

Mandela may have no  
special claim to leadership of  
the African National Congress,

as a leading member of the Mass.

Democratic Movement, Mr Cyril  
Ramaphosa, says in a magazine  
interview, but we'd wager that if  
he stood in an election against  
the secretary-general of the  
National Union of Mineworkers  
it would not be difficult to pre-  
dict that the former, even if still  
imprisoned, would come out  
tops. 5 e

Certainly it's debatable, but  
that brings us to the point.  
Which is Mr Ramaphosa's rejec-  
tion of some form of elections to  
find representative black lead-  
ers to participate in negotia-  
tions about the future, which is  
said to be what President de  
Klerk has in mind.

According to the miners' sec-  
retary-general, such an election  
would be premised on racism  
and he would not regard repre-  
sentatives elected in this way as  
authentic.

. The question is, how else does

one determine who speaks for

whom? We'd surmise Mr Rama-

Ehosa's view is determined by  
his statement that the ANC has a  
collective leadership. But that  
surely does not mean that that  
leadership is not chosen by  
open public ballot as far as we  
are aware should simply be  
accepted, as the UN did with  
Swapo, as the sole authentic  
representative of black South  
Africans?

Surely the Namibian elections  
have just proved how wrong  
such rash and undemocratic de-  
cisions are!

What objections could Mr Ramaphosa have to a similar test of parties, organisations, or what-have-you so that those at the â\200\230Great Indabaâ\200\231 are in fact seen to speak for one or other viewpoint? :

As for his contention that such elections would be premised on racism, whatâ\200\231s there stopping any party or organisation canvassing support among any race group?

RÃ©lly, n  
| attending

| By Erik Larsen and

| can businessmen

not be attending a conference in Paris, although a news agency

report claimed they were expected to do

SO.  
According to the re-

| an African Nationalist  
leader will

port. some of the biggest

names in South African business and 25 top ANC officials will be attending the talks, to be held at a chateau - outside Paris from November 27 to De-

said Angk)  
Corpor

Cl . Mr Gavin Rellly, heir to the Rembrandt tobacco empire, Mr Johan Rupert, recently-released ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu. and his

The report

wife, Albertina, were expected to attend.

â\200\230Conrad Sidego, said Mr

Relly had not received an invitation and the report was mere â\200\234media speculationâ\204¢.

\Ir Rully was at present on a business trip in the United States and would definitely not be attending

Mr Rupert, who is in London on business, said last night that he had re-

ceived an invitation to attend the talks, but had de-

clined. ;

«} said I would be unable to attend as it is my mother's 70th birthday on Sunday and I will be returning home on Saturday to attend her. Mr Stsnehwa said that neither he nor his wife would be attending.

«} have received nu-

merous invitations to go to Europe, but I am unlikely to go as I have undertakings to fulfil in

United Front's acting general-

lifted restrictions on the Democratic

secretary, Mr Moham-

Mad Walli Moosa, to allow him to attend the Paris conference.

Mr Moosa's lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo, said he had permitted his client to leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg from 6 am on November

) T

burg, mm;e m: dressing gate to the Press others, would be reinstated at 10 pm on December 3.

The Paris group says the human rights group. France-Libertes, organizer of the forum, is keep-

ing the list of 110 South

African guests a close secret, until the start of the meeting.

South African sources said the ANC was sending its leading external spokesman, Thabo Mbe-

ki, and Kadar Asmal,  
Dean of Law at Trinity  
College, Dublin, and a  
key member of the  
ANC's constitutional  
team. :

Other ANC leaders in-  
Skweyiya, who head m  
Legal Department at U  
ANC's exile headquarters  
in Zambia, and Reg Sep-  
tember, a member of the  
National Executive. = ' Â«

I REFER to your report,  
â200\234SA Terrorism on the  
Waneâ200\235 (The Citizen,  
November 11) and not  
that it is violence which  
has been the effective  
means with which the  
ANC has reached the ne-  
gotiation table.

While the State Presi-

. dent warns the AWB and  
other Rightist

A groups  
against the use of violence  
as a means to a political  
end) the Black mimls  
have used violence very  
successfully.

In other words, just  
bomb some shopping  
centres, kill some inno-  
cents, conduct a low-key  
guerrilla war and you will  
ultimately get what you

. want because your adver-

Zinzen d

use

There were rumours at  
one -time that bombings  
and acts of terrorism were  
purposely allowed to es-

calate just before elec-

tions to frighten the  
Whites into voting for the  
NP -  
lf one kx)ks at a graph  
indicating the level of vi-  
olence before elections, it

is clear that it is definitely  
an escalation. Whether it  
was â\200\234M" or  
it just occurred to stop  
White elections, no one  
will ever know.  
Questions were asked

violence

Iy -

nt about how  
~many bombs were de-  
fused and how many went  
but the Minister of Law  
and Order refused to  
answer. | wonder why?

