

**P**ERHAPS the most appropriate way of treating the topic "The Place of Criticism in a Changing Culture" is to give a kind of socio-historic-political picture of the role played by artists, and by extension their critics from the late 1960s to date.

Once, a longish time ago, I happened to be an arts critic. This was in the middle of the sixties, and it is important to understand the socio-political situation then to see how this resonated in the arts and in writing generally.

The 60s were something of a Renaissance for black writing, and I would hazard the arts in general. These were the champagne days of wine and roses when black journalists, especially, wrote with an elegance and rakish intoxication.

I use "intoxication" advisedly because the drinking in those days among journalists was almost an essential pre-requisite for the craft. I will try and explain that unhappy phenomenon anon.

Most journalists were seeing their names in print for the first time. They were in the meantime acutely conscious of the fact that while they could and did write well, they were in an abjectly depressed and subordinate position.

Their writing too had a peripheral effect on the events of the day. They also wrote in a way that parodied their lives and the lives of the unfortunate people they wrote about. That is why there was an art form almost steeped in the shebeen scene and the various boozy ways of blacks.

### **Fort**

They wrote about crime, and journalists like Henry "Hank" Nxumalo did excellent exposés on farm labour.

Photographers like Alf Khumalo, Peter Magubane and Bob Gosani shot wonderful pictures on the potato farms and some actually inside the Fort, the major Johannesburg prison.

There was a form of censorship by the State those days, but the situation was not as bad as it is today.

Journalists reinforced their ridiculous and intolerable situation as writers and oppressed people by drinking themselves to death in an angry, disdainful fashion.

I know the scene rather well, and saw some of the best writers of that time savagely taking the anger out of their system by living dangerously and writing gloriously.

**THIS is the first part of an edited version of a speech by the Sowetan's Acting Editor, Aggrey Klaaste, at the cultural festival organised by the University of Durban-Westville this week.**



# **Pathetic chaps doomed to an early grave**

SOWETAN 14/8/1987.

**FOCUS**

Casey Motsisi, Can Themba, Ronnie Manyosi, Lewis Nkosi, Nat Nakasa and many others were a breed apart in writing. They also died through overdrinking.

If people like Nat Nakasa and Bloke Modisane were killed by the stressful life in exile, people like Casey and the irrepressible Can Themba were killed by the stresses of an internal exile created by the apartheid system.

Bright, intelligent, totally hip and articulate, they were in fact killed by The system. Some of the proprietors of newspapers who got a kick out of the various boozy antics displayed by these artists, also systematically destroyed them.

I personally feel that black writers were trying in their own way to hit out at the intolerable situation they found themselves in.

Internationally the sixties were a period of political ferment, and the revolutionary ideas of people like Karl Marx, Lenin, Mao, Leopold Senghor and Franz Fanon had the intellectual

community in thrall.

Many artists and writers were caught up in this revolutionary spirit. But strangely, black South Africa seemed almost completely removed from their influence.

In the plastic arts Picasso was churning out incredible new paintings. America was hit by the Civil Rights movement. This was also something of the end of the Jazz Age and writers like Ernest Hemingway, Scott Fitzgerald and James Baldwin were being read avidly by opinion makers.

In a rather strange way the international turbulence in the arts and in politics had no direct impact on the writing of the sixties here. And let me touch briefly on this particular insular phenomenon in South Africa that is still with us today. We are, we were, so obsessed with our problems that our views are and were mostly provincial.

This paranoia, this insularity, is almost dramatically present today in the 80s when politics, that is local politics, grips us with the same intensity that football lovers agonise on the fate of say Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs.

As in soccer, people these days are so totally absorbed by their differences politically, that it touches on all parts of our lives, the arts included.

So that today you will only achieve credibility if your art, your literature, your theatre and



even your music reflects the ideologies of certain political groups.

In the last few years the situation assumed the magnitude of Stalinism when people were killed for belonging to the wrong political faction. It reminds one of the period of McCarthyism in America when there was a witch-hunt for those perceived to be leftist in their views.

South Africa is actually in a worse state than what happened in Europe and America. For while we have to fight a ruthless system that has awesome weapons at its command, both in terms of arms and the media, we are scrapping among ourselves in a manner that is really unique and quite unsettling.

