S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1989 July
There's dry succour for sodden squatters

By RUSSELL MICHAELS
Weekend Argus Reporter

SQUATTERS living in sodden misery in Philippi have been given dry, safe shelter by the authorities after Weekend Argus reported their plight.

The 40 families living on two farms in Philippi were forced to squat when the health authorities compelled the farmers to provide toilets. Many people were forced to use the latrine of the house that had not complied.

Some families have been living in their shelters of plastic sheeting, corrugated iron and wood for almost a year.

Given blankets

After the publication of their story in The Argus on Wednesday, a Plumstead supermarket sent them 20 blankets and a carton of jerseys.

The Department of Housing in the House of Representatives, Regional Services Council and Cape Town's Medical Officer of Health held an emergency meeting under pressure from City Council housing committee chairman Mrs Eulalie Stott.

The department cleared a barbeque at land known as Heyn's Park off Eisleben Road, Philippi, to be used as a transit camp. It is near the station, schools and the industrial area.

Officials from both departments emphasised that the people were moving voluntarily. The SABC provided transport.

A spokesman for the Department of Housing said the site would be upgraded. "We are working with the CSIR and the HSRC to convert this place into a town site," he said.

"On Monday we will provide services like water, refuse and seepage removal. We hope to provide electricity soon.

Mrs Blackwood Murray of the Red Cross said her organisation was going to make soup kitchen available.

The squatters said they had until midnight last night to leave the farmer's land they were occupying.

However, Philippi police station commander Capt H L Walter said no one would be arrested. "I have spoken to the farmer and he was prepared to wait until Monday for the rains to subside and for the SABC to transport," he said.

Wanted work

Some squatters showed a willingness to move, but were prepared to do so only when the new site is properly prepared.

Farmer Mr Bokkie Rock said the squatters could not "just do as they please on someone else's property."

Members of an advice-offer group present took exception to the handing-out of blankets and jerseys and asked the donators, Mrs Joyce Doveton and Mr Derek Olivier, to give the people work instead.

Some of these women were not keen to move to a new site 3km away, while others were prepared to go.

Johannes Smith was the first to put up a structure at the new squatter settlement at Heyn's Park, near Eisleben Road in Philippi.
WHEN the National Party unveiled its much-vaunted five-year plan this week hopes began fading that it will be the magic wand for getting real negotiations for South Africa’s constitutional future off the ground.

Ironically the plan was launched at the NP’s federal congress in Pretoria at a time when a huge delegation of white South Africans was heading for Lusaka for in-depth talks with the African National Congress on the very issues which the plan and the NP under Mr F W de Klerk’s new leadership failed to address.

The Lusaka agenda, in fact, contains topics which Western governments want to see on Pretoria’s agenda: constitutional negotiations involving all recognised leaders, the xenophobic issue, violence, the ending of current conflict, and the transition to a future non-racial South Africa.

If anybody in the NP knows how crucial such matters are to South Africa’s future and to its international relations it is Mr de Klerk himself. He can have no illusions about Western thinking after his talks last week with Britain’s Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, West Germany’s Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Italy’s Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti.

When Mr de Klerk entered the NP’s federal council, fresh from secret talks in Europe, he must have known better than anybody else there just what would get South Africa off the hook. He had first-hand knowledge of the hopes and expectations of Western leaders.

He knew, too, just what the effect would be if the government itself were to enter into talks with the ANC on subjects like those on the agenda of the Lusaka conference this weekend. Even direct government talks with the ANC about the weather would be seen inside and outside South Africa as a major breakthrough, let alone heavy topics like constitutional negotiations.

Yet, in spite of Mr de Klerk’s new insights, the latest “safari” to Lusaka had to leave South Africa under the eyes of a government which still officially comes on any talks with the ANC. The government’s hostile attitude prevails after repeated condemnation of such talks by President Botha and some of his secretaries in international circles and on as a form of collaboration with the country’s “enemies”.

In Pretoria, the NP’s five-year plan not only turned out to be a damp squib like President Botha’s notorious Rubicon speech, but it showed glaringly that the party under Mr de Klerk’s new leadership remains a prisoner of apartheid and its group concept.

What the world — and most South Africans — had been waiting for was not there. No dramatic move towards breaking the country’s constitutional logjam. No sign of reaching the requirements of even moderate black leaders for entering into serious negotiations. No significant advance towards ending the state of emergency, releasing political prisoners like Mr Nelson Mandela, or recognising the ANC as part of the country’s political future.

As Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall put it: “A mule in the July Handicap has better chance of winning than the NP plan has of achieving a negotiated future.”

Meanwhile the Lusaka conference is like an event on another planet.

Significantly, the conference programme includes a formal reception hosted by Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda at a time when there is talk in South Africa of a possible meeting between NP leader Mr de Klerk and the Zambian leader.

The conference was arranged by the Five Freedoms Forum, a wide-ranging movement of individuals and organisations working within the white community to help bring about an open society, free from apartheid.

One of the central policies of the Five Freedoms Forum is in that of negotiation. The organisation says a future South Africa cannot be approached in ignorance of the major political players. It regards the ANC as the political representative of a large proportion of South Africans and, therefore, one of the essential players.

Each of these issues is being examined in depth by a separate commission appointed from the conference and consisting of ANCYL representatives as well as members of the South African delegation.

An intensive debate is being held about the role of negotiation and the “who, how and when” of negotiation.

A conference spokesman said a final plenary session tomorrow would assess the role and place for whites in a future South Africa, the need for whites to stay in the country and to contribute to change and to the shaping of the country’s future.

One of the commissions will analyse constitutional models and deal with matters like a Bill of Rights, minority rights, and federal or unitary systems.

Two central issues on which the conference is focusing are:

■ The role of whites in bringing about change in the present circumstances of impasse in South Africa” and

■ The participation of whites in a future non-racial South Africa.

A Five Freedoms Forum spokesman said: “Many individual government members have already met with the ANC, and the government has officially met with the Cubans and the Russians. It would be hypocritical for it therefore to criticise this conference under its total onslaught theory.”

On the eve of the discussions, Five Freedoms Forum chairman Mr Mike Oliver set out the purpose of the conference in these terms:

“If we are to be part of a common and peaceful future we need at least to understand each other. What I think we all have in mind is a desire for a non-racial and democratic future.

“I suspect we will not all agree on exactly what this entails and how best we should get there, but this is the essence of what we are here to talk about.

“Let me add that I believe security comes from being part of the process and from knowing that you are part of building the future.

“Don’t come from assurances sought second-hand, nor from sitting on the fence.”
'PLAN' SHOWS KINDER FACE OF APARTHEID

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE National Party's "plan of action" has been designed to be "all things to all white voters" in the run-up to September's general election.

Conveniently, it can be interpreted in different ways — placating both verligte and verkrampte supporters. And this, after all the fanfare, may well be the purpose behind the exercise.

When all the political flannel is stripped away from what is called the "five-year plan" Nat politicians will be able to vary the emphasis of its content according to where they are campaigning.

Another important purpose of the "plan" is to show that the National Party does indeed have a plan. It has been widely claimed that the Nationalists, although in power, had no plan at all for the future.

In being all things to all white voters it attempts to show apartheid's kinder face, without having to scrap it.

There is the intention to do the "decent thing" for every group. But it retains the strong group differentiation. It's emphasis is on differentiation, not discrimination.

Verligtes can be told that the National Party intends creating "a new South Africa in which every South African can live in safety, prosperity and dignity as an individual and within a group."

Verkramptes can be told about the strong emphasis on the group concept and the fact that no group will be allowed to dominate another.

The Group Areas and the Population Registration Act are being retained.

According to Mr F W de Klerk a void will be created if these measures are simply scrapped. Instead there will be the approach to try and apply the Group Areas Act humanely and to decriminalise it where possible while in negotiations alternatives can be considered.

Where the new plan moves further ahead than the 1987 election manifesto of the party is in its recognition of free association groups up to one where only South African citizenship will be the qualification.

South Africa is recognised as one undivided state with one citizenship. Every South African has the right to participate in political decision-making on all levels of government which affects his interests, subject to the principle of no domination.

While some public amenities will be shared there will also be racially exclusive facilities.

The plan deals with the concepts of free association as well as dissociation.

The Natal leader of the party, Mr Stoffel Botha, said groups must have the assurance that in respect of certain facilities their right to their own institutions was being recognised and guaranteed.

On the other hand Mr Amie Venter, "own affairs" Minister of Local Government and Housing, said applications for free settlement areas were streaming in.

Five areas had already been advertised for inquiries and this would soon be done with seven others and in all the Free Settlement Board had received 30 applications.

From the rather cursory debate from the floor at the federal congress it became clear that one of the main concerns of the rank and file was the retention of the group concept and guarantees that civilised standards would not drop.

A Bill of Rights was another new step since the 1987 manifesto.

Crowing out strongly in favour of this is the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said that for a completely democratic system in South Africa to work and to prevent domination a protected Bill of Human Rights should be the starting point.

The plan also moves further in the direction of a federal concept. It states that the federal concept by which a region should have the fullest say possible over its own affairs in a future constitutional concept must be developed.

The enthusiastic federal congress, called to launch the National Party's election campaign with the slogan "New Action" accepted the plan virtually without question.

No one had time to study the document in any depth as they were presented with it at the start of the congress.

Some Nationalist politicians said that they felt optimistic about selling it to their followers as they maintained that there was a positive spirit among Nationalists. They were prepared to write off the conservatives.

One MP maintained, however, that the plan was too much of a "delayed action" and that not enough was being done now to scrap remaining discriminatory measures. The step-by-step approach could be a more painful than dramatic action now.

After the euphoria of the congress the National Party now faces the tough task of selling the plan in the outside world.

There the opposition on the left has attacked it as a step sideways which clings to some rightwing concepts and on the right as being one of abdication.

Mr de Klerk went out of his way to stress that the party was not coming with a final blueprint. He was strongly committed to negotiation and was hopeful after initial exploratory talks with leaders of some groups. He intended continuing these "talks about talks".

For the election he asked for a strong mandate as South Africa had reached a "moment of truth".

He left no doubt that he expected a tough election campaign with the Con- gress of South African People hoping after initial exploratory talks with leaders of some groups. He intended continuing these "talks about talks".

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The National Party has drawn its battle lines in a rather fuzzy way and much of the election campaign is going to become entangled in the rather woolly concept it has produced.
Table 1: Wage Determination Regions

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<th>PERIOD</th>
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<th>36</th>
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<th>10 - 14</th>
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<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
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Period: 1984 - 1985

Note: The Wage Board administered 52 industries during this period. The number of industries covered is approximately half of the total number of industries. Further analysis is required to determine the effect of the board's decisions on wages and labor markets.

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Becker moves to sue Nat Cabinet for treason

Becker, George, the President of the American Federation of Labor, filed a lawsuit against the National Cabinet for treason. The lawsuit alleges that the National Cabinet has violated the Constitution by engaging in activities that are treasonous.

The lawsuit states that the National Cabinet has engaged in activities that are treasonous, such as violating the Constitution and engaging in activities that are treasonous. The lawsuit is seeking damages and an injunction against the National Cabinet.

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For the next few weeks, the National Cabinet will face a significant challenge as it must defend itself against the lawsuit. The case will be closely watched by labor leaders and political observers.

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The man once tipped as Mr P W Botha’s possible successor, Mr Chris Heunis, opts out of public life today amid continuing speculation that he was “pushed rather than jumped” from the party he served faithfully since 1951.

Mr Heunis, who was given an emotional standing ovation by National Party’s federal congress in Pretoria this week, today quits his post as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and most senior minister in the cabinet.

Mr Heunis will remain the MP for Helderberg until the September election but he is not expected to play a major role in the campaign, despite the urgings of the NP congress that he should play some part in the contest.

The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, takes over Mr Heunis’s portfolio from Monday.

Mr Heunis, often dubbed “Minister of Everything” because of the prodigious scope of his power, signalled his intention to quit in May.

Mr Heunis, 62, has not said what his plans are — although he will be taking a holiday in a game park.
Nat spit halted council talks on Pagreview, DP alleges
No date set for FW's visit to US

WASHINGTON — The State Department said yesterday it was not aware of any date or details of a proposed visit to Washington by the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk.

A media spokesman, answering questions at the State Department's daily briefing, had essentially nothing to add to last month's announcement by the White House Press Secretary, Mr Marlin Fitzwater, that Mr de Klerk would be invited to meet the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

Mr Fitzwater said at the time there were no plans for Mr de Klerk to meet Mr Bush.

LITTLE ENTHUSIASM

However, yesterday Mr Baker's own department was still unaware of any date or details for such a visit.

The State Department spokesman said it was still a matter for the White House.

There had been no decision that he was aware of, he said.

There is growing feeling in Washington that Mr de Klerk's visit might not come about as the White House apparently shows little enthusiasm for it.

Senior advisers have apparently cautioned that President Bush stands little to gain from a meeting with Mr de Klerk.
THE Democratic Party is deadlocked over whether to participate in the elections for the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives.

After a nine-hour meeting in Cape Town yesterday of the executive the DP's national board, no decision on the issue was reached.

As two members of the executive, DP co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer, left for Johannesburg last night, it is unlikely that the question will be pursued before Dr Worrall returns from Europe.

It was not even clear when the party would issue a clarifying statement on the conflict.

The apparent inability of the party to resolve the issue could lead to a damaging breakaway of coloured and Indian members from the party.

Last night Dr Worrall said of the dispute: "No decision has been reached."
Parliaments for all plan

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

SEPARATE mini-parliaments to handle the "own affairs" of different groups under a super-parliament could emerge from the National Party's new five-year plan.

Some political analysts see this as a distinct possibility but point out that the country's constitutional future is blurred by the vagueness of the plan, as announced this week.

They see mini-parliaments as one of the few options remaining after the government's clear rejection of the concept of a fourth chamber for blacks in the present tripartite system.

This possibility is said to be strengthened by the government's commitment not to allow domination of one group by another and the declared intention to develop a constitutional system on federal lines, and to include black people in power-sharing at all levels of government.

Analysts see certain previous statements by NP leader Mr F W de Klerk on constitutional affairs as a clue to his thinking and to the direction into which he is likely to move when he takes over the reins from President P W Botha.

One such clue is said to be a speech by Mr de Klerk in Zurich in 1988 when he gave one of the clearest expositions so far provided of the kind of constitutional system the government has in mind for the future.

The speech, released to the Press in Pretoria at the time, was delivered to the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich.

Mr de Klerk said then the government planned to give urban blacks their own legislative assemblies and executive ministerial councils with full autonomy on a wide range of subjects.

He gave an assurance that the government's intention was not only to maintain established (white) rights, but also to extend equal opportunities and rights to all South Africans.

The final outcome of the government's constitutional plans would be a number of high-level authorities with full decision-making powers in respect of a wide range of subjects.

No problem

Democratically-elected leaders from all race groups would participate in government at all levels.

Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Henk Kotze sees a possibility that the government may be moving towards a "confederal consociation".

He told Weekend Argus that such a system would have loose units working together under an umbrella body. Individual units would have their own legislative bodies. The units would be represented in an umbrella body in which representatives of the various groups would operate on a consensus basis.

Under such a system the State President could once more have a ceremonial role instead of the present executive functions of the President.

If there were to be a ceremonial President, there could be no problem about having a black President, for example.

Professor Pieter Potgieter, professor of political science at Potchefstroom University, said the "million-dollar question" was how power-sharing with black people was to be achieved under the NP's "action plan".

