesburg

THE South African Government is to abolish racially segregated local authorities and devolve considerable powers to a new system to be determined largely at local level.

President de Klerk's announcement to a congress of the Cape Municipal Association yesterday presages the dismantling of apartheid in local government, at present conducted by separate black, white, Indian and Coloured (mixed race) councils. They are particularly unpopular in black townships, where they are widely regarded as inefficient and corrupt. The new strategy appears to be to replace them with multi-racial bodies as a safeguard against the authoritarian whims of a governing party.

"At this stage I do not wish to expand on models or their merits, except to say I sincerely believe that the status quo cannot be maintained. There is an inescapable need for a new system or systems of local government," President de Klerk said. Adoption of any specific model would require the greatest possible consensus in the community con-

cerned, and a general legal framework within which all local authorities would operate. He envisaged structures providing for power-sharing and self-determination on a non-discriminatory basis.

"The Government is committed to the greatest possible devolution of power to the lowest effective level of decision-making... and a minimum of central administrative control." Among the advantages of such a system were that it would operate against authoritarianism, and allow communities themselves to handle "culturally sensitive" issues.

Mr de Klerk said that in totalitarian systems, local authorities were purely administrative extensions and controlling instruments of the central authority or political party. In a democratic system, they had an important role to play in ensuring basic freedoms and in bringing government closer to the people.

"We have to strengthen the hand of local government so that it is able to reach its full potential in upgrading and maintaining the quality of life of all our people... nobody

should be afraid of thinking in new or exploratory ways. Reform is not about suicide, but precisely about progress and survival." He said the policy switch was in line with the Government's aim of accord- ing full political rights to all citizens, with provision for the protection of minorities.

In pursuance of that goal, on Monday night Parliament approved an indemnity Bill empowering Mr de Klerk to grant either temporary or permanent indemnity to ex- lites taking part in negotiations with the Government. This is designed to facilitate talks with the African National Congress, but it also applies to people who have committed offences against members of the ANC and other formerly banned organizations.

In a television interview Mr de Klerk took issue with the stated reasons of the former President, Mr P.W. Botha, for resigning from the ruling National Party at the weekend. He said Mr Botha's criticisms of the reform process and of peace talks with the ANC "don't hold water".

M4

Letters, page 15

De Klerk's European tour seen as test for S Africa

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa's State President, F. W. de Klerk, flew to Paris last night on the first leg of a European tour regarded at home as a test of the country's chances of re-acceptance into the international community.

Mr De Klerk, who is travelling with his Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, 20 government officials, 20 security officials and a 25-strong press contingent, will visit nine capitals, including London. He meets President Mitterrand tomorrow.

The African National Congress is non-committal on the visit. After last week's talks with the government, Nelson Mandela announced that the ANC would make no calls on the international community either to relax or to intensify sanctions.

But more militant groups are critical, including the Pan Africanist Congress. Its president, Zephania Mothopeng, said yesterday that the tour would

"strengthen our enemy and his repressive forces".

Mr De Klerk is leaving behind a country going through one of its periodic bouts of euphoria, over the apparent success of last week's talks. President Bush has sent letters congratulating Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela on their discussions, their offices announced yesterday.

But South African optimism is qualified by worrying developments on the security front.

The most serious problem is the near collapse of the police force in the face of widespread resignations over working conditions and political events. A police spokesman said yesterday that the situation was continuing to deteriorate. Resignations, which had been running at 11 per day since the beginning of the year, rose to more than 14 a day during April.

Another cause for concern is a spate of random attacks on blacks. In the latest incident, two black men were shot dead and a third wounded near Pretoria at the weekend.

Police said the three were

forced off the road by four whites who at first pretended to be police officers and then said they were members of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the White Wolves. One of the whites then shot the three.

The White Wolves is the organisation to which Barend Strydom — the man who killed seven blacks in a 1988 shooting spree in Pretoria — claimed to belong. It was believed to have been a figment of his imagination, but the name has apparently been adopted as a *nom de guerre* by racist killers.

● The assassinations of the Swapo leader, Anton Lubowski, and the civil rights activist, David Webster, were the work of a unit run by Military Intelligence, according to evidence yesterday to the Harms commission of inquiry into the hit squad scandal.

Colonel Floris Mostert, leading the investigation into the Webster killing, said he had information that two employees of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) were involved in both murders.

