

Apartheid's new face

An exposé of De Klerk's first 100 days



***“Don't expect me
to negotiate myself
out of power”***

F. W. De Klerk

Published by the Anti-Apartheid Movement



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Contents

Foreword	2
Introduction	3
De Klerk's First Hundred Days	7
Appendix One	19
OAU Declaration on the Question of South Africa	
Appendix Two	24
National Party Five Year Plan	

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Foreword

I heartily commend this document to all those who are called upon to think and speak about the present situation in South Africa.

In my experience the difficulty of persuading people that apartheid is still in place and that De Klerk has done nothing to destroy it is because there is a lack of information about De Klerk's use of power.

Apartheid is irreformable in the same sense that slavery is irreformable. It has to be abolished and totally destroyed before any meaningful negotiations can take place about the future of South Africa. All of us involved in the struggle over so many years realise that there is, as Walter Sisulu has said, 'a strategy of delay'. In other words by using rhetoric and by publicising gestures like that of allowing all races to use the same beach, or allowing 80,000 to attend a rally to hear those recently released from life imprisonment, it is hoped that the international community will settle back and believe that great events have happened. As we all know this strategy has led apartheid not only to remain in place but to destroy thousands of those in South Africa and the Front Line States who have been its victims.

This document itself spells out the ways in which the present regime in Pretoria is continuing the strategy. I hope it will be widely read and widely used in spreading the truth, and therefore hastening the end of the apartheid regime.

t Trevor Huddleston CR .

The Rt. Revd. Trevor Huddleston CR

Introduction

On the 15th August 1989, Frederick Willem de Klerk was sworn in as the Acting President of the Republic of South Africa. A month later he became President, following an election from which the overwhelming majority of the country's people were excluded.

The regime and its allies have sought to depict the advent of De Klerk's rule as signifying the dawn of a new era in South Africa. In his first 100 days of office, De Klerk has made a number of carefully timed and well publicised moves to give substance to this image. He has released eight prominent anti-apartheid leaders; allowed a number of marches and rallies to take place; and announced that South Africa's beaches would be opened to all races.

In the same 100 days, according to incomplete reports from media sources still heavily restricted under State of Emergency legislation, at least 2,517 people were arrested in the course of anti-apartheid demonstrations and labour disputes (*an average of 25 per day*); 212 people, including many prominent anti-apartheid leaders, were detained without trial; and several dozen were placed under severe restriction orders involving 12-hour house arrest and preventing them from taking part in any political activities. These restrictions have made leading activists easy targets for assassination and at least three assassination attempts have been made against restrictees.

In the same 100 days, at least two dozen meetings and rallies were banned. In August alone, 46 meetings and protests were broken up by police. At least 32 people have been killed by police and 271 have been reported injured by the police in incidents. Political trials have continued and the first political execution under De Klerk took place just nine days after he was invested as State President. During this period there have been at least six ongoing trials against newspapers accused of breaking media restrictions and a leading anti-apartheid newspaper, *New Nation*, was threatened with closure on November 2nd.

This catalogue of repression does not take full account of many parts of the country, mostly rural, where there has been a virtual state of war and reporting has been patchy at best. The Peulton area of Ciskei and parts of Natal are the most glaring examples.

Behind De Klerk's glossy new image the reality of apartheid remains unchanged. The pillars of apartheid remain in place, backed up by a plethora of security laws and State of Emergency regulations. De Klerk's intention is not to create a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa, but only to alter the face of apartheid so as to relieve pressure on the regime and ensure the continuance of white domination in another form.

Speaking after his investiture as State President, De Klerk claimed that 'our goal is a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa'. In the white election that led to De Klerk assuming the Presidency, De Klerk's ruling National Party and the liberal opposition Democratic Party (DP) together polled nearly seventy-five percent of the vote. De Klerk claimed this as a 'clear and resounding' mandate for change.

In a revealing moment during that election, De Klerk clearly indicated the type of change which he was looking for. Attacking the Democratic Party, whose votes he later claimed as a mandate for his ideas of reform, he admitted that: 'The DP want majority rule at all levels of government . . . If you accept majority rule, you must vote DP. In stark contrast to the DP stands the National Party.'

De Klerk's manifesto, the National Party Five Year Action Plan, contains the reality behind De Klerk's lofty-sounding promises. 'The National Party' it states 'aims to create a new South Africa in which every South African can live in safety, prosperity and dignity, as an individual and *as a member of a group.*'

Behind the De Klerk image lies the concept of 'group rights', the latest in a long line of National Party euphemisms for continuing white minority domination. The Five Year plan stands in total contrast to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) declaration on the Question of South Africa, adopted in Harare one week after De Klerk became Acting President.

The Harare Declaration calls for South Africa to be 'transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country' and spells out the pre-conditions that the regime must accept in order to create a climate in which a negotiated end to apartheid can be achieved. The declaration calls for the regime, at the very least, to:

- ▷ Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;
- ▷ Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisation and persons;
- ▷ Remove all troops from the townships;
- ▷ End the State of Emergency and repeal all legislation, such as, and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and,
- ▷ Cease all political trials and political executions.

Measured against this standard, De Klerk's false promises are exposed. Far from meeting the aspirations of the people for a free and democratic South Africa, De Klerk's actions are intended to create an illusion of change, to give the impression of dismantling apartheid, whilst ensuring that the fundamentals of white rule are entrenched.

None of the pre-conditions of the Harare Declaration have been met by De Klerk and none of the changes which he has made for the benefit of his international image have addressed the fundamental issues raised in the declaration.

There remain at least 700 political prisoners despite the releases of Walter Sisulu and seven other anti-apartheid leaders. The Human Rights Commission estimates that if political prisoners in the 'independent' homelands are counted, this figure could rise to some 3500. As well as Nelson Mandela, who remains imprisoned, there are 14 political prisoners serving life sentences.

Anti-apartheid activists continue to be detained without trial, both under State of Emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act. On the day of the white election, there were at least 420 people held in detention, twenty of whom were children.

Most of those released from detention are placed under heavy restriction orders that involve 12-hour house arrest, require individuals to report twice a day to police stations and prevent them from taking part in any political activities. A total of at least 656 people are under restriction orders, including Walter Sisulu's son Zwelakhe, editor of the threatened *New Nation*, and many other leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Whilst the release of Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders has led to unprecedented shows of support for the organisation, the ANC itself remains banned, as do more than 90 other organisations. The government has repeatedly stated that the ANC remains banned and

that it is illegal to promote its aims. Immediately after the Soweto rally addressed by the ANC leaders, De Klerk announced that he was ordering an investigation into alleged breaches of security laws at the rally. Amongst the reasons cited for the threatened closure of the *New Nation* is that it had promoted banned organisations. An article about Albertina Sisulu's meeting with Mrs Thatcher was cited as promoting the UDF, which is virtually banned. Another anti-apartheid paper, *Vrye Weekblad*, is being prosecuted for promoting a banned organisation, the ANC, over an advertisement it carried for the Soweto rally.

