

WEEKEND

VAN'S 10-POINT PLAN

BRUCE CAMERON
Political Correspondent

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative, and former PFP leader, has a 10-point plan to promote a "non-racial, democratic, political climate".

His strategy, which includes possible selective participation in the system, is listed in a special mini project of the authoritative Indicator of the Centre of Social and Development Sciences of Natal University.

The latest Indicator publication is based on a major analysis of the political conflict in South Africa it published in December.

Dr Slabbert, with other contributors to the latest issue, said the extra-parliamentary forces often overplayed their hands, particularly when they tried to challenge the might of the State between 1984-88.

Dr Slabbert said the South African state was least vulnerable when its coercive power base was directly challenged but the state was certainly not invulnerable because of contradictions within the system.

In taking advantage of these contradictions and with difficult and backbreaking work, mobilisation could begin.

The contradictions included:

- A white-dominated state that would increasingly depend on blacks to keep control;
- A white-controlled Government could not be seen to be acting on behalf of blacks, so little attention was given to jobless, urbanised and alienated youth who would drift into crime, homelessness and revolt;
- The state needed to recruit people to work within the system which it could not control totally such as the House of Representatives or Delegates, the homeland governments and the RSCs.

"This is the area where participation as a strategy has to be considered."

Dr Slabbert's ten guidelines to exploit these and other contradictions in South Africa society were:

- Don't dissipate popular or mass support in confronting the state where it was strongest;
- Do not weaken forces for a democratic alternative by adopting a divisive strategy. For example if an unreflective and unselective blanket sanctions campaign had this

result, then it was simple political lunacy to adhere to such a strategy;

- Never promise what could not be delivered as it would lead to frustration, neutralising many people who might undertake

necessary but mundane tasks but who refrained from doing so because they believed a miracle was around the corner;

- Take an immediate, principled and clear view on all forms of uncontrolled, irrational



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and/or authoritarian violence as when it increased in intensity, whites and even blacks turned against it and it would exhaust itself;

- Identify tensions and divisions in the state structure and engage those favourable for democratic politics. Even those hostile to democratic politics should be encouraged to put their views. When views were not challenged they thrived in an insulated, sycophantic and uncritical environment;

- Seek out business interests that were amenable to democratic politics. There was no reason why they could not play a role in promoting new jobs and becoming involved in co-operative economic ventures;

- Concentrate on grassroots mobilisation in new housing, especially where the state was involved in socio-economic upgrading;

- Focus as much energy as possible on black and white youth and their interaction with one another to deliberately break down the dialogue barriers the state wished to maintain between groups inside and outside the country. White Afrikaner youth in particular were the political lifeblood of the state's policy of control;

- Do not give priority to external factors to bring about change as too much hope placed on the external factor paralysed domestic initiative;

- Any strategic initiative that ignored the fact that the key to a successful non-racial democracy lay in the extra-parliamentary majority, was a waste of time and energy. No democracy could be sustained without organised and institutionalised support from most of its citizens.

Dr Slabbert said his guidelines were based on the assumption that the transformation of South Africa would be negotiated and bargained.

A negotiated solution was not even yet in the pre-negotiation stage. "To get there those concerned with achieving a non-racial democracy would have to penetrate, mobilise and consolidate every available site of organisational and institutional activity and demonstrate they can be controlled for democratic politics."

Earlier Dr Slabbert said many of the scenarios provided for a post-apartheid South Africa were useful to propagate certain values but bore no relation to reality.

Tricameral issue not being negotiated — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday emphasised he was not negotiating with the South African Government to make the tricameral parliamentary system work.

He said he had made this clear at a meeting with government officials yesterday, which included the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, also Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr J C B Botha Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, Mr R P Meyer Deputy Minister of Constitutional

Development and Planning, Mr I M Rautenbach adviser, Dr O D Dhlomo Minister of Education and Culture KwaZulu and Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr F T Molalose Minister of Health KwaZulu and National Chairman of Inkatha, Mr R Arenstein of Arenstein Bros. Durban and Mr S J Maphalala Lecturer department of history University of Zululand.

Chief Buthelezi is serving on a committee formed to "identify and address obstacles that impeded progress towards solving the country's political problems through negotiation".

The decision to establish the committee, Chief Buthelezi said, was made at a meeting between himself and Mr Heunis on January 9.

He said the committee had now been constituted and faced the historically important task of identifying reasons why politics of negotiation had not got off the ground in South Africa.

At yesterday's meeting, Chief Buthelezi said, he stressed his involvement in the committee was that of a Black South African.

"I also stressed I have never deviated, and will never deviate, from my insistence on the total unity of South Africa as it was brought into being by the Act of Union in 1910.

"I emphasised that I was not at all interested in negotiating in order to make the present Tricameral Parliamentary system work. I pointed out that it was the South African Government's insistence of talking within the framework of apartheid that precluded me from the politics of negotiation up to now.

"I demanded that the committee work within the acceptance of the need to break out of the limitations which produced past failures by being prepared to have an agenda from which it becomes possible to write on a slate which has been cleaned.

"I pointed out the committee would work under national and international spotlights and the National Party in this inter-

national spotlight had to convince the outside world it is going to depart from its previous approaches".

He also pointed out that if the government was serious about its commitment to negotiation it would have to "cease with the politics of prescription through which it foisted the present constitution on us as well as Regional Services Councils".

"I made the point that insistence on going ahead with Regional Services Councils was confrontational and was incompatible with the politics of negotiation.

"In my whole approach to the committee I stressed the importance of the task that the com-

mittee had been set and demanded recognition that we dare not fail to deliver the goods when we tackle something in such a way that all the world sees what we are doing," emphasised Chief Buthelezi.

Death faces ANC men unless they give evidence

By Darene Rothschild

THE four self-confessed ANC members standing trial in the Delmas Circuit Court were yesterday convicted of attempted murder and malicious damage to property for planting a limpet mine in Silverton, Pretoria, and a landmine in Soshanguve, in July 1986.

The three convicted of murder and attempted murder when judgment began on Thursday, have been given a week to change their stance of non-participation in the court proceedings and give evidence in mitigation, or face the death sentence.

They are Jabu Obed Masina, Frans Ting-Ting

Masango and Neo Griffiths Potsane, who were found guilty of the murders of a former kaNgwane Minister and his sister, and the attempted murder of his wife.

Masina was also found guilty of murdering two policemen, one of Soweto and one of Mamelodi, the latter murder to which Masango was found to be an accomplice.