M2

THE GUARDIAN
Wednesday May 9 1990

Flights resume

Spain has agreed to resume freight flights to South Africa three years after suspending them as a sanction against apartheid, the airline Iberia said. — Reuter.

M3

ANC greets breakthrough in talks as historic, but tough dealing lies ahead

South Africa passes 'point of no return'

OBSERVER 6 MAY 1990

Cape Town

John Matson

AFRICAN National Congress delegates to the talks with the South African government have marked Friday 4 May as the day that South Africa's struggle for freedom crossed the point of no return.

Although the written document issued as a joint communiqué uses sombre and technical language, it constitutes a comprehensive peace package when coupled with the tone of the verbal agreements reached in three days of talks at Groote Schuur, traditional home of white prime ministers.

After the talks, between President F. W. de Klerk's government and the Congress, exuberant delegates spoke of the surprising warmth among all the participants, including Adriaan Vlok, the Law and Order Minister, on the one side, and Joe Slovo, the Communist Party's secretary-general, on the other.

The Groote Schuur agreement deals with the obstacles to full-scale constitutional negotiations. The coming phases are likely to include hard bargaining about details of the country's future constitution, but the ANC and government have tied their political images to the negotiations, with a vested interest in their success.

Although De Klerk still talks publicly about protecting minorities in the new constitution through some form of race-based group rights, his advisers concede that this position is untenable.

In fact, the likely outcome will be a largely Western constitution, in which he will try to enhance the white voters' influence through an upper house in which whites will have more power than their population entitles them to.

The ANC is likely to oppose such a measure, and instead offer a bill of rights and other

political prisoners and return of exiles. By that date, the ANC national executive committee should have met and agreed on a suspension of the armed struggle, in co-ordination with an agreement by the government to remove much of the present security legislation.

If all these matters are implemented as planned, the next issue for debate will be the shape of the table at which constitutional principles, including a possible role for the international community, are debated.

That will bring the role of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, on to centre stage.

Dealing with the Buthelezi factor is part of the process of ending the state of emergency, because violence in his Natal province is the chief government explanation for its continuation.

The ANC wants the principles to be discussed at a two-sided table, with all those who represent the non-racial, unitary state position on one side. That would include the ANC, most churches, and smaller political groups that want to participate.

On the other would be the government and others representing racial groups.

The government is in favour of a round table, at which De Klerk would chair a meeting of all interested parties.

Some such meeting may take place, but the real constitutional talks are still likely to be between the Government and the ANC, as the central players.

The ANC wants that stage to deal with constitutional principles and the role of the international community. After that, it would like to see an interim government established, and national elections to a Constituent Assembly.

■ Former South African president P.W. Botha, 74, has cut all ties with the ruling National



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Monday 7 May 1990

THE INDEPENDENT

No tears as 'big crocodile' Botha quits Nationalists

POLITICS for once obeying a scientific logic, P W Botha, the former president who for 11 years was the unacceptable face of South Africa, announced his resignation from the ruling National Party yesterday at the very moment the government and party can be said, for the first time, to have gained national and international acceptability.

The dramatic success of last week's talks between the government and the African National Congress, the peace and love that have suddenly descended on the body politic, were clearly too much for Mr Botha's crocodile heart (he was known as "the big crocodile").

Mr Botha, living the life of a recluse since his unlamented and ungracious exit last August, told National Party officials who approached him at his appropriately named retirement home, Wilderness, that he had no intention of renewing his party membership. He explained that he was dissatisfied with the leadership of F W de Klerk, the man who forced him from office, and that he objected to Jos Slovo, the head of the South African Communist Party, being included in the ANC delegation that reached an historic accord with the government on Friday.

The resignation of Mr Botha,

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

who served in the National Party for 54 years, will hardly be viewed as a blow by Mr de Klerk. In fact, it would have been no surprise if last night the champagne corks were popping in the homes of some of the cabinet ministers who served under him and who have remained in the government. The likes of Pik Botha, the foreign minister, and Barond du Plessis, the minister of finance, have been new men since the removal of the shackles imposed during what has come to be known as P W Botha's imperial presidency.