Troops still operate in the townships and De Klerk has ruled out any cuts in the size of the security forces, responsible for the death of 29 people on the day of the racist election alone. Allegations by a 'Coloured' policeman, Gregory Rockman, that riot police behaved like '*wild dogs*' failed to lead to any prosecutions, despite a judge describing the activities of riot police as 'despicable and illegal'. Rockman has been ordered to move to a remote part of the country and faces disciplinary action for talking to reporters about police brutality. On 13th November, Rockman and fifteen others were arrested in a protest at the decision to transfer him from the 'Coloured' township of Mitchell's Plain.

The State of Emergency remains in place and its provisions have been extensively used by De Klerk to detain people without trial; ban and break up meetings, rallies and marches; and attack the independent anti-apartheid press. Legislation designed to circumscribe political activity remains in place, including the Internal Security Act which has been used to detain people without resort to State of Emergency provisions. An amendment to the Public Safety Act allows the Law and Order Minister to declare 'unrest areas' where emergency powers can be exercised without a formal State of Emergency. On 18th August, the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act came into force, requiring anti-apartheid groups to disclose the source and purpose of all funds received from the abroad. Six days later the EC-funded Kagiso, Trust received a warning under the Act.

Political trials and executions have continued. Barely a week after De Klerk's investiture as State President, Mangena Jeffrey Boesman was executed despite appeals from a number of governments and the UN. The Human Rights Commission reported in October that there were 317 ongoing political trials. On November 10th, three ANC members were jailed for a total of 63 years. Four days later a white farmer, Johannes Leeb, received a sentence of just eight years for beating to death a black labourer who had refused to get him some beer.

The De Klerk regime has attempted to portray itself as willing to negotiate about the future of the country with black leaders. Its failure to create a climate in which free political discussion can take place shows that the regime is interested only in negotiating a future of continued white domination. De Klerk remains committed to 'group rights' and is not prepared to countenance real change leading to a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Nor has De Klerk removed any of the pillars of apartheid. As the US Administration reported in October, 'politically, economically and socially, apartheid remains intact'. Whilst beaches have been opened to all races and De Klerk has announced his intention to repeal the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, hospitals and schools remain segregated; the Group Areas Act, which determines where people can live on the basis of their racial classification, is still in force; and the regime has given no indication that it is prepared to repeal the Population Registration Act, which classifies every South African by race.

The regime remains committed to the homelands policy, whereby black South Africans are considered to be citizens of black homelands rather than of South Africa itself. Residents of the Peulton area, protesting against their forced incorporation into the Ciskei, have been attacked by police who have bulldozed homes and beaten and arrested hundreds of villagers.

Beneath the froth of De Klerk's brave new words, the depths of apartheid remain undisturbed. De Klerk's actions indicate that the regime is desperate to promote a new image in the international community, but not at the cost of surrendering white domination. What moves there have been address neither the pre-conditions for negotiations, as set out in the Harare Declaration, nor the pillars of segregation law.

The regime's tactics are to change the form of apartheid in order to maintain the substance of white minority rule. What changes there have been have come about because of internal and external pressures, which the regime has not been able to withstand. Indeed the National Party's Five Year Plan complains that 'boycotts, sanctions and disinvestment have *strained the economy of the country* and of every business and household'.

The lesson of De Klerk's first hundred days is that those pressures must be massively stepped up if the 'new South Africa' is to be free, non-racial and democratic.

De Klerk's First Hundred Days

'When they made the pass laws more vicious they passed a law called the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act. When they excluded blacks from universities they called it the Extension of Universities Act. When they razed Sophiatown and forcibly removed its people they did it under the Resettlement Act . . .'

'Over the years we have come to hear new phrases and new terminology in efforts to make apartheid acceptable. The ruling class and its apologists have talked of 'participatory democracy', 'constellation of states', 'pluralism', 'training and development', 'high road and low road', the abomination of 'own affairs' embedded in the tricameral system. And now we are hearing more and more about what they call the 'broadening of democracy' . . .'

'In the Seventies the Prime Minister asked for six months to get rid of apartheid, while one of his ministers proclaimed that apartheid was dead. Now the new president has introduced a five-year plan and his supporters in South Africa and the Western world are appealing for President De Klerk to be given a chance. In the envisaged five-year plan the rulers categorically refused to accede to the demand of the oppressed people for one person one vote in a united South Africa . . .'

'You don't have to be a political scientist to see what the rulers are aiming at. Stripped of all the nice phrases, they are simply once again changing their language and style in order to perpetuate white domination.'

Ahmed Kathrada addressing the October 29th 'ANC rally' in Soweto: his first public speech in over 26 years.

De Klerk is sworn in as acting President. He rules out the release of Mandela before election, and warns that the government will not tolerate any disruption of the elections or any threat to law and order. Youth activist Eric Gumedé, 26, assassinated in KwaMashu, Durban, four days after being released from detention.

15th August 1989
Day One

Thirty-five students from the Butterworth Training College in the Transkei homeland are detained by the police. Two journalists from the anti-apartheid *Weekly Mail* are charged with breaches of the State of Emergency regulations.

16th August 1989
Day Two

At least 25 people arrested for breaking restriction orders as part of the defiance campaign. Four members of UDF executive arrested for 'public violence'. Protest march led by Archbishop Tutu stopped by police. More than 30 high school students, aged 15-18, face public violence charges in the Western Cape and over and over 50 are detained in the clampdown on unrest in Coloured and other suburbs.

17th August 1989
Day Three

18th August 1989
Day Four

UDF leader Mohammed Valli detained under State of Emergency regulations. Police ban rallies to be held in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. At least 19 injured when police open fire on a crowd of black strikers at a pie factory. The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act requires anti-apartheid groups to disclose the source and purpose of all funds received from abroad.

19th August 1989
Day Five

Police use rubber whips and batons to break up protests against segregation of beaches in the Western Cape. Ten people arrested and demonstrators whipped at a protest against Mohammed Valli's detention. 16 arrests at protest against rebel rugby tour. Police open fire on a bus queue in Nyanga, injuring 4. Louis Mnguni, UDF Northern Transvaal President, detained under State of Emergency.

20th August 1989
Day Six

Rally at University of Witwatersrand broken up by police. COSATU regional conference for Eastern Transvaal cancelled after police forced delegates to disperse. Rallies in Sebokeng, Durban, Kimberly, Grahamstown and Queenstown banned or broken up. Scores of people arrested or detained.

21st August 1989
Day Seven

Anti-Apartheid Groups say that 'scores' of leaders have been arrested, as reports indicate that some leaders have gone into hiding to escape detention.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok promises stiff sentences for those who defy restriction orders. Police state that they '*will crack down mercilessly*'. Six arrests at University of Natal when banned organisations declared themselves unbanned.