If violence is a success-  
ful means to an end for  
Black radicals, and if Par-  
liament becomes irrevele- \*  
vant for Whites as a  
means to their end, what  
must Whites do? Just sit

country handed over to a  
Black government?  
J. VAN DER MERWE |  
Wentworthpark

Medla Coun011

NaALs

has not eattained %

o\1

its main Objective

: 'Tnâ\200\224\; NeTen MeRWRY 9y i¬\202oy. (69 Â£4%a

of which was to uphold and maintain the freedom of the media in South Africa, had not been successful, the chairman of the council, Hon J H Steyn, said in Cape Town last night. :  
â\200\230The members of the council thÃ@mselves would agree that â\200\224 in spite of its valiant efforts and that of numerous other agencies — it must be conceded that inasmuch as Press freedom was more viciously proscribed during the past five years than in the previous 50 it could not claim to have been successful in the attainment of its principal objective.â\200\231  
â\200\234The council was assailed from the left and the right, exhorted by Government

lHE Media Council, the prime objective

-spokesmen to be more assertive, denigrat-

ed and ignored by one component of journalistic opinion, labelled as â\200\234irrelevantâ\200\235 and criticised for not being â\200\234pro-activeâ\200\235.

â\200\234To have survived as an institution in these circumstances, especially where from time to time it had to find that the code of conduct had indeed been breached by one of its constituent members, was a feat in itself.â\200\231

However, the council, through the manner in which it conducted its affairs, scrupulous objectivity and fairness had carved for itself a very special niche of respect and regard.

Mr Steyn said that the quality of information provided by the media was of paramount importance for effective and constructive decision-making at all levels, from grassroots through to the public and private sectorsâ\200\231 decision makers.

â\200\234The South African media in general and the Press in particular, especially in the light of constraints under which they have to operate, deserve our sincere commendation, he said.

But the media also needed and had earned support for their struggle to resist any further incursions upon their efforts to communicate freely and fearlessly.

The public would always have a predilection to form partisan or one-sided views and the role and responsibility of the media was therefore to ensure that the average reader or listener had the opportunity to be exposed to views other than his or her own.



â\200\230From this principle you could with justification conclude that I am fundamentally opposed to censorship and restrictions on what the media may make public.â\200\231

This was not an unqualified endorsement of the right to publish. Indeed, the British Royal Commission on the Press declared that â\200\230the freedom of the Press cannot be absolute, there must be boundaries to it.â\200\231

â\200\230However, these boundaries are .not matters to be determined in accordance with arbitrary criteria laid down by Governments. Restrictions must be so circumscribed that â\200\234no Government can lawfully use them to silence critics of its actions and policies.â\200\235

Mr Steyn said that while he was not rigidly obsessive about the right of the public to know, he believed that the public should be informed of all relevant events. Necklacing was a â\200\230sickening socio-political aberrationâ\200\231 but it had to be revealed, just as excesses in the conduct of those charged with security responsibilities had to be revealed.

Media Council chairman Mr Jan Steyn â\200\224 the public has a right to be informed.

This approach was particularly significant at a time when early prospects of negotiation between the Government and relevant extra-parliamentary political groups was being seriously debated.

â\200\230There is in these circumstances a very special need for the public to be informed about the positions of political actors across the spectrum. There are many hundreds of thousands of people on the left, on the right and in the middle taking positions, waving flags and banners, without an adequate exposure of the policies of the groups they support or oppose.

â\200\230Much of this is due to restrictions on the media under the State of Emergency and other laws constraining publication.

â\200\230These restrictions are undesirable at any time, but they are at present particularly counter-productive.

â\200\230One must bear in mind that these restrictions do not prevent people from forming their own views on what the information withheld may be. Censorship is more often than not self-defeating.

#### Mistakes

Mr Steyn said he believed the media must be free to make its own mistakes because without that freedom the media could not fulfil its social function.

However, the freedom to make mistakes does not mean that the media should not itself be exposed to critical scrutiny. Freedom alone does not ensure quality of information; it is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. ' :

Mr Steyn highlighted the emergence in the past few years of smaller papers which had been termed, inappropriately, the alternative press.

These papers have made an important contribution to widening the political discourse and in stimulating an awareness of popular reactions and political dynamics outside of parliamentary politics and establishment interests.

The black Press had done equally well in these respects, having rebounded from tragic curbs and bannings imposed in an earlier phase of our politics.

We also know that they have encountered various forms of discouragement and attack from government. Punitive actions have made the inestimably valuable role-of critical journalism very difficult.

Nevertheless, Mr Steyn said that he had been able to understand one reason why the authorities had chosen to view some of the emerging press as negatively as they had.

There has been in some of these publications a distinctly selective emphasis in the covering of events. A hypothetically innocent stranger to South Africa reading the political comment and news coverage in a cross-section of editions might well conclude that the society is somewhat like a seething cauldron of strikes, protest, corruption, dubious justice, dissent, episodes of violence and repression.

