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hiopia, rebels

R % S i g \ ; t -

open peace

talks

in Atlanta as Carter takes part

ATLANTA (AP) â\200\224Representa-
tives of the Ethiopian government
and an Eritrean rebel group shook
hands and began preliminary talks
Thursday aimed at ending their 28-
year-old war. :

Former President Jimmy Carter
is actti;ilg(sas an observer for the pri-
vate at the Carter Center. The
. talks are expected to last three

days, though no time limit has

been set; the goal, Carter said, is to
pave the way for more substantive
negotiations later.

Ethiopia and the rebels are war-
ring over the independence of Eri-
trea, a province that holds Ethio-
piaâ\200\231s only direct access to the Red
Sea. An estimated 1 million people
have died in the conflict and its
related famine. :

Officials of the two delegations
said Thursday that they are eager
for peace, but made it clear that
profound differences exist.

â\200\234The Eritrean case cannot be re-
solved by ing away from the
truth or by playing some tricks, â\200\235
said Alamin Mohamed Saiyed,
â\200\230head of the Eritrean delegation.

â\200\234The search for peace . . . should
not be viewed as a subterfuge to

buy time, or, still worse, as part of

military maneuvers and tactics of
war, â\200\235 said in, a member of
the Politburo of the Eritrean Peo-

pleâ\200\231s Liberation Front. :
Ashegre Yigletu, head of the gov-

ETHIOPIA

Chicago Tribune Map

ernment delegation, said Ethiopia
has tried repeatedly during the last
15 years to end the conflict peace-
fully. '

â\200\234It is our view that these peace
talks should start off in an atmo-
sphere that avoids polemics and re-
crimination and constructively lead
to the restoration of peace in the
northern part of our country,â\200\235 said
Ashegre, head of the Central Com-
mitteeâ\200\231s Foreign Relations Depart-
ment.

Meeting with reporters, Alamin

" auspices of an informal

and Ashegre each sat stone-faced as
the other delivered his opening
statement in Arabic, foll by an
En interpretation. But, prod-
d byCarter,th?roseattheend
of the meeting and shook hands.

No public statement on the talks'

be issued until they end, as

both sides ssroed thst issing progs
Iâ\202-SS reports wo counterpro-
ductive, Carter said. â\200\230

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
on Thursday quoted unidentified

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e e

â\200\230diplomats as saying Presi-
dent Hosni Mubarak would medi- |

sessions succeed.

A United Nations agreement

federated Eritrea, a former Italian
colony, with Ethiotpia in .1_9&
groups forming in
early 1960s when they did not
self-rule and Ethiopia unila ly
annexed the area.
Ethiopia considers the conflict a
war of secession. R
The Atlanta talks are under the
called the International Negom

e
- Network, - which includes scholars
and former diplomats and
out of the
meeting is the network's first effort.

Carter is acting as a private citi-

operates
arter Center. The

zen in the talks, though the Bush |
administration has wished him well

and Carter has said he will keep
the administration informed.

Section 1

FfomPage1

Chicago Tribune,

â\200\230Friday.. September 8, 1989

left-wing oppositlon, leaving the
3 seats. The right-

wing |
Conservative Party won 39 seats and

the liberal Democratic Party 33.

Embracing his left-wing op- :

ponents, De Klerk said
ters of the white electorate had voted
for reform. He said his party now
â\200\230would take â\200\230its program for renewal
â\200\234through to its logical consequenc-
s.

' Prominent on the new agenda will
be a plan to scrap the parliament-
cameral ent, which excludes
blacks and confines Indians and

mixed-race people classified â\200\234col-
oredâ\200\235 to chambers with little power.
Resentment over the tricameral sys-
tem has been a prime cause of the
Flats unrest, and most non-
white voters withheld their ballots in

~ the latest

polling. :

The first funeral for those killed on
election day went off peacefully
Thursday in the Cape Town
â\200\234of Mitchellâ\200\231s Plain, where for weeks
teenagers have been putting up
burning barricades and throwing
rocks at police and passing cars, '
inâ\202eemgâ\201'omphocetwrgasandmb--
ber bullets.

Suleiman Martin, 26, was slain in-
â\200\234â\200\234a burst of shotgun fireâ\200\235 as he and a
friend Sirle Engelbrecht were

way an
up in a running crowd,
told local journalists.

Dr. Reynolds said another victim,

a 12-year-old boy, was standing in
his parentsâ\200\231 yard, 150 feet from a

street barricade of burning tires, .
when he was hit in the mouth by a |

FH-{

shot
iendâ\200\231s

buckshot pellet. In another incident, \

a 16-year-old girl was fa
while walking home from t:nz'l
house, he said.

. Critics of police actions have cited |
the remarkable statements of a
â\200\230mixed-race police officer who has
accused riot police of brutality in
putting down the protests.
â\200\234Now a police lieutenant . has

saldwhatwehavebeensaylngalll

Hols

Remphob

Relatlves mourn Thursday at the funeral of Suleiman Martin, 26, who
according to a friend was killed by shotgun fire Wednesdar as they
.were crossing a highway in the Cape Town suburb of Mitchell s Plain

along,â\200\235
Desmond Tutu.
â\200\234Lt. Gregory Rockman has sald
riot police acted like â\200\234mad dogsâ\200\235 in
putting down a peaceful protest in
l\{h_tchellâ\200\231 Plain earlier this week,

stan
she was severely beaten.

â\200\230Police have said they are investi-

ting the charges. But a police
S Arch-

statement Thursday
g;shop Tutu and Rev. Boesak of

vmg gone public with accusations -

massacre â\200\234without first txylng to

' venfy the facts.â\200\235

~ The statement also said that police
conï-\201swted five homemade pis-
during mob violence and that
two police officers were wounded by
shotgun fire during the protests.

| â\200\234We mvxte Archbishop Tutu

said Anglican Archbishopâ\200\230

_the case of a t by- â\200\231
who was hosmt;lmn:d?

toproduoetheevxdence thepohce
statement said.