The Organisation of African Unity adopts the Harare Declaration on the Question of South Africa.

22nd August 1989
Day Eight

Police use tear-gas and rubber bullets against school-children in Cape Town. 113 hospital staff arrested for picketing in Cape Town city centre. Twelve End Conscription Campaign activists detained for tying yellow anti-war ribbons around lamp-posts in Durban. MDM activist Graeme Bloch detained after attending 'schools crisis' meeting.

23rd August 1989
Day Nine

Police tear-gas Archbishop Desmond Tutu and several hundred schoolchildren leaving a church.

Lecturers and students at the University of Western Cape are attacked by police with tear-gas and whips.

24th August 1989
Day Ten

Twenty women from Black Sash are arrested on a peaceful demonstration. Police attack 2000 students with tear gas and rubber bullets.

Lawyer Willie Hofmeyr is detained protesting against the rebel rugby tour and starts a hunger strike.

The Kagiso Trust receives a warning under the Foreign Funding Act.

25th August 1989
Day Eleven

At least six people injured by shotgun pellets as police open fire on school and university students in two separate clashes. A rally to protest at the Rugby match scheduled for August 26th in Cape Town is banned. Twenty-five Transvaal Indian Congress members are arrested for staging a silent placard protest in Pretoria.

26th August 1989
Day Twelve

Police arrest 30 people for protesting against the rebel rugby tour

28th August 1989
Day Fourteen

Police tear-gas hundreds of black pupils protesting against racially segregated schools. UDF executive member Trevor Manuel is detained under State of Emergency regulations. He starts a hunger strike.

Two hundred people, including Leah Tutu, are arrested when police break up a Christian women's protest.

30th August 1989
Day Sixteen

Three school pupils wounded by police shotgun fire when police fire at youths inside West Ridge High School.

Paarl activist Tsidi Moahluli, detained during the day, joins Trevor Manuel and Willie Hofmeyr on hunger-strike. Willie Hofmeyr is hospitalised with suspected internal bleeding.

The offices of COSATU and NACTU are raided and 11 COSATU members arrested. COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo is arrested and his home searched.

31st August 1989
Day Seventeen

Students in Cape Town and at Witwatersrand University attacked with tear-gas and rubber bullets. Three students reported to have been shot by police in Mitchell's Plain.

Five activists, including UDF leader Curnick Ndlovu, a member of the UDF delegation that met President Bush, are detained in Durban. Twelve Cape Town reporters arrested for protesting against State of Emergency censorship. Over 100 anti-apartheid activists are detained during the day.

Bulelani Ngcuka, detained on the 28th, starts a hunger-strike.

The Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police bans all meetings until September 7th organised by the Riverlea Human Rights Committee, the Transvaal Anti-Presidents Committee (sic) and the Standing for the Truth Campaign.

Archbishop Tutu arrested with 35 others protesting at an earlier police attack when clerics were whipped and beaten.

1st September 1989
Day Eighteen

Police detain 100 academics protesting against repression. Three hundred students are detained in Durban in 3 separate incidents.

More than 500 people, including the Revd. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, are arrested as police attack protestors in Cape Town with water cannon and whips.

2nd September 1989
Day Nineteen

The army is called in to prevent a 'Rally for Peace' in Soweto's Jabulani stadium. Total arrests during the day total about 1000.

Archbishop Tutu, Allan Boesak and Beyers Naude are among those arrested when police break up a protest meeting at a Methodist Church in Cape Town.

4th September 1989
Day Twenty-One

Riot police attack 1000 students at Durban University with tear-gas and water cannon. At least ten people are injured and thirty arrested.

Police attack a march of 500 students and workers in Stellenbosch with whips and dogs. Fourteen journalists are arrested for holding a peaceful placard protest. Archbishop Tutu reconsecrates St. George's Cathedral, saying that police had desecrated it.

5th September 1989
Day Twenty-Two

Racist Elections: 2.1 million whites vote, of whom 48% support the National Party. Over 3 million workers and students support a stay-away call in protest at the election.

6th September 1989
Day Twenty-Three

At least 29 people are killed in protests against the elections, over 200 injured. De Klerk states that the authorities had handled the defiance campaign '*with aplomb and in a very reasonable way*'.

Doctors who treated children wounded during election violence described their injuries as '*barbaric and stomach turning*'.

According to a report by the Human Rights Commission, at least 420 people were in detention without trial on election day, including at least 253 held under State of Emergency regulations: 20 of these detainees were under the age of 18.

- 7th September 1989**
Day Twenty-Four
- Police break up a demonstration at the University of Cape Town with whips, rubber bullets and tear-gas.
- 8th September 1989**
Day Twenty-Five
- The *Weekly Mail* reports that hunger-striker Willie Hofmeyr won an agreement from police not to remove him from Groote Schuur Hospital to Kroonstad prison, following an urgent application to the Cape Supreme Court to restrain police from moving him from hospital until he regains his health.
- Hofmeyr is to be unshackled from his hospital bed only when under the direct supervision of a policeman. Hofmeyr's weight was reported by his sister to have fallen below 50kg. Fellow hunger-strikers Trevor Manuel, Bulclani Ngcuka and Tsidi Moahluli have all been moved to Grootvlei Prison, where black hunger-strikers are held. According to the Human Rights Commission, *'it is very difficult to monitor the condition of hunger strikers once they are in Grootvlei, and this step is seen as an attempt on the part of the government to isolate and suppress the plight of the hunger strikers.'*
- 10th September 1989**
Day Twenty-Seven
- Police use tear-gas on protestors, led by Allan Boesak, marching from Bethel church to the local police station.
- 11th September 1989**
Day Twenty-Eight
- The police are ordered to stop using sjamboks (whips) because of the 'negative reaction from the public, also internationally'. Use of batons, tear-gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition is allowed to continue.
- 12th September 1989**
Day Twenty-Nine
- Senior SWAPO official Anton Lubowski is assassinated outside his Windhoek home. Police announce that the inquiry into allegations of brutality made by policeman Gregory Rockman, who described riot police as acting like 'wild dogs', will be headed by a policeman rather than a judge.
- De Klerk describes the proposed rally protesting at the killing of at least 29 people on election day as *'unfortunate'*, but announces that it will be allowed to go ahead.
- 13th September 1989**
Day Thirty
- Over 20,000 march peacefully through Cape Town as security forces stay away. UDF Leaders Titus Mafolo and Mandla Dlamini are arrested and held in solitary confinement under State of Emergency regulations. Arrests bring the total detained in September to 250 and since the beginning of August to over 2000.
- 14th September 1989**
Day Thirty-One
- De Klerk appointed President.
- Police use rubber bullets, birdshot and tear-gas against youths in the Cape Town region.
- 16th September 1989**
Day Thirty-Three
- De Klerk names his cabinet. Much criticised Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok retains his post, as do nearly all of P.W. Botha's senior ministers.
- South African police defend the practice of shackling prisoners to their hospital beds: *'Shackling is not a form of torture, it is simply designed to restrain the patient who is considered dangerous and/or prevent escape.'* Among those shackled during the week was hunger-striker Willie Hofmeyr, whose condition was reported to be deteriorating.
- 20th September 1989**
Day Thirty-Seven
- Investiture of F. W. de Klerk as State President. He says that 'a watershed' had been reached on the road to 'a totally changed South Africa.' No specific promises are made of changes.
- 21st September 1989**
Day Thirty-Eight
- Union federations COSATU and NACTU call a nationwide consumer boycott to protest at harsh new labour laws.
- Seven hundred and eighty white men pledge to defy conscription, the largest ever challenge to the country's mandatory military service. Four women organisers from the End Conscription Campaign detained by police at their homes in the morning. Police

