

Gorbachev and his party are prepared for elections

Will this be a swing towards democracy?

Daily News - 13 March 1989

Will the ballot-paper replace rubber-stamp elections? RUPERT CORNWELL reports on this month's Soviet polls.

IT will not be an election night as the West understands it. Television channels will not rush to be first with projections of the results within minutes of the polls closing.

These will only be published in the Press between two and 10 days later.

No fancy computer graphics will depict the state of the parties: For all the innovations of Mikhail Gorbachev, there remains but one party.

Nonetheless, on the morning of Sunday, March 26, newspapers around the world will be able to indulge in a headline until now unthinkable: "The Soviet Union goes to the polls today."

It will be doing so to choose the first Congress of People's Deputies, the cornerstone of what amounts to a new Soviet constitution.

This directly elected parliament of 2 250 members will be the supreme body of the state, the proclaimed instrument of genuinely democratic control over both government and the Communist Party.

In terms of timetable at least, Mr Gorbachev is keeping his promises. Barely eight months ago, at the momentous 19th All-Union Party Conference, did he unveil his plans to have the new parliament in place by April.

Last autumn the required draft legislation was published, amended and approved. In December the serious business of finding candidates began.

For the 1 500 ordinary constituencies at stake, 7 351 candidates were put forward by the closing nomination date of January 24.

Then, in a second stage which lasted until February 22, special "registration" meetings were held in the 1 500 ordinary constituencies to decide whose names would appear on the final ballot papers. Now we are in the third stage: The campaign proper. In all, 2 901 candidates are in the running, roughly two per seat.

In the process, though, much of the early idealistic lustre has disappeared. Alas, Mr Gorbachev's injunction that the bad old practice of one candidate per seat should vanish for ever has not carried the day. In 385 constituencies voters will have no choice — except to deny the lone candidate the 50 percent support needed for election by crossing out his name.

In many others, local officials have used a registration process which many did not understand to exclude potentially awkward candidates. Several of the more provocative "liberals" have thus been excluded, most notoriously Vitaly Korotich, editor of the reformist magazine Ogonyok. Orthodox party stalwarts have prevailed.

If London's Westminster used to be the province of Conservative lawyers and businessmen and Labour lecturers, then workers, collective farmers and, above all, factory directors will be the staple of its new Soviet equivalent. Of

these, 85 percent are members of the Communist Party, more even than in previous "rubber-stamp" elections to the old Supreme Soviet. Constantly Mr Gorbachev rules out the notion of a multi-party system. Look no further for proof.

Liberals have had no less bumpy a ride in the selection of candidates for the 750 seats allotted to "social organisations" such as the Communist Party proper, the youth league and the Soviet Peace Committee. Even a meeting of 2 000 irate scientific workers was not enough to force the Academy of Sciences to nominate its most famous son, Andrei Sakharov, or other outspoken advocates of perestroika such as the economists, Abel Aganbegyan and Tatyana Zaslavskaya.

"There's been so much room for manipulation," a student from the Siberian city of Novosibirsk complained this week, summing up disenchantment widespread among the reformist intelligentsia, the constituency most loyal to Mr Gorbachev in these bleak times of shortages and economic disarray. "Nothing has really changed," he said. "Nothing much can come out of it. In some ways the old system was more democratic."

That, though, is to measure the Soviet Union by Western standards. In many places, especially bastions of conservatism such as the Ukraine, functionaries have barely paid lip service to democratic procedures. But there are deeper differences to be traced to a peculiarly Soviet concept of what a parliament should be. Take a Tass commentator this week: "Some candidates have a narrow approach. A candidate from Uzbekistan promises to introduce cotton growing without chemicals, a candidate from Moscow pledges to cut the cost of housing construction." In the West such ideas are the stuff of an election battle: For Tass, they prove that "these candidates lack political experience".

Even more revealing were the words of Mr Gorbachev himself, at the January central committee plenum which took just four hours to approve an electoral platform and exactly 100 candidates to fill the 100 seats to which the party is entitled in the Congress. For him, "group egoism, ambition and political careerism" were "negative phenomena" to be stamped out. In the West, like it or not, the democratic process could not survive without them.

Moscow has its excitement, too, thanks to Boris Yeltsin. Less than 18 months ago impatience at the slow progress of reform saw him drummed out of the Politburo and the leadership of the Moscow party. Today he is fighting the capital's "national territorial seat No 1", the country's largest with seven million voters. A plebiscite victory would give radicals a spokesman who cannot be ignored.

Above all, Mr Yeltsin is a symbol of how these elections are bringing the Soviet people closer to a political process from which they have so long been utterly excluded. It is a huge learning process: An inbred instinct to conform means that few candidates dare improvise like him upon the official lines of the perestroika gospel. But regis-

tration meetings have allowed grievances to be aired, and would-be deputies to be exposed to public scrutiny that would have appalled their pre-decessors.

They in turn have responded. A makeshift survey of 40-odd candidates' platforms, published in half a dozen leading newspapers last month, gives as good a cross-section of the issues as any: Only one mentioned foreign policy, no less than 18 promised action to tackle the Soviet Union's environmental crisis, 15 were concerned about poor welfare standards, and inadequate pensions in particular, then came agriculture and shortages, and demands that factories and work collectives be freed from centralised control. If the elections help solve even one of those problems, they will have been worthwhile.

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The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

13/03/89

Church conciliation

WHEN church leaders like the Rev Alan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude begin sharing thoughts and responsibilities on a joint "commission" with long-alienated counterparts like Dr Johan Heyns, it is not unreasonable to talk of a major ecumenical — and political — breakthrough.

Given the bitterness of the breach in the Dutch Reformed Church ranks, which has rankled internally and at international level for many years, the coming together could have a profound and positive impact on future events.

The "toenadering" that came out of the current meeting between the various churches in Vereeniging (even the venue seems appropriately named) was not without hiccups. Initial signs of a warming of relations have given way to second

thoughts among sections of the "white" representation. The differences remain as sharp as ever and the backtracking by the "white" NGK has led to great disappointment. Nevertheless, an important point of new contact has clearly been established at a time when all communication is helpful.

Of the many sections of the community who contribute to shaping South African society, few have a more intimate or widespread influence than the churches. This makes their obligation to bringing about greater understanding, to bridging divisions and settling differences, even greater. Peace-making is the true role of the churches — and nowhere is this more important than in their own house.

'Think tank' report could kill apartheid

THE South African Law Commission, the Government's legal think tank, has recommended that all discriminatory laws be purged from the statute book.

This is contained in an acclaimed epic-making report published over the weekend on a Bill of Rights for South Africa that could shatter the foundations of apartheid.

The working paper, now open for public comment, proposes outlawing all statutory discrimination.

It even proposes penalising those who practise discrimination, by withdrawing their public or state funding.

Among the laws that the commission believes will have to be abolished before an anti-discrimination Bill of Rights can be implemented are:

- The Constitution which deprives blacks of a parliamentary vote. All

citizens over 18 should vote on a basis of equality, it recommends.

Controls

- The Population Registration Act which classifies people by race.
- The Group Areas Act which controls land ownership and occupation on a racial basis.
- Aspects of security laws including prolonged detention without trial.