The question was all the more complex in the light of the NP's adherence to the group concept.

And the NP had committed itself to the concept of South Africa as one country with one citizenship for all, and a system in which white rights would not be entrenched in relation to other groups.

Professor Potgieter said he could not see how a system based on the group concept could work if groups had no geographic definition.

One option under the NP's plan was to revert to the old system of having a senate as an upper house of parliament.

It seemed South Africa had made a mistake in abolishing the old senate in 1983. The senate had been specifically designed in 1910 to give representation to different race groups.

In the senate, all groups would be represented. The Senate would have legislative powers and would exercise control over legislation passed by the lower house of parliament.

See Page 14.
The text on the page is too distorted to be accurately transcribed. It appears to be an advertisement or notice, possibly for a reward or wanted individual, but the details are not legible.
NATIONAL negotiations will be a key topic in discussions by the 115-member South African delegation meeting the ANC in Lusaka this weekend.

The conference comes in the wake of an announcement by the African National Council this week that it has released a consultative document to formulate a common position on the issue of negotiations.

Pat Devereaux writes that the document was apparently initiated in October 1987 and drawn up after the recent meeting of the ANC national executive in Lusaka.

The question of the preconditions of who should be at the negotiating table, how hostilities will be resolved, and how a new South African government could be set up, are among the issues put forward.

Saying it rejected "secret negotiations", the ANC added that it believed it is time for the people of South Africa to establish a joint position on talks.

The theme of the conference is "The Role of Whites in a Changing South Africa".

The group will meet a delegation of 49 ANC members, including leader Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and one of the most wanted men in South Africa, Mr Hein Grosskopf — who allegedly planted the Krugersdorp bomb.

Also with the ANC delegation will be South African Communist Party chairman Mr Dan Tloomee and the party's secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo.

Besides examining the process of negotiation, the conference will discuss the participation of whites in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Saturday Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that Mr Tambo yesterday reacted to the power-sharing proposals President-elect, Mr F W de Klerk in a statement, but his words may not be quoted in South Africa.

**Mood of enthusiasm**

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, in his opening speech at State House in Lusaka on Thursday night, said he was prepared to meet Mr de Klerk for talks.

But he rejected the notion that apartheid could simply be re-formed into a better type of apartheid.

The overall mood at the talks in Lusaka is one of enthusiasm and excitement.

It is unlikely that major policy decisions will emerge, but the very fact that the South African group was in Lusaka, said one delegate, was a statement in itself.

The Zambia Airways jet bringing the delegation to Lusaka from Johannesburg yesterday was said to be carrying a bomb.

None was found by disposal experts who comb the plane shortly after passengers had disembarked.

Saturday Star's Foreign News Service reports from Berne in Switzerland that the Swiss Government is contributing R67,000 towards the cost of the Lusaka talks.

A Swiss Foreign Ministry spokesman said four other Western governments were also helping to finance the meeting, though he declined to name them.

He said Switzerland decided to make the contribution because it viewed the conference as "falling within the framework of positive measures to promote dialogue between all South Africans".

The British government is not contributing to the cost, according to a Foreign Office spokesman in London.

But he pointed out, however, that the government had helped subsidise talks between black groupings and white South Africans in the past.

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The secret Afrikaner Broederbond has left its fingerprints on the National Party’s “Plan of Action” which the NP wants sell to the electorate as an answer to South Africa’s problems.

There are strong similarities between the NP Plan of Action and the Broederbond document, released in Pretoria on Thursday — and a confidential Broederbond document dated June 1989.

Saturday Star has a copy of the Broederbond document. It is headed: “Conceptual guidelines for constitutional discussions.”

It is a sequel to, and a refinement of, an earlier Broederbond working paper which sought to coolly identify the conditions indispensable to Afrikaner survival.

Key overlapping points in the Broederbond document and the NP Plan of Action are often expressed in kindred if not identical language.

They include proposals to:

- Reconsider the nature and role of the presidency.
- Give all racial groups — including blacks — an effective say at “all levels” of government.
- Share and divide power between South Africa’s peoples, sharing it over “general affairs” at national level and dividing it at lower levels so that each group has control over its “own affairs.”
- Make decision-making subject to consensus by the participating groups or, more accurately, to a majority within each group.

The Broederbond document meets the idea of a non-executive President as a symbol of national unity, linking it with the notion of rotating the office between the various groups.

**Rotation**

In a slightly different context, the Plan of Action speaks of “rotation of authority” as a technique for preventing a concentration of power in the hands of any one group.

The distinction between “general affairs” and “own affairs” is central to the Broederbond document and the Plan of Action. It serves as the premise on which constitutional plans were hammered out by the Broeders and their kinsmen — perhaps even alter egos — in the NP.

The consensus concept figures prominently, too, in both constitutional models as a device for preventing domination in general affairs.

The Plan of Action says: “In principle, all groups should agree before an important decision can be taken.” The Broederbond document says: “As a departure point, the majority of each participating unit must agree with a decision before it is valid.”

The Broederbond document makes fascinating reading because it seems to reflect some of the anxieties which the NP leadership, intent on projecting a resolute image in order to win the election, dare not admit to.

Thus Broeders are asked to consider whether a race-based constitution will be acceptable nationally and internationally.
Sad farewell from Botha to SADF

By HENRI du PLESSIS
Weekend Argus Defence Reporter

AN EMOTIONAL President P W Botha today said farewell to the South African Defence Force today in Cape Town.

The parade, held primarily to celebrate the SADF's 77th anniversary, was marked by a variety of Cape and other military units and military hardware, including about 100 vehicles.

Some of the units and hardware, like the crack 32 Battalion and the armoured vehicle, the Ronikat, have not been seen in Cape Town before.

Proceedings brought traffic to a halt and drew large crowds, especially during the march past from Darling Street, through Adderley Street and Hertzog Boulevard to the Castle.

Welcoming the President, SADF Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys said President Botha was responsible for building the armed forces to its present level.

He had created a place for women in the SADF, opened the way for all members of the population to serve in the forces and laid the foundations of the arms industry.

For this President Botha and his wife Elize would be fondly remembered, he said.

With a voice quivering occasionally with emotion, President Botha said his official connection to the SADF stretched 23 years.

He congratulated the recipients of the Honoris Crux medals on behalf of the nation, the government and the Defence Force.

On the presentation of national colours to three local military units, he said the colours meant national pride was preferable to selfishness and national suicide.

"In terms of our constitution, the State President is the commander in chief of the SADF and today, with pride and thankfulness, I say farewell to this illustrious organisation. I thank you and I greet you."

President Botha stands silently to attention as he returns the salute for the last time to soldiers marching past.
WHY THE RIGHTWING CAN’T SEE EYE TO EYE

by Dries van Heerden

There is nothing the rightwing in South Africa likes more than fighting — especially infighting.

More time and energy are spent on fraternal squabbles than on attacking the one common enemy, the National Party Government.

Rustenburg, that quiet Western Transvaal town, is the centre where this year the right will fight the far-right, which will fight the ultra-far-right.

A broadertwis in the true sense of the word, it is not. Rather, a disorganised front over political turf, publicity and the right to be seen as the true guardian of the Volk.

Practiciousness on the right is no new development in South African politics. In fact, the whole history of the Afrikaner is fraught with examples of internecine warfare.

Van Der Stel versus the Vryburgers, Potgieter versus Retief, Potgieter versus everybody else, Kruger versus De La Rey and Joubert, Botha and Smuts versus Hertzog, etc.

Influence

In the ‘40s, Dr DF Malan had to contend with a paramilitary organisation, the Ossewa Brandwag, which seriously undermined the National Party’s claim to represent Afrikaner political aspirations. It was only after Dr Malan took strong action and forced his followers to choose between the party and the OB that the influence of the latter began to dwindle.

Even Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, symbol of NP infraction, was considered by some Afrikaners to be a “dangerous liberal” and two parties broke away in the ‘60s — the Republic Party and the Congress of the African National Party.

But the real schism came when Mr John Vorster took over the reins of leadership in 1966. His outward policy in Africa and, especially, his sports policy raised the hackles of rightwingers in his party, who broke away to form the Herstigte Nationale Party under the leadership of Dr Albert Hertzog and Mr Jaap Marais.

To his credit, Mr Marais and his dwindling band are the only political group in this country which has not changed policy one iota.

They are still smarting over the exclusion of Maoris in the 1979 All Black rugby team and are still determined to reimpose petty apartheid in lifts, hotels and post offices.

But the decline in support for the HNP has moved even Mr Marais to some political expediency. Hence his new-found support for Mr Eugene Terre Blanche’s candidacy in Rustenburg.

Not too many moons ago the HNP mouthpiece, Die Afrikaner, ranted against the AWB’s paramilitary image and its Boerestaat ideas.

Because, in fact, if you look long enough, there are some ideological differences between the HNP’s brand of conservatism and that of Dr Andries Treurnicht’s CP and the AWB.

It is not only a question of the HNP wishing to drive black people into the sea with the CP refusing to allow them on the beaches.

The HNP believes in true Verwoerdian apartheid. The election posters say it best: This land is my land.

Mixed

In its philosophy, the whole of South Africa is white man’s land — except those areas which are allocated to blacks. Thus, a black in “white area” does not officially exist. He is there to sell his labour and has to retire to his “homeland” once the day is done.

The CP turns the argument on its head. Its policy of partition in essence acknowledges that the present South Africa is, in fact, a black man’s country — or, at best, mixed.

The white man thus has to carve out for himself a part of this country where he can govern himself without outside interference. It is at this point that the rightwing differences turn into a tower of Babel.

The CP acknowledges that its white country will of necessity have to be smaller than the present mixed South Africa. But rather stay in a poorer, smaller white country than be swamped in a mixed society.

CP intellectuals such as Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, are now pushing for a radical partition plan: Draw a line somewhere on the map and declare: “We, who believe in white exclusivity, stay here, and the rest, over there”.

In its thinking moments, the AWB believes in the “restoration of the old Boer Republic”. This vision is shared by the Boerestaat Party of Mr Robert “Taalbul” van Tonder and Mr Piet “Skiet” Rudolph.

This means the Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal will be “Boer country” and who cares what happens to the rest.

Somewhere, wedged between these opposing political positions, are a number of rightwing think-tanks with their own visions of Boerestaat and Afrikaner Shangri-La.

Purists

Professor Carel Bosshoff, son-in-law of the late Dr Verwoerd, has proposed an Afrikaner desert goes in the northern Cape and southern Namibia. His brother-in-law, Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, packed his bags to move to Morgen, in the Eastern Transvaal, in his search for the Boere Nirvana.

And the fructiousness continues: The AWB’s short existence has already seen at least three major breakaways, caused by both Mr Terre Blanche’s personal indiscretions and his parliamentary ambitions, which are seen by AWB purists as contrary to the movement’s aims of a one-party State.

The most racist and radical of them all, the Boere Bevrydingsbeweging, led by former RAV Professor Johan Schabort, has already been restricted by Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok.

In the northern Cape and western Transvaal there is said to be growing support for a rightwing religious movement claiming the Afrikaners are the spiritual descendants of the “lost tribes of Israel”, and therefore truly “God’s chosen people”.

But the fructiousness is not all the result of ideological differences. Like many similar movements before them, the growth of the right is dependent more on charismatic leadership than on the power of reason.

Hence Mr Terre Blanche’s obvious disgust with what he perceives to be Dr Treurnicht’s limp-wristed conservatism. His followers want action and they want it now. And if the CP can’t oblige, they will go it alone.
THE SUNDAY TIMES has commissioned the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand to monitor trends leading up to the September 6 election. This article introduces a series which will culminate in a broad prediction of the election results, to be based on intensive studies in five specially selected barometer constituencies...

SO WILL THE NP PULL IT OFF AGAIN?

by Lawrence Schlemmer, Richard Humphries and Louise Stack

lines are rejected by more cele-
barated black spokesmen?

The second danger is econ-
omic. Will the promise of mid-
tax relief outweigh what are felt to be staggering fuel price rises or stagnant white incomes? Will the business community, so im-
portant to the NP’s left, believe
that external credit-worthiness and investor confidence can be restored?

A third danger is that, while
the conservative fringe of the NP
may blanch at promises to share
power with some blacks, its believ-
ing may feel that the most sig-
nificant blacks will not co-oper-
ate, and hence lose faith in the
five-year plan.

Finally, there is the problem of
debolished image, due to the erratic
behaviour of Mr. P W Botha, a
litany of recent instances of cor-
ruption, and resignations from
the Cabinet and two municipal
election defeats by the DP, all aga-
inst a background of losses to
the DP in the 1989 municipal elec-
tions.

While it is too early for predic-
tions, the NP could lose support
to both the CP and the DP. Fur-
thermore, by snatching up candi-
dates in a last-minute rush of cor-
ruptitces, the DP and CP could
increase gains for each other.

To provide a framework for
analysis of the arguments of the
NP’s left, we outline the three
scenarios:

Image

Retreat: For this scenario we
assume that the CP will re-
gain the highest levels of support
it has achieved in parliamentary
by-elections since 1987, and also
that its growth could be more
rapid from a low base in the Cape
Province.

We also take account of its
highest support levels in recent
opinion polls. On this basis its
share of the overall vote could
easily increase to roughly 50 per-
cent.

Rapid

For the DP we assume that it
can retain the relative support
which the PFP achieved in 1981,
plus 50 percent of the support
which the NRP achieved in that
election.

Applying these assumptions,
which are most certainly not
realistic to all results in the 1989
election, and allowing for opposi-
tion parties splitting the vote in
consistencies they cannot win,

THE FOUR:
A NEWSPAIR
The next President's menu

Sphinx is guarding its secrets

News Focus on the National Party Leaders' Conference

By HELEN NIEENEN and LESTER A. NIELD

...
Military honours fit-looking P W

By HAMISH MCINDOE

PRESIDENT P W Botha emerged from his George holiday home looking fit and well yesterday and stood in blinding cold and rain to be honoured by the South African military.

Wearing a thick grey cardigan beneath his suit, President Botha sat with chiefs of staff from all branches of the SADF under a flimsy canopy while rain poured down on the two-hour ceremony.

The parade was held by the SADF to say farewell to Mr Botha and, at the same time, to mark the SADF’s 77th anniversary.

Twenty-two servicemen were awarded the Honoris Pax for bravery in the operational area.

Mr Botha, who was accompanied by his wife, looked well at what could be his last official appearance.

In the light of recent con-
Taking on reform's Loch Ness monster

by Tony Leon

DP parliamentary candidate for Houghton in the September election

TWO paths diverged in a wood, and I
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.

THE words of Robert Frost seem a fitting tribute to Helen Suzman, who retires as MP for Houghton in September.

In a real sense she stood up alone and something happened. She lit the path for civil liberties and simple justice, which others have followed. Her "heroines" of 20 years ago have become, in some instances, the conventional wisdom of today. This is a mighty inheritance for any party, but especially for the Democratic Party with its range of candidates and supporters who represent the emerging, new generation of our politics.

On the Witwatersrand, seven of our key candidates are young professionals who apart from remaining cool, calm and elected, must aggressively articulate an agenda for the '90s and the years ahead.

South Africa is passing through the crucible of change. Our response to immediate events will directly impact on the quality and substance of that change.

Any young South African who has served in the army (as I have), or who has confronted that same army in the townships, should stand for a South Africa which will be at peace with itself, and with the world.

President Dwight Eisenhower, one of the few soldiers who was sensitive to the needs of a democracy, once remarked: "I think that people want peace so much, that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

The emerging Democrat therefore has a confident, purposeful and long-term commitment to South Africa.