block a student march in Johannesburg and arrest 38 from a march in Durban. Detainee Willie Hofmeyr, on hunger strike for 26 days, is reported to be in an 'extremely serious' condition, having lost 20kg since starting on hunger-strike.

22nd September 1989
Day Thirty-Nine

The Cabinet obtains a court interdict to ban the proposed march by Women Against Repression in Pretoria on the 23rd, bringing to an end the tolerance of protest marches. Police raid 12 COSATU offices throughout the country.

Detainees at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl have announced their intention to go on a concerted hunger-strike if not released by the end of the month. Attorneys acting for the detainees were investigating allegations of 'serious assaults during interrogations.' According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), at least 51 people are held under the Internal Security Act, 41 people under section 29 and 10 under section 31, in addition to those detained under State of Emergency regulations.

23rd September 1989
Day Forty

Riot police break up the women's march in Pretoria. Over 150 people are arrested as the offices of COSATU are besieged and raided. Two rallies organised by white supremacist groups are allowed to take place.

Willie Hofmeyr is released from detention after 28 days on hunger strike, but severely restricted. Human rights groups say that at least 250 people remain in detention.

25th September 1989
Day Forty-Two

Anti-Apartheid activists from the women's march broken up on the 23rd accuse police of beating up several of those who had tried to march on Union Buildings and vow to march again.

Revd. Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, calls De Klerk's five-year plan an attempt to find out how the 'racists could further entrench themselves in power.'

27th September 1989
Day Forty-Four

More than 20,000 march on the security branch head-quarters in East London calling for the release of detainees and the ending of the State of Emergency.

Rand Supreme Court orders the police to return documents and video recordings seized in a raid on 31st August on COSATU headquarters and the home of its secretary-general, Jay Naidoo. The police return the documents, and immediately reconfiscate all but one. Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of the KaNgwane homeland, on his way to meet Mrs Thatcher, says that there is 'no chance' that credible black leaders will agree to negotiations with Pretoria until De Klerk's actions match his words, '*but one would not expect a great leap of change from Mr de Klerk. We expect him rather to crawl toward reform.*'

Johannesburg City Council scraps petty apartheid. The *Financial Times* (30.9.89) reports that black leaders are unimpressed, 'nothing that while "grand apartheid" remains in force — in the form of segregated residential areas and schools — all other change is irrelevant'.

28th September 1989
Day Forty-Five

A 16-year-old girl is killed and two youths injured when police fire birdshot at hundreds of protestors in Pietermaritzburg. Commonwealth Secretary-General 'Sonny' Ramphal, expresses scepticism about De Klerk's willingness to make fundamental changes to apartheid. He accuses De Klerk of 'shedding credibility in a manner reminiscent of woodland water fowl that shed their plumage when the mating season ends.'

29th September 1989
Day Forty-Six

The first political execution takes place under De Klerk. Despite appeals from the United Nations and a number of governments and organisations, the regime hangs Mangena Jeffrey Boesman. Boesman had been refused leave to appeal after a trial in which he had been represented only by a state-appointed counsel. He was condemned on the decision

of a single, white, judge. An end to political executions is one of the preconditions laid out by the Organisation of African Unity for genuine negotiations to end apartheid.

1st October 1989
Day Forty-Eight

In the largest of the marches to date in South Africa, some 70,000 people demonstrate in Botshabelo against plans to incorporate the township into QwaQwa, the smallest and poorest of grand apartheid's artificially-created homelands.

In a further blow to the homelands system, Major-General Holomisa, 'President' of the Transkei, states at a mass funeral that he would hold a referendum on whether the 'independence' of the Transkei is to continue.

UDF Acting General Secretary Mohammed Valli is released from detention, but placed under twelve hour house arrest and banned from taking part in the activities of the UDF or Transvaal Indian Congress.

2nd October 1989
Day Forty-Nine

President De Klerk states that he disapproves of talks taking place between the ANC and leading Afrikaner intellectuals, reported to include the President's brother and the Rector of Stellenbosch University.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok attends a ceremony to mark the incorporation of the municipal police into the South African Police. The change affects 256 local police forces comprising nearly 9000 men.

3rd October 1989
Day Fifty

The US Administration, in its annual report to Congress on South Africa notes that: 'Despite recent positive signs, we are unable to report tangible progress towards the end of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa . . . Politically, economically and socially, apartheid remains intact.'

A spokesman states that the government's position on the ANC had been 'made very clear' by President De Klerk who condemned talks between South African groups and the ANC. The HRC reports that 231 people are being held in detention under State of Emergency legislation, including nine children in Natal.

4th October 1989
Day Fifty-One

A magistrate's court in Cape Town hears evidence against two senior white officers of the Cape Town riot squad. Witnesses included a street hawker who said that he was attacked whilst serving a customer and a law student who described seeing a woman whipped across the breasts without provocation.

5th October 1989
Day Fifty-Two

Former detainee Mr Buti van der Merwe, who works for the South African Council of Churches, is shot by unidentified gunmen and said to be fighting for his life. The SACC state that restrictions imposed on him by the government made him a sitting target. Curnick Ndlovu, UDF leader and member of the UDF delegation that met President Bush, is released from detention into heavy restrictions. Police use tear-gas to disperse University of Fort Hare students in the Eastern Cape.

6th October 1989
Day Fifty-Three

De Klerk agrees to meet church leaders Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak and Frank Chikane. Tutu states that 'church leaders are convinced that [Mr De Klerk] does not appreciate the far-reaching nature of the steps he must take to get negotiations off the ground. Negotiations which exclude the legitimate leaders of our people, which the government appears to be contemplating, *will intensify, not resolve*, our country's crisis.' COSATU reports that since the beginning of September, thirteen of its meetings have been banned or restricted and more than twenty offices of the federation and its affiliates have been raided.

10th October 1989
Day Fifty-Seven

De Klerk authorises the release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, including Oscar Mpetha and all the remaining Rivonia trialists except Nelson Mandela.