Meanwhile,

campaignâ\200\235 â\200\234aimed at focusmg

'attentlon on continued racial dis-
- crimination in

SouthAï¬\201-ncaplemd
to intensify the protests. Ã©
â\200\234DeKlexkentersh1stenofoï¬\201oe
with the blood of our people on his
hands,â\200\235 said a statement by the

â\200\234Mass Democratic Movement, a

loose coalition of antxaparth

groups.

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Activists sa

By Tbm Masland

. Chicago Tribune

CAPE TOWN, South Africaâ\200\224
Accusations Thursday that at
least 25 people were killed in
Cape Town during election-day
protests in black and mixed-race
suburbs clouded the narrow vic-
tory for the governing National
Party. :

Witnesses said
criminally fired birdshot and
buckshot as unrest deepened in
suburbs of Cape Town that have
been the focus of protest aimed

olice indis-

- at the elections Wednesday,

which excluded blacks.
Army units blocked off the
township of Lavender Hill on

Thursday as shotgun fire contin-

ued, but there were no immedi-
ate reports of deaths.

~ â\200\234They were driving throuth
the streets, just shooting at the
citizens,â\200\235 said Dr. Louis
Reynolds, an activist who staffed

a church clinic Wednesday in

Lavender â\200\230Hill. â\200\234The worst part
of it was not knowing whom
you could turn to.â\200\235 ;
Civil rights attorney Essa
Moosa â\200\230'said 25 people had died
overnight in seven black and
mixed-race neighborhoods.
Police challenged the allega-
tions, the first reported deaths of
protesters in more than a month
of unrest in the region. The 25
fatalities would be the countryâ\200\231s
largest death total in decades for

. a single day of political violence.

A police spokesman said that

only seven deaths were known to -

have occurred overnight, and that four of those resulted from inter-gang rivalry. Â¢

â\200\234Activists said the final figure could be much higher than 25, and reported that the victims included a 6-year-old girl and a 67-year-old woman who was found decapitated and riddled with shotgun pellets. A local

â\200\230newspaper, Grassroots, said it had confirmed that 15 bodies :

were in a city mortuary.
- Whatever the numbers, the

South African riot police patrol the Cape Town suburb of der Hill, which was closed off Thursday after election-day violence. o

President F.W. de Klerk, who

bloodshed raised fears of further violence in' Cape Flats because funerals provide a traditional forum for political protest.

â\200\234I do not know how people can become vaguely excited about these elections when on the same night the man who calls for reform and a new South Africa, who has a â\200\230new vision,â\200\231 allowed this kind of massacre to take place,â\200\235 said Rev. Allan Boesak, a leading antiapartheid cleric. 0 :

He was referring to Acting

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cre alleged in S, Af rica

P i-\201 '
ootings bytpo\ligg\killed 2by

Laven-

interpreted his partyâ\200\231s narrow election victory as a mandate to act on a party platform based on giving blacks a voice in national affairs.

â\200\234Mr. De Klerkâ\200\231s presidential

â\200\230seat is a pool of blood,â\200\235 Rev.

Boesak said at a news confer-

ence.

Final election results in the
whites-only House of Assembly
showed the National Party had
lost 27 seats to its right- and

See S. Africa, pg. 2

y â\200\230#

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(30Â\$

THE, CITIZEN, .,

â\200\230Terros may target White areasâ\200\231

en warns: ANC
getting desperate

: SR moï¬\201Ã©l
and economic installa- there was a distin, e b
tween the military cop-.

By Keith Abendroth

THE top SA experts
on African National
Congress tactics wg-
ned yesterday that an
increasingly desperate
ANC was - targeting
White areas for viol-
ence in its master plan
â\200\224and that its distinc-
tion between â\200\234softâ\200\235
and â\200\234hardâ\200\235 targets had
disappeared.

Maj-Gen . -Herman
Stadler, in a report deliv-
ered in Pretoria to a
specialist conference on
national security, said the
ANC and the - Mass
Democratic = Movement
were now desperate and,
in the face of repeated

tactical failures were try- &) fror
ing to accelerate the cli- ' ' Tevolutionary basesâ\200\235, in |

mate of internal protest.
As far as he was con-

cerned, said Gen Stadler, *

the ANC would not easi|y
â\200\224 because of their fail-

ures and current low mor- .
ale â\200\224 be prepared actual-

ly to engage in negotia!-
tions with the South Afri-
can Government.

Noisesâ\204¢ ~

And this was despite
the noises being made by

the ANC about possible participation in 4 negotiated settlement process
â\200\224 uttered following increasing pressure on the ANC by other Frontline States.

At the conference, held by Pretoria Universityâ\200\231s Institute for Strategic Studies, Gen Stadler detailed

the history of the ANC |

and the various facets of its master plan to over-

throw the South African | Government and set up -

its own one-party Communist state.

bl g R

A major part of the *

plan to transfer â\200\234the balance

of forcesâ\200\235 to the .

ANC was for the â\200\234struggleâ\200\235 to progress from

Black residential areas to

' White areas.

The planning must originate from the â\200\234revol-

tions, described as the â\200\234lifelineâ\200\235 of the White . population.

In platteland areas farm labourers and farm-

. ers must be used in the

struggle to â\200\234seize the landâ\200\235, and this must be combined with attacks on border farmers and their families and landmine attacks in rural areas.

â\200\234The ANC believes the * '

authorities want to re-

. 2 G

strict the violent conflict i

to the Black residenti

areas; so consequently attacks in White areas are

intended to demoralise
and divide Whites and to

persuade as many as poss- .

ible to become involved

. increasingl

â\200\230law

cept of â\200\234combatantsâ\200\235 and
â\200\234non-combatantsâ\200\235 as well
as between

f:lear that as the struggle
Intensified, the differen-
tiation between

â\200\234Was questionable whether]
the ANC was really wil. |
Ing or capable of abiding
by it. Sod]]
Create o

The ANC tried to cre-

in the â\200\234freedom strug- . ate the impression that"

4 gle:Â¥

utionary basesâ\200\235 for at- |

tacks by â\200\234combat and de-

fence unitsâ\200\235 on security

forces in Black and White

areas, as well as strategic

~dards.