Each event usually has a basis of fact but the overall impression might have been one of a society so stressed as to be beyond rescue by incremental change, accommodation and compromise.

This could have been interpreted by Government as having an implicitly violent, revolutionary purpose. :

While this conclusion may not be justified it could be plausibly conveyed to political decision-makers.

To be authoritative any newspaper or organ of the media had to be seen to be taking account of and dealing with views and interpretations which are opposed to those it espouses, instead of slavishly propagating an ideology, ideal or a cause.

South Africa was a deeply divided society and yet we had to move, indeed were moving, into a phase preceding negotiation and compromise, he said.

â\200\230In this process we are going to be best served by media which are capable of, and committed to, exploring contrasting and opposing views.

â\200\230For genuine nation-building this quality could well prove to be indispensable.

â\200\230I believe that our media will rise to this challenge with distinction.â\200\235 .

Mr Steyn said the Media Council was committed to help ensure, preserve and protect a free and responsible press.

â\200\230Only by being free is the Press able to | respond adequately to challenges of com-\*  
municating events in society. Only by doing so responsibly can the Press sustain the validity of its claim to freedom.

â\200\230Upon this freedom and responsibility of the media depend the freedom and responsibility of us all; our freedom to make responsible judgements on the basis of news

- and-views firmly and responsibly Âçommun-  
icated.â\200\231

Holomisa: A homeland  
NRAL WiTness 22, VoY 1989

leader with a difference

-General Bantu Holomisa took control of the  
â\200\234independentâ\200\235 homeland, Transkei, in a  
bloodless coup almost two years ago. Since  
then he has steadily consolidated his position  
and this year emerged, with promises of a  
referendum to decide if the homeland should  
return to South Africa, as a prominent player  
in the national political scene. Last week a  
top-level delegation from the Democratic  
Party went to Umtata to see the youthful  
General. WYNDHAM HARTLEY reports.

ROB HASWELL

|

LOCAL Democratic Party MP, Mr Rob Has-  
well, joined two of the partyâ\200\231s co-leaders, Dr  
Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, and  
the head of the political interaction com-  
mittee, Mr Peter Gastrow, in Umtata for

talks with General Holomisa and his mili-

tary council. The MP for Simonstown, Mr

Jannie Momberg completed the DP dele-

gation.

Homeland leaders, with one or two not-  
able exceptions, are generally regarded as  
illegitimate and the visit by a DP dele-  
gation, so close on the heels of that of  
Foreign Minister Pik Botha, illustrates the  
new-found political stature of Transkeiâ\200\231s  
military ruler.

â\200\234Before landing in Umtata, the flight over  
the Transkei holds some chilling reminders  
of what has happened in this country â\200\224 you  
fly over Oliver Tamboâ\200\231s birthplace and Um-  
tata is very close to Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s  
home,â\200\235 said Mr Haswell.

â\200\234We were welcomed by General Holomisa  
and then involved in six hours of formal and  
informal talks. He told us of developments  
in Transkei.

â\200\234These centred on three main issues: the  
continuing campaign to eradicate corrup-  
tion from Transkei; strategies to stimulate  
the Transkeian economy; and the possible  
holding of a referendum to test the views of

' Transkeians on reincorporating the country



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Roy, Rudden

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=== CHIEF MINISTER

[ crossed off.

Leading S A  
men on â\200\230listâ\200\231  
for indaba

LONDONâ\200\224A number of  
prominent South Africans.  
including Chief Justice  
Corbett, Prof Pieter de  
Lange. the leader of the  
Afrikaner Broederbond  
and Dr Wimpie de Kierk  
hrother of President de  
Klerk. are on a list to be in-  
vited to next week's Paris  
â\200\230indabaâ\200\231 on South Africa

An apparently authentic  
list of some 30 names, some  
of which were crossed out,  
was revealed to Sapa in  
London yesterday. break-  
ing days of close secrecy on  
the identity of more than  
100 South Africans to be in-  
vited to attend and debate  
the political future of the  
country with the exiled Af-  
rican Naticpal Congress.

Church leader Allan  
Boesak tops the list of  
prominent anti-apartheid  
campaigners arriving from  
South Africa.

Passport and other re-  
strictions under the state of  
emergency were jifted yes-  
terday for one of the dele-  
gates, Mr Mohammed Vaili  
Moosa, of the United Demo-  
cratic Front.

The South African Gov-  
ernment made it clear in

October, when news of secret preparations for the conference was leaked to the media, that it would have nothing to do with it.

Prof Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGX is on the list, but the name of KwaZulu's leader, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. has been

WCARRECO.

Similariy crossed off are the names of Dr Chris Stals, Governor of the Reserve Bank. and Dr Conrad Strauss. head of the Standard Bank.