The official statement confirmed that Mandela's release was 'not now on the agenda'. The Mass Democratic Movement welcomes the releases as 'first and foremost a massive victory for the people of South Africa . . . Their release is also a victory for the international solidarity movement, the sanctions campaign, and the campaign to isolate the regime.' At least 700 political prisoners remain in prison including 15 serving life sentences. Many of these are prominent ANC or UDF leaders. The Human Rights Commission estimates that there may be a further two to three thousand political prisoners in the 'independent' homelands. Over 70 political activists are on death row. Some 675 people are under restriction orders. There are at least 121 detainees without trial.

Residents of Mpumalanga township, Natal, protesting against the role of police in the violence that has killed some 2000 people over the last two-and-a-half years in Natal, are dispersed by tear-gas, stun grenades and birdshot. Forty-two people are arrested and two injured.

Church leaders Desmond Tutu, Frank Chikane and Allan Boesak meet De Klerk and present him with a memorandum outlining six steps for the government to take immediately to facilitate negotiations. De Klerk refuses to give any specific promises of change: the church leaders complain after the meeting that his reform programme remains 'vague'. Addressing a press conference after the talks, De Klerk is sharply critical of the churchmen. The South African Broadcasting Corporation recognises that the released ANC leadership are regarded as 'authentic black leaders'. The ANC remains banned, as do some 90 other anti-apartheid organisations.

Thirty-five relatives of political prisoners awaiting execution on death row present a memorandum calling for the reprieve of condemned prisoners and for South Africa to adhere to the Geneva Convention regarding prisoner-of-war status for combatants of liberation movements.

A Cape Town magistrate hearing allegations against two senior white police officers, brought by Coloured policeman Gregory Rockman, describes the activities of riot police as '*despicable and illegal*' but finds the two accused *not guilty*. Rockman describes the verdict as ridiculous and says that it provides patrols with a licence for beating people up: 'If there was no State of Emergency, then they would have been found guilty'. He warns that the trial may have been rushed to pave the way for disciplinary proceedings against him. Major-General Jaap Joubert, who headed the inquiry into Rockman's allegations, admits that anything Rockman said in the witness stand could be held against him.

Police fire tear-gas at youths gathered outside the Sisulu home to celebrate his imminent release. A seven-year old child, hit by a canister, is taken to hospital. Winnie Mandela says that her husband will not be released this year. A report issued by the UN Economic Commission for Africa reveals that South Africa's policies of 'military aggression and destabilisation' against the frontline states have cost them \$60 billion and led to the loss of one-and-a-half million lives, including *750,000 children under five*.

Marches originally intended to protest at harsh new labour laws turn into celebrations at the release of the eight leaders and bring 150,000 onto the streets. In Johannesburg, police surround the university campus where the marchers were attending a rally, and declare the meeting illegal, demanding that the protestors disperse.

Walter Sisulu and the seven other leaders are freed. Sisulu brands the releases as a 'half measure' as they exclude Nelson Mandela and reiterates the pre-conditions necessary before negotiations are possible.

11th October 1989
Day Fifty-Eight

12th October 1989
Day Fifty-Nine

13th October 1989
Day Sixty

14th October 1989
Day Sixty-One

15th October 1989
Day Sixty-Two

- 16th October 1989**
Day Sixty-Three
- A bomb explodes at the home of UDF and Transvaal Indian Congress executive member Dr Ram Bulbulia.
- 17th October 1989**
Day Sixty-Four
- Walter Sisulu calls for an intensification of sanctions: 'Ever since Mr Vorster promised change within six months we have been made endless promises ... all within that magic period of six months. *The pressure must be sustained.* There must be no chance for the government to retreat and reorganise its strategy of delay.' The ANC has fundamental differences with the government over the issue of democracy, he says: 'Democracy: I know it to be only one thing — a vote for all. There is no other democracy.'
The Mmabatho Supreme Court convicts 143 men of treason following an abortive coup attempt in the Bophuthatswana bantustan in February 1988.
- 19th October 1989**
Day Sixty-Six
- South Africa's smear operation against SWAPO of Namibia is exposed by ANC undercover operative Susan Dobson: 'it became clear that South Africa was trying, on a consistent basis, to *subvert the electoral process.*'
The Human Rights Commission report that there are at least six detainees on hunger strike. One of them, Amos Masondo, COSATU regional education secretary, is believed to have spent more time in detention in the last four years than anyone else.
- 20th October 1989**
Day Sixty-Seven
- Ciskei bantustan President Lennox Sebe declares a State of Emergency in three areas after police attack Peelton residents protesting against incorporation into the Ciskei. A former South African policeman, Butana Almond Nofomela, facing imminent execution on unrelated charges, alleged in an affidavit supporting a last minute stay of execution, that he killed Griffiths Mxenge, a prominent anti-apartheid activist, on the orders of senior officers. He further claims to have been involved in eight other political killings on police orders, all but one against members of the ANC. In response to the application, made on Nofomela's behalf by Lawyers for Human Rights, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee granted a stay of execution, pending investigation of the allegations, which identified a number of senior security officers.
- 21st October 1989**
Day Sixty-Eight
- A spokesman for Johannesburg municipality security division describes a wolf-alsation cross-breed being used by the police as 'an excellent working dog'. The wolf-dog, which has five times the strength of an alsatian and has been used for crowd control, is reported to loathe black people, as a legacy of training by the army.
- 22nd October 1989**
Day Sixty-Nine
- Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, condemns 'arrogant Americans' and the Commonwealth for setting 'unrealistic and presumptuous' timetables for meaningful change. The Commonwealth summit in Kuala Lumpur unanimously finds that there '*has been no action to indicate that the new South African government was prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid.*'
- 23rd October 1989**
Day Seventy
- The South African government announces that Govan Mbeki, imprisoned with the Rivonia trialists released on the 15th, and himself released two years ago, will be allowed to attend a rally at the weekend to welcome the released leaders. His restriction orders are to be lifted for one week.
- 24th October 1989**
Day Seventy-One
- Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee hints that the government may lift the State of Emergency. Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission points out in response that an amendment to the Public Safety Act empowers the Law and Order Minister to declare local 'unrest areas' where emergency powers could be exercised without the State of Emergency being formally in place.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warns that police will be on hand at the weekend's rally welcoming the freed leaders and will take action if anyone should try to further the aims of the still banned ANC.

25th October 1989
Day Seventy-Two

Police in the Ciskei bulldoze dozens of homes in a crackdown on villagers fighting to retain their South African citizenship. Mike Kenyon, a human rights lawyer, describes the village in the Peclton district as looking *'like a tornado has been through there'*. Some 10,000 residents have been fighting against inclusion in the Ciskei homeland since last October. Local churchmen report that hundreds of the villagers have been beaten, detained and evicted.

26th October 1989
Day Seventy-Three

Figures released by the Human Rights Commission show at least 60 people are in detention. A total of at least 656 people, including many leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement, are under restriction orders.