The commission also supports the classical liberal view that group rights can only be protected in a Bill of Rights by protecting the rights of the individual.

If the Government accepts this plan it would be remarkable leap in moving away from the group-based thinking of apartheid.

It also accords with recent statements by National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Chris Heunis on softening the group-based approach.

The commission's draft Bill of Rights is

SOWETAN REPORTER

worded so strongly against any form of racial, religious, language or cultural discrimination, that it contains a penalty clause against any person or group which practises discrimination.

The draft Bill grants the right of every person or group to "disassociate" from others. But if this amounts to discrimination, then no public or state funds shall be granted directly or indirectly to promote the interests of those who discriminate, the commission proposes.

This means in effect that any school, town council or other body that practises apartheid, would be cut off from public funds.

Paper

The report was requested by Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice and was prepared

for the Law Commission by a team under Mr Justice P J J Olivier. The SA Law Commission consists of judges, magistrates, lawyers, law academics and officials of the Department of Justice.

The nearly 500-page working paper, including a draft bill of rights, was published this weekend for further public comment which must be in by August 31. Then a final report to the Government will be completed.

Welcomed

The working paper has been acclaimed by anti-apartheid opposition parties in Parliament and welcomed by verligte Nationalists.

Dr Zach de Beer, Progressive Federal Party leader, welcomed the finding that group rights could only be protected through individual rights. He also welcomed the proposal

to purge all discriminatory laws from the statute books.

NGK set to turn back on discrimination

BLOW FOR APARTHEID

Sowetan - 13 March 1989

**SAPA-
REUTER**

LEADERS of South Africa's biggest Afrikaner church are scheduled to meet in Pretoria this week to ratify a sweeping denunciation of apartheid, the race policy the whites-only church helped formulate 40 years ago.

Professor Johan Heyns, head of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, said on Sunday that the church was expected to make its strongest ever condemnation of discrimination when its 30-member policy-making committee meets on Tuesday and Wednesday.

He said the 1.5 million-member white church had been guilty of helping to create apartheid which had caused great misery for the country's majority

the country's majority black population.

Guilty

"We have rejected apartheid before and confessed our guilt in helping to create it, but this statement is perhaps the most significant and far-reaching denunciation," Heyns said in an interview.

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INSIGHT

Soviets and South Africans hold talks

SECRET LONDON MEETING COULD PAVE WAY FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS

Foreign Service

LONDON: Top Soviet academics and a group of white South Africans have held secret talks in an hotel near London in a move which is seen here as marking a shift in Moscow's attitude to Southern Africa.

One British Sunday newspaper says the talks "could signal an extension of glasnost to Southern Africa," and that they constituted "the most significant contact between Moscow and Pretoria for 25 years." Another says they "may be a significant step in Moscow's efforts to improve relations with Pretoria."

The talks, foreshadowed at a meeting in West Germany earlier this year between white South Afri-



Professor Philip Nel

cans and members of the African National Congress, which was also attended by some Russian representatives, was a prominent item in the BBC's Sunday news bulletins.

The talks, which took place over three days last week at the Woodlands Park Hotel in Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, were organised by British



Sir John Killick

academics. They were chaired by former British Ambassador to Moscow, Sir John Killick.

The Soviet side included Mr Anatoly Gromyko, head of Moscow's Africa Institute, who is the son of the former Soviet Foreign Minister and an adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev. The South African delega-

tion was led by Professor Philip Nel and Professor Willie Breytenbach.

The BBC quoted Sir John as saying the Russians were "remarkably frank." They had made it clear that although Moscow supported the African National Congress, it was nonetheless "not wedded" to the armed struggle and did not want a violent overthrow of the white government in Pretoria. It preferred negotiations.

Sir John said he thought the talks had "destroyed stereotyped ideas on each side," and could lead to more Soviet-South African contacts, though probably not at official level for some time.

But Jon Connell of the Sunday Times quotes Sir John as saying that it was "going too far" to assume that the views expressed at the meeting would lead to an "identifiable change" in Soviet policy.

Connell adds that the Soviet delegation suggested that Moscow was "determined to settle problems through superpower negotiation, and that it was unwilling to fund future Communist expeditionary forces in Africa, such as the Cubans now withdrawing from Angola."

The Sunday Telegraph report says the talks were held with the knowledge and encouragement of the British Foreign Office. They were not announced at the insistence of the Soviet delegation.

It quotes Sir John as describing the Soviet attitude as "absolutely extraordinary." He added: "I believe that last week we witnessed a fundamental weather-change in the attitudes of Moscow to problems in Southern Africa."

He also said the Soviet delegation indicated that Moscow would pressure Swapo to adhere strictly to the UN Peace Plan for Namibia.

DAILY NEWS - 13 MARCH 1989

Cold war thaws as Moscow warms to Pretoria

Foreign Service

LONDON: The talks between Soviet and South African academics are "a turn-up for the diplomatic books," according to the Daily Mail.

In an editorial today, it says that while liberal and left-wing moralists work themselves into a tizzy if even a tiddly-winks team attempts to have sporting contact with South Africa, Soviet advisers have been holding talks with South Africa's most influential academics.

"Cynics will say that, despite all the comings and goings, there is no profound shift in Soviet policy. That the pull-out of Cuban mercenaries from Angola, like the retreat from Afghanistan, is a symptom of economic exhaustion rather than of enlightened statesmanship. That the Russians would still prefer to make mischief, not peace, in Southern Africa.

"There may be some truth in that. But, whatever the reasons, it is also a matter of hard, reportable fact that Russian diplomacy has lost its rigidity, has become more audacious, more unsettling to those who hold stereotyped views.

"These days the Kremlin talks to everybody: to the Chinese, the Ayatollah, the Israelis — and now the Boers.

"As long as Gorbachev stays in charge, all of us in the West — from right-wing strategists inside the Bush Administration to anti-apartheid chanters outside South Africa House — had better get wise to one thing: Soviet attitudes are not to be taken for granted."

Low-key reception seen as snub for Oliver Tambo and the ANC

Foreign Service

LONDON: The disclosure of secret talks between leading Soviet and South African academics near London has coincided with what is described here as a "virtual snub" given to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo during his recent visit to Moscow.

The Moscow correspondent of The Times says the snub indicates a rift between Moscow and the ANC over the use of violence against Pretoria. He says Mr Tambo, who arrived there last week, was given a low-key reception compared with a visit in 1986 when he held extended talks with President Gorbachev.

"This time there was no meetings with Mr Gorbachev, or even the Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze. Instead Mr Tambo met Mr Anatoly Lukyanov, a candidate member of the Politburo, and Mr Valentin Falin, head of the Communist Party's Central Committee international department.

"The official communiqué at the end of Mr Tambo's visit which appeared in Pravda yesterday pointedly made no mention of the use of violence and avoided the word 'armed' — used in past communiqués — to describe the ANC struggle. Instead it said apartheid could best be done away with by "political means."

"It said it was unanimously stated during the meeting that the removal of apartheid through political means would meet the long-term interests of all South Africans.

"Although Mr Tambo formally denied there had been a switch of Soviet policy towards the ANC, his delegation was clearly disappointed by the failure to meet anyone higher than a candidate Politburo member."

Meanwhile, diplomats have characterised the meetings between leading Soviet and South African academics outside London last week as a sign of Moscow's new think-

ing.