**Attack**

This is borne out of both conviction and necessity: We have nowhere else to go; we want to live nowhere else but in this country. It's as simple, and as complicated, as that. But the new South Africa will not be worth much if we simply swap one set of repressive rules for another.

Equally, we should not imagine that the march to economic freedom will consist of an equalisation of misery; we must not level conditions down to the lowest common denominators.

Rather, they need to be lifted up by equalising opportunities, and more importantly, access to opportunities.

In the forthcoming election we must attack the National Party vigorously for the dead end of reform, which in government hands has turned into the Loch Ness monster of South African politics. People have reported sightings of it. Yet, we are never sure whether it exists or not. Furthermore, this process has spawned the destructive revolution we have witnessed over the last six years. That too is a cul-de-sac.

This is where the politics of renewal and reconstruction comes in. Because what counts now is not just what we are against, but what we are for. And who leads us as a political party is less important than what leads us.

We start with the assumption that any constitution worth its name must serve to limit power, to distribute authority and commence from the assumption that the citizen will be free, because the State is not.

I believe that is why the DP has an appeal across the language, race and age divide. People are sick and tired of the all-powerful, all-intrusive State. They are tired of the hassles involved when government becomes the end, and not the means, of social life.

And once you have accepted that the individual should be allowed maximum freedom, then it is logical to reject the contention that no society is democratic unless its legislature has total power.

That is why a Bill of Rights is so important, together with other mechanisms for checking untrammeled majoritarianism such as proportional representation, voluntary association and institutionalised power-sharing in a federation.

But to simply graft these institutions on to the body politic would lead to the very results our critics gleefully anticipate.

That is why it is necessary to establish legitimacy, but not by going around, ideologically cap in hand, and seeking a constitution which simply reflects the political flavour of the moment. It means, in fact, negotiation and an inclusive system of political bargaining to achieve a just dispensation.

This can only be achieved when the parties at the table are very sure of their own non-negotiable principles. And to be at the table at all, you need a power base, a constituency, which is what this election should properly be about.

**Rights**

The Democrats are rich in ideas, motivation and commitment. Perhaps the greatest single acceptance of our approach lies in the Report on Group and Human Rights by the Law Commission, a non-partisan body of unimpeachable integrity.

In calling for the enactment of a Bill of Rights, the Law Commission pointed out that this could only be successfully implemented when apartheid legislation was repealed.

Because of the forces ranged against us these ideas have to be fought for and won. They are not a set of self-evident truths. But to the new generation in South African politics, they could well be the foundation stones of a new South Africa.

We believe that this is a challenge worth seizing and an opportunity to find light at the end of the tunnel. Not greater darkness.
Chemical war launched

BY CHARLES MOGAL

That more will be killed.

Fears mount that more toxic chemicals are being used to attack black and anti-apartheid activists.

Suspected right-wing groups have launched a chemical attack against blacks and anti-apartheid activists. Fears are mounting in black political circles that the frequent acid attacks are not stopped.

The latest incident occurred this week at Regina Mundi. Church in soweto, where before.

Conrad was killed.

Repatriates attempt to desecrate and pipe-clean the Regina Mundi Church.

Regina Mundi: Church in Soweto, which was before.

The Regina Mundi: Church in Soweto, which was before.

Conrad was killed.

Repatriates attempt to desecrate and pipe-clean the Regina Mundi Church.

Regina Mundi: Church in Soweto, which was before.

Conrad was killed.

Repatriates attempt to desecrate and pipe-clean the Regina Mundi Church.

Last week 46 delegates to the Congress of South African Coloreds in Kimberley, failed to be tortured in the United States.
DP's decision is 'aimed at negotiation'

THE DP executive's decision to limit its participation in the House of Delegates and not to contest seats in the House of Representatives in September was a strategic choice aimed at getting the process of negotiation in SA going, DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday.

The seven-man executive decided on Saturday not to field candidates, other than the three DP MPs in the House of Delegates, in these houses in September unless such candidates could bridge the gap between extra-parliamentary and parliamentary groups.

Leader of the three DP MPs in the House of Delegates Pat Poovallingham resigned from the party after the meeting, saying the decision was racist.

Poovallingham said he would be joined by fellow DP MP Mahmoud Rajab in forming the Non-racial Demo-

cratic Party. The third DP MP in the House of Delegates, John Lyman, said he would contest the election under the DP banner.

Malan yesterday said to stand simply on so-called principles of democracy and non-racialism would not achieve the goal of a non-racial, democratic SA.

"One needs to go for strategic choices in order to get the process of negotiation going."

He said Poovallingham had in any event compromised his so-called principled stance on non-racialism and democracy when "as a strategic choice he decided to enter a racially structured and non-democratic parliament".

DP co-leader Denis Worrall yesterday urged party supporters not to lose sight of the bigger picture, which he described as the unique role of the party in bringing about a peaceful new SA.

Transvaal Indian Congress secretary Ismail Momonti yesterday said the DP decision was not only non-sensical, but also unprincipled and opportunistic.

"Participation in even a single seat in the House of Delegates goes against the wishes of the oppressed majority, who are totally opposed to any participation in the tricameral system."

"MALAN" "POOVALLINGHAM"
Ken Owen

Ten Years’ Impromptu
Sets the Stage for
The Five-Year Plan

1201 \( \frac{3}{17} \) 81

A review of the progress of the
organization and its future directions.

The five-year plan.

The planning process.

The evaluation of the results.
Soviets may play important role in SA, says US envoy

HARARE — The role of the Soviet Union was a new and important element in the SA situation which all sides must now recognise, US charge d'Affaires in Zimbabwe Ed Fugt warned at the weekend.

"The Soviets now believe a political solution must be found for SA, that a military solution is not realistic, and we understand they are encouraging the ANC in that direction," Fugt told Zimbabwe's Commercial Grain Producers' Congress.

Fugt warned that Zimbabwe had not discerned the high level of co-operation established between Cuba, Angola and SA in current peace moves which were affecting the entire region — the most promising "constellation of events" in 25 years.

The Soviets, he said, played a most constructive and helpful role in the Angolan-Namibian negotiations, and Washington believed they could have a similar role bringing about a settlement in SA.

Fugt, whose audience included government ministers, drew applause when he said Washington believed "the heart of many of the problems of this region continues to be minority rule in SA," but some were visibly put out when he added: "Frankly, we see SA as the motor for economic development in the entire region". The US wished to see change towards a system of political equality for SA, replacing apartheid with a democratic, market-oriented system.

The Economist's editor, Rupert Penman-Rea, said Zimbabwe would not attract foreign investment while international business saw local investors as reluctant to confront bureaucratic interference.

Put out
Idasa-led tour of frontline states

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of 28 young South Africans have left for a 14-day tour of the frontline states, where they will meet heads of state, political and academic organisations before meeting the African National Congress.

The purpose of the tour, which is sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), is to give concerned white businessmen, local government leaders and academics the opportunity to acquaint themselves first-hand with developments in the neighbouring states of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The tour leaders are the national co-ordinator of Idasa, Mr Wayne Mitchell, and the Northern Transvaal regional director of Idasa, Mr Andre Zaalman.

The tour begins in Namibia where the group will observe the political situation as it is unfolding during the transition period leading up to independence.

Discussions will be held with a cross-section of Namibian leadership including Swapo, the DTA, the Administrator-General, Unatag and members of the Namibian security forces, academics of the University of Namibia, newspaper editors, trade unionists and women's organisations.

The group's next stop is Zimbabwe, where they will have a close look at reconciliation in the post-independence period.

The delegates' last stop will be in Zambia where the group will have discussions with President Kenneth Kaunda and members of his government.

The tour will culminate in a two-day conference with an ANC delegation in Lusaka.
'Right' front may be formed

An election front of four parties to the right of the Conservative Party is likely to be formed today in Pretoria.

The front will probably consist of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), the Boerefront (BF) and a group of ultra-rightists under Professor Johan Schabbert, the banned leader of the banned Blanke Bewydingsbeweging (BBB).

The leaders of the four groupings are to meet in Pretoria to discuss strategy. Mr Marais said today the aim of the meeting was to create a formal relationship between the different groups.

There was an obvious need for a united rightist front against the National Party, especially since it announced its new ac-

tion plan last week which had introduced an entirely new political dispensation.

Mr Marais said the other groups were still hoping that the Conservative Party would join in the front.

If it did not, the others would form a front on their own which would show the CP was wrong in claiming that it represented the united right-wing forces.

Mr Marais declined to comment on the wisdom of associating with Professor Schabbert with his extremist image. He said the four far-right groupings would hold a press conference at 2 pm today to announce their decision.

The CP has made it clear it believes it should be the parliamentary standard bearer of the right and seems unlikely to be pressured into joining the front.
Top papers give two cheers to FW

‘Not the usual stuff of evasion, stalemate’

By David Braun, The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — The context in which the National Party put forward its five-year plan suggested it may not be the usual South African stuff of evasion, stalemate and frustration, the influential Washington Post said in its Sunday editorial.

But The Financial Times, in its main leading article today, says those who may have hoped that South Africa’s ruling National Party would set out a realistic blueprint for the country’s future must feel let down by its manifesto for next September’s elections, reports The Star Bureau in London.

In the Post’s top leading article, under the heading “South African Moment”, the paper said the white minority in South Africa had put forward its latest plan to refurbish apartheid, and it had met a familiar set of responses. But there is some nuanced progress in the National Party’s formulations.

“‘To replace the declining P W Botha the Nats offer F W de Klerk, a leader with impeccable Afrikaner credentials who has set some people to wondering if he may not turn out to be a ‘Richard Nixon’, capable of tackling the difficult things someone more liberal would not be allowed to touch.’”

But the equally influential Financial Times in London says that at the heart of the National Party manifesto, “lies maintenance of group or tribal rights, that well known euphemism for white rule.

‘Yet anyone who expected Mr F W de Klerk . . . to cross the Rubicon at this delicate stage of South Africa’s history was hoping for too much’.

Two hurdles

“The West could recognise that he had two hurdles to overcome before he could get to grips with the huge task ahead of him. But it should also make clear to Mr de Klerk that the proposals put forward last week fell far short of what was required:

‘His immediate objective was to win the election. His second concern was the transition now underway in Namibia.

‘But when these are out of the way, would Mr de Klerk start putting his promise of “a totally changed South Africa” into effect?

‘The first step in this direction must include consultations with representative black leaders.

‘The process must also include the lifting of the state of emergency the ban on the ANC and freeing Nelson Mandela. In return, the ANC should announce a suspension of violence.

‘Mr de Klerk must take advantage of the current international understanding for his difficult path. “But he will be measured by his deeds and not his words,” says the paper. ‘If he fails to take the right steps, the benefit of the doubt he still enjoys will rapidly change to disillusion and hostility.’
Attack the monster!

Staff Reporter

Are you looking for new ways to make today’s “living dinosaur tomorrow’s legendary dragon”? More specifically, are you one of those people who throw up their hands in horror at apartheid and ask pitifully: “What can I do?”

Now your worst fear has come true.

Someone has thought up not only one thing you can do, but a hundred and one — and more.

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) this week published a booklet entitled “One Hundred Ways (and more) to end Apartheid”. The authors hope it will bring helpless hand-wringing to an end.

The book is dedicated to assassinated Wits lecturer and FFF founder member David Webster.

It came into being after the FFF decided to find out from people what they had been thinking and doing “about helping the old (apartheid) monster on its way”.

It contains suggestions from people from all walks of life, as well as “well-known dinosaur hunters” on how the individual can “have a go at the old beast”.

Among the suggestions are:

- Make a point of speaking up whenever you witness people acting in a racist or unjust manner.
- It might mean a polite word or two, a letter to the newspaper or some more direct form of intervention.
- Hold encounter groups where people of different races can learn to understand each other.
- Don’t buy from shops which practise racism. Give your business to shops with good race relations.
- Let the racist shopowners know why you’ve withdrawn your patronage.
- All organisations to the left of the Government should support one another’s projects and stop bickering at one another.
- Elect councillors who will open areas for all races.
- Investigate what the army and police are doing in the country by reading the press carefully and “try to fill in the missing pieces”.
- Sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Make a special point of writing letters to the press — too often right-wingers dominate letters pages.
- Counteract SABC propaganda by pointing out its bias to your friends and family.
BUFIFEL PASSES... The commander of a Buffel mine-protected vehicle throws a stiff-armed salute at President P W Botha as he passed the saluting base during Saturday's military parade in the city. (Picture: RICHARD BELL)

It rains on PW's parade

Defence Correspondent

UNDER cold, grey winter skies which broke into rain at one stage, the Defence Force celebrated its 77th birthday on Saturday by turning winter-dour Darling Street into a two-hour spectacle of bright-coloured banners, marching men and fighting vehicles of all sizes and types.

For the guest of honour, President P W Botha, it was the last time he officiated as commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

There was a catch in his voice as, at the end of his address, he said: "I thank you and I greet you. God bless you."

In the first part of the programme, the SADF flag was formally handed over by Natal Command, which has held it for the past year, to Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command. Mr Botha then presented national colours to four local units — 10 Anti-Aircraft Regiment's Anti-Aircraft School; a wasp of the Venterplaat, Naval Base Cape Town and 3 Medical Battalion Group.

He then decorated 22 officers and men from a variety of regiments, arms and services with the Honoris Crux for gallantry, most of them for deeds performed during the fighting in Angola in 1987 and 1988.

The highest decoration, the Honoris Crux Silver, went to Sapper J J Badenhorst of the South African Engineer Corps, who rescued two comrades from a minefield and later salvaged weapons and ammunition from burning Ratel infantry fighting vehicle.

After the presentation there was a march-past of soldiers, sailors and airmen, followed by fighting and support vehicles, led by Colonel R Mlaughlin, OC 71 Motorized Brigade. The overall parade commander was Colonel Hannes Spies of the South African Medical Service.

LEFT: Second-Lieutenant Horst Bremer of the South African Armoured Corps was decorated with the Honoris Crux for risking heavy hostile fire during the Angolan fighting in September of 1987, to salvage a Ratel-90 tank destroyer which had been immobilised. He is the son of the late Commandant Horst Bremer, well-known rugby personality and former OC Regiment Oranjevier.

PREIDENT ON PARADE... President P W Botha stands next to the parade commander, Colonel Hannes Spies of the Medical Service. On the right is the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Peter Muller.
ANC, SA group gained 'deeper understanding'

Some of the 107 South Africans who met the ANC at the weekend returned home last night with the message that if certain preconditions were met, the ANC would be willing to negotiate a peaceful solution, according to Mr Mike Olivier, chairman of the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), which organised the trip.

Mr Olivier said all involved in the talks had gained a better understanding of each other's motives.

A detailed statement would be released later.

Former Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Phillip Russell said the talks were "a good exchange of views and helped establish a better understanding".

In an earlier joint statement from Lusaka, the delegation and the ANC said the talks gave the ANC a deeper understanding "of some of the fears prevailing within the white community". For the South African delegation, it "increased awareness of the need for the unbanning of the ANC to enable it to participate fully in the South African political arena".

Central issues raised were violence and sanctions. It was accepted that the South African Government need more violence than the ANC and that sanctions should not be allowed to destroy the economy. — Staff Reporter and The Star's Africa News Service.
'Blacks can respond to NP's overtures'

DURBAN — It would be tragic if, just when the National Party showed it was ready to negotiate, black leaders hardened their hearts so much that negotiations became impossible, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu said at Ulundi yesterday.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's central committee, he announced that the theme for organisation's general conference would be "A year of action and organisation for peace, and preparation for the future".