All four of the accused, which includes Joseph Makhura, were found guilty of the Silverton explosion which occurred at a bus stop, injuring 17 people, and the Soshanguve blast which damaged a road grader on a road mainly used by military vehicles.

In a statement read to the court by Mr Justice de Klerk, Makhura revealed while in custody, that both bomb blasts were unsuccessful.

The Silverton limpet mine went off four-and-a-half hours later than intended. It exploded at 5.30 pm instead of 1 pm.

The Soshanguve landmine exploded three days later than intended and was meant for a military vehicle and not the road grader.

Mr Justice de Klerk urged the accused to reveal extenuating circumstances which may exist and which may have influenced them to commit murder.

He said he had heard from the lawyer for the

accused, Mr Peter Harris, that the accused's families were "beside themselves with worry".

As judgment was nearing completion yesterday relatives of the accused wept softly in the gallery. The brave chants which characterised the start of the trial dissipated within the first week and gallery attendance thinned out.

Mr Justice de Klerk said that the accused were not found guilty of the charges not mentioned during the trial.

They initially faced charges of treason and 49 other charges including murder, terrorism, attempted murder, malicious damage to property and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

They were remanded in custody till Friday when the accused will either give evidence or sentence will be imposed.

Mr Justice de Klerk's two assessors are Dr D Botha and Mr L V Kock. Advocates Mr Harry Prinsloo and Mrs Louisa van der Walt are prosecuting for the state.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

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PW Botha

THE State President, Mr PW Botha, has made his position absolutely clear.

He intends to resume his task as State President in April.

Matters of the day to which he will give his attention, together with Cabinet Ministers, individually and jointly, include constitutional adjustments, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy of the country.

Mr Botha's medical advisers apparently believe he is fit enough to resume his arduous duties and Mr Botha has made it clear this is exactly what he will do.

His decision is not a surprising one, since Mr Botha has always regarded his duty to the country as of paramount concern to him.

To have expected him to give up the Presidency if he was fit enough to resume it would have been to underestimate his dedication, determination and sense of service.

Any lesser man might have considered a mild stroke as a warning to ease up, but not Mr Botha.

He thrives on the challenges that confront him and exercises power with the strength that comes from inner conviction and faith in what he does.

Such a man is not going to be floored by illness or chivvied into retiring.

Besides, his term expires only in September, and if he is fit, there is no reason why he should retire.

However, the situation is not the same as it was before he became ill.

In the interim, at his own request, the ruling National Party has elected a new leader.

At the time, it seemed a wise move to prevent a leadership succession battle that would have been as damaging to the party and to the country as the fight for the succession when Mr John Vorster quit the Prime Ministership.

In retrospect, however, the decision to choose a new leader while there was an incumbent State President was one fraught with potential problems.

Mr Botha has all the power that comes from being executive President — and he clearly intends to exercise that power.

Mr De Klerk, as leader of the party, may determine the party's policy and direction, but the State President takes the decisions in government.

Mr De Klerk, in his first speech to Parliament and first public address as party leader, has shown that he is a man who is able to put the government's policies across with clarity and confidence.

So much so, in fact, that he has given new life to those policies and won favourable reaction both from Black leaders at home and governments abroad.

It is a matter of emphasis rather than one of principle, a matter of style rather than one of policy, that is the main difference.

But it is not a difference that need result in tension between the leader of the nation and the leader of the ruling party, provided their functions do not clash.

How the two positions are reconciled will therefore be important to the party, for if Mr De Klerk plays no major role in determining government policy, his leadership will be unlike that of any previous leaders.

He will, in essence, be a leader reduced to lesser status.

This could result in divisions and strains within the party, which it can ill afford to have, what with the challenge from the Right and the consolidation of the Left into one party.

From the nature of Mr Botha's announcement, it is obvious that a general election will not be held until later in the year.

Who leads the NP into battle will be determined closer to the time — and unless he intends to seek a further term of office, Mr Botha should leave it to Mr De Klerk, who should get his own mandate.

In the meantime, the Botha era continues and nobody should think otherwise.

We congratulate the State President on returning to good health and we hope that, in tandem with Mr De Klerk, he will take South Africa further along the road of reform, stability and progress.

One genius

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needed

Who among us has the spark to light SA's way from confusion to a workable solution?

WITH increasing speculation about another general election this year, the spotlight will continue to focus on South Africa's political system. In reviewing a recently published book, DAVID ALLEN reflects on the state of democracy in South Africa.

SOUTH Africa can never complain about being short of advice on how to sort out its problems. What is lacking though is the catalytic spark of genius it will take to precipitate out from the confusion of thought a coherent, workable system.

How far off that spark still

seems.

One delegate who attended last year's conference of the Political Science Association at which he presented a paper, commented afterwards that not even at that august meeting of fine minds was there even the glimmer of a solution: "They are still too busy," he said, "trying to agree on what the problem is."

Just how far off that spark is can be gauged when listening seriously to what intelligent, informed people have to say whenever they are put on the spot to suggest how they would change things if only given the opportunity.

"The solution lies in sharing," is an absolute favourite, irritatingly intoned as if it were an original thought.

As a statement it is undeniably true. But, because of a dearth of ideas on how to achieve it, most discussions on sharing invariably end up being about as inspiring as yesterday's mashed potato.

A measure of the current levels of insight, knowledge and wisdom running through public political debate was reflected in the millions of words that were written and spoken about last year's municipal election.

Although it was hailed by many as a "watershed election", the level of analysis was shockingly mediocre. Diffuse, evasive and lacking in any discernable coherence, it left the electorate with no clearer understanding of the issues than it had before.

Nor, I suspect, do many of the new crop of councillors.

Much the same applies to debates on other topics such as humanism, liberalism, capitalism, free enterprise, and that other oft-voiced "solution" — democracy. By the time dinner-party thinkers have done their work, these concepts are left with about as much appeal as does Chris Heunis's vision of a better South Africa.

So many words, so much argument, so little enlightenment.

Political scientists are feeling it. So are ordinary, non-academic voters. As that election, and countless others before it, have testified: the electorate will leave everything more or less the same until someone comes along with something better to believe in.

Many have seriously bid to be that "someone". Denis Beckett is among the latest. But judging by his new book, a 200-page thesis arguing that democracy is what South Africa needs, he is not going to be.

The best thing about this book is that it is well-timed. With the memory of the recent municipal elections still fresh; the announcement of a new delimitation; the on-going speculation about the next general election, Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC; and the spirited challenges to the government from the Conservative Party opposition and the Houses of Representatives, seldom has our political system been subjected to such intense public scrutiny.