Mr Botha, 74, is remembered as bullying and buffoonish, a figure in a bad dream. According to a senior National Party spokesman, any attempt now by the far-right Conservative Party to exploit the issue would be "pathetic and opportunistic". But that they have done. The CP leader, Andries Treurnicht, told Johannesburg's *Sunday Star* newspaper that Mr Botha had correctly judged Mr de Klerk to be "soft on communism". Dr Treurnicht would not speculate on whether Mr Botha would now join his party.

Should an application come in from Wilderness, the CP might not necessarily jump at it. First,

Mr Botha, on account of his health, would have little to contribute. Secondly, such is his disrepute that to have him on the team might prove to be something of a kiss of death.

Assuming Mr Botha continues to live a life of resentful, but quiet, retirement, charitable historians may yet find a good word for him. It was he as much as anyone, after all, who sowed the seeds for the present negotiations and the new atmosphere of constructive co-operation. Three years ago he dispatched the minister of justice, Kobie Coetsee, to meet Nelson Mandela in prison, providing the groundwork for a lasting contact during which Mr Mandela persuaded the government of his desire to find a peaceful accommodation between blacks and whites.

So if Mr Botha is resentful today it is not only because his party snubbed him, but because he feels that the applause his successor is getting should rightly have gone to him. Nevertheless, Mr Botha's style, as much as anything else, would have been a guarantee of the undoing of the negotiating effort had he had his wish and remained in power. The notion of Mr Botha and Mr Mandela ever having addressed a press conference together is, well, no more than a notion — and a mad one at that.

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No tears as 'big crocodile' Botha quits Nationalists

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who served in the National Party for 54 years, will hardly be viewed as a blow by Mr de Klerk. In fact, it would have been no surprise if last night the champagne corks were popping in the homes of some of the cabinet ministers who served under him and who have remained in the government. The likes of Pik Botha, the foreign minister, and Barond du Plessis, the minister of finance, have been new men since the removal of the shackles imposed during what has come to be known as P W Botha's imperial presidency.

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MORNING STAR Monday May 7 1990

Soweto joy for Nzo and Slovo

ALFRED Nzo and Joe Slovo arrived in Soweto yesterday to a tumultuous reception from 30,000 people who turned out to meet the top ANC and Communist Party officials.

Speaking alongside Nelson Mandela, the secretary-general of the ANC and the general secretary of the Communist Party, who returned from almost 30 years in exile a week ago, each gave an upbeat — but fighting — speech.

Mr Slovo also ridiculed the decision by ex-president PW Botha to quit the ruling National Party on the grounds that the government had held talks with him.

"The fact that he (Botha) doesn't like me makes me feel that I may have done my job properly," said Mr Slovo, a former chief of staff of the ANC guerilla army Umkhonto We Sizwe.

"I'm sure de Klerk (Botha's successor) does not like some of us, but at least he is big enough to try to think of the country first," he added.

But Mr Slovo also warned that police brutality and the growth of far-right paramilitary groups were undermining the goodwill created by President de Klerk's reforms.

"If they are not stopped, there is no hope for peace," he declared.

While slamming the regime's conception of "democracy that will give the white minority a veto on the majority," the leading white anti-apartheid figure tried to assuage fears of political change among the white community.

"We understand some of your fears," he said. "You are nervous that we will do unto you as you have done unto us, but we have no secret agenda."

The ANC would be happy to protect rights to language, culture, religion and political freedom — but would not agree to allowing whites a veto over "historically-accumulated race privileges."

Mr Mandela told the crowd that the modest turnout was due to poor organisation, but said there was no doubt that "our people are fully behind the negotiations."

He said that he would meet with President FW de Klerk before the government and the ANC hold a second scheduled meeting later this month.



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THE INDEPENDENT Tuesday 8 May 1990

Lubowski murder charge against Irishman dropped

DONALD ACHESON, the Irishman who has been held by the Namibian police for eight months in connection with the murder of the Swapo official Anton Lubowski, was set free yesterday after a judge in Windhoek dropped all charges against him owing to lack of evidence.

Mr Acheson was arrested last September, the day after Mr Lubowski, the only white man holding an executive position in Swapo at the time, was gunned down outside his home. Mr Lubowski, a lawyer close to the Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, was tipped to obtain a cabinet position in Namibia's new government.

The Namibian police appeared to be very certain that Mr Acheson had played a role in the assassination, which cast a dark shadow over the Namibian elections, won by Swapo two months later. But they were unable to come up with evidence to substantiate their belief.