### **Poet**

This is not a paper on the politics of South Africa, but what I am trying to do is reflect on the situation wherein artists and critics have to operate at any specific period of time.

But back to the 60s. There was incidentally in those days a fascinating Chilean poet, one Pablo Neruda, who is only being read by a few of us today.

Some of the things that Neruda, a revolutionary poet, said those days, have such a haunting echo of what is happening or has happened in South Africa that the similarities are almost chilling.

Neruda believed that the life of a poet must be reflected in his poetry. That is the law of the art and a law of life, he said.

I am quoting from an interview he gave for the *Writers at Work*,

series No 5:

"Certainly in the old days," he said, "everybody was scared of revolutionary ideas, particularly writers. In this decade, and especially after the Cuban revolution, the current fashion is just the opposite. Writers live in terror that they will not be taken for extreme leftists, so each of them assumes a guerilla-like position.

"There are many writers who only write texts which assert that they are in the front lines of the war against imperialism. Those of us who have continually fought that war see with joy that literature is placing itself on the side of the people; but we also believe that if it is only a matter of fashion and a writer's fear of not being taken for an active leftist, well, we are not going to get very far with that kind of revolutionary.

"In the end all sorts of animals fit into the literary forest. There is room for all in this jungle; if there is space for the elephants, who take up such a lot of room in the jungles of Africa and Ceylon, then surely there's space for all the poets."

This interview was conducted in 1970 and has a hauntingly prophetic echo in most so-called Third World countries, particularly South Africa, today.

Later he says: "The history of literary creation is as large as humanity. We can't impose an etiquette. The United States, with an overwhelmingly literate population, and Europe, with an ancient tradition can't be compared to our multitudes in Latin America without books or means of expressing themselves. But to pass time throwing stones at one another, to spend one's lifetime hoping to surpass this or that continent seems a provincial sentiment to me."

### **Oppressive**

Naturally there are differences between the situation in the Latin American countries and ours even if the oppressive systems are the same. So it might be useful to take a more tolerant view of the bitter ideological fights that we have. The major problem, I would suggest, is that we have a very low esteem of ourselves and I will try and tell you why.

The whole corpus of historical material from the West has been engaged in a kind of conspiracy that has left centuries of important, or urgently important facts from Third World history, unrecorded.

There is a Nigerian historian who simply calls himself Chinweizu, who has written a remarkable historical book entitled *The West and the Rest of Us*. I stumbled against this writer by sheer coincidence.

He wrote a very caustic piece about the Nobel Peace Prize wherein he harshly attacked the black recipients of the Prize.

He made a rather aggressive attack on Wole Soyinka and took a swipe at the late Chief Albert Luthuli and even Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It made refreshing reading.

But this book throws light on a history of the continent that I was seeing for the first time. It tells with total unromanticism the story of massive kingdoms and civilisations in Africa and how these were destroyed by the rapacious assaults of slavery and colonialism.

The picture fills a gap that I believe is crucial to the understanding of what I will call our "roots" for lack of a better term. For if we can research such material further and make it available to our children it will benefit the struggle towards peace and justice in South Africa, and perhaps in the world.



# MBEKI MAY

SOWETAN - 14 Aug. 1989

Coetsee to  
look into  
possibility

# BE FREED

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Parliament yesterday he had asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to look into the possible release from prison of Govan Mbeki.

Mr Botha also said the renunciation of violence alone would not be decisive in procuring a release from prison for long-term security prisoners.

He spelt out Government policy with regard to the release of security prisoners during the debate on his Budget vote yesterday, announcing that he had asked the Minister of Justice to look into the possible release of 76-year-old Govan Mbeki, who has been in prison for over 20 years.

## Principles

He and others would be released in terms of certain principles contained in an advisory

note issued by the release advisory council advice which coincided largely with policies followed over recent years.

The principles emphasised that the policy regarding ordinary criminals and security prisoners should be the same.

"This means that the renunciation of violence, like any other single positive factor, could contribute towards a good prognosis, but is not decisive in its own right.

## Motives

"What still has to be taken into account, is among other things, the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the

State, the nature of the crime and its motive, the duration of the sentence, previous criminal record, the composition of the personality and approach of the person himself."

SA  
Press  
Association



# WARNING ON ANC

THE mere fact that the Government had allowed Dr van Zyl Slabbert and company to "burn their fingers" in Dakar should not be interpreted as though the Government would turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Parliament yesterday.