But, as with so much else spoken and written today about our political plight, this book does nothing to advance the debate.

Beckett begins by stating in his introduction that he would prefer to live in a country where there is "a stolid democracy where the fights are fought by ballot box and council chamber."

"That is what this book is aimed at. That is the only thing this book is aimed at. I do not take any side of any issue. I argue solely for installing the ballot box as tyrant — a tyrant so terrible that none can prevail without it, a tyrant so powerful that each of us can find fruition with it."

"What follows is the skeleton of a principle which has been neglected in the South African debate: the extreme empowerment of the citizen."

Again, undeniably true, but naive. South African voters — bar a comparatively few exceptions — have never evinced the slightest inclination to share their ballot boxes with the rest of their countrymen which, surely, is the very basis of a vigorous democracy or, as Beckett puts it, the "supreme tyranny" of the ballot box?

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The "extreme empowerment of the citizen" is indeed a worthy ideal, and one which many South African voters claim to support.

But close questioning soon reveals that by "everyone" they usually mean everyone of *their own kind*. When the concept is expanded to include everyone else too, enthusiasm for the citizen's empowerment noticeably wanes.

At no time in the history of the Afrikaner has the citizen ever had anything approaching "extreme empowerment". The elders of family, church and state saw to that and still do. They made the decisions, took the initiative, and decided between right and wrong.

Much the same was achieved in the English-speaking community by the elders of business and the old-boy network, only with somewhat more refinement and subtlety.

In the black community, the burden of making decisions was lifted from the shoulders of the masses by chiefs and tribal elders, and in more recent times, by the political warlords of the townships.

Looked at in this way, there is

a surprising degree of cultural similarity between our various groups.

Thus have the majority of South Africans lived for centuries in the sunshine of blissful contentment, happy that their best interests were being served by "those who know best". No evidence has yet come to light showing that a majority would have it any other way.

That is why in South Africa, unlike the United States which is more or less the same age, English-speaking political opposition since 1948 has been, and still is, sadly ineffective and the most often-heard cry from the voter on our problems is: "What can I do about it?"

Rather than "extreme empowerment", the citizen has had extreme impotence and his cry is eloquent confirmation of it.

If South Africa's voting elite were the democrats they claim to be, how has the National Party been allowed to retain its unassailable position for 40 years given that it is directly responsible for the state the country is in and which they (now) concede needs to change?

How has the ruling party been allowed to get away with using

delimitation to emasculate the voters who do not support them?

How could they be permitted to deprive a majority of this country's people of the vote, of access to land and of a string of rights usually enjoyed by citizens?

Why have the country's best brains and talents — the most influential sector of our voting elite — largely kept themselves above and beyond trying to influence the status quo even though they know, probably better than most, the extent to which the country is at risk?

Why, when we have been hammered for years by the overwhelming social, political and economic problems that have been generated by our regime's policies, do only about half of the registered voters bother to pitch up on election days?

More to the point: if we are the democrats we claim to be, why have two organisations who actually have universal franchise as part of their official po-

licies — the ANC and the PAC — been bannished into exile?

We know about their attachment to violence as a political weapon. But the histories of these organisations show that violence came only after — many years after — it became clear that their attempts to talk to Pretoria about the plight of their people would get nowhere.

And why did the one-time official opposition in Parliament, the PFP, once flirt with the idea of votes for all, then change its mind rather smartly, and ever since maintain a rather wishy washy stand on the issue?

The new democratic movement claims to support universal franchise. It will be interesting, in the light of the PFP experience, to see how long they maintain it.

South African voters are wont to often compare their country with those "elsewhere in Africa" and, in speaking eulogistically about the virtues of democracy itself, to use conditions in other countries to "prove" with no small measure of self-righteousness that their hopelessly lopsided country is a democracy.

At such times it is always interesting to reflect on what

these selfsame people have contributed, through the way they have used, or not used, their electoral muscle, to the emasculation of the concept they eulogise:

- Destruction of habeas corpus.
- Censorship of the Press.
- Detentions of political opponents.
- Bannings of political organisations.
- Restricted voting.

The argument will obviously be raised, as does Beckett, that democracy implies as much the right to stay the same

as to change. It certainly does. If we were writing about the United States, it would be a telling argument. But we are not. We are writing about South Africa and that makes the difference.

We are not a country of reasonable stability and prosperity. We live continually with the threat of isolation, stagnation and upheaval. Therefore what we need — and have needed for 40 years — is change, not to keep things the same.

But if the majority of those with the right to vote are content to allow those in power to continue using legalistic methods to keep themselves in office, is there any use in preaching unbridled democracy as Beckett does?

Yes, for it is more important now than at any time that the idea of democracy is not allowed to be unceremoniously emasculated in the pincers of extremist prejudice — which it is in danger of becoming.

But preaching is not enough. South Africans have heard about every conceivable political argument, both for retaining the status quo as well as for changing it. What they need to be shown are ways *how* to change.

Before South Africa gets its catalytic spark of genius, it is going to need writers, in fact communicators across every medium, but especially writers, who can restate old ideas as if they are entirely new. Not many chances are given to interest the citizenry in an idea, especially if it is not new.

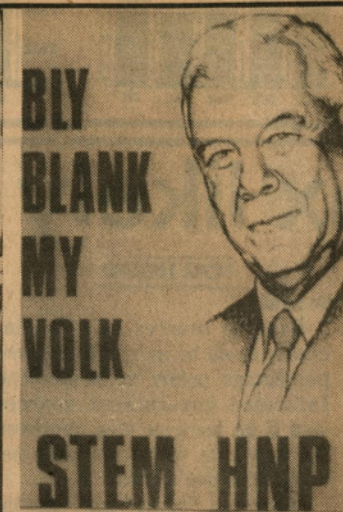
The citizenry should be deeply interested in democracy at this time and be seeing to it that it becomes a protected species in our intellectual landscape.

There is room for an inspiring book to be written about democracy in South Africa. At the moment, it is not Beckett's.

But Beckett, a journalist and editor of wide experience, deep-

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BALLOT BOX AS TYRANT: The essence of democracy is one man one vote, but South African voters have never evinced the slightest inclination to share the franchise. When they talk of sharing the vote, or sharing anything else, they usually mean sharing with their own kind.

ly thinking and deeply concerned about this country, articulate, informed, passionate and witty, as aware as is anybody else about political realities and the forces of history, could still be the person to write it.