\_\_\_\_No comment could be immediately obtained from Frances-Liberte. the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand. wife of President Francois Mitterrand. which is hosting the conference. â\200\224 (5apa)

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Pietermaritzburg, Wednesday, November 22, 1989

Names of participants revealed as part of Indaba

contingent \

LONDON A contingent of prominent South Africans, including Chief Justice Corbett, the leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor Pieter de Lange, and Dr Wimpie de Klerk, brother of the State President, is on a list to attend next week's Paris Indaba on South Africa.

An apparently authentic list of some 50 names, some of which are crossed out, was revealed in London yesterday, breaking days of close secrecy on the identity of more than 100 South Africans expected to attend and debate the political future of the country with the ANC.

South African diplomatic sources in Lon-

don and Paris confirmed yesterday that the Government's standpoint of having nothing to do with the conference remained unaltered, but conceded the Government would obviously be keeping a close eye on proceedings and monitoring press reports. i

The guest list contained the names of many anti-apartheid activists, as expected, but included some of the prominent captains of the economic sector and leading academics. Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGK is on the list, but the name of KwaZulu's leader, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been crossed off. Similarly crossed off are the names of Dr Chris Stals, Governor |

. his wife, Abertina, will he

. Sure appearances in southern A

of the Reserve Bank and Dr Conrad Strauss, head of the Standard Bank.

It is not clear from the undated list whether the scratchings indicate invitations turned down or a change of mind by organisers. No comment could be immediately obtained from Frances-Liberte, the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, host of the conference.

Earlier, however, one of the key organisers in Paris, a South African exile who asked to remain anonymous, expressed confidence

that a wide cross section of opinion from South Africa's political, economic, religious and cultural sectors would be represented.

A number of prominent guests had easy access to the Union Buildings, it was indicated, |

Earlier reports said 25 top ANC officials, led by external affairs spokesman, Thabo Mbeki, were being sent to the conference, to be held behind closed doors in a closely guarded chateau outside Paris from November 27 to December 3. â\200\230 .

. The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa is playing a key co-ordinating role in the conference.

Some of the businessmen named are Nicholas Oppenheimer, Dr Johan Rupert and Neil Chapman of Southern Life. Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, Mr Jan

Steyn, !iÃ©Ã©a Â»;)f theâ\200\230 Urban Foy

3

] "ba ndatioh,  
hief Minister Enos Mabigg

are also listed, as are editors Zwelakhe Sj-

\_sulu,  
| Ow:n.Max du Preeg, Anton Harber and Ken

But neither ANC leader Walter S-i;ulu, nor

: attendij  
sulu said yesterday this was duedtl: %hgh;gsi-

frica.  
Â® The seyen recently-release

will\_ undertake a nationwid

F W DE KLERK is a  
spoilsport. Just when  
we thought it was safe  
to come to Durbs to  
make waves on the ap-  
artheid Addington  
Beach, he announces  
that beach apartheid is

to be scrapped.

The tide has turned,  
that's for sure. He has  
taken the fun out of  
darker inland visitors's  
annual unannounced pro-  
test swims against apart-  
heid.

Perhaps it's time to  
test the water elsewhere.  
After all, part of the fun  
was to look around and  
see which white person

— was going to summon the  
constabulary to eject us  
from the white surf.

It is part of South Afri-  
can folklore that Dur-  
banites despise the  
holiday invasions by  
hordes of inlanders of all  
shades.

Y'all don't even  
know how to swim, three-  
year-old Durbanites  
usually snort at us. That's  
because we brave souls  
from the Golden City tip-  
toe knee-deep into the In-  
dian Ocean, face inland,  
and when a wavelet ar-  
rives, stretch out our legs  
and arms, shut our eyes,  
take a deep breath and  
plunge into the water.

Backwash

The wavelet sweeps us  
safely to the shore. We  
congratulate ourselves on  
— this great achievement —  
despite the snorts from  
three-year-old Durbanites  
— and we spend millions  
of rands to seek such-  
satisfaction.

But every now — and

again, just as we think we  
have safely ridden a 30  
cm-high wave, the un-  
expected backwash  
knocks us into various  
directions - and into  
panic. :

We inlanders are pre-  
warned about the un-  
dercurrents but we prefer

to turn a blind eye until  
they hit us.

| That is what De Klerk  
" did last week. He announ-  
- ced, to a grand wave of  
. local and international ac-  
' claim, that the Separate  
Amenities Act would be  
scrapped as soon as poss-  
ible.

Knowing the way Nats  
negotiate the seas, some  
of us were a little skepti-  
~ cal. Where was the back-

AT,

Apartheid  
shark will  
appear in  
aï¬\201other

Q2 Moy /eff

guise

Â\$ washâ\200\230? â\200\230Where was the un-  
dercurrent?

- Why did De Klerk an- |  
, nounce  
+ lifting of beach apartheid

the immediate  
but the rest of the Sepa-  
rate Amenities Act â\200\230â\200\230as  
soon as possibleâ\200\231â\200\231? .