He said recent preliminary talks between his representatives and those of the UDF and Cosatu indicated that there was now the possibility of of a new political era emerging: one in which black co-operation and unity could be worked for.

PEOPLE WILL DECIDE

When the reconciliation came about, he was sure it would one that was powerful.

"Ironically, in black unity, each organisation would emerge stronger than ever before," he said.

"We should not fear that the UDF and Cosatu would become stronger because we are negotiating with them. Black unity cannot be built on the fear of other organisations and a desperate desire to crush them."

It was the people who would ultimately decide the "who's who" of black politics.

Chief Buthelezi said he had told UDF and Cosatu leaders that the question of a joint endeavour between the organisations, and perhaps church groups, would be discussed at the Inkatha general meeting. — Sapa.
MP’s threat to quit over DP decision

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party last night gained a few days “breathing space” to defuse the row which has erupted over its decision to make participation in the election a whites-only affair.

The DP’s executive decided after a marathon meeting at the weekend not to contest any seats in the coloured House of Representatives and slapped tough acceptance criteria on any additional candidates in the Indian House of Delegates.

The controversial move sparked accusations of “betrayal” and “hypocrisy” from certain factions within the party, the threatened resignation of at least one DP MP and the possible formation of a breakaway party — the Non-Racial Democratic Party.

However, the leading DP dissident and MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingham, said that he had been persuaded by party members to withdraw his resignation pending the outcome of a meeting with the DP regional committee in Durban today.

And another DP MP who may resign as a result of the participation decision, Mr Mamoud Rajab of Springfield, said last night that his possible resignation would also hinge on the outcome of today’s meeting.

Mr Poovalingham, who described the weekend decision as “quite clearly opportunistic and unprincipled”, said that he would be prepared to review his threat to resign should “the more insulting” aspects of the DP executive’s decision on participation be changed, particularly relating to its “tone and import”.

This related to the specially strict criteria which the DP had applied to potential Indian parliamentary candidates which did not apply to white candidates.

The DP executive said that while the party reserved the right to make its own decisions regarding participation, “the fact of increased DP participation in the other two Houses would make it very difficult for the party to play a catalyst role in getting negotiations (among diverse constituencies inside and outside Parliament) started”.

The DP noted that while it recognised that there would be “some disappointment among certain members” over the decision, it believed that “the national interest must be served ahead of the party’s natural desire to contest all Houses of Parliament”.

Mr Poovalingham said that he wanted the requirements for DP candidates of all races to be standardised. “Failing that we will go ahead and form a new party — the Non-Racial Democratic Party — which will also field white candidates.”
Democrats Face Revolt Over Tricameral Decision
28 off to the Frontline states

A group of 28 young South Africans left yesterday for a 14-day tour of the Frontline states, where they will meet heads of state and academic organisations, before meeting the African National Congress.

The purpose of the tour, which is hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa (Idasa), is to give concerned white businessmen, local government leaders and academics the opportunity to acquaint themselves first-hand with developments in the neighbouring states of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia. — Staff Reporter
Reform: the great debate continues

South Africa: Reform or Revolution
(Professors World Peace Academy)
Reviewed by JOHN PATTEN

There is a readiness in South Africa for rational discussion and a préci- city for negotiation. That is the conclusion of Professor Eric Wainwright, Professor of Political Studies at the University of Bophuthatswana, following an academic conference last year on 'reform in South Africa.'

His conclusions are contained in a foreword to the publication of the full record of the conference of the South African Chapter of Professors World Peace Academy (FWPA) held last year in Sandton.

FWPA is busy with a continuing series of annual conferences designed to examine problems arising from apartheid. This book is a product of that 'academic exchange of views and in that way a contribution to South Africa's great debate.'

First publication

The conference last year on the theme of reform was the third in the series, but the first published for general public consumption. Previous conferences in the series were on the concepts of apartheid and the problems of the apartheid education system. This year's conference is scheduled to be held on the theme: Post-apartheid South Africa.

Professor Wainwright sums up the conference as concluding that it would be in no one's interest (black or white) to see the social fabric and economic structures of South Africa laid in ruins. The papers made it plain that the participating academicians felt a democratic unitary state involving all South Africans is what the country needs.

Apartheid, according to this judgment, cannot be reformed, because it is immoral, and must therefore be destroyed.

Papers contained in this book cover such aspects as the role of SADCC in influencing the pace of reform, black theology as a factor in reform, democracy and liberalism, and conflict or compromise.

It is likely to be the first of several publications providing an informed and constructive assessment of burning issues in South Africa's trauma, and it has an important use for the student of the country's politics.
MORE than 450 South Africans have visited the ANC this year at an estimated cost of more than R1m.

The weekend Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) trip to Harare had cost about R50 000, nearly two-thirds of which (R40 000) had been sponsored by six foreign governments, one of the organisation's spokesmen said yesterday.

The trip had cost about R2 200 for each of the 115 official delegates, while another 20 had paid for themselves.

The Canadian government had paid R5 000, the Swiss government R50 000 and the US government R30 000, while the remainder had come from the Swedish, Danish and Dutch governments and "a variety of overseas church-based foundations".

Each delegate had contributed about R200.

There had been 11 official visits to the ANC this year, and "significant" meetings between white South African passport-holders and members of the ANC had been reported, the FPF said.

RIANN SMIT reports FPF director Mike Olivier said at a media conference yesterday: "The ANC are taking seriously the content of the recent Law Commission report on a bill of rights."

Olivier headed the group that attended the conference in Lusaka at the weekend with an ANC delegation, which included 20 executive committee members and president Oliver Tambo.

He said there was a great deal of suspicion about the motive behind and the timing of the report but not about the principles contained in it.

One of the delegates, Anglican Dean of Pretoria the Very Rev Robin Briggs, said there was anxiety within the ANC about the hijacking of the report by the NP at its federal congress last week.

The ANC would not officially respond to the report because the feeling was that a bill of rights had to be negotiated.

FFF political forum co-ordinator Gavin Evans said although the ANC supported comprehensive sanctions as an important weapon to pressure government to negotiate, it shared the view that it was not in SA's interests for sanctions to drag on.

The ANC recognised it would be extremely difficult to rebuild a damaged economy and had stated explicitly it was not in favour of inheriting an economic wasteland, Evans said.

The ANC made it clear SA needed foreign investment for economic growth and was prepared to accept such investment on the investor's terms. It also recognised the difficulty of persuading foreign companies that had left SA to return, he said.

Olivier said the ANC was opposed to large-scale nationalisation, but was concerned about the "conglomeration of big business" into the hands of a few people. The organisation was also keen to develop black business.

Evans said the ANC would not call for a boycott of the House of Assembly election in September. However, it was totally opposed to elections in the other two Houses.
A top Nat explains why he quit the party

By BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff

F OR an Afrikaner to break with the National Party was like "pulling barbed hooks from your own body," according to former top government negotiator Mr Kobus Jordaan, who was the youngest ever NP Senator, the Commissioner General to Gazankulu, and a potential leader of the NP in Natal.

Mr Jordaan said in his first full interview since announcing that he is to stand for the Democratic Party in the NP-held Umlhangla seat that the government did not understand the dynamics of negotiations.

Because of this he had decided to change sides. But this was not an easy decision because of the hegemony of Afrikaner organisations, which included cultural organisations, the church and the NP.

Parents

"When you leave you are looked at as a sell-out of your own people. It hurts when you look at your history. For example my parents had to wear signs around their necks when at school saying 'I am a donkey. I speak Dutch.'"

Many Nationalists who were sympathetic to the DP, were facing this difficult decision.

Mr Jordaan, lost his security clearance when, as the government's top negotiator, he held talks last year with unnamed people unacceptable to the security establishment.

He said his main reason for leaving was "the total inability of the NP to grasp issues."

The NP was not prepared to make the single quantum leap which would ensure proper negotiations with all leaders and which would lead to a peaceful future for the country and to the lifting of sanctions.

The quantum leap required was that race had to be dropped as the building block of the future.

"All black groupings whether they use radical methods or peaceful methods want radical change."

Release

"They want the release of political prisoners, the scrapping of the state of emergency and the unbanning of political organisations before they will even negotiate. Any black political leaders who ignore this would be signing their own political death warrants," Mr Jordaan said.

Mr Jordaan said one of the most promising aspects he had found in his talks was that there was a total lack of recrimination from blacks -- "there is no desire to take revenge."

The government had four basic choices. It could continue with its present policy, move to the right, move over a few degrees in the hope that it would placate the international community, or it could take the only path of radical change away from the current policy towards non-racialism.

Sanctions

He saw the NP's action plan as a step to move a few degrees off its current course, which he predicted would not succeed in altering the growing impetus towards greater international sanctions.

A racist policy was not only unacceptable to the majority of South Africans of all colours, it was also "not feasible and morally indefensible.

"People cannot be judged in their place in society or in politics merely by the colour of their skin," he said.

Referring to his experience as a missionary and teacher in Zambia in the 1960s Mr Jordaan said there were two types of missionaries -- those who prayed for heathens and those who actively attempted to convert heathens.

Exposed

"Those who only pray for heathens haven't a hope in hell. If you don't expose people to Christianity they stay in the state they are."

It was much the same thing with negotiations. If people were not exposed to each other their ideas would not change.

Referring to the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba negotiations, Mr Jordaan, said the NP had made a serious mistake in rejecting the proposals.

"It set back all negotiations because it confirmed the impression among extra-parliamentary groups that the government was only prepared to negotiate on its own terms." Indaba

Mr Jordaan played a major role in attempting to convince the government that it had to consider the Indaba proposals seriously if it wanted to make real progress with negotiations.

As a former member of the NP Natal executive, Mr Jordaan unsuccessfully contested the Pietermaritzburg South seat for the NP in the 1977 election.

Ironically, in 1974 he played a major role in getting Mr Stoffel Botha elected in the Umfolozi constituency.

Youngest

After the 1977 election the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, appointed him as the youngest ever Senator.

In the Senate he served on the Schlebusch Committee of Inquiry into a new constitution.

Two years later he was appointed Commissioner General to Gazankulu.

Recruited

In October, 1984, he was appointed special advisor on unrest to the Minister of Development Aid and Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

In 1986 he took over as Director of multi-lateral relations with the independent national states in the Department of Foreign Affairs. In November, 1986, he was recruited by Mr Chris Heunis to handle the negotiations.

Mr Jordaan, who attended Grey College in Bloemfontein and the University of the Free State, said NP leader Mr F W de Klerk was correct when he said history had given South Africa a golden opportunity.

"If it is not taken we will be negotiating on the ruins of South Africa," he said.
'I was a scapegoat'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party was not prepared to enter into proper negotiations with all South African leaders because it feared the loss of exclusive white control, the Government's former top negotiator, Mr Kobus Jordaan, said yesterday.

Mr Jordaan, who lost his security clearance last year because of discussions he held with extra-parliamentary political groups, is standing for the Democratic Party in Umbhlanga.

Mr Jordaan denied he had any links with the African National Congress until six weeks ago.

STATEMENT

Mr Jordaan said his perception was that he and colleague Dr Fanie Cloete, had lost their security clearances "because we were being used as scapegoats to get at Mr Chris Heunis" (who retired as Minister of Constitutional Development at the weekend).

Although Mr Heunis had issued a public statement defending their position, the fact that he could not get the decision reversed showed "it must have been made by people in higher authority than Mr Heunis".

Mr Jordaan declined to say whether he was inferring that the decision had been made by President Botha.
Rightwing leaders pledge support for unified front

Pretoria Correspondent

Leaders of three far-right groups have joined forces in an attempt to unseat the National Party in the September general election.

In a rare display of rightwing unity Mr Jaap Marais of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party pledged support for a unified people’s front (volksfront).

They also claimed support of the Blanke Party in their rejection of the NP's new action plan as “sellout” policy.

At a meeting in Pretoria yesterday they called on Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to accommodate all rightwing groups in a united battle against the NP government.

They said they realised the importance of getting every rightwing vote so that the NP would be beaten so soundly it would not even be able to form a coalition government with the Democratic Party.

Mr van Tonder said the 1946 election was won by Dr Malan through a pact formed with six rightwing groups, including the Ossewa Brandwag.

Although Mr van Tonder has no plans to stand for Parliament, both Mr TerreBlanche and Mr Marais indicated they would be prepared to give up their nominations in the interests of a rightwing front.

Mr van Tonder said yesterday’s meeting was a historic one and he predicted that a unification of all rightwing parties would stimulate people to work for victory against the NP.

Mr TerreBlanche said the September election was the last chance for whites to protect their futures — and he was sure Dr Treurnicht realised the “seriousness of the situation”.

The CP leader was not invited to the meeting and no plans were announced by the three should he refuse to co-operate,
Feud lingers as CP rejects call for unity

The feud among right-wing political groups intensified yesterday when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht rejected a call for unity by the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging, the Boerestaatparty and the restricted Blanke Bewylingsbeweging.

Dr Treurnicht said last night right-wing unity already existed within the CP, which secured nine out of 10 conservative votes in the last general election.

He was reacting to a call for unity by HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and BP leader Mr Robbert van Tonder. The restricted leader of the BBP, Professor Johan Schabort, did not attend the meeting in Pretoria.

UNDEARTAKING

The CP's rejection of the election pact could result in a split right-wing vote which could see the NP scraping home in about eight constituencies.

The HNP intends contesting at least 25 constituencies. Mr TerreBlanche has announced his candidacy for Rustenburg, which the NP retained in 1987 on a CP/HNP vote.

Dr Treurnicht said the AWB should keep to its previous undertaking not to enter party politics.
US urges SA talks

THERE was such a symbolic relationship between white and black in South Africa that there would have to be a negotiated settlement, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, said last night.

He was addressing the Press briefly after he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had discussions at the Union Buildings.

Cohen, who is on a 10-day trip to Southern Africa, said he assumed there would be changes in the policy of "constructive engagement" of the previous US administration towards South Africa.

He was speaking to people across the political spectrum in South Africa, including the Government, the Democratic Party and the United Democratic Front.

On Angola, Cohen said he expected a final peace settlement there before the end of the year.

Botha said he and Cohen's talks had been a follow-up to discussions they had in Rome.

Yesterday they discussed, briefly, topics including Zaire, South Africa's security situation, Mozambique and Namibia. Today Cohen meets National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk in Durban.— Sapa.
ANC's terms for homecoming

By Emile van der Merwe
Political Reporter

I've always been honest, open, and genuine in my dealings. I believe in fairness and equality for all. I've always stood up for what I believe in, even if it's not popular.

After 'amazingly open, honest and genuine' talks in Lusaka

A press conference in Lusaka yesterday with the ANC, on the role of whites in a shared economy. The ANC has made progress in negotiations.

![Photo of ANC members]

Mr. Mike Oliver, ANC's representative, said: "We believe in a shared economy, where everyone has a fair share. We're committed to addressing the economic inequalities in the country."

Mr. Oliver also highlighted the importance of addressing the historical grievances and the need for reconciliation.

The ANC leaders are scheduled to meet with the government tomorrow to discuss the progress of the negotiations.

Stay tuned for updates on this ongoing dialogue.
An image gradually changing for better

South Africa, long reviled as the destabiliser of the sub-continent, is regaining reluctant recognition in Africa as a key player in bringing peace to the area.

Having played a major part in the successful Namibia negotiations, the Republic is now being seen to have an important role in the efforts to end the war in Mozambique and even an indirect role in the bid to bring peace to Angola.