The Fallacy of Heroes — A South African Structure too Strong to Break, by Denis Beckett (Saga Press), R19 95.

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UK press compares FW to Russia's Gorbachev

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FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Mr F W de Klerk has been portrayed as a "Gorbachev of the Southern Hemisphere" here while there has been concern at Mr P W Botha's efforts to hang on to the presidential reins.

The Daily Express yesterday devoted its editorial page to an article by correspondent John Ellison in which Mr de Klerk is compared to Russian leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

"With a little bit of luck all round he is a man with whom we might at last be able to do business," concludes Ellison.

The writer says Mr de Klerk talks privately about initiatives which will see the removal of the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts.

Mr de Klerk is quoted as talking about an internal solution acceptable to all: "That must mean a society with no second-class citizens. The lip service that is paid to a non-racial society is nonsense. There is no such thing as a non-racial society in a multi-racial country but you can have a non-racialistic country free of hatred and discrimination on the basis of race."

Ellison says this "new hero" has led to talk of a "Prague Spring" and a new beginning in Parliament.

The Independent, in an editorial yesterday, dwelt on Mr Botha's decision to return to his desk in April.

"There is already a deep frustration building in the ruling party. South Africa has been stuck in a political cul-de-sac since the reform process stalled some three years ago. The economy will not shift out of bottom gear until investors, inside and outside South Africa, see substantial political movement. There is little chance of such movement if Mr Botha returns to his office."

It gives a qualified welcome to Mr de Klerk's talk of an Indaba but says: "If Mr de Klerk encourages the idea of the Natal Indaba he may also try to woo Chief Buthelezi. But this can only be a stage in the road to eventual negotiations with other anti-apartheid movements, principally the ANC."

De Klerk: the

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IF AND WHEN Frederik Willem de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, is inaugurated as State President, it will not be in Pretoria's NGK Church in Bosman Street, as is the tradition.

It will be in the Reformed Church in Church Street.

The difference may seem slight. But it is important for it will be the first time since the NP came to power in 1949 that a member of a church other than the NG Kerk will rule the country.

And with it, a few changes in the country's leadership style will become apparent — such as a much more democratic, open and consultative way of leading, instead of the authoritarian, iron-fisted style we have become accustomed to.

He has already shown a great willingness to restart the reform engine and talked this week about a new indaba among leaders.

Some political commentators continue to read little significance (especially as regards the Reformed Church) into this.

President Botha, despite his re-

Report by KARIN BRYNARD of *Insig*, a political magazine regarded as being one of the most liberal publications in the *Nasionale Pers* stable

cent illness, is said to be still very much in charge.

Mr de Klerk's promises to inject new energy into the reform initiative seem at most to be little more than an attempt to shake Mr Botha's conservative image.

The NG Kerk is often jokingly referred to as the NP at prayer — an image of it being the official conscience of the ruling party the church is trying hard to shake.

"Doppers"

The fact that the country's possible next ruler, Mr F W de Klerk, was brought up within the strict social and moral Calvinism of the Reformed Church (Gereformeerde Kerk) will not change that.

In both the NP caucus and the Cabinet he remains one of but a handful of "Doppers" — as members of the Reformed Church are called.

The relationship between the

Reformed Church and the State, especially a new State President, might have been different during the 1970s says Stellenbosch theologian, Dr Anton van Niekerk. That was the heyday of "verligtheid" in the Reformed Church, when well-known verligtes such as Tjaart van der Walt and Wimpie de Klerk were prominent.

On the campus of the Potchefstroom University, alma mater and cradle of the Reformed Church, the 1970s were characterised by new verligte thought and movements among theologians, academics and students.

It produced people such as Theuns Eloff, the Pretoria predikant who stirred a lot of anger when he joined the Dakkar safari of 1987 and Professor Lourens du Plessis, one of the lawyers who recently met the ANC in Harare. The reformist magazine "*Woord en Daad*" (Word and Deed), which scrutinised and sharply criticised Government policy from a moral scriptural view point, was also born here.

The Reformed Church is one of the three Afrikaans Reformed sister churches, the Dutch Reformed, Reformed (Gereformeerde) and Hervormde Kerk. There is no fundamental difference between the three, apart from things such as different ways of serving Communion or singing different hymns.

But, since the late 1960s, the Reformed Church had a much more progressive image politically than its two sisters.

For example: where the Dutch Reformed Church maintains separate churches and synods for the different race groups among its flock and the Hervormers do not

difference

have black members at all, the "Doppers" adopted a single synod for all race groups.

The main reason for this lies in the fact that the RC (Reformed Church) has always kept close to the scriptures. Social issues have been evaluated strictly according to the scripture and outright political utterances and actions by the church and its leaders, such as the Dutch Reformed Church's one-time moderator, "Oom" Koot Vorster was famous for, would not have been tolerated.

This created a bigger independence of party politics and left the church much more room for moral criticism on political and social issues. During the 1930s, at the time of the poor Afrikaner underdog, the Reformed Sister Churches became very popular as champions of the underprivileged, pleading with the government for better conditions and criticising it for the neglect of the Afrikaner.

But they also saw the salvation of the poor Afrikaner in terms of strict segregation of the different race groups and were important mediators for apartheid.

Today the Afrikaner is privileged economically and many are leaving the churches behind on the