According to the South African police, a link was established between Mr Lubowski's killing and a shadowy, South African army undercover unit known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau, which has been linked to death squad killings of the political enemies of

From Joe Putz in Windhoek and John Carlin in Johannesburg

Pretoria. The Namibian police came to suspect that Mr Acheson had been involved to some degree in the CCB. But they could pin nothing on him without evidence from four key South African witnesses who were CCB members.

Namibia demanded extradition of the four but as there was no extradition treaty with South Africa after Namibia became independent in March, South Africa did not comply. Namibia's chief prosecutor said yesterday in court that without testimony from the four, the case against Mr Acheson was "non-existent".

Mr Lubowski's father Wilfred, said by telephone from Cape Town he could understand the action taken by the Namibian court but was "disgusted" at South Africa's refusal to hand over the four suspects. He said he would campaign to press President de Klerk to order the extradition.

But even if Mr de Klerk were to respond to the request it would be too late to resurrect the case, with any effectiveness, against Mr Acheson. The judge yesterday did not preclude the possibility of bring-

ing charges later but it is understood that tomorrow Mr Acheson will board a flight to Frankfurt.

Speaking to reporters outside the court in Windhoek, he said he was not guilty of murdering Anton Lubowski. "I never did this crime whatsoever and I just want to get the hell out of it," he said.

He refused to comment when asked if he had worked for the CCB. The secret organisation has been implicated by South African police in the killing last May of a Johannesburg university lecturer, David Webster, as well as Mr Lubowski.

Mr Acheson, who said he wished to marry his Johannesburg girlfriend as soon as possible, told reporters that he plans to obtain a South African work permit while he is abroad. He did not discount the possibility, however, that he might return to Ireland. Mr Acheson's release sheds no light on the claim by South Africa's Defence Minister, Magnus Malan, that Mr Lubowski was a South African spy. If anything, South Africa's refusal to extradite the CCB men casts further doubt on General Malan's contention that the South African military could not have killed Mr Lubowski because he was one of their own.

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THE INDEPENDENT

Saturday 5 May 1990

De Klerk and Mandela end talks in harmony

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, making history yet again, sat down side by side yesterday and addressed a joint press conference at which they announced that the government and the African National Congress had reached agreement, after three days of talks, on the means of creating a peaceful political climate conducive to negotiations.

The outcome of the unprecedented and, until recently, unimaginable encounter was described by Mr de Klerk as "a great step forward" and by Mr Mandela as "the realisation of a dream". Bitter enemies had entered into a partnership of peace. "We" — not "the oppressors" and "the terrorists" — suddenly became the operative term.

"We went into these discussions," Mr Mandela said, "in the spirit that there should be neither victors nor losers and at the end of these discussions not only are we closer to one another, the ANC and the government, but we are all victors. South Africa is a victor."

In a joint, five-point communiqué it was revealed that the government had responded to all the key demands made by the ANC, and did so — while nothing has yet been finalised — to the ANC's satisfaction. The ANC in turn responded to the government by committing itself to help curb violence, but stopped short of calling a suspension of "the armed strug-

From John Carlin
In Cape Town

gle" — a question which Mr Mandela did, however, say that the ANC would now "look into".

The communiqué said: "The government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

The ANC's demands before the talks started for the release of all political prisoners, for indemnity for political exiles, for the removal of "repressive legislation", and for the lifting of the state of emergency, were all addressed. Agreement was reached on the creation of a "working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences" and "to advise on the norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity to those inside and outside South Africa". The working group would aim to complete its work before 21 May — a necessary interval, as ANC officials themselves have recognised, for the task of pinning down who exactly may be classified as a political prisoner is a difficult one.

The government undertook also "to review existing security

legislation ... in order to ensure normal and free political activities". Implicit here is the notorious Internal Security Act, which grants the police extraordinary powers of arrest. The government reiterated a prior commitment "to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency", with the ANC "exerting itself" to contribute its part as regards violence and intimidation.

The communiqué also said that "temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences" would be considered urgently for ANC leaders so that they would be able to return to South Africa to help bring violence to an end and take part in negotiations.

Finally, agreement was reached on the desirability of opening up "efficient channels of communication" between the government and the ANC in order to curb violence effectively.