The first session, organised by the Foreign Office at its conference centre at Wilton Park, Sussex, was attended by Mr Yuri Yukalov, head of one of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Africa departments, and Professor J.P. de Lange, said to be leader of the Broederbond.

The second meeting was a privately organised academic discussion chaired by Sir John Killick, former British Ambassador to Moscow, in the secluded Woodlands Park Hotel, in the Surrey village of Stoke D'Abernon. The participants included Mr Anatoly Gromyko, director of the Soviet Africa Institute and son of former Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko, Professor Philip Nel and Professor Willie Breytenbach, both of Stellenbosch University.

Sir John said yesterday he was "immensely impressed" by the pragmatism on Southern Africa displayed by the Soviet academics. They had emphasised Moscow's eagerness to see a negotiated politi-

cal settlement for the region, and appeared to distance themselves from the long-standing policy of supporting armed struggle against Pretoria and its guerilla allies in Angola and Mozambique.

John Dickie of the Daily Mail reports today that the discussions on how Soviet influence could best be used in Southern Africa "intrigued Western diplomats as a very unusual event."

"It was just a preliminary tour d'horizon, but it could be the start of something big," he quoted a diplomat as saying.

• The Daily Mail reports Professor Nel, now back in South Africa, as saying the meeting was essentially academic.

"There was an exchange of views, but everyone present represented their own personal views so there was no consensus reached, no policy statements made and in my view the meeting is unlikely to have any immediate or direct effect upon South African-Soviet relations."

CHURCH and religion have always played a large part in African life and tradition and today, more than ever, blacks are insisting on interpreting Christian ideology in their own way.

Maud Motanyane, writing in **TRIBUTE**, says that in an attempt to escape the influences of the West, the boundaries of conventional Christianity are being stretched by the introduction of new practices.

Today's traditional African churches are struggling towards a new identity, she writes, which is an intrinsically "African Christianity."

The magazine quotes Rev Lawrence Ndzekele, of the Soweto Spiritual Church as saying: "We want true Christian principles to fit in with African traditions. The big churches of today have lost touch with their spiritual base."

Maud Motanyane believes the independent churches are growing because of a move away from "colonial structures."

These churches are trying to return Christ to the proletariat, she says, but admits that that trying to get a proper understanding of the many religious groups is like tiptoeing through a minefield.

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The black labour movement, containing many divergent streams of thought, had a "summit" meeting in Johannesburg recently although, for various reasons, some unions stayed away. Cosatu and Nactu, two of the giants of the labour movement who do not always see eye to eye, were present.

A controversy has already begun on whether the federations had a mandate to hold the meeting and the **SOWETAN**, in an editorial, hoped that there would not be a mud-slinging match between the rival groups.

"The very fact that there are two federations in this country and independent unions who feel they cannot affiliate to either Nactu or Cosatu, tell us there will never be a time when all workers will agree on everything.

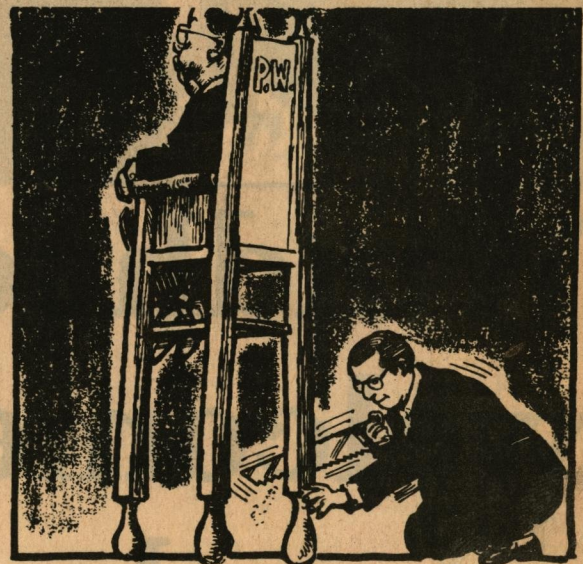
"This is a fact of life. We must learn to live with and to respect the rights of others who hold a different view. If we took this approach, we will not celebrate anniversaries of

BLACK PRESS

David Wightman



The Church's *Daily News* influence on 13 March 1989 African life



Cartoon from the **SOWETAN**.

workers' struggles but workers' victories."

NEW NATION believed the meeting was an historic one and that, despite the varying political persuasions, those present had laid the basis for unity of action over the Labour Relations Amendment Act. Even workers who stayed away should not forego this opportunity to stand together, said the paper.

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The **SABC** has accepted the apology over the remarks by television presenter David Hall-Green on the Good Morning South Africa Show, but **CITY PRESS** this weekend said that viewers were seriously asking themselves whether his remarks reflected the general attitude of the people employed by the government-run corporation. The remark destroyed attempts at improving race relations and the **SABC** owed its viewers an apology, said the paper.

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POST NATAL drew some parallels between Mr P W Botha and "his one-time blue-eyed boy" Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Both, said the paper, were Capricorns and both were in the lime-light because they "won't let go."

THE CITIZEN
COMMENT
13-3-89

Bill of Rights

WHICHEVER way one looks at it, the Law Commission's draft report on a Bill of Rights will influence the country's approach to constitution and law making.

Not that the report — and the commission emphasises this — is the final word.

"The document is published as a working paper with the express object of eliciting further comment, contributions and suggestions," says the report.

Only then will a final report be drawn up and submitted to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

There is no guarantee that the government will accept the report in whole or part. However, since Mr Coetsee asked the Law Commission to investigate and make recommendations on the definition and protection of group rights in the context of the South African constitutional set-up, and the possible extension of individual rights as well as the role the courts play in connection with these issues, one can assume the report will engage the serious attention of the government.

Meanwhile, it will be as controversial as the subject it deals with, pleasing a wide range of opinion from human rights activists to verligte Nationalists, but displeasing many people who doubt the value of a Bill of Rights.

It will particularly infuriate the Right, since it envisages the removal of all discriminatory legislation and suggests giving the vote to all people over 18 irrespective of race or colour. The report itself points out that a Bill of Rights is not a panacea.

But it claims that such a Bill can be an important catalyst in the process of reaching consensus on the country's difficult constitutional problems.

The report suggests a four-phase approach. Parliament should first accept the principle of a Bill of Rights. Secondly, it should clear the way for the adoption of a Bill of Rights by the repeal or amendment of legislation conflicting with a Bill of Rights, and thirdly launch an educational process to inform the population on the role and value of a constitution of which a Bill of Rights forms part.

Reaching consensus on a future constitution and finalising the Bill of Rights is the fourth phase recommended.

After that, the commission suggests, a single general open referendum, which is not restricted to, and does not discriminate among voters of particular groups and races, should be held to "legitimise" the Bill.

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Since the government is moving away from discrimination, and seeking alternatives to the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, it may consider this aspect of the report not entirely unacceptable.

On the other hand, it clearly relies on its emergency powers, including detentions and banings, to maintain public order, and a limitation on security laws, as suggested in the report, would certainly not be acceptable at this point in time.

Furthermore, while the report sees a Bill of Rights as an encouragement to the negotiation of a new constitution, most people would prefer that a new constitution that provides for a Bill of Rights be negotiated first.