"Let Dakar be a lesson to all South Africans," Mr Botha said during the debate on his vote.

If some South Africans did not wish to pay attention to his earlier warnings, he wished to put these warnings in plainer English, so that everyone could understand what was at issue.

"A leopard (the African National Congress-South African

Communist Party Alliance) never changes its spots. Don't judge by appearances."

It was a fact that several forces were at work, directly or indirectly, to try to wreck South Africa's future or to inflame political events in their own self-interest.

"They will persist in this way, with even greater insensitivity and

with more sophistication."

The State President said the Government would therefore have no choice but to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming victims of this process.

These would include the following:

- The consideration of stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's 'enemies';
- The consideration of amendments to legislation to restrict the flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the State and promoting extra-Parliamentary politics;
- The appointment of a joint Select Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into activities and funding of extra-Parliamentary groups;
- Just as the Government of the United States of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies.

Mr Botha said that during the past few weeks

there had been widely divergent reactions to the "low-profile" the Government had taken in regard to the Dakar safari.

He wished to remind members the Government had on several previous occasions explained its stand, on the basis of hard intelligence, with regard to safaris to meet the ANC.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa, has firmly

rejected accusations made by President P W Botha that the Dakar conference was held 'to co-ordinate strategies and to find out what the ANC expects of the democratic patriots.'

And he has challenged the Government to reveal any details it wants about the financing of his institute for a democratic alternative for South Africa.



# Sanctions: pragmatism triumphs in Zimbabwe



Mugabe . . . Cabinet tussle.

Although Mr Robert Mugabe is believed to be under pressure to act against South Africa, an early decrease in bilateral trade is unlikely, writes Chris van Gass of The Star's Pretoria Bureau.

The Zimbabwean Government had in the past weeks walked to the precipice of economic sanctions against South Africa — but had refrained from jumping.

This is how Zimbabwe watchers described the see-saw issue of whether or not Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe would finally implement his oft-repeated threat of sanctions against South Africa.

A disturbing aspect of the outcome of the sanctions tussle for Mr Mugabe appears to be the strength of the anti-sanctions lobby in his own Cabinet — not for their love of their neighbour to the south, but based purely on pragmatism, according to informed sources.

The entire sanctions issue seemed to hinge on two considerations, the sources say:

- As a member of GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade), Zimbabwe would have defaulted on a contract agreement, laying itself open to reciprocal action.

- By jeopardising the preferential trade agreement with South Africa it would have left South Africa with the whip-hand to take action of its own.

## Essential goods

Considering that in a 10-month period last year Zimbabwe's trade with South Africa amounted to

about R800 million the effects of sanctions on the Zimbabwean economy would be considerable.

In South African commercial circles the feeling is that there will not be much of a decrease in South African trade to Zimbabwe at this stage.

"The goods being sent to Zimbabwe are mostly essential goods which they cannot produce at present. Should they wish to obtain them from other sources it would mean only one thing: paying more," one businessman said.

Piecing together the puzzle of what actually happened indicates that the Zimbabwe Minister of Trade and Commerce, Dr Oliver Munyaradzi, had held closed-door discussions with the Zimbabwean Chamber of Industries and the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce.

At this meeting businessmen were informed that the Cabinet had decided to restrict trade with South Africa to a minimum. This would have been achieved with the implementation of a system of "designated countries" — affecting not only



South Africa, but other countries, including Israel, Taiwan and South Korea.

This meant that if an importer applied for permission to import goods from a particular country, other than the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries or Preferential Trade Area (the SADCC countries plus Kenya, Tanzania and other East African countries), the application would be stamped: "Not for designated country".

Urgent representations were apparently made to the Government by the CZI and the ZNCC pointing out in no uncertain terms the folly of such moves.

Mr Mugabe on the other hand, as leader of the non-aligned nations, perhaps future leader of the OAU, and vociferous proponent and catalyst for sanctions against South Africa at the most recent Commonwealth Conference, is believed to be under pressure to "deliver the goods" on sanctions, according to the sources.

The "designated countries" proposal has now been replaced by a system requiring import permits. Although import controls had been in place before these events — aimed specifically at conserving scarce foreign exchange — the actual structure and implications of the new system are still to be explained.