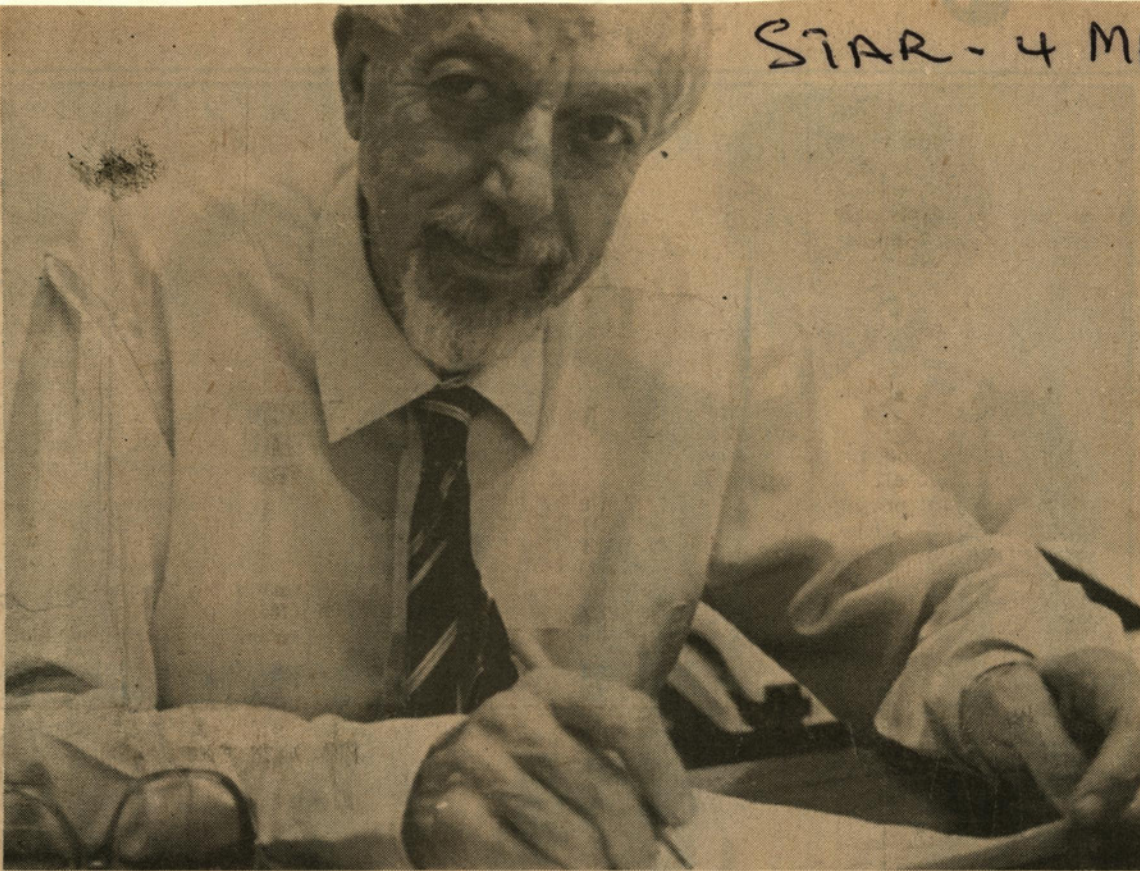
morality of apartheid, says Professor Adrio Konig, Unisa theologian.

The verligte image of the RC did not, however, sink through to grass roots level. Although the church was closely associated with people like Professor Tjaart van der Walt, there were still incidents where black people were not allowed to become members of churches on local level.

The chances of serious clashes on moral and political issues between the RC and the Government these days, seem slim.

Against this background, warns Professor Hennie Kotze of the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch University, you couldn't argue that the relationship between the RC and State could be a factor in Mr de Klerk's style of leadership.

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INDABA IRONY: Rowley Arenstein could not be legally quoted in SA because he is a listed communist, now his former jailers will themselves be forced to listen to his voice.

A silenced voice must be heard

IT has been decades since Rowley Arenstein could be legally quoted in South Africa or practise as a lawyer: he is a listed communist.

Now his former jailers, who continued to silence him, will themselves be forced to listen to his voice.

Mr Arenstein was part of a kwaZulu government delegation which met a South African Government team this week to thrash out the problems preventing the two sides from having negotiations.

He is obviously amused by the irony, though Pretoria does not share his sense of humour; their side, announced after the implications of Arenstein's selection sunk in, is to be headed by Natal National Party leader and Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha.

Commenting on Pretoria's choice, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal, Mr Roger Burrows, said if the talks were to work the Government team should have been led by someone more senior.

Arenstein is quite happy to tell anyone who asks that he is a Marxist and has been all his life. He was the son of a Ukranian mother who was a "utopian socialist", and a Lithuanian father who was a "Smuts man" from the time he arrived in South Africa.

In despair about his son's politics, he correctly predicted jail in the end. Arenstein served four

**Story and photograph
CARMEL RICKARD**

years in Pretoria Central with Bram Fischer and others for furthering the aims of Communism.

During World War 2 he was a Communist Party organiser in Natal; later, a legal adviser to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), to the African National Congress in the province and the then ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

Inkatha link

He was also the first Natal chairman of the Congress of Democrats, the white arm of the ANC-led Congress Alliance.

He was banned for 26 years, in house arrest up to 1980, and is still not allowed to practise.

Against this background his dedicated service to Inkatha strikes many observers as incongruous. For Arenstein, it is quite consistent. For him Inkatha is the ANC internally.

He knows Inkatha's president Mangosuthu Buthelezi from of old: he was his attorney in the days before he was struck off the roll, and Buthelezi would have been article to Arenstein had he not taken up the chieftainship.

Arenstein's reading of the formation of Inkatha is that Buthelezi took over leadership of kwaZulu with the blessing of the ANC and that Buthelezi's relations

with the organisation were close until 1980.

The fact that Buthelezi is a firm supporter of free enterprise does not shake Arenstein's loyalty as a Marxist.

For him backing Inkatha and support for the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba are quite consistent with his own beliefs. He believes that progress moves through stages and that there is still a long way to go to get to the socialist state he dreams of.

After apartheid will come the free enterprise phase, and he supports the Indaba and Inkatha as means of achieving this phase.

While he calls himself a Communist, he strongly disagrees with the South African Communist Party because of their choice of violence as a way of dealing with the situation in South Africa.

He also accuses them of slavishly following the Soviet Union.

He is as critical of what he — like Buthelezi — would call the ANC in exile or the external mission of the ANC, for their decision to take up violence, a decision he believes was taken undemocratically.

However, he is enthusiastic about the possible influence of a free Nelson Mandela. He believes Mandela, if freed unconditionally, would work with Buthelezi and would successfully lead a non-violent struggle for democracy.

● This article appeared in *Weekly Mail* yesterday.

Namibia's agony not over

STAA - 4 MARCH 1989

NO CELEBRATORY bonfires were lit in the black townships of Namibia after South Africa made the seemingly historic announcement of its intention to allow UN monitored elections in the territory.

Nor indeed did the right-wing parties haul out their shotguns and organise a mighty *saamtrek* in protest at the supposed threat to their cultural identity.

It is usual that when a government says that it will implement a treaty, it is believed. Not so in Namibia, where blacks have all too often learnt to live with their disappointment.

A fair and free election held in terms of UN Resolution 435 will inevitably bring about a black majority government committed to the destruction of apartheid.

This will signal the end of apartheid in its legal or *de facto* forms in schools, hospitals, municipalities, trains and swimming baths.