In other words, if the franchise is to be extended to Blacks, they would like to know what political structures would be available to them, as well as to other races?

Furthermore, what safeguards would there be that the Bill of Rights would not be jettisoned, or changed, if an organisation believing in one-party rule came to power, as has happened elsewhere in Africa?

These and other reservations aside, the compilers of the report are to be commended on providing a Bill of Rights that is comparable to the United States and German models and one that deserves close study.

Meanwhile, expectations in some newspapers of dramatic changes to meet the requirements of the report are unrealistic.

On the face of it, the report would require a giant leap by the government that might destroy its own constituency.

A measured approach is more likely, in terms of controlled, evolutionary change.

Besides, a Bill of Rights is part of the solution not the solution itself — and that has still to be worked out.

PW WANTS TO MEET CAUCUS

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night that he hoped to meet the caucus of the National Party, not necessarily this week.

"An opportunity must be created for me to talk to the caucus."

Unfortunately, "because of my setback, I had to write a letter to the caucus."

"The disappointment which followed in the caucus was expected, and I understand it. But I also expected the caucus to have the maturity, the

love and the loyalty, to seek solutions with me," he said.

"I am not disappointed with the reaction. On the contrary... the caucus wrote a letter of appreciation to me telling me what steps they had taken. Why should I be disappointed."

Speaking on Network, Mr Botha, who praised the leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, saying "I have faith in him, I get on with him", added that he did not "live in conflict with him. Why should I, live in opposition to him?"

Mr Botha pledged himself to continue reform, but stressed: "I am for reform, but not a handing over."

Mr Botha ruled out an election this year, "for the simple reason that we don't have delimitation".

Mr Botha said progress he had made with regard to his health had led him to decide that, instead of returning to Cape Town after the Easter weekend, as he had originally announced, he could go back earlier.

"And secondly, the im-

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PW: I have faith in De Klerk

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FROM PAGE 1

portant tabling of the annual Budget requires of me, as head of government, that I should be there," he said.

This was because the Budget was based on government proposals "which always have an enormous influence on financial and economic matter".

The Budget was the result of lengthy preparations.

"Last year we began with the Priorities Committee. Then the Cabinet devoted attention, for lengthy periods, to preparation of the Budget. . . it is an important event. And it is, therefore, the duty of the head of government to be present at such an occasion.

"And, therefore, I've decided to be present at the Cabinet meeting. . . the last before the tabling of the Budget.

"It so happens that it is earlier than the original date which I had in mind — after the Easter weekend. Therefore, I am returning earlier to resume my work."

Talking about his health, Mr Botha, who recently suffered a mild stroke, said since he became Prime Minister in 1978 "I have consulted trustworthy, competent physicians once or twice a year.

"Because I have never operated from the standpoint that I alone can be the judge of my health, and in the latest incident, an 'accident' affected my health, I again consulted and listened to the advice of those doctors who agree that I can go ahead with my normal duties. It is a team of physicians.

"When I made the proposal, I expected disappointment within the party. I planned to bring it up in person in the caucus and to have a proper discussion with the caucus.

"Unfortunately, because of my setback, I had to write a letter to the caucus.

"The disappointment which followed in the caucus was expected, and I understand it.

"But I also expected the caucus to have the maturity, the love and the

loyalty, to seek solutions with me.

"I am not disappointed with the reaction. On the contrary, the caucus wrote a letter of appreciation to me telling me what steps they had taken.

"Why should I be disappointed?"

"I would have preferred to speak to the caucus myself. It was a pity I had to do it by letter.

"It was a pity that I could not give motivation for my decision and clarify my position to the caucus. And I hope I'll still be given the opportunity.

"Not necessarily this week. Parliament is still in session and the caucus will adjourn soon for the Easter recess.

"An opportunity must be created for me to talk to the caucus. Just as I hope, in consultation with the Cabinet, to give attention to such matters.

"Mr (F W) De Klerk, is leader-in-chief of the NP, but for years he's been Transvaal leader of the NP. He is also the Parliamentary leader. That's a post I created for him. He's also chairman of the Ministers' Council. I also appointed him to that post — why? Because I have faith in him, I get on with him.

"I believe that he, together with other Cabinet colleagues, will work with me in a spirit of goodwill and faith to solve problems facing us.

"Then it's a constitutional problem which has to be resolved.

"I have said in Parliament that I believed the State Presidency, which is a combination of the functions of the erstwhile Prime Minister and executive State President, is too much for one person and I have tried to lighten this workload. This I still believe.

"Parliament appoints the SP especially after an election. The term of the present Parliament expires early next year. The SP's term of office is linked to that of Parliament.

"Because the new Parliament would have to appoint a new State President, within, I think, seven days, consequently, this is a constitutional matter.

"I have never said that only the NP, or any party, would appoint the head of state.

"We have a new dispensation, embodied in our constitution. This constitution was approved by two-thirds of the White electorate.

"It was then accepted by other race groups, and there were repeated decisions to put this constitution

into practice.

"At my induction as State President, I took an oath wherein I undertook to uphold and maintain the constitution. I am still doing so.

"I do not cling to one post. When I deemed it necessary to relinquish the Cape leadership of the National Party, a post I held for many years, I did so.

"When I deemed it necessary to relinquish the party leadership to the caucus in terms of the party constitution, I did so.

"I did not do so because of ill health.

"I do not cling to posts, but if these must be filled, that is my standpoint.

"And if the Presidency must be preserved, then it must be done in orderly fashion, in accordance with the constitution, and at the right time.

"There is the question of delimitation of constituencies. . . which must be attended to by government.

"There I will have to be advised by my colleagues responsible for that task.

"That we will determine as the basis for the new parliament. Its term, as I said earlier, ends early next year.

"A little time, a little patience, a little control and we'll find solutions to these issues through consultation. That was always my intention.

"If Parliament elects, in terms of the constitution, to appoint a State President and it is not I, then I trust that the day will come when I'm able to do what the constitution prescribes, namely, the State President is the protector of the Great Seal of state authority, and I hope that I will then have the honour of formally handing over the Great Seal to a chosen successor who will

have pledged to uphold the constitution.

"That I'll decide at the time."

"It's not a matter to be decided now. I don't believe in usurping the Lord's Work ahead of time."

Mr Botha said he did not "live in conflict" with the new NP leader, Mr De Klerk. "For that would be a terrible charge against he and I, if the story regarding friction between us is to be believed.

"He is a senior Minister in my Cabinet. I say again, he is leader of the House of Assembly. He is leader of the National Party. He is an important provincial leader. Why would I live in opposition to him?

"Why can I not live in harmony with him?

"My approach is to move forward in unity with my colleagues in the Cabinet, and to employ all possible means to maintain stability and order in South Africa.

"I think there's a general feeling in important circles, that we must show progress with the principle of reform, and the development of South Africa in various spheres.

"That's the right note to strike.

"Indeed, when I addressed the Swiss/South Africa Association in Zurich last year, I stressed this. My speech is there for all to see.

"Secondly, during an important Parliamentary event last year, I proposed that reform should be promoted in various spheres.

"Legislation is being prepared to allow for further progress.

"Prior to the general election, held a year or so ago I proposed the holding of an indaba between leaders of the various population groups and government. I still believe in that.