Mr Mandela said: "The striking feature of the discussions which we have had in the last three days has been their cordiality." Asked if the success of the talks meant apartheid was dead, Mr Mandela said it was not, for he did not even have the vote yet. But Mr de Klerk had said it was on the way out and "I have not the slightest doubt that the State President means what he says". International sanctions, however, should remain in place for the time being, he added.

Text of agreement, page 13



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A meeting of minds as two worlds collude. . .

WHEN South African State President F W de Klerk leaned over to Nelson Mandela and asked, in a comradely fashion, whether the ANC Deputy President would mind taking the next question, the psychological somersault in South African politics was complete.

Mandela smiled broadly, complied, and for half an hour the two most powerful men in the country operated as a team. In an anteroom of the South African Parliament, under the stony stare of a bust of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, they exemplified the extraordinary rapport which has been achieved between the leaders of the South African government and its principal challenger for power, the African National Congress.

The old certainties about South Africa have been turned on their head: the state-run South African television service opened its prime-time broadcast with a picture of the South African and ANC flags side by side, and images of De Klerk and Mandela beaming at each other.

The week's historic "talks about talks" in Cape Town produced agreement in principle between the two sides on important interim issues in South African politics - notably on the eventual suspension of armed hostilities - but it was in personal relations rather than formal protocols that the greatest significance lay.

The "Groote Schuur Minute" - a short document which binds the government to reviewing security legislation and the ANC to reconsidering its commitment to the armed struggle - leaves most of the most important points unresolved. It does not begin to address the ultimate question of majority rule, and the gap between the two sides was evident in both men's extempore answers to questions.

Nevertheless De Klerk and Mandela proved that their hold on their respective organisations was unquestioned, and

Old certainties in South Africa were called into question at last week's historic talks, Shaun Johnson reports from Cape Town

signalled that their joint press conference was likely to be the first of many such performances.

Their appearance was unashamedly theatrical: the leaders, followed by their delegations, entered the packed auditorium of the H F Verwoerd building from opposite sides, shook hands enthusiastically and proclaimed their deliberations a resounding success. It brought to an end to one of the most remarkable weeks in South African history.

A sense of unreality had characterised the talks from the moment the ANC delegation's Zambia Airways jet touched down in Cape Town from Lusaka. South African policemen demanded "ANC accreditation" from reporters who would have faced arrest for talking to ANC members here only a year ago, and anti-apartheid activists went into huddles with their former jailers to sort out the logistics of the visit.

"From Africa, always something new comes," said ANC veteran Govan Mbeki, who was on hand to welcome delegates. "Strange things happen. . . In the days before they [the delegates] left the country, we could never have gathered together like this. The gentlemen on the other side [the security police] would have been trailing us. It's a very different story today."

The "difference" persisted throughout the week. The luxurious Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West near Cape Town - named after one of Britain's less popular colonial governors in South Africa - was chosen to house the ANC entourage, and paid for by the government.

In interviews with the *Sunday Correspondent* Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Alfred Nzo, the ANC Secretary General, and Joe

Modise, its military commander, spoke of reconciliation and of soothing fearful whites. Modise said he visualised a future South African Defence Force that "knows no colour. . . We start from the premise that we are all South Africans, both Umkhonto [the ANC's military wing] and the SADF."

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's urbane diplomatic head, bemoaned the "foolishness" of both sides for not having held peace talks "years ago". For their part, government spokesmen were unsparing in their praise for their negotiating partners, mingling freely with them in the manicured grounds of the Groote Schuur estate.

It is almost inevitable that the euphoria will be replaced by doubts once the limited nature of the agreement becomes clear. This is the nature of the process which began with President de Klerk's mould-breaking address to Parliament

in February: it is a rollercoaster ride of alternating hope and fear. For the moment, however, the protagonists have brought optimism to the fore. Pressed on why the talks failed to secure a ceasefire, Mandela said: "Let me assure you that we have made progress on almost every aspect of the obstacles to [future constitutional] negotiations. We are closer now than we were ever before. And that is what you should take away from this meeting."

The appointment of a joint government - ANC "working group" to consider such pressing issues as the return of exiles and the details of an amnesty is the most tangible outcome. While some ANC members return to their headquarters in exile in Lusaka this week, selected strategists will stay behind to work with the internal leaders.

The working group's report, due to be completed by May 21, will give the first clear indication of whether the optimism about an ultimate solution is well-founded or if, as one journalist laconically remarked, "It's bound to end in tears."