A one-man, one-vote

DAVID SOGGOT

The author is a Senior Counsel at the Johannesburg Bar, has appeared in major political trials in South Africa and Namibia, and is the author of "Namibia: The Violent Heritage". He now lives in London.

poll will with equal certainty herald the political might of the Owambos of the north of Namibia who number approximately half the population.

The Owambos, led by Swapo, will together with

their anti-apartheid allies in the south constitute a majority vote in the National Assembly of the future — sufficient to put an end to apartheid structures.

In the face of all this,

will whites in Namibia carry out an often-repeated threat: to gather together in a vast trek into the Republic?

Or will they resort to violence, with or without the collaboration of the Hereros, Basters and others who historically have feared the numerical paramouncy of the Owambos?

Jannie de Wet, a prominent leader in the NP of Namibia, has vowed that whites will resort to violence if their infrastructure and "civilisation" is threatened.

Hendrik van Ass, the AWB's supremo, claims massive white support and the collaboration of

NO EASY TASK: In 1980, Pretoria's Council of Ministers was received amid angry protests. November's one-man, one-vote poll will see the Owambos led by Swapo win a majority vote, but after 22 years of war fears run deep, not only among whites but also among Hereros, Basters and others who historically fear the paramouncy of the Owambos.

senior officers in the security forces.

At AWB meetings, in Windhoek, where handguns were much in evidence, seditious calls for violent resistance have been publicly expressed. They have also gone unpunished.

Chiefs

Beyond the theatre of threatened white violence there are thousands of tribal chiefs, headmen

and their followers, many of whom are armed. They and the ministers and civil servants in the 10 ethnic governments depend on the continuation of the *status quo* for their power and their income.

The clouds of civil war and the possibility of nascent MNR-type groupings are there. The churches in Namibia have recently received information that an Herero army is being

trained by Unita, and that other ethnic groups are preparing arms caches.

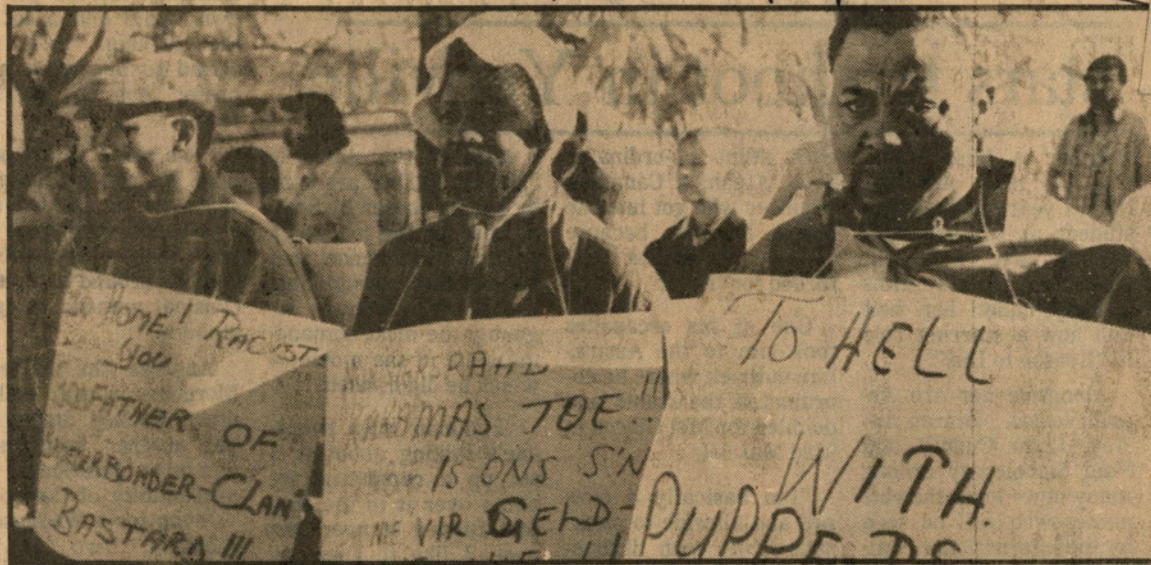
In the last 10 years a vigorous pattern of vigilante violence has established itself. DTA supporters have, for example, again and again banded together to launch attacks against Swapo and other anti-apartheid supporters.

Leading churchmen and Swapo have repeatedly complained: they have also protested that police have stood by without intervening.

Against the threats of persecution, if not annihilation, who will there be to protect Swapo and other anti-apartheid-minded activists in Swapo, NNF, NIP and other organisations?

When members of Swapo enter Namibia to participate in the elections, they will come in unarmed.

In terms of the scenario tersely sketched by Resolution 435, the SADF



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will be confined to barracks at Grootfontein.

The sole responsibility for the maintenance of law and order will then lie with 6 500 members of the police, almost half of whom are former members of Koevoet who — according to their own evidence before the courts — have been trained to “exterminate” Swapo.

From the 4 650-man UN contingent, the Blue Helmets, no meaningful protection can be expected. Their weapons will be there strictly for their own protection.

No campaign has been launched by the South African Government calling for a revision of attitudes, for reciprocal ethnic accommodation and an acceptance of the outcome of the elections.

This contrasts strongly with the Government's campaigns prior to the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference in 1975. The mandarins of the administration were then sent out to prepare whites for the multiracial talks in the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference.

On the contrary, the contemporary emphasis in the media relates to the dangers of Resolution 435.

In terms of the provisions of Resolution 435, all apartheid laws must be repealed. The homelands-type governments, as well as the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) must be dissolved.

Uncontradicted reports from Windhoek, however, indicate that the administration intends to keep thousands of civil servants, ministers and politicians on the payroll, including 25 000 SWATF troops who have been trained to perceive Swapo as the enemy and kill them.

Army

This will create a vast informal army available to be deployed against the political opponents of apartheid.

The assumption is widely made that the South African Government, having opted for an unmonitored election, will not dare to flout world opinion by calling off or sabotaging the electoral

process. This perception involves, perhaps, a fundamental misunderstanding of the essential quality of South African strategy over Namibia.

After years of fighting off UN advances, the South African Government, in 1978, abruptly accepted the notion of elections in terms of Resolution 435 and declared — just as it is doing at the present moment — that there should be no delays in the run-up to the election.

In a monumental rebuff to the world body, the Government appointed its own administrator-general to control the elections, giving the UN Special Representative no role other than the power to certify that the elections were not fair and free.