Sources in Pretoria indicated that whereas the old import controls were not administered on a basis of "geographic discrimination", the new import licensing system is almost certain to be applied in this manner.

How this will work in practice remains to be seen, according to commercial trade sources, who said no clear-cut information was yet available from Zimbabwe. They added

that even if there was a tail-off in trade it would be difficult to pinpoint exactly whether it was due to applying licensing procedures or as a result of Zimbabwe's acute foreign exchange shortages.

The Zimbabwe Government has, however, justified the licensing move with its long-stated desire, as part of the SADCC, to become less dependent on South Africa economically.

A further implication, informed sources believe, is that it would now give Zimbabwe the opportunity to expand trade with its Eastern Bloc allies, a desire which has always been present but which has been hampered by lack of money. It now appears certain that Zimbabwe will make more use of barter trade deals to achieve this.

How would the new system work in practice?

Should regular importers of raw materials be found to be continually importing goods from South Africa, their import permits will be withdrawn.

But such a step is expected only if it falls outside the restrictions of the GATT and the South Africa/Zimbabwe trade agreement.



# The Star

## The rhetoric and the reality

WHATEVER else he may say during the next few days in Parliament, the State President yesterday set the tone for debate. And a dismal tone it was too, full of dire warnings and nervous responses, substituting bombast for the kind of vision that might have kindled some hope in the country.

Looking hard for positive messages, it is possible to detect an about-face on political prisoners. Govan Mbeki is almost certain to be offered freedom. The curious phrasing of the announcement leaves doubt whether Mr Botha has made it more or less difficult to release Mandela and others, but it looks as though freedom is the intention. If so, it is to be heartily welcomed.

The Government's version of "reform" is to go ahead — "If one merely believed in skop, skiet en donner one would get nowhere". But the heart sinks at his reference to reform having begun with Paul Kruger and continuing through eternity.

After that, the bludgeon. The core of the problem is that Mr Botha seems sincere in his wish to talk to some black people (he reiterated his determination to launch a National Council that has been rejected in advance by almost all black leaders of repute), but he simply cannot face the fact that one day he will have to include organisations like the ANC in

his calculations. So he rounds on the "useful idiots" who went to Dakar, as if that venture — well or ill advised — is somehow the most crucial event of the year. For heaven's sake, this small expedition into understanding made no difference either way to the endemic violence we must endure. There is violence, partly because the Government cannot bring itself to share power instead of manipulating it.

Mr Botha also laid into foreign diplomats and foreign funding of local organisations. He talked of withholding passports from ANC "collaborators". He hinted at even more controls over extra-parliamentary groups. It was the kind of rhetoric that might have gone down well in the Waterberg before an election.

The irony is that Mr Botha has ducked the election due in 1989, presumably for fear of the challenge from the Right. The constitution, no less, is to be amended so that his party can cling to uninterrupted power for five more years. After nearly 40 years in office, the Government feels it owes itself that.

What it does not feel is that it owes the country the kind of urgency on reform that once permeated the speeches of the State President. It is vastly discouraging.



gust 14 1987

Expert witness gives evidence at terror trial

# ANC attractive in '70s — Lodge

*THE STAR*  
14/8/87

By Duncan Guy

The banned African National Congress (ANC) had been attractive to many black people in the 1970s because of a lack of constitutional outlets for their political and social aspirations and the effects of the 1976 Soweto uprisings, a Johannesburg magistrate heard yesterday.

Expert evidence on the ANC was given yesterday by a Witwatersrand University political scientist, Dr Tom Lodge, during evidence in mitigation for two members of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who have been convicted on two terrorism charges and one under the Internal Security Act.

Dr Lodge said Theodore Vuzimusi Bigboy Zwane (36) and Solomon Moloi Makape (34), unlike the generation ahead of them, were typical of ANC recruits when they left South Africa in 1976.

After 1973, when the economy had stopped growing, the cost of goods in black households rose by 40 percent.

"They expected more from their lives and, at the time, job reservation for whites had the impact of making it difficult for blacks to use their skills," Dr Lodge said.

The two men were literate, but they were only able to find work as labourers and, in Makape's case, influx control was another obstacle to finding employment.

"Although the education crisis at the time of the Soweto riots did not affect them directly, widespread rioting came to Zwane's township, Katlehong, where the Government's Cilliers' Commission of Inquiry recorded ten incidents."