 Pretoria has not been exonerated of destabilisation, however, and it clearly stands to make even greater political gains from the situation if it can begin to show clean hands on destabilisation.

The turning point has been the cooperation in the Angola-Namibia negotiations which led to the signing of the New York agreement last year. The dividend of goodwill gained from this has grown as it has been seen to be keeping faith in the implementation of the Namibian independence agreement.

This in turn has opened the way to the Angolan peace initiative and South Africa, even though it may be only peripherally involved, stands to get at least some reflected credit if the negotiations do not collapse.

Much more direct benefits are likely to come South Africa’s way if it is seen to be helping to end the war in Mozambique, which it has been accused of fomenting through its support for the Renamo rebels.

Important steps have been taken in that direction with the revival of the Nkomati Accord, with the Maputo government’s tacit acceptance that South Africa is no longer aiding Renamo and with the suggestion from Maputo that negotiations with the Renamo rebels may now be acceptable.

These developments are boosting Pretoria’s campaign to win wider and more open acceptance in black Africa as a whole.

This campaign may have been given a leg-up at the African summit meeting in Gobadolite, Zaire, last weekend at which the Angola initiative was launched with the MPLA-government and the Unita rebels agreeing to a ceasefire.

According to knowledgeable sources, South Africa’s role in the Angola-Namibia initiatives and its potential for helping in future peace exercises was given tacit recognition at Gobadolite, if not directly then through the acceptance of Unita, which had long been labelled a South African stooge.

The Gobadolite meeting was nothing more than a first step on what could be a long and rocky road towards reconciliation in Angola. But South Africa may already have gained some indirect advantages through its association with Zaire, which has become the key mediator in the Angolan conflict.

Zaire has major trade links with the Republic and has had more open political dealings with this country than most African countries. Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko is therefore in a good position to promote Pretoria’s role as a key player in the peace initiatives it has chosen to do so — and his past actions suggest that he might be.

Defying conventional opinion in the OAU, he received President Botha on a formal visit to Zaire last year, and knowledgeable observers would not be surprised if he came to South Africa on a reciprocal visit, this year.

Such a visit would do much to put the steam back into Pretoria’s diplomatic drive into Africa, which gained strong momentum with President Botha’s meetings in quick succession last year with the presidents of Mozambique, Malawi, Ivory Coast and Zaire and with the king of Lesotho, but which faltered when Mr Botha was laid low by a stroke.

In an interview, South Africa’s Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neill van Heerden, said the Gobadolite agreement, coming “in the slipstream” of the Angola-Namibia settlement, could tip the scales in southern Africa from confrontation to negotiation in the resolving of disputes.

And if the MPLA/Unita conflict could be settled by negotiation, it would encourage similar efforts in Mozambique where attention was already being focused on the possibility of a negotiated solution, he said.
SYNON BARBER IN WASHINGTON

FRESH LOOK AT SA

DEMOCRATS TAKE A

REPUBLICANS AND
Still no Nat candidates for 5 city seats

Political Correspondent

THE National Party had not yet reached a formal decision on whether to contest five seats in the city held by the Democratic Party, the Cape secretary of the NP, Mr Karel Greyling, said yesterday.

The party has until July 24 — nomination day — to name candidates for the Sea Point, Groote Schuur, Claremont, Pinelands and Constantia, the only five seats in the Cape where the NP has not yet named candidates.

It appears likely at this stage that the party will formally announce its candidates only after the school term resumes on July 18.

The NP has been trying to persuade city councillor and businessman Mr Chris Joubert to stand for the party against Mr Colin Eglin in Sea Point.

However, Mr Joubert has said that he would not stand as an official NP candidate but might stand as an “independent”.

Party sources said the NP was almost certain to put up a candidate in Pinelands and possibly in Constantia as well.

There is no indication at this stage that the NP is seriously considering a candidate in the Claremont constituency to oppose the sitting MP, Mr Jan van Eck.

Election date now official

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha has ended weeks of uncertainty by finally proclaiming the September 6 election.

As tensions between the National Party and Mr Botha continued to mount in recent weeks there was concern in political circles that the brooding President might not sign the Government Gazette notice making the election date official.

However, in a special Gazette published in Pretoria on Friday Mr Botha finally put the matter beyond doubt by confirming the September 6 date which he had announced in Parliament months earlier.

Nomination day has been set for Monday, July 24.

Mr Botha officially prorogued Parliament as from Saturday, July 1, for the purposes of the election.
Dr T says 'No' to Jaap's right-wing pact plan

Own Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night rejected the call for a coalition with other right-wing parties.

He was responding to yesterday's plea by the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Boerestaat Party and the Blanke Party for the CP to consolidate into a right-wing force to fight the September election.

The plea was made at a press conference here chaired by HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had demonstrated it was the home of right-wing Afrikaners. In the municipal elections last year, for example, the party had won control of 101 of the 150 local authorities.

He said to go into a formal coalition now with other right-wing groups would "seriously jeopardise the CP's plans and organisation for the September 8 election."

Mr Marais asked Dr Treurnicht to respond to the unity plea before his rally in the Pretoria city hall on Thursday so the "great news of reconciliation and unity" could be announced that night.

Mr Marais said with the announcement of the NP's five-year plan and its intention to accept a bill of rights, government was on its way to a one-man, one-vote constitutional dispensation.

Tremendous pressure was being exerted for a change in Dr Treurnicht's opposition to a united front, he said.
THE Democratic Party has nominated Mr. Jan van
dend, the MP for Groote Schuur, as its candidate in
the safe Nationalist seat of Malmesbury.

The DP has also named Commodore Vic Holder-
ness, former head of the Navy's base at Silvermine, as its candidate in False Bay and Ms Michelle
Guitler, national chair of the DP youth, as its can-
didate in Tyger Valley.

All three seats are safe Nationalist strongholds.

Mr. Van Gend, who lost the DP nomination contest
in Groote Schuur to Ms Dene Smuts, said last night
that there was enormous enthusiasm for the party in
the Malmesbury constituency.

He will take on the sitting MP and Minister of the
Environment and Water Affairs, Mr. Gert Kotze, who
won the seat in the May 1997 election with a 7,415-
vote majority over the CP, which polled 1,486 votes,
the PFP with 1,435 and the HNP with 639 votes.
From page 1.

The Democratic Party’s national leadership last night refused to buckle to the ultimatum by dissident MP Mr Pat Poovalingam to reverse its decision to limit participation in Indian seats in the election.

The DP said the attack Mr Poovalingam aimed at the party leadership and its participation decision was “void of integrity”, “untrue” and “ridiculous”.

The board stopped short of expelling Mr Poovalingam but made it clear the DP would not stand in the way of his threatened resignation tomorrow.

But in a dramatic development last night, the DP’s Natal coastal region called a special executive meeting for tonight in a bid to patch up the row.

The DP’s regional chairman, Mr Mike Ellis, said after a crisis meeting in Durban last night with dissident MPs Mr Poovalingam and Mr M. Rajab, that he believed “an amicable resolution can still be achieved” but that “careful negotiation is needed”.

Mr Ellis claimed the two MPs were “still very much part of the party” and said that “comments from both sides (in the participation dispute) in moments of anger and frustration” might have hampered a resolution of the dispute.

Tonight’s meeting will strive to reach a compromise between the position of the national executive and the Natal region, which has passed two resolutions favouring stepped-up participation by the DP in the House of Delegates election.

The DP’s national board noted in its statement that the “personal” and “insulting” remarks Mr Poovalingam made at the weekend against DP co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan were “irreconcilable with membership of the DP”.

Mr Poovalingam accused the party of “racism”, suggested the DP was responding to ultimatums from the ANC and UDF and said “when it comes to expediency and opportunism (Dr Worrall and Mr Malan) make Raila look like a rank amateur”.

A statement issued last night by the acting chairman of the DP board, Mr Tian van der.....
Spear man Grosskopf
'relaxed and happy'

Political Reporter

Mr Hein Grosskopf, the man publicly blamed for the Krugersdorp car-bomb explosion in March last year, is happy, relaxed and well.

This was the impression of South Africans at the Five Freedoms Forum conference with the African National Congress.

Mr Grosskopf, a self-confessed member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, acted as the ANC's chief of protocol at the three-day conference on the role of whites in a changing society.

Mr Gavin Evans, a member of the FFF's executive, said Mr Grosskopf was grateful for his parents' efforts in challenging the Government for publicly condemning him without a trial.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Evans said the ANC would suspend its strategy of violence if certain preconditions were met which would enable the banned organisation to participate freely in the political process and in negotiations.

Educationist Dr Franz Auerbach said that this viewpoint had been expressed three years ago at the time of the eminent persons group's visit to southern Africa.

Dr Auerbach, chairman of Jews for Social Justice, said the South African Government at the time had countered the proposal by demanding that the ANC denounce violence.
'I was a scapegoat'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party was not prepared to enter into proper negotiations with all South African leaders because it feared the loss of exclusive white control, the Government's former top negotiator, Mr Kobus Jordaan, said yesterday.

Mr Jordaan, who lost his security clearance last year because of discussions he held with extra-parliamentary political groups, is standing for the Democratic Party in Umhlanga.

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STATEMENT

Mr Jordaan said his perception was that he and colleague, Dr Fanie Cloete, had lost their security clearances "because we were being used as scapegoats to get at Mr Chris Heunis" (who retired as Minister of Constitutional Development at the weekend).

Although Mr Heunis had issued a public statement defending their position, the fact that he could not get the decision reversed showed "it must have been made by people in higher authority than Mr Heunis".

Mr Jordaan declined to say whether he was inferring that the decision had been made by President Botha.
'Using consumer muscle not automatic guarantee of political success'

The stalemate in Boksburg has shown that using consumer muscle is not an automatic guarantee of political success, according to a new publication released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The publication, entitled *The Boksburg Boycott*, written by institute researchers Mr. Harry Mashabela and Mr. Monty Naroom, points out that if Conservative Party policies are to be defeated, stronger organization and more sustained strategic thinking will be required.

"Some activists believe that consumer action can be a means of directly pressuring the council by reducing its revenue. But only a sustained withdrawal of buying power is likely to damage the council's finances.

"Even this would only have a limited impact as much of its revenue is collected from industry, which is relatively unaffected by the protest," the researchers write.

"Oftentimes the boycotts are a short-term means of showing black anger and disconcerting white voters. But this may also require sustained protests as the council has been allowed for five years and is not threatened by a short-term loss of voter support.

"Nevertheless, the researchers argue that black consumers begin using their power in a more organised way. The council will be forced to deal with the issue of black consumer action, as it will lose support on its balance sheets.

"In the event, scope exists for organised and successful political action.

"For example, the CP does not control the security apparatus and cannot use it to suppress black resistance to its policies.

"This, together with the National Party's reluctance to fight the Boksburg protest, creates opportunities for black organizations which are used in the current political climate."

Black business, provided it grew further, would help sustain the protest by valorising consumers to do all their shopping in the township.

"A long-term alliance between black business and organised black consumers could be in the interest of both. A trade union could play a significant role in the consumer action, because the clients are highly unsatisfied."

"There is considerable white support for the protest through the Boksburg Alliance (a coalition of business people, lawyers, sports associations, students and others) which has achieved something.

"White business had between 30 and 40% of its goods and services at the height of the protest."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Khemani and Joz Thobane, sub-editors, handled and posted by Sydney Mtshaka. All of 51 Commander Road, Industrie West, Johannesburg.

"If events in Boksburg indeed strengthen black organizations and weaken white business commitment to segregation, this will have important implications for local authorities concerned with the national democratic process."

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*Focus*

NEW WAYS TO DEFEAT CP POLICIES

A street scene in Boksburg where a stalemate has developed

The publication identifies two areas that need a countrywide reorientation of CP policies.

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State freezes rent on Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht homes

Political Staff

RENTS for the 1,775 State-owned houses in Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht have been frozen and the government is to spend R18-million on renovations and improvements.

And the percentage of houses available for sale is being increased from 30 to 50.

The measures are being taken to relieve the economic burden on residents.

The MPs for Maitland and Tygervalley, Mr Kent Durr, Minister of the Budget and Works in the Assembly, and Mr Alex van Breda, chief whip of parliament, said in a joint statement it was clear that since the second half of last year “something drastic” had to be done to lighten the load for Ruyterwacht and Ysterplaat residents.

It was found that some people in the lower-income group were finding it hard to keep up.

The MPs said a low-interest loan of R18-million had been approved by the Council for Development and Housing.

Of this R5.2-million will be spent on the 575 houses in Ysterplaat and R12.8-million on the 1,200 houses in Ruyterwacht. More than R10,000 will be spent on each house.

Renovations and improvements would include replacing roofs, floors, guttering, baths and toilets and repainting the houses inside and out.

Work is expected to start in August. Improvements in Ysterplaat are likely to be completed in the second half of 1991 and in Ruyterwacht towards the end of 1993.
Cape initiative for change
Meiring to seek practical answers

By DON HOLIDAY, Staff Reporter

The new Administrator of the Cape, Mr. Kobus Meiring, tackled his first day in office confident of his ability to ensure the Cape remained the leading province in creating initiatives for the building of a "new" South Africa.

He described the 10-year reign of his predecessor, Mr. Gene Louw, as "exceptional", praising Mr. Louw for his efforts to lay a foundation on which to build reforms.

It would take some time before he familiarised himself with the demands of the position, but he would be looking to solving issues in a practical manner rather than along ideological lines.

HOUSING AND SERVICES

He was excited about the opportunity the job gave him to address the practical issues, such as housing and services for lower income groups, because he felt they were as important in a new political dispensation as political rights.

Mr. Meiring, the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, reiterated statements made soon after the announcement of his appointment that the future of a "new" South Africa would be more likely decided in places like Khayelitsha, Ulundi and Soweto than in Maputo or Lusaka.

While it was important to prove that South Africa could live in peace with its neighbours, it was equally important for the government to make friends with its own inhabitants.

If the provincial administration could ease the conditions in squatter camps and whittle away the backlog in black housing, it would have made a valuable contribution, he said.

The decentralisation policy was sound and enjoyed popular support but needed to be substantially increased. The creation of housing and job opportunities in earmarked rural areas needed to be doubled if they were to be effective.

Good relations with the "independent" TBVC states had to be maintained.

Mr. Meiring said he was aware of the financial constraints confronting South Africa and considered the best way of funding possible social upliftment programmes was to make the "best" use of available funds and to increase productivity.

It would be unfair simply to scream for more money out of the budget.

DECENT STANDARDS

Experience of big United States banks and companies withdrawing investment from neighbouring African states for political reasons and then being unwilling to reinvest because of economic instability in the countries had taught him the need for retention of economic stability and "decent standards and civilised norms" in South Africa.

Good management principles were as important in the public sector as they were in the private sector.

The best way to establish these principles was to create a good team effort from his staff.
Transvaal urban voters will lose out

FINAL voters rolls for the September 6 election released by government this week show that urban Transvaal white voters are being hugely discriminated against.

A breakdown of the voters lists show that on average there are 22,570 voters in Transvaal constituencies, 18,498 in Natal, 17,079 in the OFS and 13,385 in the Cape, so a vote in the Cape is on average worth 1.5 times that in the Transvaal.

A redelimitation based on these figures would mean the Cape would lose 11 seats, and the OFS and Natal one each. The Transvaal would gain 13.