Plan

The plan was then to
set up a â\200\234peoples govern-
mentâ\200\235 coupled to the
â\200\234revolutionary basesâ\200\235,

civilians -were not tar-
geted indiscriminately â\200\224

| but if this happened, the

ANC did not accept re- |
sponsibility and; instead, .

Â¢ classified it as â\200\234crossfireâ\200\235.

It often said the victims

existing in parallel to the were â\200\234part of the sys-

South African Govern- -

ment, said Gen Stadler. -
The ANC/SACP Alli- |
ance, he said, spoke glibly
about the concept. of
â\200\234hardâ\200\235 and â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230softâ\200\235 tar- !
gets, but its interpretation
of the terms did not meet |
with international stan-

*: take

â\200\234civiliansâ\200\235 |
and â\200\234military personnelâ\200\235.
The ANC had made it

| ments in the past two
| years had added a new di-
â\200\234hardâ\200\235 | mension to the negotia-
and â\200\234softâ\200\235 targets would , tion process which had

.)

y disappear. . â\200\230| 'caught the

While claiming to ad- :

- here to the protocol of the !
eneva ConVention, it:â\200\231

',â\200\230 ~ure on the ANC, by both

+ 5 within Africa itself, to ne-

temâ\200\235. .
Whatever the

llcyor

perceptions â\200\234might - be,
however, it was â\200\230clear

- from terror statistics andâ\200\231.

statements by the ANC...
that while it still tried to -

- steer away from direct
civilian targeting â\200\224 the
distinction between
â\200\234hardâ\200\235 and uso â\200\235 had
disappeared.

In the overall scenario, . -

it was clear to all con-

cerned that the ANC was
, Dot making headway with
its intensified conflict
| plan, and it was being in-
| creasingly pressurised to
part in a negotiated
i settlement process. :

International and re-
.gional political develop-

ANC un-
awares. : :

5y Pressure
~ â\200\234Added to this is press-

2the West and East Bloc
i states, as well â\200\230as from

gotiate with the South
African Government,â\200\235
~said Gen Stadler. e
. Added to this were
clear indications that the
Soviet Union was now re-
garding a settlement in
South Africa as much
more feasible and was less
optimistic about a suc-
cessful violent seizure of
power.

The â\200\230move now, said
Gen Stadler. would be for

says, . . . despite shedding ~

seats to both the left and
the right

Party has - : me : ged - i - \ 201 ' om â \ 200 \ 230 â \ 200 \ 234 â \ 200 \ 230 i * " w â \ 200 \ 234 h _ m â \ 200 \ 230

ger than

it was before.

He said yesterday this â \ 200 \ 231
was use it was no
longer trammelled by ul-
tra-conservatism in its
rank and file.

He said South Africa
was now moving toward
the achievement of nego-
tiation and democracy. -

He called on Black
leaders to be bold, adding
the NP victory would pro-
vide South Africa with
more i - \ 202 exibility, which
would make 3 greater
range of initiatives poss-
ible.

The Afrikaanse Han-
delsinstituut (AHI) said
the support the NP shed
in the election could be

â \ 202 - conomic problems had

by the party

AHI President, Mr
Dries Niemandt, said the
lack of real economic
growth and high taxation

- were reflected in the elec-
tion results, 5

He said a significant

improvement

pected in

ment style of the
State President,
cause of

smaller majority. -

acting

Lebowaâ\200\231s Chief Minis-
ter, Mr Nelson Ramo-
dike, said South Africans
wanted a non-racial and
democratic country which

would offer equal oppor- .

tunities for all.

-White South

and be-
governmentâ\200\231s

F W de Klerk, and chal-
lenged him to take the
mantle of leadership
boldly and move toward
political change .in the

i Oountl'y. T

He said Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s
government would do
well to dismantle separate |
development in all jts
forms and that he should
realise the majority of
Africans
wanted politica] change

â\200\230and not politica] reform.

Mr Ramodiker appealed

â\200\231 tq Mr De Klerk to stick to

five-year reform plan,
to release political pris-
oners and to declare a
moratorium allowing
those in exile to return to
negotiate a new constitut-
ion for the Country. â\200\224
Sapa

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British’

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nisterâ\200\224Sirâ\200\224 [v s eaid: ot
terday thatâ\200\235 112 wâ\200\230QW’Q atterd

s.in moral comment from a sub-;
vestor, would find it hard to hold OP%?:?: gnlx.;::â\200\230:(p:â\200\231hang; eted \n.* s
stantial distance away. . .

nnosing harsh sanc- . cluded the lifting of the state of emer>: â\200\234What we really want
wseei-\201ihÃ@f
v e SN OPINA 9

t mssmenwmeuu_neuenc and Testrictions=on~ Jas the change comes about it sticks |
reformed apa heid-policiesâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 nolitical _acti vâ\200\224theâ\200
\224unbanning-o w""' s -~
But Forei, SecretaryJohnMajor +\ the ANC.and the rele {etson Major_said " tha aâ\200\224fou
r-heur

| â\200\230took a more cautious attitude, saying *- 'Mandela and other litical prison- . mee
tix;ginLonon on Wednesday tire
| Britain should keep the â\200\234influenceâ\200\235 OF *} @rS.n bav it B s po p R 4 Cana
dian External Affairs Minister
Bt ot sanctions in hand, AP-i. . Major said Britain did not intend - Joe Clark, who chairs
the CommOTy
DJ feportsi il b iy I increasing sanctions, but he stressed ! wealth Foreign Ministers grou
p, had
. Howe, who lost the post of foreign " that Pretoria had no.time to was e urged Britain to
intensify financial
secretary in July in a controversial .-' and no excuses Tefty Dt -.J;â\200\234sanctlons an
d dgbt,rwch uling pres-|
â\200\230eabinet reform, quoted acting Presi- ' & He said support for change o:â\200\230;â
\200\234i-\201 g mure, oo SA, G s amnslgiaie
- R i

dent F W de Klerk as saying hehad a* - from 70% of the whites and 1 : % Agreed 3
â\200\230mandate for reform.â\200\235 ! 5 Â¢adsidiniat the â\200\230majority of the p0pulat
iop who v Gt 20 L e AT ES
SEIANARE S /sl had been denied the right to vote. . â\200\230Asked to comment on the sancti
ons