27th October 1989
Day Seventy-Four

Over 80,000 pack Soweto's football stadium to hear the freed ANC leaders call for elections on the basis of universal franchise and the abolition of apartheid. Walter Sisulu warns that 'to date, we see no clear indication that the government is serious about negotiations. All their utterances are vague.' Govan Mbeki, although present at the meeting, is not allowed by his restriction order to speak, and his speech is read by a leading trade unionist. Bophuthatswana bantustan authorities prevent more than 1500 people from attending the Soweto rally by refusing permission for buses to leave the territory. Taxis are also turned back by the police.

29th October 1989
Day Seventy-Six

Police say that they are studying videotapes of the previous day's rally to see if security laws were breached. Amongst other restrictions, South Africa's security laws make it illegal to promote the aims of any of the ninety-plus banned organisations, including the ANC.

30th October 1989
Day Seventy-Seven

Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, the 'Coloured' policeman who accused riot squad officers of brutality, is ordered to move to a remote part of the country and faces disciplinary action over his allegations.

31st October 1989
Day Seventy-Eight

South Africa threatens to intervene in the Namibian independence process, claiming that SWAPO is massing forces on the Angolan border. Foreign Minister Pik Botha calls a press conference to make the claim on the basis of alleged UN radio broadcasts picked up by South African security forces. UN officials later dismissed the alleged intercepted broadcasts as crude forgeries and accused South Africa of attempting to interfere in the independence process. Botha subsequently admitted that the alleged intercepted signals were false.

1st November 1989
Day Seventy-Nine

The Human Rights Commission reports that there are at least six ongoing trials in the Transvaal and Western Cape involving alleged breaches by newspapers of media restrictions under the State of Emergency, Internal Security Act and prisons regulations. Journalist Derick Jackson of the community newspaper Saamstaan is arrested in connection with an article referring to the light sentencing of two policemen found guilty of murdering activist Andile Kobe.

Representatives of COSATU, the UDF, church organisations and human rights bodies call for an independent judicial inquiry into attacks on the lives and property of anti-apartheid activists at a press conference called to mark the six months that have passed since the assassination of David Webster, in relation to which no arrests have been made. The call is also supported by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Lawyers for Human

Rights, the Black Sash, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and the National Union of South African Students.

2nd November 1989
Day Eighty

Home Affairs Minister, Eli Louw, threatens to close the leading anti-apartheid newspaper *New Nation*. Amongst the 32 items, including four reader's letters, cited as 'subversive propaganda' is an article on the meeting between Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Thatcher, claimed to be promoting the aims of the banned UDF. Eleven of the articles cited are accused of giving positive publicity to banned organisations including the ANC. The paper is given just two weeks to make representations. If these are rejected it can be closed for up to three months. The *New Nation's* editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, son of Walter Sisulu, is under severe restrictions which ban him from working for it.

In a speech at a military parade, De Klerk promises to investigate apparent contraventions of security laws at the rally to welcome the freed ANC leaders. *He rules out any reduction in the size of the security forces*, the largest in Sub-Saharan Africa: 'A battle-ready Defence Force and police force will be maintained by this government at all times.'

A South African police brigadier named as head of a secret death squad, responsible for the death of anti-apartheid lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, retires.

3rd November 1989
Day Eighty-One

The twelve countries of the EC protest at the repression of villages in the Peulton area of the Ciskei, stating that the problem is entirely South Africa's responsibility. The South African Foreign Ministry refuses to act, claiming that the Ciskei homeland is a 'neighbouring republic'. The villagers were protesting at their forced incorporation into the Ciskei, recognised only by South Africa.

A limpet mine explosion rocks the house of Professor Gerry Coovadia, former Natal chair of the UDF and executive member of the National Medical and Dental Association. An anonymous phone caller threatens to 'blow him to Boksburg.'

White political prisoners launch a campaign to end apartheid in jails and say that they want to be integrated with their fellow black political prisoners.

5th November 1989
Day Eighty-Three

Police detain prominent Cape MDM activist Cheryl Carolus under State of Emergency regulations.

7th November 1989
Day Eighty-Five

Durban City Council votes to remove 'whites only' signs from beaches. A resolution to open the beaches to all races is defeated by the votes of National Party councillors. Thus 'non-whites' still cannot use the beaches, but will no longer be informed of this.

De Klerk agrees to hold talks with the neo-nazi AWB leader, Eugene Terreblanche.

Police rebel Gregory Rockman forms a trade union for police and prison officers: 'We are ready for any onslaught that the white authorities might try to launch against us', he says after the inaugural meeting. Rockman faces 10 charges of breaking police regulations after talking to reporters about police brutality and refusing to halt publication of a book about his struggle against discrimination.

The editor of the South African Press Association is required to appear in court to disclose details of the receipt of a press release by COSATU. The BBC reports that the editors of South Africa's two largest circulation papers face prosecution over adverts their papers carried for the Soweto 'ANC lives' rally.

9th November 1989
Day Eighty-Seven

The anti-apartheid newspaper *New Nation*, threatened with closure, holds a press conference. Walter Sisulu takes the place of the editor, his son Zwelakhe, who is banned and prohibited from working for the paper.

South African authorities interfere in planned talks between Nelson Mandela and the recently released PAC leader Jeff Masemola. When Masemola arrived at Mandela's prison home, he was told that a long meeting would not be allowed.

Three white ANC members are jailed for terms totalling 63 years in a trial that had seen ANC leaders, released from life sentences imposed for similar charges, embrace the accused in court. A sociologist had testified that the three would be regarded as heroes if they were paraded through Soweto.

10th November 1989
Day Eighty-Eight

The *New Nation* reports that two activists have been arrested and charged with furthering the aims of the ANC. Nogozwana Guqu was arrested at an MDM meeting for wearing a sticker bearing the ANC logo and the slogan 'ANC lives — ANC leads'. Lolo Kekane, who already faced charges of breaking his restriction order, was charged for wearing a T-shirt with the same message. Security police have visited the home of a former detainee after studying video film of the Soweto rally. Reports from the Eastern Cape indicate that policemen are confiscating 'ANC lives' T-shirts and taking the names of those wearing them.

Gregory Rockman is arrested leading a protest at plans to transfer him from the 'Coloured' township of Mitchell's Plain, where he had accused riot police of brutality. Four other policemen and eleven prison warders were also arrested on the same demonstration. Police later announced that Rockman had been suspended from duty.

13th November 1989
Day Ninety-One

The Times reports that the Department of Home Affairs has rejected an appeal by Dr Franz Auerbach, a leading educationalist, to be classified simply as a human being under the Population Registration Act: '*your request just to be designated a human being cannot be entertained.*'

Johannes Leeb, a white farmer, receives a sentence of just eight years for beating to death a black labourer who refused to get him some beer. Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights said that the sentence 'follows a disturbing tendency in which white-on-black violence is not sufficiently punished. There have been many such cases and they discredit the entire judiciary.'