Zwane, however, found Afrikaans a hindrance. The hearing continues.



12136

# MEC forecasts success of

By FRED de LANGE

THE concept of Regional Services Councils is a winner and a positive step for South Africa, says the Member of the Executive Council responsible for RSCs, Mr Fanie Schoeman.

Mr Schoeman announced in Pretoria yesterday that two more regional councils would be established in the Transvaal bringing the final total of regional councils in the province to 12.

Four RSC's in the Transvaal have already had their first meetings and the other eight will all be operating by October this year.

The two new regional councils in the

Transvaal will be in the Northern Transvaal and will probably be called the Northern Transvaal Council and the Bosveld Council.

Mr Schoeman said initially it was thought to establish only one council for the Northern Transvaal but after careful consideration it was decided to split the area in two.

One council will operate in the lowveld area east of the escarpment and the other will operate in the highveld area of Pietersburg, Louis Trichardt and Messina.

Mr Schoeman also announced the names of the chairmen of five of the

eight RSCs which would be established within the next three to four months.

The chairman for the Vaal Triangle which will have its seat in Vereeniging, will be Mr Gustaf du Toit, who was the Member of the Provincial Council for Vanderbijlpark from 1977 to 1986 and his date of appointment will be September 1.

The chairman for the Westvaal RSC from September 1 will be Mr Sampie Styger, a Klerksdorp town councillor and former mayor.

The Rustenburg-Marico RSC will be chaired by Mr Bun Malan, and the Highveld RSC with its seat in Middelburg will

be chaired by Mr Paul Broodryk, a former Member of the Provincial Council and a Witbank councillor.

The chairmen for Bosveld and Northern Transvaal will be Mr Fanie Ferreira and Mr Jack Botes. Mr Botes is town clerk of Pietersburg and Mr Ferreira is a member of the council of Naboomspruit.

Mr Schoeman said yesterday that all these men were appointed only on an 80 percent basis which would allow them to continue with what they were doing now. This meant that councillors who become chairmen of RSCs did not need to resign.

## RSCs P11a\*



# ANC not yet a real threat, says expert

NATAL Mercury  
14/8/87

## Mercury Reporter

THE Government still believed the ANC could be defeated militarily and would not seriously consider negotiating with the banned organisation until it posed the same threat as Zimbabwean terrorists had done in Rhodesia.

This was claimed at the University of Durban-Westville yesterday by Dr Tom Lodge, a lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, and an expert witness on the ANC in a number of recent terrorism trials.

Dr Lodge said: 'The internal insurrection since 1984 has scarcely stretched the

South African Government's resources and is probably seen by many whites as nothing more than a township problem.

'Until the ANC can present the same sort of challenge as was done by Zanu and Zapu in Rhodesia during the last few years of the war, I don't think negotiation with the ANC will play any serious role in Government thinking.'

Dr Lodge said that while it was difficult to provide an accurate assessment of the number of ANC terrorists, 'it is possible to suggest that the ANC has trained about 10 000 people in the past 10 years, of which only about 400 have

been operational within South Africa at any one time'.

He said that while captured ANC terrorists appeared highly motivated and 'brave as lions' in court, they were quite frequently extraordinarily bad on security issues.

'Many have been caught by basic carelessness over minor security matters.'

In spite of the difficulties of being forced into a 'corruptive and dependent' relationship with host countries, and the danger of low morale and indiscipline among its troops as a result of the Nkomati Accord, the ANC had not only survived exile, but strengthened its influence as a result.

Dr Lodge said open public debate on the ANC was essential, to democratise the ANC as well as South Africa.

It would be a mistake to believe the South African Communist Party (SACP) ran the ANC.

'I think it is the single most important faction within the ANC and it would be silly to say that the SACP plays only a minor role.'

But he did not believe the SACP could ever set itself up as a separate opposition movement with mass support.

Asked to comment on criticism that the ANC lacked any firm vision for the future of South Africa, Dr Lodge said: 'It is true that the leadership is eclectic, but I think it is relatively rare for any movement in opposition to produce a detailed economic and social blueprint.'



THE SOUTH African Government was undemocratic because it entrenched the policy of apartheid and denied the majority of its people the right to vote in their own country, Mr Popo Simon Molefe, general secretary of the United Democratic Front, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Molefe, who has been in the witness box for nine days, said they referred to the Government and its institutions as "enemies" because it furthered the policy of apartheid.