Why not immediately?  
He talked about â\200\234â\200\230civil  
standardsâ\200\231â\200\231 (a subtle Nat  
departure from â\200\230â\200\230civilised  
standards,â\200\231â\200\231  
whites of course), and  
added with an ominous  
undercurrent:

ures will be necessary  
when the  
repealed.â\200\235â\200\231

At the weekend Sunday Star lifted the cover, so to speak. It quoted the Minister of Planning and Provincial = Affairs, Mr

i land

Hernus Kriel, as saying the sensitive areas De Klerk referred to included State hospitals, clinics; local swimming pools, in-resorts, caravan parks and overnight camping spots.

Kriel said the National Party would draw a dis-

inction between . differentiation and discrimination, and

vested rights of commun-

defined by | |

There are a few | sensitive areas where the institution of fitting meas-

Acts =g 4

- emergency

ities had to be taken into account.

Sunday Star added: He gave the example of Elsie's River, a coloured area which had a vested

. right to their community

centre. He said a swimming pool in such an area

| could restricted to the use of the people of that com-

munity.

Mr Kriel also suggested parts of some beaches could = be

privatised. .

There you have it Wave reform goodbye. The apartheid shark will appear in another guise.

Curbs

Itâ\200\231s so much like the regulations.

People and organisations are restricted, the media are curbed under the regulations. We clamour for an end to the emer-

â\200\230gency.

When the Government lifts it, the State Department in Washington, 10 Downing Street and: our liberal media jump joyfully into the wavelets. They

forget about the back-

wash.

That backwash is that we have the Internal

!

\_normal

Securlty Act under which individuals, organisations and the media can be curbed.

But letâ\200\231s go back 10 years. The Government apointed the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) team, led by Professor Gert Scholtz, to probe sport in the country.

I was asked to serve on it but declined because, among other reasons, I knew exactly what it would recommend: the scrapping of apartheid laws that affect sport but not the other aspects of our lives.

In other words,

â\200\234â\200\230normal sport in an ab-society.â\200\235â\200\235 ~ And predictably, the HSRC team recommended amendments to laws affecting â\200\234â\200\230normalâ\200\235â\200\231 sport.

Amâ\200\235e"m\_ ' jlj"nents

Amendments, note

well. Not repeal...

ments

The suggested amend-  
related to the

Group Areas Act, the Lig-  
uor Act and Black (Urban  
Areas) Consolidation Act.

only

When I questioned

Scholtz about it, he said:  
It is not sport's function  
to change the whole polit-  
ical system but just to  
accommodate itself.

He added: What

sport can do is to make it  
easy for us to practise  
sport.

In other words, the

Government could make  
it easy for racists to con--  
tinue practising apartheid  
in every other sphere, as  
De Klerk's announcement  
implies.

Revealing

But what is revealing

about the HSRC's recom-  
mendation was its refer-  
ence to the same Separate  
Amenities Act. It recom-  
mended a comprehensive 1  
judicial probe into the  
entire Act, because it

would artificial to exclude  
sport from its

| discriminatory effects.

The HSRC report was  
dismissed as in-  
consequential by anti-  
apartheid groups such as  
Sacos but welcomed by

bodies involved in  
normal sport.  
Now, while anti-

apartheid groups dismiss

De Klerk's latest an-

nouncement as  
inconsequential and  
others welcome it, the

white Conservative Party,  
which didn't exist a -  
decade ago, talks glibly  
about the theft of  
amenities such as beaches  
from whites. -  
Something must  
belong to somebody  
before you can steal it.  
Now when did the -  
beaches belong to  
white people? How did  
the beaches come into  
their possession? Did they  
buy the beaches?  
Did the Almighty bestow  
them as a gift for  
their exclusive use? Who  
is accusing whom of  
The tide has truly  
turned, and if De Klerk  
and - Treurnicht want to  
continue to hold it back

like King Canute, they  
should swim away to the

' Antarctic where just ab-  
out everything in sight is  
pure white.



New Media  
Council  
[

calls for  
|alternatives &7

Mr Jan Steyn sl

Daily News  
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The quality of knowledge and information depends not only on the veracity of any single item of information but also on the coverage given to alternative opinions and contrasting ideologies, said Mr Jan H. Steyn, chairman of the Media Council last night. Mr Steyn, who replaces Mr L. de Van Winsen as the Council's new chairman, was speaking at a banquet given by the Mayor and City Council of Cape Town, in celebration of the Council's fifth birthday.

Valid and reliable knowledge is knowledge

of refutability, he said. Mr Steyn said it was natural citizens should tend always to be partisan and subjective. However the media had a responsibility therefore to expose the man-in-the-street to a multiplicity of opinions and ideologies.

sibility of the media therefore, is to ensure that the average reader or listener has the opportunity to be exposed to views other than those to which he or she is inclined.