Further evidence emerges of South African police murder squads having responsibility for the assassination of leading anti-apartheid activists. Captain Dirk Coetzee says that police officers ranked up to general had been involved in the killings, which had taken place both inside and outside South Africa. De Klerk announces to the President's Council that 'all beaches will henceforth be accessible to all members of the public . . . Insofar as ordinances or local by-laws exist that are in conflict with this decision, the relevant authorities are requested to act in the spirit of this decision.' He adds that the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is to be abolished 'as soon as possible', but adds, without further explanation, the qualification that: 'There are a few sensitive areas where the institution of fitting measures will be necessary when the act is repealed.'

14th November 1989
Day Ninety-Two

The Mass Democratic Movement welcomes the decision to scrap beach apartheid as a victory for the defiance campaign, but points out that the *Group Areas Act*, segregating residential areas, and the *Population Registration Act*, which classifies all people into racial groups, remain, as do *segregation of schools and hospitals*. South African-paid 'South West Africa Police' arrest two SWAPO members of Namibia's newly-elected Constituent Assembly.

16th November 1989
Day Ninety-Four

In Johannesburg, police arrest 15 members of the Alexandra Action Committee who were trying to deliver a petition protesting at official refusal to legalise a planned march. Police shoot two people inside the Germiston offices of COSATU while breaking up a meeting of striking railway workers. Scores of workers were injured after police attacked them with batons.

17th November 1989
Day Ninety-Five

Police admit the existence of a secret base named in allegations of hit squad activities against anti-apartheid activists. Anti-apartheid leaders, diplomats and church groups call for an independent judicial inquiry, condemning proposed police investigations as '*the system investigating the system*'. President de Klerk's spokesman, Caspar Venter, says that he knows of no action or statement by de Klerk on the matter.

Police shoot dead a striking railway worker on the strike's 13th day. The state-run Transport Services fires 400 strikers, making a total of 2,300 fired since the strike began. According to Lawyers for Human Rights, a total of 42 death sentences have been handed down this year for political offences.

20th November 1989
Day Ninety-Eight

Police shoot at a crowd of 3500 striking railway workers, injuring 15.

22nd November 1989
Day One Hundred

The Independent Board of Investigation into Informal Repression, a body set-up by the South African Council of Churches, presents fresh evidence corroborating claims that the police operate hit squads responsible for the murder of leading anti-apartheid activists. The report turned up medical reports and details of attacks not previously reported or investigated.

Appendix One

Declaration of the OAU Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa Harare, Zimbabwe — August 21, 1989

1. Preamble

- 1.0** The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all.
- 2.0** We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can be neither peace nor justice.
- 3.0** Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa.
- 4.0** With regard to the region of Southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes, in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time. Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by South Africa of all the countries in the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion and other means, should end immediately.
- 5.0** We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in Southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been liquidated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country. We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now, to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the people of Southern Africa, our continent and the world at large.
- 6.0** We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa. For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in South Africa, the Pretoria regime must abandon its abhorrent concepts and practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of so much property in the countries of Southern Africa.
- 7.0** We reaffirm our recognition of the rights of all peoples, including those of South Africa, to determine their own destiny, and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society. The Organisation of African Unity remains committed to do everything possible and necessary, to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective. We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of South Africa.

- 8.0** We make these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed. We believe that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society. No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent. The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles. Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa. It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples. It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of Southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children. This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality.
- 9.0** We have therefore supported and continue to support those in South Africa who continue to pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interests of all humanity.
- 10.0** While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means. We know that the majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so.
- 11.0** The positions contained in this Declaration are consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto two decades ago. They take into account the changes that have taken place in Southern Africa since that Manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community. They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth.
- 12.0** Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens.
- 13.0** In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder. We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished forever.

II. Statement of Principles

- 14.0** We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing

preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.

- 15.0** We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their overall struggle, to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the aims of the negotiations.
- 16.0** We are at one with them that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order based on the following principles, among others:
- 16.1** South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state.
- 16.2** All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.
- 16.3** All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters' roll.
- 16.4** All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism.
- 16.5** All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.
- 16.6** South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of all before the law.
- 16.7** South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary.
- 16.8** There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.
- 16.9** A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.
- 17.0** We believe that agreement on the above principles shall constitute the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution which shall enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African and world community of nations.

III. Climate for Negotiations

- 18.0** Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created. The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.
- 19.0** Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least:
- 19.1** Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;
- 19.2** Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons;
- 19.3** Remove all troops from the townships;
- 19.4** End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as, and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and,

19.5 Cease all political trials and political executions.

20.0 These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place — an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country. The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations.

IV. Guidelines to the Process of negotiation

- 21.0** We support the view of the South African liberation movement that upon the creation of this climate, the process of negotiations should commence along the following lines:
- 21.1** Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.
- 21.2** Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new Constitution by agreeing on, among others, the Principles enunciated above.
- 21.3** Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new Constitution.
- 21.4** The parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order.
- 21.5** The parties shall agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution; govern and administer the country, as well as effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.
- 21.6** After the adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated.
- 21.7** For its part, the international community would lift the sanctions that have been imposed against apartheid South Africa.
- 22.0** The new South Africa shall qualify for membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

V. Programme of Action

- 23.0** In pursuance of the objectives stated in this document, the Organisation of African Unity hereby commits itself to:
- 23.1** Inform governments and inter-governmental organisation throughout the world, including the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commonwealth and others of these perspectives, and solicit their support.
- 23.2** Mandate the OAU Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, acting as the representative of the OAU and assisted by the Frontline States, to remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question.
- 23.3** Step up all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaign in the rest of the world in pursuance of this objective.
- 23.4** Intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa: in this regard, immediately mobilise against the rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign debt; work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and

the full observance by all countries of the arms embargo.

- 23.5** Ensure that the African continent does not relax existing measures for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa.
 - 23.6** Continue to monitor the situation in Namibia and extend all necessary support to SWAPO in its struggle for a genuinely independent Namibia.
 - 23.7** Extend such assistance as the Governments of Angola and Mozambique may request in order to secure peace for their peoples; and
 - 23.8** Render all possible assistance to the Frontline States to enable them to withstand Pretoria's campaign of aggression and destabilisation and enable them to continue to give their all-round support to the people of Namibia and South Africa.
- 24.0** We appeal to all people of goodwill throughout the world to support this Programme of Action as a necessary measure to secure the earliest liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Appendix Two

Proposed Five Year Action Plan of the National Party

(The manifesto of the National Party for the 6 September elections, published in June 1989).

This Five Year Plan of Action is based on the Programme of Principles and the 1987 Election Manifesto of the National Party, as well as the complete Plan of Action of 1989, all of which remain relevant and valid and, indeed opened the way for this Five Year Plan of Action.

The Goal:

The National Party aims to create

A new South Africa in which every South African can live in safety, prosperity and dignity, as an individual and as a member of a group.