The South Africans also insisted that their police alone should be responsible for the maintenance of law and order during the elections. For obvious reasons Swapo hesitated before accepting such conditions.

Then, when Swapo was about to accept, South

African forces struck at a refugee camp at Kassinga, deep in Angola, killing over 600 young refugees and injuring many more.

The South Africans said that they were guerrillas; photographers from the international Press and churchmen claimed, however, that they were refugees.

Photographs of mounds of bodies of young men and women clad in ordinary clothing provided eloquent corroboration.

What was the timing and quality of the attack on Kassinga about if not an attempt to “persuade” Swapo to keep out of the elections?

After that the South Africans, through their administrator-general, unilaterally formulated and promulgated election regulations.

Outrage

When UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim announced that the UN forces would comprise 7 500 men, the South African Government declared itself to be outraged, as if the Blue Helmets were to be invaders rather than monitors.

Finally, on September 20 1978, Prime Minister John Vorster, announcing his resignation, also declared South Africa's rejection of the UN plan.

The Government has experimented with various constitutional forms but has never faced up to the possibility of an independent black majority government.

From Prime Minister Vorster onwards, South African spokesmen have vowed that the Swap flag would not fly over Windhoek.

Has Pretoria really undergone a revolution in its thinking?

Times have admittedly changed since 1978. There has been the emergence of the Reagan-Gorbachev rapprochement.

The war is more expensive and the SADF is apparently no longer able to wreak havoc in Angola without risking appreciable white losses.

But for the South African Government, obsessed with its own survival at the polls in South Africa, have times changed that much?

Namibia's agony not
over.

4 March 1989



SIAR - 4 MARCH 1989

SA and Swapo: ballot battle looms

WINDHOEK — The guns have gone quiet in South Africa's 22-year border war against Namibia's South West Africa People's Organisation, but hostility continues.

Thousands of Swapo guerillas and hundreds of South African troops died in the conflict that started in 1966.

Now the two sides must co-operate under United Nations supervision to bring independence to the territory that was their battleground. The confrontation has moved from the bush to Windhoek, where the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) is set to begin monitoring the territory's transition to independence from April 1.

"We know what sort of thing to expect from South Africa and we will appeal to the United Nations. But if we feel our

BRENDAN BOYLE

position is being jeopardised in we will take to the streets for mass protests," said Swapo Chairman Mr Dan Tjongarero.

South African Administrator General Mr Louis Pienaar, who will rule Namibia until independence, acknowledged there would be many disputes before independence is achieved.

"There are many rapids to be negotiated. Make no mistake, it will not be easy," he said.

He has met with leaders of Namibia's many moderate black and white political parties, has no plans to make contact with Swapo.

"If they want to see me they can ask for a meeting, but I think they should rather speak to the UN representatives here," he added.

South African officials pri-

vately acknowledge they expect Swapo to win more than half the vote in the November 1 election of an assembly to draft an independence constitution.

Their goal is to prevent Swapo from gaining the two-thirds majority that would allow them to adopt their own socialist constitution without compromise.

With only 75 000 whites among Namibia's estimated 1.5 million people, Pretoria will need some black support to prevent a sweep by Swapo.

Pretoria is setting up reception centres for returning guerillas and refugees without consulting Swapo or the United Nations. Some are in former South African army camps.

Broadcasting remains under Mr Pienaar's control with no immediate plans to give Swapo or other left-wing parties ac-

cess to the airwaves.

Mr Pienaar has outlined election rules that would give voting rights to hundreds of demobilised South African soldiers and civil servants and, by raising the voting age from 18 to 21, disenfranchise thousands of young blacks loyal to Swapo.

Though his proposals must be approved by the UN he said he had prepared a draft proclamation as a basis for negotiation with UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

In Windhoek's township of Katutura, Mr Tjongarero vowed to fight every South African attempt to manipulate the November election.

"They are already out there, spreading horror stories about Swapo and what they say a Swapo government would mean. We have to follow behind them, telling people the real story." — Sapa-Reuter.

Death faces ANC men unless they give evidence

By Darene Rothschild

THE four self-confessed ANC members standing trial in the Delmas Circuit Court were yesterday convicted of attempted murder and malicious damage to property for planting a limpet mine in Silverton, Pretoria, and a landmine in Soshanguve, in July 1986.

The three convicted of murder and attempted murder when judgment began on Thursday, have been given a week to change their stance of non-participation in the court proceedings and give evidence in mitigation, or face the death sentence.

They are Jabu Obed Masina, Frans Ting-Ting

Masango and Neo Griffiths Potsane, who were found guilty of the murders of a former kaNgwane Minister and his sister, and the attempted murder of his wife.

Masina was also found guilty of murdering two policemen, one of Soweto and one of Mamelodi, the latter murder to which Masango was found to be an accomplice.

All four of the accused, which includes Joseph Makhura, were found guilty of the Silverton explosion which occurred at a bus stop, injuring 17 people, and the Soshanguve blast which damaged a road grader on a road mainly used by military vehicles.

In a statement read to the court by Mr Justice M de Klerk, Makhura revealed while in custody, that both bomb blasts were unsuccessful.

The Silverton limpet mine went off four-and-a-half hours later than intended. It exploded at 5.30 pm instead of 1 pm.

The Soshanguve landmine exploded three days later than intended and was meant for a military vehicle and not the road grader.

Mr Justice de Klerk urged the accused to reveal extenuating circumstances which may exist and which may have influenced them to commit murder.

He said he had heard from the lawyer for the

accused, Mr Peter Harris, that the accused's families were "beside themselves with worry".

As judgment was nearing completion yesterday relatives of the accused wept softly in the gallery. The brave chants which characterised the start of the trial dissipated within the first week and gallery attendance thinned out.

Mr Justice de Klerk said that the accused were not found guilty of the charges not mentioned during the trial.

They initially faced charges of treason and 49 other charges including murder, terrorism, attempted murder, malicious damage to property and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

They were remanded in custody till Friday when the accused will either give evidence or sentence will be imposed.

Mr Justice de Klerk's two assessors are Dr D Botha and Mr L V Kock. Advocates Mr Harry Prinsloo and Mrs Louisa van der Walt are prosecuting for the state.

ANC opposes call to shun Mandela's wife

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 19/02/89

By Quraish Patel

and Sarah Sussens

THE African National Congress, accusing the Government of infiltrating agent provocateurs into the controversial Mandela United Football Club, has called on anti-apartheid bodies not to shun Winnie Mandela.