Mr Steyn said that while he was fundamentally opposed to censorship and restrictions on the media, this was not

an unqualified endorse-

lish.â\200\235

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â\200\234The role and respon- |

\ment of the right to pub-

which, in one way or an-  
other, has passed the test

He quoted Lord

{|McGregor, who chaired  
â\200\230|the British Royal Com-

mission on the Press,  
when he declared that  
â\200\234freedom of the Press  
cannot be absolute, there

it â\200\235Â»

However, said Mr  
Steyn, these boundaries  
ought not be be arbi-  
trarily laid down by the  
government of the day.  
â\200\234Restrictions must be  
so circumscribed that,  
(to use Lord McGregorâ\200\231s  
words again), â\200\234no gov-  
ernment can lawfully use  
them to silence critics of  
its actions or its poli-  
cies.â\200\235

Mr Steyn said the re-  
strictions on the media  
were always undesirable  
but they were â\200\234particu-  
larly counter-product-  
iveâ\200\235 at present.

At a time when â\200\234the  
very early prospects of  
negotiation between the  
Government and all rele-  
vant political groups not  
represented in Parlia-  
ment is being seriously  
debated,â\200\235 said Mr Steyn,  
there was a â\200\234very spe-  
cial need for the public  
to be informed about the  
positions of political  
actors across the spec-  
trum.â\200\235

He said there were too

many people, at various points on the political spectrum, who were taking positions, waving flags and banners, without an adequate exposure to the policies of the

political groupings they support or oppose.

Mr Steyn paid tribute to the important contribution of what he said were inappropriately termed the alternative Press, saying these newspapers had helped to broaden political debate and to create an increasing awareness of political dynamics outside Parliamentary politics and the establishment.

However he was critical of the tendency of some of these publications to display a distinctly selective emphasis in the covering of events.

Each event usually has a basis in fact, but the overall impression might have been of a society so stressed as to be beyond rescue by incre-

ment change, accommo-

dation or compromise, he said.

must be boundaries to

â\200\224 e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

- SA chain stores come' to ffile Transkel

Boom time

for Utth

MTATA has an entrepre-  
neurial bustle to it today,

which was absent before.

At one level it shows it-  
self in pavement hawkers offering  
fruit, vegetables and clothing. At an-  
| other in a building boom, with cur-  
rent plans for more than 70 non-gov-  
ernment projects. Last year building

plans averaged 43 a month.

Under the rule of the Matanzimas,  
economic activity was heavily regu-  
lated and trading licences and busi-  
ness equity tended to vest in a tight  
little coterie around the political  
centre of power.

This has changed since Major-  
General Bantu Holomisaâ\200\231s Military -  
Council 'seized power almost â\200\230two  
years ago.

The monopolies have been broken  
up, there is free competition and  
a large South African chain group is  
coming to Transkei, while others  
are interested. This is expected to  
appreciably reduce living costs for  
the man in the street, putting more  
money into circulation.

The land tenure law has been al-  
tered to allow investors title to  
property and there has been a  
steady influx of white and Indian  
business and professional men from  
South Africa.

RMS Syfrets has just been award-  
ed the contract for the R40 mil-  
lion Circus Triangle shopping com-  
plex, in which Pik 'n Pay will be the  
anchor tenant. Other South African  
tenants will be Edgar Stores, Wool-  
worths/Truworths, Sales House and  
Express Clothing.

Yy New s  
ata.2--Â¢4

- GRAHAM LINSOTT  
Special Correspondent

The complex will have 16 500 square metres of shopping space and is understood to be already 80 percent let.

Other major building projects in

the pipeline are a hotel/office

block/conference complex in the city centre and a high-rise tower block of government offices. Between them the two developments are worth R50 million.

The hotel complex (five star). will take up a 20 000 square metre block. It will feature penthouse apartments, high-rise parking, shopping arcades international conference facilities and sports and entertainment centres, as well as the offices.

Umtata has a population today of about 120000 people, having grown phenomenally from 80000 in 1984. Yet housing has kept pace. The city does not have the sprawling shanty settlements of so many urban centres in South Africa.

Most expatriates about 2000 of them live in the pleasant suburb of Fort Gale, which they share with the Transkeian elite, their children going to the multiracial Umtata High, which celebrates its centenary this year and is still administered by the Cape Department of Education.

The expatriates are a vital part of the economic bustle and their numbers seem to be growing fast. -



|

1 the Governmentâ\200\231s ban on

4 days in Lusaka create  
for fu

EITAR

The â\200\234Peopleâ\200\231s Armyâ\200\235 was formed  
in 1961 with the expressed goal to  
â\200\234hit back by all means within the

wer of defence of our people, our  
uture and our freedomâ\200\235.

â\200\234Four Days in Lusakaâ\200\235 describes  
how lâ\200\230\_â\200\230sigaker after speaker among  
the delegation condemned vio-  
lence as being brutal.

It created fear among whites,  
\_closed their minds to thoughts of

change, and turned them away from

concepts of negotiation and the es-  
tablishment of a non-racial democ-

racy. .