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THE SUNDAY TIMES 6 MAY 1990

Botha quits as Buthelezi broods over ANC talks

by Andrew Hogg
Johannesburg

LAST week's historic talks between Nelson Mandela, the veteran African National Congress leader, and President F W de Klerk have left South Africa's other key players brooding on the sidelines.

Yesterday, it was revealed that P W Botha, the former president who resigned last August after suffering a stroke, had left the ruling National party he served for more than 30 years.

"We are all victors now," declared Mandela, as he and De Klerk announced a big breakthrough towards political agreement and the end of "the armed struggle".

But Botha, who was reportedly furious at the inclusion of Joe Slovo, the veteran Communist party leader, in the ANC's negotiating team, did not count himself among the winners.

Nor, despite his brave words, did Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of Zulu Inkatha, although he shared in the climate of goodwill. "The fact that the ANC, which was wedded to the armed struggle, is coming together with government to identify the remaining obstacles to negotiations is a breakthrough for all of us," he said.

But Buthelezi, like Botha and the ultra-right Conservative party which dismissed the ANC's commitment to a political solution as "pious talk", is beginning to feel isolated.

Since the unbanning earlier this year of the ANC, whose policies pose a direct threat to Zulu nationalism, nearly 1,000 people are thought to have died in Natal province,

most of them members of rival groups to Inkatha.

Buthelezi, who was promoted by Botha as a black the whites could do business with, cultivates the air of an international statesman but suggest to him that the violence might be to his political advantage and he rapidly loses his poise.



Buthelezi isolated and embattled

The diffident, almost shy manner vanishes, and a political street-fighter emerges. "It's bullshit," he fumed last week. "I have nothing else to add."

The violence in Natal featured prominently at the Cape Town talks, aimed at removing obstacles to negotiations for a new constitution. At the end of the first round, a joint communiqué undertook to tackle the virtual state of civil war gripping the province.

The ANC wants action on the killing fields of Natal, maintaining that blame for the slaughter lies at the door of Inkatha, operating with the tacit support of the authorities.

In his wood-panelled office in KwaZulu, the Natal homeland where he is chief minister, Buthelezi, 61, was scathing about such a suggestion. His anger struck a raw note, presenting a different face to the one shown in the many photographs on display of his meetings with various Western leaders, including Margaret Thatcher.

The suggestion, however, was not new. Inkatha's perceived lust for power has been the target of criticism ever since the first blood was spilled between the movement and the ANC in Natal five years ago.

The conflict is now a serious challenge to steady progress towards replacing apartheid with a new constitutional system. Demands by the ANC for the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from black townships could well precipitate a blood-bath in Natal.

Buthelezi insists that Inkatha does not want violence, but he shows few signs of reconciliation. "Inkatha has the least to gain from violence," he said. "I have never pretended that Inkatha members are not involved in violence in so far as there is

find their homes and families from Inkatha. "Let us wipe them out if they attack us," he urged.

While such sentiments prevail on both sides, no amount of talking will make the prospects of peace in Natal, and South Africa as a whole, anything more than a thin beam of light at the end of a long, bleak tunnel.

supporters in the Pietermaritzburg area, he said recently: "If I had to say: 'Yes, let us go and clear that mess up,' there would be an awesome spectacle of absolute brute power sweeping all the muck out of Pietermaritzburg."

Harry Gwala, the ANC leader in Natal, is no better. At a May Day rally last week he told a crowd of 10,000 to de-

the blessing of white South Africa. He probably already anticipates the day when he becomes a senior partner in the "alliance of minorities" which the government plans.

But despite his professed desire for peace, Buthelezi is capable of lacing his speeches with blood-curdling imagery. Referring to clashes between his members and ANC

claims represents 7m Zulus, South Africa's largest ethnic group, does not surrender an inch in the re-drawing of South Africa's political map.

Provided the violence abates, Inkatha has little to fear from the government. Buthelezi's stand against unions, armed revolution, and his commitment to a free economy long ago won him

counter-violence, retaliation violence, vengeance violence, and pre-emptive attacks in which both sides have participated. But the community must examine who is committed to violence. Not us. The ANC is committed to the armed struggle."

Implicit in Buthelezi's rhetoric is his determination to ensure that Inkatha, which he

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