AL PPunitive 5 ke {â\200\234This . could scarcel{ be a more - issue, which is expected to c
ause &
e 08 i mâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 YR powerful mandate.â\200\231 hope â\200\230Mr #de fur
ious row at. the Commonwealth

.. â\200\234We_hope, and I have reason to ; Klerk will proceed with it w uiout . heads of s
tate meeting in Malaysial-
believe, he wants to use that (man-c: delay. @ . o o L % i+ later this month, Major 'made i
t clear
date),â\200\235 Howe gaid, = yeteih o ega He agreed with anti-apartheid crit- - Britain wou
ld react to developments
#If he does:not, then bolding the - ics, including Archbishop Desmond * inside SA and would
not at this stage
line against punitive sanctions willbe ... Tutu, that De Klerk and the NP had submit to Co
mmonwealth or any oth-
infinitely more difficult.â\200\235 . -+ i yet to offer a. â\200\234realâ\200\235 policy
for - â\200\234er outside pressure. = -
_ Major, speaking to BBC Radio, re- reform.â\200\235 ' "' Â° s somi g {7 #63 - He said he
and Clark had agreed
iterated his governmentâ\200\231s opposition -1 Major said Mandelaâ\200\231s release aparth
eid had to go but the question,
to economic sanctions.. . ~ .+ would be â\200\234a very important signal for 'between them
was whether sanctions
i+ Our Lgndon.Cormponent reports . negotiations, but I donâ\200\231t think it is the â
\200\230of that nature. were workable or
that Major said De Klerk had won a : only signalâ\200\235. w ofie o w300 counter-productive
. Sise]
-9 h â\200\224_â\200\224â\200\224-â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224_â
\200\224_â\200\224â\200\224_â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224T : i i

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\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 TR A AN . ST

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OUTH Africa has been [

granted another opportun-

ity, perhaps the last, toes- | |

cape from the course of

madness on which it embarked i | sHep

- 1948. That, in a nutshell, is the
meaning of the 1989 general elec-
. tion result. o R RSy {

The vote cannot be interpreted as

anything but a resounding twâ\200\230:?a.rty
mandate for fundamental reform,
with the Democratic Party serving
as the vehicle for English reformistâ\200\231

sentiment, and the National Party as_ | -
a vehicle for Afrikaner reformism.: | | &

The reactionary Conservative
Party has, by great good luck, been
contained, but it was a close thing. As
it is, the Nationalists have lost half
the Free State, and â\200\224 despite a few

redeeming victories like Potchef- | -

stroom and Innesdal â\200\224 their majori-
ties have been slashed across the
board. {4

Indeed, it would have taken no.
more than a handful of Conservative

votes â\200\224 seven in Gezina, five in Ver- | < |

eeniging, a few dozen in the Free
State â\200\224 to give a very different elec-:
tion result. That danger lurks for the
future, but the CP can still be con-
tained by sensible redelimitation. '

So the way is clear for the
National Party to embark on its five-
year programme of reform and ne-
gotiation. In this endeavour, the par-
ty can probably rely on the support,
at all crucial points, of the DP. -

Clearly, the DP and the NP are
converging. The difference between

terminant of white voting patterns, |
and this leads in turn to some impor-
tant differences of style and pace. :

It also leads to deep division on the |
.serious and difficult ~matter of

weighing group and individual '

rights. The Nationalists envisage re- |
form as a process that employs |
groups as building blocks for a new |
society â\200\224 their bottom line, indeed,
is the protection of the Afrikaner â\200\224 |

while the DP looks towards more | -

classical liberal systems based on a |
freedom and protection of the |
individual. &

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e Klerk has his ,
nese DAY /
nda
1989

ISt move qui

te â\200\224 but

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However| if| the Nationalists
turned their jattention to the protec-
tion Åf mindritips, rather than the .
rights of groups,|it would be difficultâ\200\231
to/discern important differences. On

| econgmic palicy, in fact, the young

4 Nationalists (such as Finance Minister

Others, are close

SRABILT S SN

ter Barend Louw, Marais,

to classical liberal
positions (than the English
tell actuals. s

' The question is whether the Na-
tionalists can get real negotiations
going on the basis of their present
assumptions. (That they will try there

can be no doubt | Feelers have been

n | - put out not only to elements of the
them is language, still the main de- | e Â¥

C but also to | internal groups, in

' an attempt to set in motion a process

that might enable the government to

KEN OWEN

wie de Villiers, and |

..... ; 7

O VILJOEN ... lucky survivor

' Wynand Malan to

release Nelson Mandela from prison.
In all this the [P will have tacit, if
querulous, support from the DP. At

least, | there (can be no doubt that
English vote) | were giving anxious

expression to as possible, i.e. \201mâ\200\230?!'!â\200\230.â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230jâ\200\230i.
;

ou; . they responded in astonishing
numbers to the Democratic Partyâ\200\231s
vision of a new, democratic, non-
racial South | Africa. Not even the
risks and uncertainties of a â\200\234hung
Parliamentâ\200\235 | put | them off.

Except in East London where they
were a long shot, the Democrats

' swept up every marginal seat within

the tide carried
a convincing
victory over Glenn Babb.

Nowhere was there much sign of

reach. In Randburg,

. the apathy which in 1987 afflicted the

English middle-classes, nor of the
pseudo-radicalism that caused
younger voters to boycott the elec-
tion and alienate the voters by their
antics. In many constituencies, Eng-
lish students provided the backbone
of organisation. :

The DP votes faltered in the Afri-
kaans constituencies, where 'support
was patchy and disappointing. All
the efforts to accommodate Afri-
kaans leaders, whether 'fourth
force' or 'Afrikaner yuppie', proved
in vain.

' Majorities soared in their heart-

land constituencies, enabling the vi-
gorous Tony Leon to double Helen
Suzman's last majority in Houghton,
giving Zach de Beer a thumping ma-
jority in Parktown that will boost his
claims to the leadership, and estab-
lishing a solid urban base in three
provinces. .