Yesterday's unprecedented call contrasts directly with a statement earlier this week by former United Democratic Front publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, and Cosatu president, Elijah Barayi, asking "progressive" members of the community to distance themselves from Mrs Mandela, who was denounced for allegedly dragging the family name into dishonour.

It is expected the organisations involved in opposing Mrs Mandela will probably heed the ANC's appeal for unity and soften their harsh attitude towards Mrs Mandela, but community outrage appears to have reached fever pitch, sources said.

A major obstacle to the ANC peace call is the release of a secret document — apparently sent to ANC president Oliver Tambo — detailing the alleged activities of the "football club" bodyguards and Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement. This document could be used to try to split the anti-apartheid organisations, sources say.

Organisations which challenged Mrs Mandela and her alleged involvement in abductions and assaults on five youths, might refuse to change their attitude to Mrs Mandela.

Sources said until the full impact of the ANC statement sank in among the community, it would be difficult to predict how conflict surrounding Mrs Mandela and ANC support for her would be resolved.



A TOP-SECRET document, published by the **Sunday Tribune** today, reveals a remarkable picture of the role played by WINNIE MANDELA (above) in the Stompie scandal.

The document, drawn up by the Mandela Crisis Committee and sent to the ANC in Lusaka, details confrontations with Mrs Mandela.

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Mrs Mandela's bodyguards have been linked to the disappearance and death in January of teenage activist "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei and the abduction of four others. A "democratic movement" statement said the community had been outraged by the "reign of terror" allegedly carried out by members of the team.

The ANC statement, released in Lusaka yesterday, appealed to anti-apartheid groups not to ostracise Mrs Mandela.

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ANC opposes call to shun Mrs Mandela

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But it also condemned the "unbecoming activities" of club members and said Mrs Mandela had been "left open and vulnerable to committing mistakes which the enemy exploited".

Because Mrs Mandela had ignored ANC advice to disband the club "we consider it necessary to express our reservations about Winnie Mandela's judgment in relation to the Mandela Football Club", said the ANC.

"We have every reason to believe the club was infiltrated by the enemy and most of its activities were guided by the hand of the enemy," the statement said.

Meanwhile, it has been established that Mrs Mandela has not left the country and apparently has no intention of leaving.

Widespread speculation — fuelled by a police statement — that Winnie Mandela was "missing" and had left or was on the verge of leaving South Africa has been denied categorically by Professor Fatima Meer, a close friend of the Mandela family.

Professor Meer — author of Nelson Mandela's biography *Higher than*

Hope — said yesterday: "I am in contact with Winnie Mandela and I know that the thought of leaving the country has never entered her mind."

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela has advised Winnie to "remove" all the youths from her home in the wake of the "Mandela football team" crisis.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who held a five-hour meeting with Mrs Mandela yesterday, announced at a Press conference last night he would ensure this was "acted upon promptly".

He also announced the fifth youth who had been abducted with the other youths had been released into his care for urgent medical attention.

The youth, Katiza Cebekhulu, is to lay charges against Methodist minister Paul Verryn.

Police launched a murder investigation in connection with the "football club" and the team's alleged involvement in the abduction and murder of 14-year-old Stompie. Police impounded Mrs Mandela's minibus for forensic tests.

Nats to bar new apartheid signs

NATAL MERCURY - 4 MARCH 1989

Buthlezi
NATAL
says RSCs
MERCURY
move jars
4 MARCH 1989
with talks

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has told representatives of the South African Government that their insistence on going ahead with regional services councils is 'confrontational' and incompatible with the politics of negotiation.

He released a statement yesterday relating to talks held at the first meeting of the Joint Committee of the South African and KwaZulu Governments in Cape Town on Thursday.

Dr Buthelezi said he had emphasised to the Government delegation, headed by Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis that he had never deviated, and would never deviate, from his insistence on the total unity of South Africa as it was brought into being by the Act of Union of 1910.

'I emphasised that I was not at all interested in negotiating in order to make the present tri-cameral parliamentary system work,' he said.

'I pointed out that it was the South African Government's insistence of talking within the framework of apartheid that precluded me from the politics of negotiation up to now.'

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government is planning to force Conservative Party-controlled councils in Boksburg and Carletonville to take down the apartheid signs they have re-erected at the towns' amenities.

Far-reaching retrospective changes to the Separate Amenities Act, that will bar the re-erection of apartheid signs once they have been taken down and stop any new signs being put up, are under consideration.

This could spell the end for attempts by CP councils to turn back the clock and segregate amenities.

As the Government moves to try to woo the Labour Party into supporting a number of key constitutional amendments, several beaches, including the controversial King's Beach, are to be opened.

This means that Durban's Addington and South beaches could well be opened after Easter.

In other important developments:

☐ President Botha has given the green light for a shuffle in the Ministers Council in the House of Representatives; and

☐ The Labour Party has blocked a proposed constitutional amendment that would have allowed a black to be appointed to the Cabinet.

The Government has hinted at action to prevent the Conservative Party from re-erecting apartheid signs since the municipal elections on October 26 but it has not spelled out just what it plans.

Now, as part of a package to woo the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party and win support for a change to the constitution which would mean the creation of extra seats in Parliament, the Government plans to act.

King's Beach

The rest of the package would be the opening of facilities, including King's Beach, scene of Mr Hendrickse's now famous swim on January 2 1987 which lead to his resignation from the Cabinet.

Since then, relations between the Government and the Labour Party and its leader have been distinctly cool.

In spite of the moves by the Government on the Separate Amenities Act there is to be no compromise from Labour with Mr Hendrickse stating last night that the Act must be repealed.

'We don't just want King's Beach open, we want the whole coastline,' he said.

The decision by Mr Botha to allow Mr Hendrickse to reshuffle his Ministers Council after refusing permission for more than a year, is one more indication of the Government's wish to negotiate.

Significantly, the decision was made by Mr Botha when he visited Cape Town on Thursday for talks with a number of Cabinet ministers.

The bad news for the Government is the Labour Party's refusal to accept an amendment allowing a black to become a member of the Cabinet.

Explaining the party's decision, Mr Hendrickse said the decision was a result of talks with leaders of black constituencies who were opposed to moves to appoint blacks to the Cabinet.

'Power would still rest with whites,' he said, adding 'I was in the Cabinet for two years, so I should know'.

Mr Hendrickse, who has met Mr Heunis on a number of occasions since the beginning of the year, is scheduled to hold talks with Mr F W de Klerk, the newly elected leader of the National Party, on Thursday.

● See Page 2