Of icular concern to the FFF  
delegation was attacks on â\200\234soft tar-

etsâ\200\235.

â\200\231 The ANC explained that attacks  
on civilians had never been its poli-  
cy and that incidents of this kind  
had been remarkably low.

The armed struggle was one ele-  
ment of many being used to destroy  
apartheid and there was strong sup-  
port for all types of complementary  
non-violent action. The broadest  
possible anti-apartheid forces

should be mobilised.

It condemned the Governmentâ\200\231s  
attempts to hide from South Afri-  
cans essential information about the  
ANCâ\200\231s view of the armed struggle  
and other forms of bringing about  
change. -

To those who rejected the armed  
struggle as a strategy, the ANC |  
raised two challenges: )

@ To show by practical example  
that non-violent strategies are  
effective.

@ To withdraw their support from  
institutions which uphold apartheid

For ANC executive member Pallo  
Jordan a highlight of meeting peo- |  
le from â\200\234homeâ\200\235 was to drink KWV |  
randy. Comparing it to Cuban rum, |  
he beamed: â\200\234This is much better |  
tltlafn that disgusting communist  
stuff.â\200\235  
. 'This is one of the lighter moments  
described in â\200\234Four Days in Lusakaâ\200\235, |  
a book compiled on the remarkable  
meeting in the Zambian capital be-  
tween South Africans of widely dif-  
fering political persuasions.

The discussions, described by .  
FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier as  
fâ\200\230incredibly frankâ\200\235, centred on key  
issues of ANC policy and ways of  
bringing about a non-racial, demo-  
cratic dispensation.

Intensely debated were issues  
such as negotiations, sanctions, vio-  
lence, constitutional models, educa-  
tion and the role of whites in a  
changing society.

Noting that the book contains  
â\200\234major distortionsâ\200\235 as a result of  
I %uoting  
listed people, editor Raymond Louw,

said: â\200\234Never before had so many  
South African interests been repre-  
sented at a non-racial discussion ex- â\200\230  
ploring the future of their country.â\200\235

Although cordial, the talks often  
turned into heated arguments. Dele-  
gates then agreed to disagree.

One such topic was the armed  
struggle. The ANC presented a de- -  
tailed policy statement on violence,  
highlighting the role of Umkhonto  
we Sizwe (MK) in the struggle for  
freedom.

The document stated that the  
banning of the ANC and other politi-



cal organisations in 1960 had de- and are themselves violent.  
monstrated that all forms of peace- The ANC expressed a need for the  
ful struggle had been exhausted. role of MK to be viewed from the

standpoint of the country passing  
through a period of transition. -

s

MK, seen by the ANC as an in-  
strument of change in the climate of  
negotiations, could become part of a  
reconstituted defence force in a new  
South Africa as a protector of th

â\200\230new society. Â¥

Brutality

\_ During negotiations, it would act  
as the vital force behind the ANC as  
a party in the negotiations.

Retired Democratic Party MP

Mrs Helen Suzman was loudly ap-  
lauded when putting her anti-vio-  
ence stance.

She said: â\200\234I cannot condone vio-

lence in any form, be it institutiona-

lised violence from the state or the  
excessive use of power by the po-  
lice, and equally I donâ\200\231t condone  
violence from the side of the ANC.  
â\200\234Violence brings out all the  
aggression and brutality of the sys-  
tem. It will mean oppression, more  
detentions, more censorship, more  
restrictions and more bannings, and  
will put back the path of negotia-

' ;tions, probably by years.â\200\235 ;

An unidentified speaker said: â\200\234To  
condone violence would be against  
every moral principle that has  
brought me to this conference. I  
agree with all that we stand for â\200\224 a  
united democratic South Africa â\200\224  
but I donâ\200\231t believe we should try to  
get there through violent means.

â\200\234It actually condones the Govern-  
mentâ\200\231s violence. It allows the Gov-  
ernment itself to use violence to  
counter the ANC violence and it  
does not achieve results. We must  
talk, we must talk, we must talk.â\200\235

Lunch and tea breaks turned into  
extended debating time. For too  
much had to be said â\200\224 and learnt â\200\224  
before saying goodbye.

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SAâ\204¢

By ESMARE VAN DER â\200\230MERWE, Political Reporter

| | Between June 29 and July 2, a Five Freedoms Forum delegation went to Zambia to meet representatives of the banned African National Congress. It was the largest conference of the more than 70 meetings that have been held between the â\200\234exilesâ\200\235 and people from â\200\234â\200\230 homeâ\200\235. Yesterday, FFF launched a book on the discussions to expose South Africans to ANC perspectives in the present political climate.