He told the court that the UDF was opposed to those who entrenched the policy of apartheid and sold it to the white electorate.

The UDF has white members who rejected this policy despite having the right to vote. The UDF was not against whites in general but only against those who made the laws, Mr Molefe said.

In reply to Mr P B Jacobs, SC, for the State, Mr Molefe said that the UDF's aim was to have a government elected by all its people — black and white — adding that the UDF was not using its white members "for sinister goals".

Mr Molefe and 18 others, who include senior officials of the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van

*Sowetan* 14/4/87

## Court told of UDF's policy on SA whites

Dijkhorst to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

Mr Molefe agreed that the UDF referred to the South African Government as an "imperialist" state and said Russia could also be labelled an imperialist government if it took control of another country.

Mr Molefe said the UDF did not adopt the Freedom Charter because of the different views shared by its affiliates. "We did not reject it. We still view it as a significant document," Mr Molefe said.

He rejected a suggestion by Mr Jacobs that the UDF sought to take over control of the Government. "It is our policy that all the people of this country should have a right to vote for a non-racial and democratic government," he said.

(Proceeding)

# THE GOOD AND THE BAD...



P.T.O.

# PW GETS TOUGH OVER DAKAR

CITIZEN 14/8/87.

CAPE TOWN. — Tough new measures against ANC "collaborators" leaving the country and new controls over extra-Parliamentary groups in South Africa are on the cards, the State President, Mr P W Botha, indicated in Parliament yesterday.

It was clear from Mr Botha's speech that groups such as Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa) could be severely curbed in their activities.

In addition, there may

By BRIAN STUART

be stricter control over the "off limits activities" of foreign diplomatic personnel in South Africa.

The threats of strong government action were made by Mr Botha in the House of Assembly during an attack on the Dakar trekkers and others who were "the useful idiots" of South Africa's enemies.

Speaking during the budget debate on his vote, the State President said: "Let Dakar be a lesson to all South Africans."

"The mere fact that the government allowed Van Zyl Slabbert and co to burn their fingers in Da-

kar must not be interpreted as though the government will turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC as a matter of course."

Mr Botha said that if some South Africans did not pay attention to his earlier warnings, he now wanted to put it in plain English: "a leopard (the ANC-SA Communist Party Alliance) never changes its spots."

Several forces were at work, directly and indirectly, trying to wreck South Africa's future or to influence events in their own self-interest.

TO PAGE 2





Mr PW BOTHA

## PW gets tough on trekkers

CITIZEN 14/8/87  
**FROM PAGE 1**

"They will persist in this way, with even greater intensity and with more sophistication.

"Therefore the government will have no choice but to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming further victims of the process."

The steps are:

- The consideration of "stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's enemies";
- Consideration of new laws to restrict the flow of funds from abroad where these funds were to be used for "undermining the State and promoting extra-Parliamentary politics";
- The appointment of a joint Parliamentary committee of inquiry into the activities and funding of extra-Parliamentary groups; and,
- Consideration of steps to "bring under control the staff of embassies who are acting off limits".

Mr Botha said stricter control of embassy personnel was already being implemented in the United States.

To interjections from Progressive Federal Party members while announcing the proposed measures, Mr Botha said: "I am appealing to you to help protect South Afri-

ca.

"I am appealing to Parliament. Protect yourselves against extra-Parliamentary activities financed from abroad."

Anybody going to speak to the ANC behind the government's back, or who supported the organisation consciously or unconsciously in any way, was strengthening their evil intentions.

"I am under the impression that most reasonable South Africans accept and understand these realities.

"Some well-meaning advocates of dialogue have also learnt hard lessons in Dakar, while incidents like the Johannesburg car bomb are also opening the eyes of gullible people.

"The government cannot think for adult citizens of the country, but it has the responsibility of warning the public of traps set for South Africans by foreigners and revolutionaries," said Mr Botha.

The longer "clumsy politicians and other rash victims" wooed the ANC, the longer it would take to make the ANC an accountable and responsible party, joining others around the negotiation table.

"So Dakar did not help solve South Africa's complicated problem at all. It only aggravated and protracted them," Mr Botha added.