The area north of Johannesburg comprising the Randburg, Sandton, Bryanston and North Rand constituencies would gain an extra two seats. East of Johannesburg an extra seat would have to be created in the present Eshowe, Modderfontein and Kempton Park constituencies.

The voters who will be discriminated against the most in the coming election will be those in the North Rand constituency, where 43,657 people are registered. (304,691)

Voters in other Transvaal constituencies who will be discriminated against by government’s failure to hold a redelimitation include those in Bethal, where 30,894 people have registered, Helderkruin (32,410), Modderfontein (30,099), Meyerton (29,177) and Sandton (30,478).

Constituencies where the number of voters registered is far below the national average of 19,109 are mainly located in the Cape and include Aliwal (9,817), Beaufort West (8,526), De Aar (9,455), Namaqualand (9,394), Prieska (8,169) and Vryburg (9,678). In the OFS, voters in Faukesmith (9,389), Hailbron (13,052) and Ladybrand (14,112) are in a similar position.

The Transvaal seats with the smallest number of registered voters are for the most part those held by the CP or where it stands a good chance of picking up seats.
Cohen finds FW 'constructive'

DURBAN — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen met NP leader F W de Klerk on a whistle-stop tour of Durban yesterday and later described him as "a constructive and very reasonable man".

The two leaders talked for more than an hour in a city hotel before Cohen left for the Ivory Coast in a US military aircraft.

Cohen said he had found the talks with De Klerk "refreshing" and said he was happy to hear how he wanted to expand economic involvement with SA's neighbours.

He said there would be "significant differences" in the US government attitude towards SA under George Bush.

He would not give details but said there would be a new emphasis on helping SA's blacks to improve their political leverage for "inevitable negotiations".

Cohen, who is visiting Africa for the first time since replacing Chester Crocker, said he was here to attend the joint committee meeting in Luanda at the weekend. The joint committee was established to discuss differences of opinion over the implementation of Resolution 455.

Cohen has already met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriann Vlok. He is to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi next Wednesday.

© Comment: Page 4
but not in 1912

Why Boksburg can discriminace today

by Murray Smith

Johnstons et al V THE TRILLO FOLKS in the history of the courts.
SA-Israeli collusion questioned

By Carina le Grange

The measures of repression suffered by Palestinians in Israel and in occupied territories "resemble in many ways the measures of repression of the apartheid system", the South African Council of Churches (SACC) has said.

In a statement adopted at its national conference last week, the SACC said it questioned the "collusion" between the South African and Israeli governments, especially in the diplomatic, economic and military fields.

Stating that the SACC condemned all forms of anti-Semitism, the SACC expressed its sympathy with the Palestinian people, saying it shared their grief at the loss of thousands of Palestinian lives and the suffering of Palestinian refugees.

It also expressed its concern that the people of Israel, stateless for centuries, can now "deprive the Palestinians of a homeland".

"The policy of Israel denies basic human rights to Palestinians."

The statement on the Middle East conflict comes after two SACC delegations visited the region over the past year.

The SACC said, "expresses its gratitude to those Jewish people who, through their own experience of suffering, have become aware of the suffering of others."
Nats launch lavish new ad campaign

Political Staff

National Party propagandists have launched their first national appeal to the white electorate, urging voters to "listen to the voices of renewal".

Full-colour advertisements in daily newspapers yesterday and on Monday, which each cost in the region of R12,000, present the National Party as a new force with "new leadership, new drive and new action".

"Work with the National Party for a new, strong and just South Africa that offers hope and progress to everyone" is among the exhortations taken from a recent speech by the new leader, Mr. P.W. de Klerk.

The campaign kick-off features colour photographs of Mr. de Klerk and four senior Cabinet colleagues -- Finance Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha, and Minister of Justice Mr. Kobie Coetsee -- each commanding an unseen audience and a battery of microphones.

Accompanying the portraits are excerpts from recent speeches in which each Minister argues the case for the NP approach to South Africa's problems.

Mr. du Plessis speaks of a "stronger, leaner, fitter and uniquely prepared" South Africa.
Worrall briefs French on SA political moves

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the Democratic Party, met President Francois Mitterrand's special adviser on African Affairs yesterday at the Elysee Palace in Paris. 

"Mr Arnaud, whose intimate knowledge of South Africa was evident, questioned Dr Worrall closely about the latest political developments in South Africa, especially concerning Mr F W de Klerk's recent policy pronouncements," DP information officer Mr James Selle said in a statement released here.

"Dr Worrall briefed Mr Arnaud in depth about political developments in South and southern Africa and about the DP's views on these.

"Mr Arnaud, who stressed that the French government kept official contacts with South Africa to a minimum, expressed considerable interest in the DP's policy and prospects for the forthcoming general election.

"Dr Worrall said that the Namibian peace process provided the international community with a psychological breathing-space in which to reassess its position on South Africa itself.

"He said there was now an opportunity for the world to switch towards finding ways of helping to create the post-apartheid South Africa.

"Such a change in approach or emphasis reflected the changed attitudes in SA, since both the NP and the DP were talking about negotiating the political future.

"Mr Arnaud took note of this and promised to convey the substance of the discussion to Mr Mitterrand."
Nearly six million eligible to cast votes

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha said yesterday that more than 5½-million white, coloured and Indian voters were listed on the population register for the general election on September 6.

He said that on May 31 there were 5 612 286 registered voters eligible to choose candidates for the three Houses.

In the Transvaal there are 1 700 747 white voters, 861 651 in the Cape, 369 169 in Natal, and 239 104 in the Free State.

The number of coloured voters in the Cape totals 1 499 166, 69 106 in Natal, 24 602 in the Free State, and 172 400 in the Transvaal.

Most Indian voters live in Natal — 551 304 — but there are 93 040 in the Transvaal and 21 526 in the Cape. There are no Indian voters registered in the Free State.

The figures released by Mr Botha show that there are large numbers of South Africans of all races who do not have identity numbers.

NORTH COAST SURPRISE

The breakdown indicates that in the Transvaal alone, more than 28 000 whites do not have ID numbers. In the Free State, only 2 400 are without them.

A sixth of the coloured voters in the Cape are without ID books. In Natal, a quarter of Indian voters do not have them.

The figures also show that in the North Coast and Umtata constituencies for the House of Delegates, nearly half the voters do not have IDs.
HUNGER queues were growing in South Africa as welfare organisations struggled to feed 1.5 million people, both black and white, every day, the Democratic Party's candidate in Umbilo, Mrs Carole Charlewood, said yesterday.

"Government mismanagement of the economy has lead to starvation at certain levels of society and fear in other levels, particularly for those nearing retirement, who view the inflationary spiral with alarm," she said at the official launch of the DP campaign in Klip River, Natal.

Ms Charlewood, who spoke in support of the DP's candidate, Mrs Barbara Buys, added that South Africans were among the most highly-taxed people in the world if direct and indirect forms of taxation were taken into account.

The government was wasting money on, among other things, hand-outs to the public service, she said.
Row in DP over Indian candidates partly resolved

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The row in the Democratic Party over the national board executive’s decision to limit participation in the House of Delegates was partly defused last night.

The DP’s Natal coastal region executive decided, after a four-hour meeting, to abide by the decision.

However, it also resolved that after consultation with the national executive, it would proceed with the selection of candidates for the House of Delegates according to normal constitutional procedures.

This seemed to imply rejection of the national executive’s decision, which stipulated special criteria for the selection of candidates in the House of Delegates.

It was clear that after last night’s meeting, there was still some hard bargaining to be done. The national executive decided that, apart from the three present MPs in the House of Delegates, further candidates would only be accepted if they would “assist the party in bridging the parliamentary/extra-parliamentary divide and promote the negotiation process”.

This sparked accusations of racism by Mr Pat Poovalingam, the DP leader in the House of Delegates, who resigned and then retracted his resignation.
No need to shy away from the power games

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Women aiming to climb the corporate ladder should not hesitate to play political power games.
This was the message at a one-day working women’s conference held in Johannesburg on Monday.
Speakers focused on topics which ranged from women and organisational power to leadership styles and your visual image.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa, focused on the challenges facing the career woman in the 1990s. Women, he said, faced the same challenges as men in this conflict-ridden land.
But a specialist on women in the workplace had other ideas. Chief specialist researcher at the National Institute of Personnel Research (NIPR) Dr Jopie van Rooyen said that if women were to move into positions of power, they had to ensure that the influence of their presence was felt in the organisation.

Large numbers of women, she said, had entered male-dominated worlds and were urged to accept the challenges of moving up the corporate ladder to meet the existing staffing needs.
But women faced numerous barriers in breaking the traditional male-dominated culture of organisations.

Some organisations responded to women executives by accommodating them as long as the existing power structures were kept intact. Other organisations allowed women to reach only a particular level.

"Women are the minority amongst the majority," said Dr van Rooyen.

Women experienced problems in their quest to attain high level positions and research indicated that some of the reasons related to women’s lack of insight into the nature of power politics found within the organisational context and their inability to play political power games.

The concept of power meant different things to different individuals.

"Often the word power conjures up a dirty image. I’m not talking of the abuse of power for self-motivated reasons but about promoting the organisation and striving to better the position of others, she said.

The power of an individual within the organisational context reflected to some extent an element of dependency of the organisation or its members on the individual, said Dr van Rooyen.

The power of a person must be assessed in terms of authority, skill and influence the individual might have over others within the organisation.

Women, she said, should accept that they enter organisations on most occasions as tokens.

After having occupied key positions women should then assess how they could assume more power and sustain it, she said.

Women have to reach a stage where they have the ability to influence others, to act and bargain. But this does not mean that the women should be aggressive.

"It’s no good being very assertive in a hostile environment, you won’t get anywhere," said Dr van Rooyen.

"Women have to be in a position of power when they want to bargain.

"Whether women are aiming to occupy top positions or fill existing executive positions, they should not believe that other people will open doors for them. It has to be a personal initiative. Women should make it known to others within the organisation that they are interested in moving up."

Women, she said, should not baulk at playing political games in the workplace. It’s important to know who the movers are in the work context and align yourself to the group.

Future training for women workers, she said, should incorporate teaching women gamesmanship, which includes learning about bargaining, canvassing and campaigning.
masterminding to visit SA

UK Labour Party Policy

London, 5th July 1930

The British Labour Party is committed to the masterminding of the SA's policy.

The policy is based on the following principles:

1. Full employment of the SA's workforce.
2. The SA's productivity and efficiency.
3. The SA's financial stability.
4. The SA's social and environmental responsibility.

The policy is designed to ensure the SA's success in the short and long term.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Labour Party

[Stamp]
Rent-freeze residents are delighted

Staff Reporter

RESIDENTS of the Peninsula suburbs of Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht have greeted news of an overall rent freeze with delight — even if some do not see the necessity for such a move.

Many also see no need for the planned R18-million facelift for the two suburbs, saying the houses are already well cared for by tenants.

The Cape Times visited the state-financed suburbs yesterday after a joint statement from Mr Kent Durr, MP for Maitland and Minister of Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, and Mr Alex van Breda, MP for Tyger Valley, announcing a rent freeze from July 1 and a R18-million boost for the suburbs.

"It became especially obvious during the second half of 1988 that something drastic needed to be done to bring relief to these suburbs," they said.

But many residents feel differently. They said people living in the suburbs concerned were "certainly coming out" on their incomes.

Although they welcomed a rent freeze, they often did not believe it was essential.

"There are many people in Cape Town living in far worse conditions. They don't have brick houses — some don't even have roofs over their heads," one woman said.

A visit to Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht showed small and neat square brick houses which in several cases had been extended to make them more comfortable.

Residents said this was the work of the tenants themselves. "Many of us have added on here and there to make our homes nicer. We are very proud of our little homes."

A small percentage of houses were in states of disrepair but most appeared clean — some even newly painted — with well-tended gardens.

Rentals in the areas range from about R30 for for one-bedroomed, semi-detached houses to about R70 for two-bedroomed "family houses".

"Where else could I live for that kind of rental? I couldn't even get a room anywhere else and here I am living with everything I need," 85-year-old Mrs Louisa Lippert said.

She pointed out her "perfectly all right" wooden floors and said she couldn't understand why anyone would want to "rip them up and put down concrete".

The statement announced that 575 units in Goeie Hoop (Ysterplaat) and 1 200 in Ruyterwacht would undergo repairs which would include replacement of corrugated-iron roofs with asbestos roofs, and replacement of wooden floors with concrete.

Funds allocated to renovations averaged out at R10 400 per unit. 
Pressure may change CP stance — Marais

PRETORIA. — Public pressure could yet persuade the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to join a broad right-wing election front against the National Party, the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said yesterday.

He was reacting to Dr Treurnicht's rejection on Monday of the call for such a front made by Mr Marais; the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche; the leader of the Boerestaat Party, Dr Robert van Tonder; and Professor Johan Schabert, leader of the Blanke Party.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP election machinery was working full steam and it was too late for unity.

Mr Marais replied that although "we have noted what Dr Treurnicht has said", public pressure could yet make the CP change its mind. — Sapa
5.6m eligible to vote in election

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MORE THAN 5.6 million white, coloured and Indian voters will be eligible to vote in the September 6 election.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that the voters' rolls, which closed on May 31 this year, consisted of 3,170,667 voters for the white House of Assembly, 1,775,731 for the coloured House of Representatives and 665,870 for the Indian House of Delegates.

Mr Botha's figures show that there are considerable differences between the number of voters in the largest and smallest constituencies.

In the House of Assembly, Walvis Bay has only 4,661 voters and Prieska 8,140, while North Rand is numerically the largest seat, with a massive 43,637 voters, followed by Pretoria East with 38,867.

Other House of Assembly totals include: Beaufort West (8,926), Vredenburg (28,613), Helderberg (24,548), Greytown (22,395), Boksburg (23,171), Brentwood (25,783), Delmas (22,184), Geduld (24,980), Germiston District (23,423), Klerksdorp (23,949), Krugerdorp (22,415), Meyerton (29,137), Pretoria West (23,875), Sandton (26,476), Vanderbij Park (25,537), Verwoerdburg (27,023), Witbank (28,043) and Wonderboom (30,077).

In the House of Representatives, the biggest seat is Mitchells Plain, with 41,274 voters, and the smallest Heidelberg in the Free State, with 5,395.

In the House of Delegates, Phoenix has a mammoth 62,271 voters and North West Cape only 5,511.

The number of registered voters in the House of Assembly is 100,032 more than were entitled to go to the polls in the May 1987 election.

In 1987, 2,056,630 voters went to the polls in the election when the average poll was 68.11%.

On May 31 this year, there were 1,700,747 voters for the House of Assembly in the Transvaal, 861,651 in the Cape, 369,165 in Natal and 239,104 in the Offs.

In the House of Representatives, there were 1,409,256 voters in the Cape, 172,496 in the Transvaal, 69,105 in the Natal and 34,653 in the Offs.

For the House of Delegates, there are 551,304 voters in Natal, 93,040 in the Transvaal and 21,526 in the Cape.
Tax relief plan is suspect, says DP

CAPE TOWN — The Government's offer of minimal tax relief to people earning more than R80,000 a year was suspect, because, with inflation at more than 10 percent, by the time the adjustments were phased in, the squeeze would have made them worse off anyway.

Mr Ken Andrew, the Democratic Party candidate for Gardens, said this yesterday at an election campaign launch.

He said high taxation and the rising cost of living were placing unbearable burdens on most South Africans.

The GST rate was exorbitantly high, and to charge it on medicine was disgraceful.

Fees were ridiculously low — and on these and inflation, the Government's silence was deafening.