"I originated the concept of reform.

"My entire life bears testimony to the reform I have initiated, and I still believe that should be pursued, with two conditions. I am for reform, but not a handing over.

"I am for reform, but against the undermining of stability and order.

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"And I'll continue on that basis, and in consultation with my colleagues, I'll pursue solutions around the conference table.

"Mr De Klerk has always shared these sentiments. He would not otherwise have joined me in attending the national congress. He would not have joined me on stage at the National Party's Transvaal congress.

"Why would we now become enemies? I think it's an injustice to him. I think it's an injustice to other National Party leaders, to attempt to dramatise this.

"It must be obvious to every member of the public that there are forces in this country seeking to exploit an unfortunate situation, to sow political confusion, and I am convinced that responsible people in and out of Parliament will not be party to this.

"One cannot hold an election this year, for the simple reason that we don't have delimitation. It depends on how soon that can be achieved. I think it would be wrong to speak now of an election.

"A Budget is to be presented, and its finalisation will take weeks. Parliament will discuss it thoroughly.

"Government will have to formulate opinion on various facets of this Budget. I intend addressing the issue of delimitation. Thereafter we will consider the issue of Parliament's dissolution and an election.

"That lies in the future.

"But if you embrace the future, you do so with confidence, with faith, with great responsibility and I'm convinced, from letters and messages received, knowing the National Party caucus as I do, knowing our leader, knowing the National Party Federal Council, knowing my colleagues who are leaders, and Ministers, that we will behave responsibly."

Mr De Klerk, who himself was being misused by some people, had appealed "for the National Party to be given the chance to resolve its problems.

"I want to hold discussions with the caucus. I am now healthy. I want to talk to them.

"I want to help find solutions in consultation with them.

"I want to talk to members of the federal council. I want to talk to fellow

Cabinet members. I want to talk to leaders of other population groups on South Africa's future."

Confrontation would not help. "All that'll help us is a sense of responsibility and self discipline.

"There can't be an election now because an election must be called by the State President.

"There can't be an election now simply because delimitation has not been completed.

"Secondly, Parliament has to be dissolved.

"There'll have to be nominations, various bodies need to be constituted. An election can't be conjured up.

"An election can come sooner or later. But it needs to follow careful consideration.

"If an election is held in 1992, the life of Parliament will have to be extended. I don't think Parliament will want that. I think South Africans will want certainty about that.

"I've never thought in terms of 1992. That's just gossip.

"Why would I cling to power especially when I've already said the President's workload must be lightened.

"I'm faced with problems which arise from the way our constitution operates. And South Africa has to live with that.

"I'm not looking for

power for the sake of power.

"I'm advised by the Economic Advisory Council. I'm advised by our security services. I'm advised by individuals who are leaders in their own fields. I am open to advice. But I won't misuse power. And I won't misuse the NP to ensure South Africa's future.

"We must create opportunities for talking to each other. I believe in a democratic government and in consultation.

"The means must be created for me and the party, and for me and my Cabinet colleagues, to continue consultations.

"My message is therefore: Stay calm — we're living in dangerous times, in difficult times.

"The whole Southern African question is hanging over us.

"The future of South West Africa and its relationship with South Africa poses a question to our future.

"Great responsibility, discipline and team work we need more than ever before if we want to let South Africa move ahead.

"My party and colleagues have never abandoned me or given me cause to doubt them, and with them I'll continue to work for South Africa's best advantage." — Sapa.

The Times
13/3/89
London.

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Mr Botha went even further, hinting that he was considering another term: "I have never said that only the NP, or any party, would appoint the head of state... If Parliament elects a state president, and it is not I, then I trust I will have the honour of formally handing over the great seal to a chosen successor... That I'll decide at the time. It's not a matter to be decided now."

In the meantime, he wanted to get ahead with running the country. "I originated the concept of reform. My entire life bears testimony to the reform I have initiated, and I still believe that should be pursued."

Moscow rift with ANC on violence

Continued from page 1
done away with by "political means".

"It was unanimously stated during the meeting that the removal of apartheid through political means would meet the long-term interests of all South Africans," it said.

In its 1987 congratulatory message to the ANC on its 75th anniversary, the Communist Party Central Committee said: "Massive actions and armed operations of ANC fighters are part of the common stream of popular anger that will inevitably wash away the inhumane regime of apartheid." The ANC opened its

first diplomatic mission in the Soviet Union that same year.

Although Mr Tambo formally denied there had been a switch of Soviet policy toward the ANC, his delegation was clearly disappointed by the failure to meet anyone higher than a candidate Politburo member. He said the armed struggle was an essential part of ANC policy.

It appears the ANC is being caught in the squeeze of the newly avowed anti-terrorism policy of the Kremlin, Moscow's "new political thinking", its diplomatic maturity, and the desire by both superpowers to find negotiated ends

to regional conflicts as quickly as possible.

Despite objections by the ANC and the South West African People's Organization, the Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, supported UN decisions on a smaller peacekeeping force than desired by the guerrilla movements to oversee Namibian independence. Moscow also went against ANC wishes by agreeing with Washington that Pretoria should not be expelled from the International Atomic Energy Agency.

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Moscow snubs ANC in shift on Pretoria

By Nicholas Beeston in London and Our Correspondent in Moscow

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Mr Tambo, who arrived in Moscow last week, was offered a low-key reception compared with a previous visit in 1986 when he held extended talks with President Gorbachov.

This time there were no meetings with Mr Gorbachov, or even the Foreign Minister,

Mr Eduard Shevardnadze. Mr Tambo instead met Mr Anatoly Lukyanov, a candidate member of the Politburo, and Mr Valentin Falin, head of the Communist Party's central committee international department.

The snub came as details emerged of two meetings between leading Soviet and South African figures outside London last week, which diplomats characterized as a sign of Moscow's new thinking.

At the first session, organized by the Foreign Office

at its conference centre at Wilton Park, Sussex, were the head of one of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Africa departments, Mr Yuri Yukalov, and the leader of the

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Broederbond, the secret Afrikaner society, Professor J.P. de Lange.

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Moscow, Sir John Killick, and was held in a Surrey hotel. The participants included Mr Anatoly Gromyko, the director of the Africa Institute and the son of the former Soviet President, Mr Andrei Gromyko, and two influential South African academics from Stellenbosch University, Professor Philip Nel and Professor Willie Breytenbach.

Sir John told *The Times* yesterday that he was "immensely impressed" by the pragmatism on southern Africa displayed by the Soviet

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In Moscow, the official communiqué at the end of Mr Tambo's visit which appeared in *Pravda* yesterday pointedly made no mention of the use of violence and avoided the word "armed" — used in past communiqués — to describe the ANC struggle. Instead it said apartheid could best be

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Tambo seeks assurance on Soviet support

By Xan Smiley

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* Although the Kremlin has discounted any chance of establishing rapid diplomatic or overt economic links with South Africa, it has been adopting a more conciliatory and flexible policy.

"The removal of apartheid by political means would meet the long-term interests of all South Africans," said an ANC-Soviet statement on Saturday, after Mr Tambo met Mr Anatoli Lukyanov, Soviet Vice-President.

The Russians told the ANC they consider it "the oldest and most authoritative political organisation of the majority of the country's population".