In Waterkloof, Stellenbosch, and
Helderberg, the DP pulled in a heavy

English vote, but only fringe support
if that from Afrikaners. The
results have confirmed my belief
that the best way for English South
Africans to influence their future is
to accept the realities of language
' divisions, and secure a power base
from which to operate.

- That, in any event, has more or
less been the outcome. The Demo-
cratic Party may pick up a few more
seats in the eastern Cape, and it may
well benefit markedly from delimi-

- tation, but it depends now for major
growth on a breakthrough to Afri-
kanerdom that is not yet in sight.
Meanwhile, it is poised to play an
important agenda-setting role in

O DE VILLIERS ... liberal position

T PSR

â\200\224LETTERSâ\200\224

De KLERK HAS B MANpaTe |
But WE Must MoVE R unexis

Parliament, and to hold JPresident \; ; O O\ A
De Klerk â\200\224 his election is a formal- &0 \ Câ\200\230 i-\201-
Ltky â\200\224 to his promises. It may also, \
e Idasa and other extra-parlia-
mentary organisations, perform a
valuable pathfinding role (the Afri-
kaans baanbreker expresses it
_better) for negotiation. â\200\224â\200\224
~ But in the end, the future depends
__â\200\234now on De Klerk and his Cabinet,
leaders of a different stamp fromtheâ\204ç "

the Thirties and Forties, of which - {
/ President Botha was the last, un- !

~~happy-representative. .

â\200\224 Wï-\202m%â\200\234%lâ\200\231â\200\234â\200\230*f" â\200\224
survivor in Vanderbijlpark, will play |

an important role in trying to set up
negotiations with black leaders.
There have been whispers that he
will be assisted by Pieter de Lange, |
leader of the Broederbond who has |
been quietly scouting this terrain for I
several years, and Pik Botha will
bring his African diplomacy to bear !
on the problem. 1

Behind them stand a phalanx of |
verligtes, among them Roelf Meyer, |
and Leon Wessels and Sam de Beer |
who survived against the odds. The |
character of the y is very differ-
ent from the Botha-Heunis-Malan |
securocrats. i

The test of their behaviour will |
surely be whether they begin imme- |
diately to create a climate for nego- |
tiation. The Separate Amenities Act, |
already gutted by the Supreme |
Court, is both an anachronism and an |
unnecessary provocation. Anyway, it |
provides the perfect target for sit- |
ins, marches and various forms of }
defiance. The repeal of the Group |

reas Act is an obvious necessity. |

The Law Commissionâ\200\231s recommendation that the statute book be purged of discriminatory legislation as a prelude to the adoption of a bill of rights offers the perfect bureau- i cratic instrument for piecemeal reform. The question to be asked now is how quickly the Law Commission will be set to work.

Five years in the life of a nation is | not a long time. If the National Party | intends to break out of the trap into | which it has taken the country, it needs to move quickly. If it does not, the optimistic spirit among English voters that gave the DP its strength will sur-ly dissipate into cynicism and radical posturing, and in time the march of the right will resume.

The acting State President has been given his chance; it is for him to use that chance. iy

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3

THE DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1989

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B
ot
= /

INSIGHT

HERE are powerful' cur-.}:|
rents of change in South +4 |
Africa at the moment. No; aiF

. present social and- politi-*
cal problem in our country can beâ\200\231

assessed without considering the | |
trends which are making its Â\$qlu_- it

by

tion possible. ; g
South Africa is changing as ra idly
as might be expected of any deeply ;en- 1
A o

trenched social order.

is, in the major urban and industrial
complexes â\200\224 did not have the follow-

ing positive advantages whic_hithey 1

enjoy today: |+ s
B Legal and recognised trade unions;
B Access as employees to an indus-
trial court; t
B Full rights of property ownership;
B Recognition of their citizenship of
South Africa as a whole; Lo

7% 4| Chairn
Ten years ago, black people in the |- L
common area of South Africa â\200\224 that | |

B The right to trade and run offices

in the major commercial centres of |
{ i

the cities; 3
B The right to attend open universi-

ties, technikons and most private white schools; 1

B The right to work in any type of 3
employment;

M The right to vote in municipal?elzec- :

â\200\230tIn Ã©n address this week to the South African Orth-
opaedia
spelled

future g
years.

BY JAN STEYN
m of the Urban Foundation and chair-
man-of the Media Council

sociation Congress in Pretoria, Mr Steyn
how he believed the social and political
South Africa would unfold in the next five

HE FUTURE

ite
n from
oups

tions, albeit for segregated municipal- *
ities; % o

B The freedom to seek employment in
any region or urban area in the coun-
try; i

B Reasonably free access to econom- .

ic opportunities and virtually untram-
melled upward mobility in business. |

Furthermore, State expenditure on |
black education has been rising stead- |
ily in relative terms over the past

decade, and black wages and salaries on average have been rising significantly faster than those of whites, -

Woefully inadequate

The opportunities which black peo-

ple enjoy are severely-constrained by |

the remaining aspects of apartheid.

The State school system is segregated, and indeed fragmented into ethnic components which cripples its effect

th a shortage amounting

ito pearly pne million units. Black edu-

.cation is ubject to crippling deficits expenditure per pupil.

â\200\234in Quality{a
ips are seriously con-
eaknesses in fiscal re-

ources since ithey are institutionally
eparated ifrom white core cities. Peo-
le| canno! liy in the residential areas
heir Âç oi;c . Blackâ\200\231s do not have a
central legislature â\200\224 par-
state of emergency is in
e, W cp curtails access to the
rts an al ee flow of information

C

p Areas Act is crumbling

. in the majdr cities of Cape Town, Dur-
' ban and Johahnesburg and is under
' sustained ttack from the majority of
' leadership fin the private sector.
' Voiges in government have raised the

., 1 All-race

municipal
government

e sl

possibility of open private education
receiving enhanced subsidies to make
it a parallel educational stream co-
existing with the segregated system.