An Afrikaans delegate, Port  
. Elizabeth-city councillor Mr Flip  
Potgieter, summed up his experiences in a chapter in â\200\234Four Days in  
Lusakaâ\200\231: â\200\234As a result of the Governmentâ\200\231s propaganda campaign  
" against the ANC, a slanted, distorted picture has been created which depicts the ANC as part of the problem rather than part of the solution.  
â\200\234My visit to Lusaka ... has destroyed this view for ever. I now realise that no permanent solution can be achieved for South Africa without the ANC and that they with their non-racial policy are indeed part of the solution and not -part of |  
. the problem. 5  
â\200\234On a personal note, some of my experiences there will remain with me always. The friendships I madeâ\200\230 with fellow South Africans in the ANC was certainly the most outstanding happening. !  
â\200\234As agxx Afâ\200\230: 'i kaner the fear that my language will disappear in a future South Africa evaporated as I spoke |  
Afrikaans with several of the senior Â\$ executive members of theâ\200\231 ANC.  
â\200\234Although it is quite probable that discussions and negotiations between all the interested groups will be protracted and difficult, for the first time I have real hope,â\200\235 he said.  
Â«I look forward to an exciting period in the history of my country, perhaps the most exciting yet.



FROM M&R IWMTL. GOV. RELS.

## Maneuvering by South Africa Blacks

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

- Specialto The New York Timec

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 21 â\200\224 In the |  
new climate of change promised by !  
President F. w. de Klerk, some black  
leaders have begun jockeying for the  
tacit right to take part in any future ne-  
Rotlations with the whlte-m!nomy Gov-  
ernment on behalf of South Alrica's

, black majority, i  
The African National Congress, |  
which has been outlawed since 1960, |  
i has long claimed to speak for the coun-  
try's 28 million blacks from its heag-  
quarters in exile in Lusaka, Zambjg,  
Last month, g tally at a soccer stadium  
near Soweto, held to weicome home  
Seven newly released political pris.  
oners, attracted a crowd estimated at  
70,000 to 80,000, which gave rousing

11.27.1989% 14:28

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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL wWEeDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22,

They eriticized other unnamed cler-  
gy men who, they alleged, were â\200\234misus-  
ingâ\200\235 their churches for political pur-  
poses. The allusions appeared 10 be to  
the Anglican Archbishop, Desmond M,  
Tuty, and the Rev. Allan Boesak, head

jof the World Alliance of Reformed  
Churches.

Bishop Mokoena and Archbishop Ma-

Support â\200\230to the congress as the legiti-  
male voice of black South Africans,

On Sunday, King Goodwill Zwelithini

and Chief Mangosuthy Gatsha Buy.  
thelezi attracted another crowd of per-  
haps 75,000 2ulus at g rally of their |  
political movement, Inkatha, tn Dur.!  
ban, The Zuly King complained that he  
and Chief Buthelezi hag not been in-  
vited to the homecoming rally, though

he contended that they had helped win freedom for Walter Sisulu and the other prisoners. He accused them of excluding the Zulus, who number about 15 million.

#### Sisulu Replies

Mr. Sisulu responded on Monday that this was not his intention and accepted in principle an invitation for talks. Such a meeting, he said, would probably discuss how to stop fighting in Natal between supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, the anti-apartheid umbrella organization linked to the African National Congress, ; |

Later Monday, the leaders of two popular evangelical church movements, which claim a total membership of seven million blacks, met with , President de Klerk in Pretoria. After a two-hour session, Bishop Isak Mokoena, the life chairman of the Reformed Independent Churches Association, and Archbishop Mzilikazi Masipa, head of the Council for Apostolic and Zion Churches in Southern Africa, who were accompanied by eight fellow clergymen, said they spoke for the "silent majority" of peace-loving blacks.

Isipa asked Mr. de Klerk to speed up his timetable for ending apartheid. They were also quoted as asking that the emergency-decree rule, in effect since June 1986, not be lifted before those they considered moderate black leaders were consulted. And they reiterated their opposition to Western economic sanctions and disinvestment.

#### De Klerk Recounts Talks

They told me that radicalism is representative of a small minority of the

total black population and that the vast majority of all black South Africans

| are striving for moderate solutions, re-

ject violence, and have strong objections to sanctions and boycotts, a President

dent de Klerk said at a news conference in Pretoria.

The African National Congress has urged an intensification of sanctions [and the withdrawal of foreign investment], and had made the lifting of the decree rule one of its conditions for talks with the Government. The Pan-Africanist Congress, a rival group, has urged blacks to boycott the proposed negotiations,

The recent flurry of activity has shown a wide range of sentiment among South African blacks about the nature of change from apartheid. The degree of support, particularly for the African National Congress, is almost impossible to measure because emergency rule has stifled unapproved

expression

political activity by blacks,

Mr. de Klerk has said he wants to bring a cross-section of the black majority to the table to negotiate terms of

a new constitution- that would give blacks more political rights. He has

said the African National Congress was welcome if it refrained from violence, though as one of many participants. Supporters of the group believe this amounts to a strategy to limit its influence.