However, recent Soviet declarations on South Africa have emphasised political negotiation rather than guerrilla warfare as the means of removing apartheid.

At the same time, the Russians have continued to supply and train ANC guerrillas who infiltrate South Africa.

Tass, the official news agency, said that the ANC and the Kremlin had jointly "declared for an intensification of the international campaign against Pretoria's racist policy and for the application of effective sanctions against it".

● Anton La Guardia, Foreign Staff, writes: South African and Soviet academics held three days of talks at Stoke D'Abernon in Surrey, it was disclosed at the weekend. Sir John Killick, former British ambassador to Moscow, was chairman.

It is reported that the Russians said they wanted a negotiated settlement to southern Africa's problems and that they were unwilling to fund any more Communist expeditionary forces.

South Africa white Church to proclaim apartheid 'a sin'

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S powerful Dutch Reformed Churches are moving towards an historic joint declaration to proclaim apartheid a sin. Demands for the Church to renounce all unjust laws, for the release of all political prisoners and "the transfer of power to the majority" were made by the black and Coloured Churches in Vereeniging in the Transvaal last week.

The "mother" church, the white Dutch Reformed Church, long known as the ruling National party at prayer, will discuss the statement rejecting apartheid at a synod in Pretoria today.

While the white Church will probably dissociate itself from some clauses, non-white Church leaders were heartened by the mother church's attitude.

In closed session, white delegates confessed to their church's contribution to the establishment and maintenance of apartheid and expressed profound regrets for the hardship it had caused fellow Christians.

Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the Coloured Reformed Church, said he was "deeply moved" by the change of heart.

"Their call to us to forgive them is real," he said. "We who have been the victims of the policies which they now condemn cannot ignore this."

Dr Beyers Naude, a former Moderator of the Church excommunicated by the white grouping because of his "radical views", said the meeting's atmosphere reflected South Africa's crisis.

"Seldom have I attended a meeting where so many conflicting emotions were experienced in such a short time, emanating from such widely dividing perceptions, moods fluctuating between hope and despair, between high expectation and total exasperation, between newly-found trust and painful betrayal."

It was clear most white church leaders were in full agreement, behind closed doors, with the sentiments of the anti-apartheid resolution.

But the leaders had reservations about the commitment to hand over power to black majority rule.

The inhibition reflects current Government policy and its dilemma: how to get rid of discrimination without handing over power to a black majority.

Botha refuses to hand over as President

By Our Johannesburg Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha commanded South Africa's State-run television network last night to emphasise his determination to continue as leader, despite his recent stroke and isolation from the ruling National party.

In what the South African Broadcasting Corporation billed as "an exclusive interview", Mr Botha responded to obviously prearranged questions in a conciliatory and mild manner.

The 72-year-old President appeared tired and had clearly lost weight. The collar of his shirt was at least three times too large for his former bull neck and his voice lacked the power and aggression of his pre-stroke public appearances.

He firmly discounted suggestions, however, made by the National party caucus last week, that he retire gracefully from office and hand over to Mr Frederik de Klerk, his successor as party leader.

"I do not cling to leadership," he said. "If Parliament elects to appoint a State President to replace me, then I hope I have the honour of handing over the Great Seal of State. That I'll decide at the time."

He refuted reports that he "lived in conflict" with Mr de Klerk.

On the speedier reform programme, advocated by Mr de Klerk, Mr Botha said he was the first to come up with the idea of a "great ndaba" between leaders of all groups in South Africa.

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Second Horseman

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the individual

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DAY

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THE Second Horseman of Wynand Malan's liberal apocalypse is the political semanticist Wimpie de Klerk, who has secured his footnote in history by inventing the terms *verlig* and *verkramp*. De Klerk's views are not in dispute, only the label that should be applied to them.

Since his appointment as one of the four advisers to the Democratic Party (with Sampie Terreblanche, Van Zyl Slabbert and Marinus Wiechers), he has been using the term "Calvinist liberal," which is apt for so devout a man, but politically confusing.

Writing in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, he explains (my translation): "The political liberalisation of National Party Afrikaners, and Afrikaners who have found their home in groups to the left of the NP, is still related to the fundamental principle (*uitgangspunt*) of group survival... Nationalism is still at the root of it... a nationalism that does not seek political hegemony but which does seek a political voice, and cultural entrenchment of language, education, church and community life."

I had not intended raising the political definition of liberalism until after the founding congress of the Democratic Party, but the issue has been forced on me by Malan and Terreblanche, who have been demanding that I declare where I stand on democracy. Malan says I keep talking about a market community "with the individual always getting all the opportunities," and he claims that I have never expressed myself on the effects of democracy.

The challenge is not seriously intended — I am not running for office — but is intended to discredit a bothersome critic. It is the sort of tactic which young Nationalists learn before they join the Rapportryers. So let's get rid of this red herring at once.

My opposition to apartheid (for quite the wrong reasons) dates back to May 27, 1948, when I watched my teachers cavorting drunkenly through the corridors in celebration of the Nationalist election victory the previous day, stopping occasionally to tell me how they would now *oponder die Engelse*.

In the late Fifties I came under the influence of Alan Paton and the Pretoria liberal, John Lang, and by 1964 — as bright-eyed and bushy-tailed with virtue as Malan is today — I was trekking to Lusaka to see the first wave of ANC leaders who rode the wave of independence to "the front line". In fact, I tried rather foolishly to get to an ANC camp near Mkushi River and, I suspect, my life was saved by Tennison Makiwane, then a member of the OAU liberation committee, who rescued me from some edgy guards. He was later assassinated for challenging the communist control of the ANC.

Fipping through the files, I find I was calling publicly for one man, one vote in a unitary state while Vorster and Jimmy Kruger strutted around Biko's body, and while Malan and Terreblanche were still complacent members of the crypto-fascist party that had had its jackboot on my neck since 1948. Indeed, I recall being lectured by Terreblanche over lunch on the incorrigible political stupidity of the English.

However, it is to the experience of being *opondered* by the Nats that I owe my deep conviction that liberalism concerns, above all else, the liberty of the individual. Like Senator Sam Irwin of North Carolina and Watergate fame, I have come to be-

KEN OWEN



□ DE KLERK... "Calvinist liberal"

lieve that tyranny derives from the State; unlike him, I have practical experience of the problem.

Now to the future. Most political observers accept these days that apartheid is collapsing. Even the rightwingers like Carel Boshoff, try-

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ing desperately to establish a utopian Kalahari-stan for an endangered Afrikaner species, see that whites are losing the capacity to control the black masses. Unless the country collapses into anarchy, power will pass quite soon from white to black.

The principal question is no longer how to overthrow apartheid but how to achieve a transition from national-socialism to democracy. Or, to put it differently, how do we ensure that the power to oppress, and to *oponder* weaker communities, does not simply pass from one gang of thugs to another?

This is where economic freedom under law comes into the equation. Hayek, the author who currently obsesses me, writes (in 1989, not 1889): "As we now know, in the evolution of the structure of human activities, profitability works as a signal that guides selection towards what makes man more fruitful; only what is more profitable will, as a rule, nourish more people, for it sacrifices less than it adds."