- Government is identifying more land

for African housing than ever before, and although housing provision is bedevilled by racially-based planning and shortages of financial support from both public and private sectors, the emerging situation at least allows for growth of housing provision, which was not the case as little as five years ago when black settlement in the cities was forcefully discouraged. The Government is aware that blacks must be incorporated into the central political institutions and it has committed itself to negotiating a new constitution,

] More

non-racial
education

apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and nerve-racking existenceâ\200\235
â\200\230housing is woefully in- o

the current pattern is one of fragmentation of apartheid and the current phase, one of untidy transition.

In five years

On this basis, but obviously very

tentatively, I can project forwards
Â© and say that, in five yearsâ\200\231 time, if the current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

Â© A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major black and white political parties. It could take many different forms; it will understandably be highly controversial, but it will constitute a substantial measure of power-sharing between major political interests.

Â© A Bill of Individual Rights will

â\200\224

To Pg 2,

IHE

~uTuR &

have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society.

Â® QOpen residential areas subject to"

the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may exercise, formally or informally, a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser or greater degree of integration will have taken place, although informal ethnic clustering, as one finds in the USA, will probably occur.

Â® In a combination of State-subsidised private schools and even some State schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a non-racial basis.

Â® Over-arching forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and formerly black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas.

Â® The economy, although beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer term stability.

Â® Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes, and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will tend to maintain pressure on the whole system for further change.

Â® South Africa will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of

gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid South Africa will be emerging, still untidily, but in the end convincingly.

Two developments could abort the process I have tentatively sketched.

One danger would be if the change

takes place within a deteriorating economy, if both blacks and whites suffer increased privation, become more competitive with regard to one another and less inclined to make concessions or accept compromises.

Push too hard

A second danger will arise if the outside world and all the various movements for change in South Africa push too hard in a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction. An unthinking, emotionally-based resistance could occur, just as happened in the old Southern Rhodesia leading to the UDI in 1965.

Most influential South Africans, white and black, are aware of the dangers, as are many of the more seasoned and mature political leaders abroad. In other words, there is a web of influence capable of sustaining South Africa's progress towards a unified and equal society.

South Africa will change; apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence; and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the right, the left and abroad. We all, as South Africans, or those of you who visit us from abroad, have a role to play in this process.

HEN

says that

the com-

bined Na-

tional and Democrat-

ic Party vote is 75

percent 35 in favour of

reform, Acting State

President Mr F W de

Klerk cannot be fault-
ed.

However, he is going

to experience major

problems within this

he

ency on the extent and |
pace of reform 224 and -
criticism will come not -
. only from traditional
"opponents of apartheid 231
right across the politi-
cal and racial spec-
trum, it will come also
from within his own
Party & k :
234 234 There are going to
be enormous stresses '
in the National Party, |
with pressure being ap-
plied by those many, -
many MPs who now sit -
230 in Parliament with the |
narrowest of margins,

the NP 230 member in his 231
former: Vleremgmg1

75 percent 35 constitu-

like Mr Tom Gunmng,

seat, who won by five
meagre votes against
the CP. .

There are plenty of
examples of close
shaves on both sides.
These MPs will at-
tempt to pull party
policy in the way
which they think will
ensure their survival.

In this battle, Mr de

Klerk has so far shown

- he stands firmly on the

Right having gone
around the country
during the election
campaign emphasising'
.repeatedly that NP
policy rests firmly on
the foundation of group
â\200\224 even to the extent of
it being to the disad-
vantage and expense of
other Broups. .. il
- (For example he has
shown no intention of

doing anything about

allowing blacks to use
those desperately-
needed empty, white
schools and those:,

under-used white hos- Â» ,
Â¸, weeks the NP must be
starting to realise that

ltals) j
So, emphatlclally has
he spelt this out that
former senior Govern- :
ment negotiator and .
now DP member ofv

Parliament for. Umh-

langua

take South-Africa on-a*

u&anâ\200\224wamed-tnâ\200\224htsâ\200\224â\200\224ltmustalswmbâ\200\230 =

Klerk was preparing to o

had taken over from
the Conservatives as
the second strongest
party in his constituen-
cy, he said: â\200\234I interpret
this as a clear message
in my constituency to
get the politics right so
we can get the econ-
omy right.â\200\235

'l'lme for FW

Daily News #5p
to re-group

But much criticism can be expected

Sept 59

And outgoing Natal â\200\230

NP leader, Mr Stoffel
Botha, also gave an in-
dxcatlon of the direct-
ion the NP had to think

" 'when he offered NP

co-operation with the
DP in Natal. .
But the potential for

â\200\230â\200\234problems within his"

caucus pales against

the bigger problems .

Mr de Klerk has in get-
ting blacks to the nego-

. tiating table to bring

To the Acting State
President, Mr F W de
Klerk, the election re-
sult was a â\200\230â\200\230clear
mandate' for Nation-
alist-style reform
based on its five-year
plan of action. But his
bland assessment ob-
ures a serious di-
lemma, reports politi-
cal correspondent
BRUCE CAMERON.

(o2 siiams soau naoe e

out the election cam-

paigned that the Government would not in the end be able to avoid talking to the MDM and the ANC if it wanted to bring about real peace.

White public opinion has clearly changed about talks with the MDM and ANC." Â© -

After the Johannesburg municipal by-election in Linden three months ago Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned his party that scare stories -

" about the DP association -

â\200\230. real peace to the country :

try %

- After more than four years of a state of emergency and an amazingly successful defiance campaign over the past few

brute force can only

- keep the lid of the

- anger of the majority

ing with the ANC were no going to work 'â\200\224 but this did not stop the NP from trying any-

. way, but without suc-

cess.

Both the NP and the MDM/UDF/ANC: â\200\230are being hard-headed about their pre-conditions for negotiations, clearly because both think they can win. .