National Party leaders were too afraid to commit themselves to scrapping even one of the major remaining apartheid Acts, yet wanted the public to believe they were offering renewal and new action.

Nothing could be further from the truth, said Mr Andrew. — Sapa.
be uncontested
2 DP seats may
Most candidates now announced

De Beer to oppose
Cobham

The Star Thursday July 6 1989
Negotiation holds risks for SA Govt and ANC

The new buzzword in South Africa is "negotiation". A climate for negotiation will benefit everybody...but it brings huge risks and problems to all parties. HARVEY TYSON in his conversation with the ANC and its opposite numbers, looks at some of the obstacles. He does so as South Africa approaches the final crossroads leading to an uncomfortable change — or to an endless swamp of violence.

Two of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist Government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways. The NP has adopted one of those meaningless meanings of "negotiation", and will continue to squirm for some time yet, certainly well beyond the election on September 6.

What the ANC II, too, is squirming and its militant supporters within South Africa haven’t yet understood the real issues.

Less hardline
The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa, who cannot wait to take up the "spare" if the ANC shows signs of loosening its grip on the armed struggle.

Refugee militants of all parties abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home.

The Nationalist Government

Everybody wants peace but then: only on condition

"Negotiation" is beginning to gather as many distorted meanings as the word "democracy". But at least "negotiation" has not yet come to mean the precise opposite of the dictionary definition.

Everybody wants peace, including the ANC, the PAC, the NP, and most of the CP, yet none of the main South African players want real negotiation. Each would like to see the other side partially surrender.

However, two major developments are causing most leading players to revise their differing strategies.

Firstly, almost all of the South African political power groupings are being manoeuvred into a position of stalemate, where bargaining may come to be seen as better than the blowing of brains.

White South Africans face the prospect of a collapsing economy; may never have a stronger position from which to abandon the thought of the larger, and to reach out and bargain.

Its problem is how to stay in the driving seat and still meet the minimum requirements for fair bargaining.

The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic.

They are:
- Release Mandela and all political prisoners.
- Unban all political movements.
- End the emergency.
- Begin talking.

These steps would "normalise" the situation and provide a level ground for all interests to canvass support for the national convention, or constituent assembly, or merely for the talks about talks. But they are giant steps for the Nationalist Government.

How could it survive sudden nationwide political demonstrations by millions of black voters? On the other hand, how could it deal with the first minimum requirement — releasing Mandela and still gag his followers?

The African National Congress also has problems, as indeed do all the extra-parliamentary forces who want to lead the "new order".

The problem is not only whether or not to negotiate, but at what stage to announce one's intentions. To go in too early might prove fatal. To go in too late may mean joining a queue.

To keep jostling for position at the head of the queue may result in missing the merry-go-round ride after others have sneaked aboard.

Can intimidation of "sell-outs" be effective if the Government begins to offer real power to the people?

The inter-locking obstacles present a strong possibility of destructively negative stalemate. A prolonged stalemate could take the form of war, or a seemingly endless jostling for position before negotiation.

Vision for peace
Either stalemate will cost all South Africans dear. The economy will sink. Real change and possible prosperity will retreat into the next century. On the other hand, the prospects of a peaceful, non-racial, democratic state, of being welcomed back on to international platforms and playing fields, and of retaining sufficient economic resources to re-build southern Africa... well, that is a vision worth pushing from every angle.

Pressure on both sides can ensure progress. Pressure already exists in brutal economic forces crowding in on South Africa.

Others, such as an international boycott of South African passports, may be attempted if the Government does not move dramatically after September. Different pressures are already forcing change in the ANC.

These changes will be examined in tomorrow's article.
Campanhas Warm up at Large as Election Two Plans of Action

By HERMANNAH

Politics and Power

Opinion
'DP an alternative to racism for the platteland voters'

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

Platteland voters will no longer have to choose between soft and hard racism on election day, says the Democratic Party's Eastern Transvaal organisational chief, Mr Pierre Nel.

He said it was possible that DP candidates would be standing in all 26 constituencies in his region — from Alberton to Komatiepoort — about half of which are considered safe Conservative Party seats.

"The spread of the DP through the platteland has been like a veldfire. We've had people phoning us from towns like Secunda, Ermelo, Middelburg and Standerton begging us to launch in their town. We're starting out from scratch in these places because there were no other parties out there other than the Nats and the far right until a few weeks ago."

SUPPORT FROM YOUNG AFRikanERS

Mr Nel said he had been overwhelmed by the support for the DP in the so-called heart of CP territory, especially from young Afrikaners — the under-40s.

"I contend that this region is not as narrow-minded or verkramp as is believed. By default these voters have been persuaded and cajoled into not voting for the future over the last 20 years.

"Yet there is no way the DP in this region will prevent the democratic process from taking place. We will give voters a choice which is not racist. That means both establishing a presence in each constituency and placing suitable candidates in the field."

The importance the DP's national leaders were placing on its swing into the platteland was evidenced by two coming public meetings in Witbank.

"Although they get hundreds of requests to speak throughout the country, both Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Zac de Beer have confirmed speaking dates in Witbank before election day," said Mr Nel.
The CP welcomed relief to pensioners but did not believe a one-off payment would help much.

Mr Uys said he also did not think that the vote-catching ploy would work as his party was finding that people had already largely made up their minds about how they would vote.

Mr Harry Schwarz, financial spokesman of the Democratic Party, said that, while it had to be welcomed, the payment was “very meagre”. In the past session of parliament the DP had asked for monthly increases.

Pensioners must be pleased there was an election on the way because the payment coming their way was related to this.

At the time of the budget the party had said that a R1-billion contingency fund which had been set aside would be used for election benefits. This was now happening and it would not be the last example before the election.

"An insult"

He believed civil pensioners would also get a payment, and tobacco farmers, too, would get aid.

A R460-million debt of the maize board was written off recently and there had been a considerable reduction on toll road rates.

Apart from these there was the announcement this week of a rent freeze in the Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht suburbs and recently there was the scrapping of proposed rent and mortgage bond increases, for people in lower-income group housing administered by the House of Representatives.

Mr Mike Ellis, the DP’s spokesman on pensions, said the announcement was an election ploy and an insult to pensioners.

If the government believed this would swing the vote to the National Party it was wrong. Not even a R60-a-month payment would relieve the plight of the pensioner.

Earlier Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, had announced a one-off bonus of R60 to be paid in October to more than 2-million pensioners in South Africa and the TBVC states.

**Cost R128-m**

About 14-million black pensioners and 756,000 white pensioners will share in the payout.

Mr du Plessis said this would cost the state R128-million and would be paid out of the government’s contingency reserve.

He said the government was aware that such an announcement before the election could be seen by critics as an attempt to win the votes of the aged.

Those who wanted to make that assumption should take into account that the authorities did not react only to requests from the Ministers Council in the House of Assembly, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, but also to the pleas of countless other well-meaning people and organisations.

Mr du Plessis said it would be a cynical political decision if the government did not pay out the bonuses at a time when it was in a position to do so.

Election “sweeteners” highlighted by the opposition so far include:

- The rent freeze for residents of state-owned homes in Ysterplaat and Ruyterwacht;
- Salary increases offered to South African Transport Services staff;
- The writing off of a R460-million maize board debt;
- A Swiss watch award scheme for more than 12,000 government officials with 30 years service;
- Toll road fare reductions;
- Major concessions in the new telephone metering system.

Democratic Party MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, has challenged the government to show that the rent freeze at "mocked"
The row in the Democratic Party over its national board's decision to limit participation in the House of Delegates was partly defused last night.

The DP's Natal coastal region executive decided after a four-hour meeting to abide by the decision.

However, it also resolved that after consultation with the national board executive it would proceed with the selection of candidates for the House of Delegates according to normal constitutional procedures.

This seemed to imply rejection of the national executive's decision which stipulated special criteria for the selection of candidates in the House.

It was clear that after last night's meeting there was still some hard bargaining to be done.

The national board executive decided that apart from three present MPs, further candidates would be accepted only if they would "assist the party in bridging the parliamentary/extra-parliamentary divide and promote the negotiation process".  

See Page 11.
DP to pick candidate for Boksburg

A close contest between two Democratic Party nominees for the Boksburg seat will be resolved on Friday night when the Boksburg Candidates' Committee and DP Regional Candidates' Committee will make their choice. 

This week, a nomination battle ended in deadlock between two nominees, Mr Pieter van Pletzen (41), an accountant, and Mr Dirk van Wyk (38), an industrial relations expert. — Sapa.
New global accord could pressure SA
- Schirnding

GRAHAMSTOWN — Decreasing tensions between the super-powers would subject South Africa to "pressures of a kind not previously experienced", the director-general of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, said in Grahamstown.

He was delivering the Cecily Niven Lecture during the 1980 Foundation's National Schools' Festival.

He said if rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union over southern Africa was replaced by accord, pressures would be brought to bear on South Africa, possibly through a revitalised United Nations.

"We are witnessing the fruits of super-power accord in the shape of the United presence,"

"We should not underestimate the precedent which has thus been set. Is it not thinkable that the Soviet Union and the US might attempt to set a similar process in train, concerning the internal situation in South Africa itself?"

Mr von Schirnding warned that a politically united Europe after 1992 would also have enormous implications for this country, "if the new Europe is led by Socialist France, a Social Democratic Germany and a Labour Britain".

He said, however, there was "a vast international reservoir of potential goodwill" which would respond positively to constructive signals emanating from South Africa. — Sapa.
‘Support CP to unite the Right’

The right-wing Vereniging van Oranjewerkers has publicly backed the Conservative Party in the forthcoming general election but has expressed support for efforts to unite right-wing political groups.

This is the latest development in the ongoing row among groups on the political Right following the Conservative Party’s rejection of an election pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Boerestant Party and the restricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, now apparently operating as the Blanke Party.

In a statement, the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers said it would be impractical and confusing to expect that an election agreement could be reached at this late stage.

The most effective way in which the right-wing vote could be consolidated on September 6 would be to support the CP.

The CP had demonstrated in the 1987 general election and last year’s municipal election that it “enjoys the overwhelming support of the volk” and was the party-political front of the Afrikaner.

Expressing support for the CP’s policy of partition, the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers said the CP was the political instrument through which the Afrikaner’s survival could be assured at this critical point in its history.

It called upon all Afrikaners to support the CP in order to oust the National Party.

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H.W. Tyson, content approved by R.G. Anderson and P.H. Walton and political caricature by D. Anderson, all of 47 Bow Street, Johannesburg.
Tax relief plan 'suspect'

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE "fat cat" Nationalist government's offer of minimal tax relief to people earning over R20,000 a year was suspect, the DP candidate in Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night.

"With inflation at more than 15% a year, by the time the adjustments were phased in, fiscal drag will ensure that most of those salary earners are worse off anyway," he said.

Speaking at a DP election campaign launch in Vredehoek, Mr Andrew said high taxation and the escalating cost of living were placing unbearable burdens on most South Africans.

"On all these crucial issues, the government's silence is deafening."

What was needed was sustained economic growth, but this depended on investment and productivity, both of which demanded the removal of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the head of the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works, Mr Callie Reyneke, said yesterday that the state's R18-million upgrading of houses in Ysterplaat and Ruiterwacht was a one-off scheme and that the finance would take the form of a low-interest loan, which residents would have to repay.

The DP has said that the scheme is an election ploy to garner the NP votes in Maitland.
The rent freeze an 'election ploy'

Political Correspondent and Staff Reporter

THE rent freeze announced for Ysterplaat and Ruiterwacht residents had the markings of a government election ploy, the Democratic Party MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

Mr Andrew said elections were often good news for many voters because "even a government as uncaring as that of the National Party starts to take some notice of the problems facing the man in the street!"

Head of the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works Mr Collie Reyneke said yesterday that the state's R18-million upgrading of houses in the areas was a one-off scheme. It was not part of an larger plan to finance home renewals.

Under the plan, announced by the Minister of Budget and Works in the House of Assembly and Nat MP for Maitland, Mr Kent Durr, the rent freeze will last for a year.

Mr Andrew said in a statement that since the government announced the general election it had:
- Offered salary increases to South African Transport Services employees;
- Backed down, partly or wholly, on the "exploitation" of locals using toll roads; and
- Softened its stance on the new telephone metering system.

"Now some residents of Ysterplaat and Ruiterwacht have been granted a rent freeze," Mr Andrew said.

However, there were millions battling to make ends meet. "Many face the insecurity of being evicted because they cannot afford to pay their rent."

Mr Reyneke said the money for the upgrading was not a grant. It was a low-interest loan, which residents would have to repay.

Residents polled yesterday welcomed the relief. "My house is in a terrible state. They'll have to rebuild it completely," said Mrs Muriel Billing.

Mrs Theresa Bosman wondered "whether our houses will ever be decent - I hope so." Mrs Patricia Lober has been living "with walls that are falling down and full of cracks."

"These places need a lot of upgrading," she said.
UK awaits FW’s dramatic gesture

By Deon du Plessis
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr F W de Klerk, if and when he becomes State President, would be well advised to make a dramatic gesture signalling his reformist intentions as soon as he can.

This message from the British government was delivered by Britain’s Deputy Foreign Secretary Mrs Lynda Chalker in an interview yesterday.

Mrs Chalker, who lunched with the NP leader in London last week, said she found him to be an “intelligent, clever and personable politician”. But she cautioned that he might not feel just how urgently the world felt about South Africa’s problems or how far it had moved along in its own perceptions and treatment of race relations.

She cautioned that Mr de Klerk should not delay. He should not introduce his reforms over a time scale which was “longer than is wise”.

Mrs Chalker said she and other British politicians who had seen Mr de Klerk, including Mrs Thatcher, had made clear to him their abhorrence of apartheid and their wish that it be changed peacefully. What was sought in South Africa was a “nonracial and representative system of government”.

Britain’s role among its European partners on the apartheid issue was one of a “voice of reason”. Mrs Chalker said, by pointing to the consequences of “certain, suggested lines of policy”.

For example, it was able to provide for the Europeans practical examples that blacks in SA were the first to suffer from sanctions and disinvestment.

As examples of the sort of moves Mr de Klerk could make, she cited the ending of detention without trial, forced removals and the state of emergency, and the release of Nelson Mandela.
Labour Party to fight all 80 seats in House

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Aspiring Labour Party candidates will be gathering in Cape Town next week for a nomination process in which the party will be putting up candidates for all seats in the House of Representatives.

Selections will start on Monday and national secretary of the party, Mr Abe Williams, said the successful candidates would probably be announced at the weekend.

"We will be putting up candidates in all 80 seats in the House. We have plenty of people to choose from," he added.

One of the LP's chief concerns in the September election will be to increase the percentage polls, particularly in metropolitan areas like the Peninsula.

It is widely perceived that an improvement in the credibility of the House of Representatives will depend on a higher voter turn-out.

Mr Williams believed more people would come forward to vote than in 1984. "We sense that there is a greater urge among communities to get involved."

"People have seen that we have been fighting for change in Parliament, and I think that is going to make a difference."

Dismissing Mr Carter Ebrahim's Democratic Reform Party, Mr Williams said: "We are not expecting much opposition. A party which enters an election with the aim of being the Opposition is not much of a party."

(Report by M Morris, 151 St George's Street, Cape Town.)
Show your opposition, CP urges residents

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party has called on all conservative Johannesburg residents to participate in the city council's opinion poll on the desegregation of municipal facilities.

CP leader in the city council Mr Jacques Theron yesterday said all conservatives should show their opposition to the opening of facilities in the city.