Peru's Hernando de Soto, a second author who has lately captured my interest, has shown that the poorest classes, fighting for very survival, quickly discover that survival depends on free markets, and therefore on the institution of private property. A free market without private

property is, of course, an absurdity.

These ideas are not new, though they barely penetrate the intellectual darkness of this country. Strabo, writing 2 000 years ago, observed that ancient Crete took it for granted that liberty was the state's highest good, and for this reason made property belong to those who acquired it "whereas in a condition of slavery everything belongs to the rulers".

To put it succinctly: without markets, society cannot discover the most fruitful means to organise economic activity; without private property, markets cannot exist; without legal protection of individual title, private property is meaningless; and without freedom, no system based on choice can operate. To succeed, a society must treat individual liberty as "the highest good".

None of these ideas is compatible with the notion of a state organised, as De Klerk insists it must be, primarily to protect "groups". In fact, he warns in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* that the entry of Afrikaners to liberal politics cannot be taken for granted. Their participation depends, among other things, on whether the Democratic Party's various elements stick to "old-style liberalism," or compromise with the claims of group and culture.

For English South Africans, this hardly matters. They have been so well and truly *opgedonder* that their elites are emigrating — faster when things go badly — leaving behind only the detritus of a shattered community, a rabble of individuals incapable of acting in unison. Their only bequest to this country, if liberal ideas do not take root, will be the new form of pidgin in which black people and Afrikaners, increasingly, communicate with each other.

However, for the group-conscious Afrikaners it is literally a matter of life and death whether post-apartheid society is organised to protect the liberty of individuals, or whether the instruments of oppression with which the Nationalists *dondered-op* the English pass intact into the hands of another powerful "group".

Liberal democracy protects the individual against groups, of which the most tyrannical is the group wielding the power of the state. As we poor *donders* know.

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Torture, burnings alleged

Savimbi ordered brutal killings, defectors charge

BUSINESS DAY

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LONDON — Allegations of serious human rights abuses have been levelled against Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The main charges were made on Saturday night on British TV's Channel 4 World This Week programme by Unita defectors seeking political asylum in the UK. Their move followed the alleged detention and torture by Unita last year of Pedro "Tito" Chingunji, the movement's Washington-based foreign secretary.

One defector, Sousa Jamba, a writer who last year won the Shiva Naipaul prize for literature, told the Sunday Telegraph of London: "I am one of many Unita members who have kept quiet until now about killings inside the movement in the interests of the wider struggle against Cuban and Soviet domination.

"But Tito's arrest has stretched our loyalty beyond breaking point: if we wait others may die."

Numerous senior Unita officials have "disappeared". According to informed sources, few Western governments doubt that the men are dead, probably executed. Among the most prominent is former Unita foreign secretary Jorge Sangumba.

Own Correspondent

The story of another defector, Dinho Chingunji, Tito's nephew, is perhaps the most nightmarish. He argues that Tito's life is in grave danger because seven Chingunji family members have already been murdered over the years as Savimbi began to see them as a threat.

Dinho Chingunji alleges that his elderly grandparents (Tito's parents) were beaten to death on Savimbi's orders.

Amnesty International says it has evidence from three reliable sources that the grandparents were clubbed with rifle butts, kicked and then run over by a truck.

Dinho says his own father, Kafundanga, Unita's first military chief-of-staff, was poisoned in 1974. He also alleges that at least three of his father's brothers were killed on Savimbi's orders.

When another Chingunji sibling, this time a daughter, Shika, was executed in 1983, she was first accused of being a witch, according to Dinho.

Amnesty has the names of at least 12 "witches" buried to death on public bonfires in 1983, including the widow of a former interior minister.

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COMMENT

BUSINESS DAY
Group rights?

13 - 3 - 89

THE publication by the Law Commission of a working paper on group and human rights, including a draft Bill of Rights which would entrench the rights of South Africans, is obviously a landmark in the political development of the country. It is also, we suspect, the beginning of a national debate that could last for years, especially as the commission has recognised the necessity of a universal franchise.

The commission emphasises that the working paper should not be viewed as representing its final views, and it invites further comment.

Attention will fall from the outset on the vexed question, one which deeply divides the nation, of balancing individual liberties against so-called "group rights". The commission takes half a step forward in identifying two categories of group rights, the first being in the nature of cultural, religious or linguistic "values" which, it says, should be protected in the Bill of Rights as individual rights.

In an illuminating passage, the commission says "these 'rights' can be protected without identifying a group because each individual who claims that one or more of the said values have been infringed by legislation or executive or administrative act will be able to approach the Supreme Court for protection. The court will have to determine according to the facts where such a value has been infringed. The rights of other individuals and groups will be taken into account. Therefore it

is unnecessary to define a group, even less to introduce race or colour as a distinctive characteristic."

The sting is in this last sentence. It implies the existence of another category of rights in which it will indeed be necessary to define a group, and perhaps to do so by race or colour.

The commission elaborates on the point without resolving it, saying that political group rights — that is, the question of the nature and composition of the legislature — should be protected not by the Bill of Rights but by the constitution itself. This question lies outside the commission's mandate, and the commission observes that it is a matter on which consensus must be obtained in the political arena.

That is surely true, but it does not solve the problem. This country, more than any other, has ample tragic experience of the attempt to define "groups" by racial and language characteristics. The result has been recurrent personal tragedy, and endemic communal conflict. Any attempt to define a "group" by race, we might as well accept at the outset, will run into massive objections, and will fail. Whether it will be any easier to define "groups" by language (what of bilingual individuals? Or "mixed" marriages?) remains to be seen, but it is doubtful. Hence we find it a pity that the commission did not grasp the nettle and declare "group rights" to be a constitutional impossibility.

BUSINESS

DAY

13-3-89

Dear Sir,
KIERAN O'MALLEY's analysis (Business Day, February 28) of the difference on various policy issues between the parties which are about to merge into the Democratic Party — and between factions within the PFP — adds nothing new.

Anyone who has followed the intra-opposition debate with any attention over the last five years will know that some favour working with the extra-parliamentary opposition while others have emphasised strategies aimed at unseating government via the ballot box.

Any regular Business Day reader must be aware of the vigorous debate between the social democrats and the free marketeers within the liberal opposition.

I believe O'Malley is mistaken in concluding that "pushing these differences under the nearest carpet... will further weaken the middle ground and give what should be liberal seats to the NP". Government itself has no coherent reform programme, no consistent economic philosophy and has demonstrated it

Democratic factions must unite

BUSINESS
LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

is incapable of creating the climate for constitutional negotiations aimed at genuine power-sharing.

If the opposition would stop squabbling among themselves they would discover that government is at least as divided internally and wide open to attack for its lack of policy and vision — let alone its record.

The pursuit of ideological purity is polarising and tends to result in ever-smaller splinter movements. Our liberal politicians need to take a leaf out of the British Tory party's book. They are a party held together by certain basic common values; but at various times they have been — and to some extent, still are — deeply divided over such matters as economic policy.

The ascendancy of the free marketeers under Margaret Thatcher has been the result of a sustained effort, both in intellectual debate and in political organisation, by many indi-

viduals and organisations dedicated to persuading the party rank and file to its cause. They were, however, never so foolish as to advocate an ideological purge.