The DPâ\200\231 argument is

_that the sides should at

of the population

~against apartheid

â\200\230- as the NP is already

" able to use the state ofâ\200\230

- emergency to force ev-"

3 4

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s

â\200\230least start talking
about their pre-codni-
tions if nothmg else â\200\224

o oy â\202¬T

thing that must be in-

creasmglyâ\200\230 obvious to

>

7

new Verwoerdian de-' s

the NP ter

ership. ot the National '

Party, gave an early . -

*|. indication of the strug-.
â\200\230gle that looms in the

party when he' com-

- mented on his vnctory

in his Florida constltu-,

-ency

. Referring to the factâ\200\234

: â\200\230that the Democrats'

campaign show. this
- but also_the dismally

poor. turn out at the i
polls of Indian and Col- :
oured voters â\200\224 despite |
the state of emergency |

and despite a polling

that actually lasted for

35 days. |
The DP repeated

â\200\234and repeated through-

extent of theâ\200\231 denanceâ\200\230f

everyone else to negotl-

Â\$>

tne NP is that it is not

.ambit of strict racial

}groupxngs .evenif

there is a â\200\234non-group,A

" Itis on the defimtionâ\200\234 7

and interpretation of
the concept of â\200\234groupâ\200\235
that Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s po-
litical future â\200\224 and
. that of his party - will
be decided. -

[

6

Sowet forelgn
blow to

~plied that Mosoow would

BOUTICAL msultant,
Bt J du Plessis, says the

new approach to internat-
jonal politics by ! Sovxet
President Mikhail Gorba-
chev means he has
â\200\234blown the whistle on the

ANC/SACP - alliance, |

dealing it a devastatmg
blÂ°w!7

He told the ,muventy '

conference that Mr Gor-
bachevâ\200\231s attitude to the
Third World could be
summed up in one word
â\200\224 caution.

â\200\234One gets the impres-
sion of a realisation that
the export of revolution
to the Third World has
been a failure,â\200\235 said Dr
Du Plessis. - .

- the Soviet
~ stuck strictly to this ap-

he said, in-
tended de-ldeologasmg its
foreing policy, and this, in
principle, excluded the
export of revolution. If
leadership

proach,
- Southern Africa would be
tremendous,

the impact on

Applied to the ANC/
SACP alliance, it meant
that any subversive oper-
ations
nelghbounng ~ states
against South Africa
would be unacceptable to
the Soviet Union.

In principle, it also im- -

launched from

discontinue its training
and arms supplies to these
groups.

â\200\234If the new Soviet pos-
ition is to be imple-
mented, it could force the
ANC/SACP into a dead-

â\200\230end street.

â\200\234All of a sudden, Mr
Gorbachev has blown the
whistle on them. Scien-
tific Socialism has been a
massive failure. Moscow

~cannot support them any

longer and wishes to join
its European brothers in
the West,â\200\235 said Dr Du
Plessis. ;
This left the ANC-

gollcy

11

to sell â\200\224 saddling it with
an - ideology - nobody

wanted â\200\224 a proven fail-
- ure. i

It would be premature
at this tage to talk of dip-

~ lomatic relations between

the Soviet Union and
South Africa, or to pro-
mote Mr Gorbachev as a
peacemaker in South
Africa between the gov-
ernment and the ANC.

South Africa would
have to assess its relation-
ship with the Soviet
Union against the back-
ground of mtcmntlional

/Se}fKCPâ\200\231 P

- /ISACP without a product

developments.

â\200\234But the de-ideologisa-
tion of Soviet foreign
policy is of tremendous
unportance to South Afri-
ca.

~ â\200\234It has, in .prmcnple,.

the potential to change
the political power game

in Southern Africa to
South Africaâ\200\231s advan-
tage,â\200\235 he said.

At least, now, South
Africa could â\200\234live with
the cards Mr Gorbachev
has laid on the table,
while the same could not
have been said about his
predecessors.â\200\235

The Sitar Friday September 8 1988

We'll change it around, says Dr No

Power-sharing i

&

lie of SA politice

Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

National Party power-sharing was described yesterday as the big lie of South African politics by the Leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He told a post-election Press conference in Pretoria that even if power-sharing did come about, everything the National Party does (in that regard), we can change. We will act accordingly.

Mandela irrelevant

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at CP headquarters, said his party did not believe that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela had any real role to play in white South African politics.

Discussing power-sharing, Dr Treurnicht said he did not think real power-sharing was possible.

«The National Party are trying to share power between five million whites, 21 million blacks, three million coloureds and one million Indians. We don't think that would be real power-sharing.

If they try to share it, then they will no longer be in control. Power-sharing is in fact the big lie of South African politics.

«We have already warred about this creation of power from various groups.

Dr Treurnicht expressed his disappointment that the CP did not win more seats, expected, but was pleased that it had

its vote total from 547 000 in 1987 to over 207 in Wednesday's general election.

â\200\234The 17 gains we achieved have made v
strong official Opposition,â\200\235 he added.

The CF was pleased at its showing in the Fre

State and the Cape but was concer:
swing towards the liberalsâ\200\235, and said !

spect-um of South African pelitics appe: cod to |}

have gone to the left.

Dr Treurnicht warned that the NP would

timie to lose seats in future elections if it
ued to lean towards the left and this couls
mean ANC rule.

â\200\234People donâ\200\231t realise that.â\200\235

He dismissed the Democratic Party as â\200\23410ing
for the massesâ\200\235.

â\200\234It is not a democratic party, as such. ' 7Tie
instancss it is revolutionary.

Â«Likowise the Herstigte Nasicnale Pariv i3 2

longer a factor in South African politics.â\200\235

Whites voted to end apartheid â\200\224 ANC

LUSAKA â\200\224 A senior African National Congress
(ANC) official said yesterday South Africaâ\200\231s
whites, in segregated elections, had voted to end
apartheid. .

â\200\234The people who voted clearly voted for the
process of dismantling apartheid to begin im-
mediately,â\200\235 said Mr James Stuart, a senior mem-
ber of the national executive committee of â\200\234the
Lusaka-based ANC.

Mr Stuart said the National Party and its lead-
er, acting President FW de Klerk, had cam-
paigned on a pl2tform of dismantling the coun-
tryâ\200\231s apartheid system.

LAST CHANCE

He said the mandate given to De Klerk was the
whitesâ\200\231 last chance to solve the problem of apart-
heid peacefully â\200\224 and the process could no longer
be postponed indefinitely. :

â\200\234Iâ\200\231s obvious the time has now come for De
Klerk to implement decisively what he had pro-
mised the electorate and the international com-
munity.â\200\235 .