The new South Africa must

- ★ be a democracy in which
- ★ no individual or group dominates or is dominated
- ★ the independence of the judiciary is upheld and honoured,
- ★ civilised norms apply,
- ★ a dynamic economy thrives, based on free enterprise,
- ★ everybody lives in safety and harmony, and
- ★ as good neighbours to the international community

In short A South Africa to be proud of!

Commitment:

We, as the National Party, commit ourselves

- ★ to pursue energetically each of the cardinal points of this ideal for the future;
- ★ to show real progress within the next five years in respect of each of the key objectives contained in this Plan of Action;
- ★ to uphold all the commitments contained in our Programme of Principles and our Manifesto of 1987;
- ★ to put to the electorate any new constitutional principles before implementation, and to submit constitutional changes to Parliament for approval.

1. A Democracy: Participation for All

Every South African has the right to participate in decision-making at all levels of government that affect his interests, subject to the principle of non-domination.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ promote those values that unite us;

- ★ engage the leaders of groups who are committed to peaceful solutions in talks and negotiations;
- ★ start institutions in which these leaders can participate in the creation of a new South Africa;
- ★ review the position of the Head of State, his functions and powers, and the manner of his election.

Negotiated participation for everyone will create a just South Africa of which we all can be proud.

2. No Domination: Protection for Individuals and Groups

The diversity of the South African population necessitates the protection of individuals and of minorities. Domination, of whatever nature, will bring bloodshed, poverty and misery.

To ensure continued democracy, the participation of all groups and individuals must be permanently protected, with checks and balances to prevent domination.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ promote the peaceful settlement of political disputes, and non-domination, as exalted values;
- ★ promote, by continued action, self-determination regarding own affairs, along with joint decision-making on general affairs, by means of division and devolution of power in a non-discriminatory manner;
- ★ inject a new dynamic into the process of negotiation to seek agreement among leaders on:
 - a basis for eliminating and preventing domination,
 - an objective and depoliticised deadlock-breaking mechanism to take final decisions in case of disputes,
 - a more just and meaningful basis on which groups may be defined for political participation;
- ★ give constitutional expression to the protection of human rights — both individual rights and group values;
- ★ give content to the overall juridical and structural protection of groups in constitutional structures;
- ★ reinforce the process of negotiation with independent expert research and advice.

Just and effective protection of minorities in South Africa will provide the basis for co-operation by all.

3. The Judiciary and Equality before the Law

A strong, independent judiciary is an essential guarantee for the protection of individual rights and group values, and to ensure stable democracy and justice for all.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ continue with law reform in order to ensure the availability of full justice to all;

- ★ guarantee the inviolability of judges and officers of law to ensure the independence of the judiciary;
- ★ ensure the conduct of proper and lawful public administration by constant review of the jurisdiction of the Advocate General.

A sound, strong and independent administration of justice is the cornerstone of a just and free South Africa.

4. Civilised Norms : Social Welfare

Each individual and each group must have the freedom to enjoy a community life of his choice. Because of the diverse needs of the people of South Africa, this must be embodied in the principle of 'live and let live'.

The practical application of this principle must eventually be in the form of a set of arrangements mutually acceptable to all groups, arrived at through negotiation.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ negotiate with leaders to find a mutually acceptable basis for maintenance of own community life, own residential areas and own schools for those who so wish, and for the provision and utilisation of public amenities;
- ★ within means, promote effective education on all levels;
- ★ promote home ownership and appropriate welfare housing;
- ★ make progress in respect of the housing needs of rapidly urbanising groups, within the limits of affordability;
- ★ make available new and established residential areas, after thorough consultation with the inhabitants, to provide for people who prefer living in free settlement areas;
- ★ maintain own residential areas according to the Group Areas Act in a firm, yet sensitive manner until an acceptable alternative method can be put into practice;
- ★ show progress in the provision of public amenities in order to provide, as far as possible, for the needs of the various communities;
- ★ open up amenities where necessary and where this can take place without causing serious conflict; amenities which have been successfully opened shall not be closed again;
- ★ ensure the prevention of health hazards and poor social conditions caused by over-population and illegal squatting by the proper implementation of local by-laws and other applicable measures.

The principle of 'live and let live' will bring satisfaction because it offers an orderly existence to all according to their own choice.

5. A Dynamic Economy

A healthy and dynamic economy is essential for stability, peace and prosperity.

Adversities such as the worst drought in living memory, a prolonged slump in the gold price and the most vicious international attempt — over more than two decades — to destroy the South African economy by boycotts, sanctions and disinvestment, have strained the economy of the country and of every business and household.

A concerted effort by the government and the people of South Africa is necessary to restore the health and prosperity of our economy and the well-being of our people.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ lower personal income tax, reducing marginal rates to a maximum of 40% at the income level of R100 000 (as far as possible in terms of 1989 values) instead of the present 45% at R80 000;
- ★ reduce company tax from 50% to 40%, together with the phasing out of tax abatements as recommended by the Margo Commission;
- ★ reduce the deficit before borrowing to attain an acceptable level of around 3% of the Gross Domestic Product in order to relieve pressure on interest rates;
- ★ reduce inflation;
- ★ follow a continuous programme of privatisation and deregulation;
- ★ implement an industrial strategy focussed on export promotion and import replacement;
- ★ promote the further beneficiation of South Africa's raw materials;
- ★ continue to reconstruct the agricultural sector;
- ★ promote the vast tourism potential of our country.

This realistic economic plan places South Africa on the road to sustained economic growth and prosperity.

6. Security

The first duty of a state or government is to protect people and their property against enemies and criminal elements. Efficient security services are indispensable for an orderly and peaceful community, providing a sound climate for political, economic and social development.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ equip the South African Police adequately with manpower and resources to enable them to counter crime even more effectively;
- ★ maintain the preparedness of the South African Defence Force in terms of both manpower and equipment to enable it to withstand internal, regional and international threats against South Africa;
- ★ limit the involvement of Citizen Force and Commando members especially as far as annual camps are concerned, with due regard to the security situation;
- ★ enable the South African Prison Services to carry out its role of custody and rehabilitation even more efficiently.

A strong defence force and a strong police force will remain the basis for a strong and just South Africa.

7. The International Community

The Republic of South Africa must regain its rightful place in the international community, while maintaining the honour and dignity of our country.

The National Party will, within the next five years

- ★ promote the successful conclusion of the independence process for South West Africa/Namibia;
- ★ promote peace and stability in all the countries of the southern African region, and particularly Angola and Mozambique;
- ★ promote economic co-operation among all the countries of southern Africa;
- ★ counter boycotts and sanctions while working to improve the image of South Africa.

The National Party can be entrusted with the future of South Africa in southern Africa and in the rest of the world because the National Party puts South Africa first.

Apartheid's new face

An exposé of De Klerk's first 100 days

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