The great challenge facing the Democratic Party is to build itself into a political force to be reckoned with. Nothing succeeds like success; but to succeed the Democratic Party will, as O'Malley rightly says, have to "strike a new course". The only sensible new course to be taken is to build upon that — by no means "superficial" — unifying commitment to a non-racial SA and to extend its support base beyond white politics, both within and outside Parliament.

To do so it will have to project a unifying vision of a future SA; and that will, in the nature of such things, have to accommodate the interests, hopes and fears of South Africans of all races, creeds, languages, income groups, ages and traditions. It must consciously recruit, and involve in its leadership, people of all backgrounds; so that it may through its visible membership come to be seen as a party for all SA which will attract all those citizens of goodwill who truly seek to share the great opportunities this beautiful, but tragically divided, country has to offer.

To borrow Aggrey Klaaste's term, it must be a nation-building party. It must unite people of diverse backgrounds on the basis of the beliefs they have in common, rather than those that divide them; it must attract support by inspiring people with a vision of what can be achieved together, rather than driving away

supporters by seeking ideological purity.

LIBERAL DEMOCRAT
Tongaat

13-3-89
□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,
YOUR editorial "President Botha challenges fate" (Business Day, March 6) was as hard-hitting as it was self-contradictory. On the one hand you assert that the State President has lost his power base from within the NP and has only mythical support from the people beyond the party.

Then, on the other hand, you liken him to Benito Mussolini. To anyone with the faintest knowledge of Italian history this is a gross distortion. Indeed, if President Botha were like the Duce, your editorial would have been banned and your newspaper would have been placed in jeopardy. Please keep up your criticism of government where justified, but do not support your case by citing invalid comparisons.

JOHN ORKIN
Wendywood

South Africa

by

Natal Witness - 13 MARCH 1989

The decline of the military

THERE is a rather more fundamental conflict awaiting resolution, whatever happens in the leadership struggle in Nationalist Afrikanerdom and however it may appear to have been resolved. The authority of the National Party has waned in the last decade, mainly as a result of the autocratic personality of President P.W. Botha and his invariable inclination to the military view. So the real struggle in the weeks ahead is between the security establishment and the party, with the former battling to retain the decisive influence it has gained under Mr Botha.

Just how marginal the party's role has become was brought home (quite unconsciously) by the State President himself in his extended interview with Alfred Ries of Nasionale Pers. When Mr Ries raised the question of the party congresses and their policy-making function, Mr Botha observed with lofty condescension that he would "take note" of what the congresses were saying. At times in this interview he seemed close to succumbing to delusions of grandeur. Speaking of the National Party caucus, which put him into office in the first place, Mr Botha said he saw no reason why caucus study groups should not ask to see the State President!

The shift of power and influence away from the party towards the security establishment has taken place almost imperceptibly over a



President P.W. Botha and General Magnus Malan . . . hawks in flight?

long period. The country, in theory a parliamentary democracy, has in fact been ruled by a single royal personage as a kind of medieval fiefdom providing protection to citizens in return for military service and contributions to the war chest.

To understand how this happened it may be noted that Mr Botha was himself Minister of Defence for 14 years. He came to see things very much as the military see them. General Magnus Malan, his protégé soon

succeeded him as Minister of Defence, and General Malan's "total strategy" to ward off communism's "total onslaught" soon secured the supremacy of the military and guaranteed them what they wanted in budgetary resources and clout.

There were also structural changes in government. The State Security Council, which met once a year in Mr John Vorster's time, in the Botha era became more important than the Cabinet and the caucus,

meeting frequently to take the key decisions in Angola/Namibia and other critical areas. In the shadows, and accountable to nobody, the national security management system was set up to provide a kind of alternative government right down to the grassroots.

Mr P.W. Botha has been the chairman of the State Security Council, which consists of some Cabinet colleagues and a phalanx of military intelligence, security and police chiefs. In time Mr Botha also became an all-powerful Executive President who was not even a Member of Parliament, although he could address Parliament if he chose to do so.

So the State President became steadily removed from his parliamentary caucus and dependent on a small circle of military and civilian advisers at Tuynhuis. His visits to the party congresses have been in the nature of a royal progress. While Mr John Vorster, his predecessor, had to stand for hours on congress platforms defending his policies against outspoken criticism from the floor, this was unthinkable in the presence of the imperious PW — with his terrifying rages and bullying penchant for shouting everyone down.

Can representative government and genuine civilian rule regain the ascendancy? With the SADF coming home from Angola and Namibia, Pretoria's decade of destabilisation

NATAL WITNESS - 13/3/89

THE DECLINE OF THE MILITARY.

of the sub-continent seems to be ending. South African diplomacy is emerging from the sidelines to regain the trust and confidence of the neighbour states. The limitations of militarism are evident.

As the trustees of the SA Foundation were told last week, this country is seen in the West through the eyes of our neighbours, which is why the Renamo massacres in Mozambique have been so damaging to our standing. With historical justification, Renamo is seen as an SADF surrogate, an out-of-control Frankenstein's monster.

Yet the atmosphere is changing. Already the Angola/Namibia peace is bringing South Africa handsome dividends in new perceptions abroad. An improvement in relations with Mozambique and Zimbabwe could compound this hopeful trend, reversing the outflow of capital and promoting renewed economic growth.

In retrospect, we see that the SADF overkill in Southern Africa has rebounded, shattering confidence abroad and draining the exchequer. If it were not for withdrawal from Angola and Mozambique, saving the day, the militarist malaise could have been terminal.

Now, as power changes hands at the top, there are new opportunities which we dare not let slip.

• *Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.*

South Africa

18 March 1989

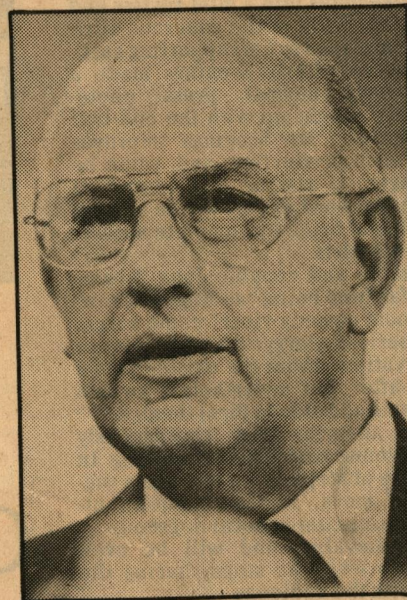
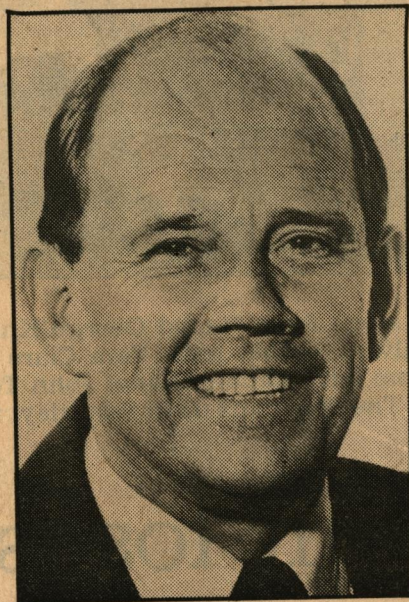
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Natal Witness - 13 March 1989

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