- Mr Stuart said the SA Government must now

the ANCâ\200\231s accept terms, backed by the Organisa- .
â\200\234 and void by the United Naticns. â\200\224

tion of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Move-

ment, for a negotiated end to apartheid.

The ANC wants Pretoria first to end t^he state

of emergency, free political prisoners, 1
on political organisations like the ANC =2
draw troops from black townships.

He (Mr de Klerk) must make clear 170 |

ready to create the conditions to mai

- real dialogue is possible in South .

Stuart said.

The ANC must be included in ar;
between the Government and the bl
We cannot be wished away and it is 3
De Klerk accepts that reality, he s

He dismissed suggestions that
were too tough and that it should
its stance by suspending its guerilla
Pretoria's main demands.

It is not up to us, it is up to them to do
far as we're concerned the struggles
@ Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is
in Belgrade have condemned W
tions. According to the NAM decl

. In Africa, leaders meeting on 204

" pinth summit condemned the eicot
they were held under a constitutive:

(Tutu challen/gyei-201

FROM PAGE 1A\$

"Tbe â\200\234Town Committâ\200\224

_home of Brmcchabmâ\200\224
daâ\200\235andsctnahght_A

dashensnedmwhldlse-';
_ven people were killed,;:

mdudrng â\200\234Prince Qua-

bmdaâ\200\231sâ\200\235 grandmother, a .
six-year old child and a }

+,youth of 14.
~Four other bodies Â¥ were

fmmdlaterandrtwasbeâ\200\224 :
â\200\234Tieved the deaths of these -

]Jeople wer'e connected to

*M,%@c oi-2021clâ\200\231 :

bodies were found after
bcavy violence, including
other inter-factional

teeâ\200\235 faction attacked the clashes in the Cape Penin-

Four- â\200\234zipâ\200\235 guns â\200\230' â\200\224

Â¢ homemade firearms â\200\224
-were recovered in police

operations in the areas
concerned. .
: Bng Mellet conï-201rmed

that in some situations

where the violence be-
came _extreme, . police
used shotgun fire.

It has yet to be deter-
mined from mvcsngatxons

- â\200\230and post mortem exami-
, natlorsâ\200\231i-201how**many ~of -

At a Press conference

terday â\200\234â\200\230morningâ\200\231 â\200\234Arch-

bishop Tutu said 23 were *
â\200\230killed on the Cape flats on

election night and early

% yesterday -as they voiced -
opposmon

4dcnnalseatlsapoolof

blood, said Archbishop
Tutu. He must move
quickly or
whatever he says will

have no weight and mean-

ing. He will then only in-
crease the credibility

p- ;
He milled on Mr De
Klerk to express sor-
row with the people
killed, and Mr Vlok to re-
sign, or alternatively for
Mr De Klerk to fire him.
-- Archbishop Tutu said
23 people, =:Black and
Coloured, were killed on
the Cape flats as they
voiced their opposition to
the elections. - .

He said 11 people were

~

*catastrophic 7%

otherwise

CiTrZzer

killed in Mitchell's Plain,
four in Lavender Hill,
two in Valhalla Park,
three in Steenberg and
two in Khayelitsha a 63-
year-old woman died of a
heart attack in Lavender

Hill when police fired

- into her house through a

window.

He said among the
dead was a 69-year-old
woman, a woman who
was decapitated and her
body was riddled with -
bullets, a six-year-old girl,
while a 13-year-old boy
was in the Intensive Care

=YUnit-at-Tygerberg Hospi-

" We expect the "nufn-

bers of the dead to grow

â\200\234-he said. Â°
called in Cape Town yes- ;

He . added that the
church â\200\234had wamed the
â\200\234â\200\234West about the brutal re-
sponse from the police to
peaceful protest and the
casualties
underlined thus fact

â\200\234Many people say we
are - melodramatic and
exaggerate when we say

_ _that almost in every in-
â\200\234'stance that we know when

violence . - erupted at
peaceful demonstrations
it is almost always the
police with their presence
or their action who pro-
voked the violence.

â\200\234But â\200\230now â\200\230 police
lieutenant, Lieut Gregory
Rockman has charged the
policerwith brutality and
said~ _gvhatpwe have been
sy alEflosy s |
Â¢ Arâ\200\231Ei~\201b%hop â\200\231futu said
apartheid was violent in
its nature and â\200\234we are
glad a policeman who
acted with considerable
courage has confirmed |

on claimÂ«

what we have been say-
ing-79

â\200\234I hope very much that
the incoming State Presi-
dent will very quickly
make a statement in
which he condemns the
action of the police and
the encouragement the
Minister of Law and Or-
der, Mr Vlok, has given
the police. He (Mr De
Klerk) should distance
himself from Mr Vlok

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OLICE CHALLENGE

TUTU ON 23-SHOT
.CLAIM_

CHURCHMEN

-Archbishop Desmond
Tutu and Dr Allan
Boesak, should pro-
duce evidence that the
police were involved in
23 killings in the Cape

Town area on the night

of the election or with-
â\200\234draw their allegations,
according to a Law and
â\200\230Order spokesman.

' â\200\234We ask them to pro-

duce the evidence which
they used as the basis for

Crizen B/E74

By Tony Stirling 7
and Sapa

telling the world that the
Presidential seat of the
acting State President was
dripping with blood be-
cause of the alleged

deaths of 23 people in the

. Cape._on election night,â\200\235
-said Bngadner Leon Mel-

let; Press secretary for the -

Mnuster of Law and Or-
der, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

â\200\234We do not have such
information,â\200\235 said Brig
Mellet.

As far as the police
were able to establish, 12
people died in violent in-
cidents in the Cape Town
area. Of these, seven, |
according to Brig Mellet, |
were killed in Khayelitsha |
in a clash between two
factions, involving a
group calling itself the "

â\200\234Town Committeeâ\200\235 and -
another suppomng a man
known as â\200\234Prince -Qua-
bindaâ\200\235.