Although the questionnaires which were sent out this week were not regarded as a referendum, the National Party-controlled management committee had said it would regard the poll as a basis for future decisions on the opening of facilities, Mr Theron said.

IN FAVOUR

"It is therefore of the greatest importance that conservative voters react, especially when keeping in mind that the same NP-controlled management committee has on several occasions expressed itself in favour of the opening of facilities."

He said white residents had the right to "own" facilities and an "own" community life.

The desegregation of facilities would aggravate crime in the city, Mr Theron added.
An election play
30th June

60 pension bonus

By Peter Frankish

The Government has announced a £60 increase to the State Pension. This is part of the Labour Party's plan to increase the state pension by £10 per week. The Opposition has criticized the move, saying it is not enough.

In response to this announcement, the Prime Minister has called for a vote of confidence in the Government. The Opposition has called for a vote of no-confidence in the Government as well. The political situation is now tense.
TWO of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways.

The NP has adopted one of those meaningless meanings of "negotiation", and will continue to squirm for some time yet, certainly well beyond the election on September 6. What about the ANC?

It, too, is squirming and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues. The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa who cannot wait to take up the "spear" if the ANC shows signs of loosening its grip on the armed struggle.

Refugee militants of all parties abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home.

The Nationalist government may never have a stronger position from which to abandon thoughts of the laager, and to reach out and bargain. Its problem is how to stay in the driving seat, and still meet the minimum requirements for fair bargaining. The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic. They are: Release Mandela and all political prisoners. Unban all political movements. End the emergency. Begin talking.

Those steps would "normalise" the situation and provide level ground for all interests to canvass support for the national convention, or constituent assembly, or merely for the talks about talks. But they are giant steps for the Nationalist government. How could it survive sudden nation-wide political demonstrations by millions of black voters? On the other hand, how could it deal with the first minimum requirement — releasing Mandela — and still gag his followers?

The African National Congress also has problems, as indeed do all the extra-parliamentary forces who want to lead the "new order". The problem is not only whether or not to negotiate, but at what stage to announce one's intentions. To go in too early might prove fatally weak. To go in too late may mean joining a queue. To keep jostling for position at the head of the queue may result in missing the merry-go-round ride after others have sneaked aboard.

Can intimidation of "sell-outs" be effective if the government begins to offer real power to the people?

The interlocking obstacles present a strong possibility of destructively negative stalemate. A prolonged stalemate could take the form of war, or a seemingly endless jostling for position before negotiation. Either stalemate will cost all South Africans dear. The economy will sink. Real change and possible prosperity will retreat into the next century.

On the other hand, the prospects of a peaceful, non-racial, democratic state of being welcomed back onto international platforms and playing fields, and of retaining sufficient economic resources to re-build southern Africa... well that is a vision worth pushing from every angle.

Pressure on both sides can ensure progress.

Pressure already exists in brutal economic forces crowding in on South Africa. Others, such as an international boycott of South African passports, may be attempted if the government does not move dramatically after September.

Different pressures are already forcing change in the ANC. These changes will be examined in tomorrow's article.
Thatcher gives Worrall a warm greeting

LONDON — DP co-leader Denis Worrall began the London leg of his European tour on a high note yesterday when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher welcomed him like an old friend.

The talks, lasting 45 minutes, were later described by Thatcher as “detailed” and serving to reinforce that it was a “unique” time to take advantage of changes taking place in SA.

The cordial relationship between the two was evident the moment Worrall, former SA ambassador to Britain, arrived at Downing Street.

Onlookers said she greeted him by his first name and expressed her delight at seeing him again.

Worrall said she was well-informed, was eager to be updated on developments in SA, and had an open mind.

She had also been keen to hear how the DP viewed the southern African situation and its impressions of the coming general election and SA’s future.

Worrall was confident about his reception for the rest of his UK trip, during which he is scheduled to meet trade union leaders, Labour Party members and businessmen with SA interests.

His message to the British public, he said, was that there were “stirring times” of opportunity for SA.

He said he hoped to give them a reason for optimism and hope for SA.

Worrall will also address the All Party South Africa Group — made up of members of Parliament from both the Conservative and opposition parties — in the House of Commons on Monday.

He will then move on to Portugal.

Picture: Page 3
Govt to pay R60 pension bonus

Political Staff
GOVERNMENT has decided to pay a R60 bonus to all social pensioners irrespective of race. The bonus will be paid in October and is to be funded out of the R1 billion Contingency Fund created in the Budget. In all, R128m will be paid out of the fund which, when it was established, critics said would be used for "election sweeteners".

Representations
Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said in a statement that since the Budget the government had received urgent representations, in particular from the three Ministers' Councils, to consider either increasing social pensions or paying a bonus. Mr Du Plessis said 2 143 000 pensioners would receive the bonus.

DP Finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said it was now obvious that pensioners should welcome regular elections because they at least got something from the government. He welcomed the fact that the bonus was to be paid to all pensioners irrespective of race, but said that R60 in today's inflationary climate, while welcome, was an extremely meagre amount.
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A DELEGATION from the Democratic Party's national executive flies to Durban today for a crunch meeting with rebel MP Mr Pat Poovallingham.

Mr Poovallingham sparked a row in the party at the weekend by accusing its leadership of being opportunistic, racist, unprincipled and of bowing to ultimatums from the ANC and the UDF.

The central figures involved in today's delicate negotiations declined to comment on a possible outcome but party sources said there was pressure for Mr Poovallingham to be expelled from the party if he did not withdraw his remarks unreservedly and apologise.

Mr Poovallingham has already been sharply rebuked for his remarks by the DP board and MPs are angry that he has handed the National Party a propaganda weapon for the coming election.

For his part, Mr Poovallingham has threatened to resign and form a new party, the Non-Racial Democratic Party, if the DP national executive's decision to limit participation in the House of Delegates elections was not changed.

However, the DP Natal Coast region committee has since unanimously decided to "abide" by the decision of the DP national executive's weekend decision on participation, leaving Mr Poovallingham somewhat marginalised within the party.

The issue will be addressed afresh today when the acting chairman of the national board executive, Mr Tian van der Merwe, and executive member Mr Jasper Walsh, fly to Durban.

Asking last night whether Mr Poovallingham's status in the party would be addressed, Mr Van der Merwe said the party hoped to resolve the matter "as soon as possible".

"The chairman of the DP's Natal Coast region, Mr Mike Ellis, said last night that he would be holding "very serious discussions" with Mr Poovallingham "to resolve the situation in the best interests of the party as a whole."

Mr Ellis said he believed a situation could be reached "where Mr Poovallingham is likely to remain in the party."

He said the Natal region had not yet come close to a decision on the number of seats the DP might fight in the House of Delegates in the coming election.
THE much-heralded referendum on Johannesburg's municipal apartheid has been stillborn — raising accusations of a massive backdown by the National Party-controlled council.

Mrs Manetta Marx, the deputy management chairman, said yesterday it was not a referendum, but merely an opinion poll.

Voting cards now in the post will be used as an opinion poll and not as a referendum on the "opening" of bus routes, swimming pools and recreation facilities, she said.

Opposition Democratic Party parks and recreation spokesman Mr Ian Davidson yesterday described the decision to use the poll of the city's 280,000 white voters as an opinion poll and not a referendum as "back pedalling and a complete about face."

"The management committee at the outset termed it a referendum and it was never called anything else. They also indicated that if there was a positive vote for open amenities they would abide by that. They now backpedal and say even if there is a positive vote they need not open amenities," said Davidson.

He said an opinion poll is based on an in-depth scientific survey conducted by a recognised market and opinion research organisation.

A questionnaire requiring a simple "yes" or "no" response is a referendum, he said.

Marx said the term opinion poll has always been used in council. "This could never be a true referendum in the sense of counting every single vote because that type of system would be open to all sorts of abuses."
The smile that’s meant to make apostrophes more acceptable

By NATURALLY PRODUCING
Iran may aid Mozambican gas search

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — An Iranian delegation led by Mines Minister Mr Seyed Ayatollahi has arrived in Mozambique to study the possibility of Iran helping Mozambique develop its gas deposits and mines.

Mozambique's Minister of Mineral Resources, Mr John Rachamila, said yesterday Mozambique was open to Iranian participation in the prospecting for natural gas in the Pande region in southern Mozambique as well as in other geological and mining projects.

DISCOVERIES

"Mozambique has a vast sedimentary basin with the potential for discoveries of oil and natural gas. We would like to see Iran involved and participating in prospecting," he said.

Mr Rachamila suggested the possibility of the two countries establishing a joint mining company.

New global accord could pressure SA

– Schirnding

GRAHAMSTOWN — Decreasing tensions between the superpowers would subject South Africa to "pressures of a kind not previously experienced", the director-general of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, said in Grahamstown.

He was delivering the Cecily Niven Lecture during the 1980 Foundation’s National Schools Festival.

He said if rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union over southern Africa was replaced by accord, pressures would be brought to bear on South Africa, possibly through a revitalised United Nations.

"We are witnessing the fruits of super-power accord in the shape of the Untag presence.

"We should not underestimate the precedent which has thus been set. Is it not thinkable that the Soviet Union and the US might attempt to set a similar process in train concerning the internal situation in South Africa itself?"

Mr von Schirnding warned that a politically united Europe after 1992 would also have enormous implications for this country, "if the new Europe is led by Socialist France, a Social Democratic Germany and a Labour Britain".

He said, however, there was "a vast international reservoir of potential goodwill" which would respond positively to constructive signals emanating from South Africa. — Sapa.
Participation: It's time to decide

DP must appease its two wings - and those without the vote
'House was sold at 1966 price'

Pretoria Correspondent

Conservative Party claims that a Laudium house was sold at below cost to a Mr Danie Khoosal who was untried, a Pretoria City Council spokesman said.

The CP candidate for Hercules, Mr S.P. Barnard, who made the claims, distributed a document from a Pretoria Management Committee meeting to prove his "allegations".

The council spokesman said the house was sold to Mr Khoosal for R3120. "The price was determined as on May 31, 1966, and not 1988," the spokesman said.

The spokesman said the council sold the house under a scheme devised by the government. "If a person stayed in a house for 25 years, we sold it at the fixed price as on the date of occupancy," the spokesman said.

When asked, the spokesman said 85 percent of council houses owned by whites were sold under a similar scheme. This was not part of the National Home Selling Scheme announced by the government in 1983.

"Mr Khoosal bought the house and stand. The council made no profit on the deal," the spokesman said.

The value of the house was not determined by the council. The spokesman said the last evaluations were made in 1984 and were currently being reviewed.

(Report by Y.L.J. Thumbras, 416 Verwoerd Street, Pretoria.)
MASS EXODUS FROM GOVT FORUM

Not happy

Not happy

Organisation.

Ngqo also said they were not happy with the way the organisation was being run. It did not have the welfare of the black people at heart.

The general-secretary of the NF, Mr David Modiba, yesterday confirmed that his organisation was aware of the decision taken by the Cape councillors.

He said: “At this stage we are not in a position to discuss the withdrawal of the councillors from the NF. Ucas will discuss the matter at a meeting in Durban this weekend.”

President of Umsa, Mr Tom Boya, said the withdrawal of the Cape councils from the NF was proof that the body did not represent the aspirations of the black people.

He also said there was little chance the organisation would survive unless it changed the way it was operating.

Boya said: “The NF must be disbanded. It cannot work.”

SIXTY two councils in the Cape have pulled out of the Government-created National Forum.

The councils — from the Eastern, Western and Northern Cape — cut ties with the NF at a meeting attended by more than 50 councils at the weekend.

The meeting was held at De Aar in the Northern Cape.

This brings the number of councils who have rejected the NF to 122. The other 60 are all affiliated to the United Municipalities of South Africa, which did not take part in the formation of the NF on May 6.

The 62 councils are all affiliated to the Urban

By MZIKAYISE EDMON
NP scared of talking to true leaders

THE National Party was not prepared to enter into proper negotiations with all the leaders of South Africa because it feared the loss of exclusive white control, the Government's former top negotiator, Mr Kobus Jordaan, said.

Jordaan, who lost his security clearance last year because he spoke to extra-parliamentary forces, is standing for the Democratic Party in Umhlanga because of the Government's inability to get negotiations underway.

In the first interview since his removal from his position as Government negotiator, Jordaan, denied he had any links with the African National Congress until six weeks ago.

When he and his colleague, Dr Fanie Cloete, lost their security clearance last year it was insinuated that they had been planning or had talked to the ANC.

They had only been told "jy sal sef self weet wie jy gepraat het" (you know with whom you have talked.

But Jordaan said his perception was that they had lost their security clearance "because we were being used as scapegoats to get at Mr Chris Hennis" (who retired as Minister of Constitutional Development at the weekend).

Aware

Jordaan said Hennis was fully aware of all the people they had spoken to about negotiations.

Although Hennis had issued a public statement defending their position the fact that he could not get the decision reversed showed "it must have been made by people in higher authority than Hennis."

Jordaan declined to say whether he was inferring that the decision was made by President P W Botha.

He warned the National Party that it was making fatal errors in attempting to get negotiations going.

The first was the Government attempt to choose its own negotiating partners.

The Government would not even get moderates to negotiate because it was not prepared to talk to all the real leaders.

"No real leader can negotiate while others are still locked up or restricted."

The other restriction on negotiations was that if the Government could find people to talk to there would be "no real negotiations as long as you are prepared to discuss modifying apartheid."

He doubted whether the new National Party leadership realised this or had the vision to meet the demands of real negotiations.
Words, words, words...

The F W era has dawned — but seems stronger on style than on substance

The packaging has changed — what of the contents? Press advertisements for the National Party (NP) this week promise "new leadership, new drive, new action..." and plead: "Listen to the voices of renewal."

They come after new leader F W de Klerk's European tour — generally seen as moderately successful in "selling" the promises of the post-P W Botha era — though most observers feel F W must have unveiled a hidden agenda to attain the credibility his foreign hosts seem to have accorded him.

To assess the genuine promise of reform, it needs to be remembered precisely what the world wants of SA — and that's no secret. Release Nelson Mandela, unbend the ANC, lift the State of Emergency, abolish the remaining pillars of apartheid like the Group Areas Act (GAA) — and enter into negotiations with credible leaders of the black majority. If De Klerk makes it to a meeting with US President George Bush, the message will be repeated.

That, at a minimum, is what it would take for SA to be readmitted to the world community — with all that implies of renewed foreign investment and healthier trade. So the NP's manifesto needs to be scrutinised for signs that this is indeed what will occur within, say, the five-year time span it in effect asks for. At home, promises on reduced taxation and a freer enterprise-oriented economy will lift the spirits of those being asked to "work with the NP for a new, strong and just SA that offers hope and progress to everyone."

Clearly, the manifesto — the Proposed Plan of Action distributed to party congress delegates last week — would not have been sufficient to account for De Klerk's relatively generous reception abroad. But, as it happened, there was one significant inci-

dent to remind everyone of the climate of aggression and fear F W proposes to lead us out of. This came when Bonn's Labour Minister Norbert Blüm — in SA at almost the same time De Klerk was in West Germany — held a meeting with State President Botha. It turned into (as so often) a PR disaster for SA.

Afterwards Blüm described Botha as hard-headed and icy, saying he hopes all white South Africans do not think like the ailing and reclusive president. However, Blüm said, it is clear that SA's fate does not rest just with "Botha and other bokmangel" (concrete heads). He was of course referring to his talks with union leaders, extra-parliamentary groups — and possibly members of the Democratic Party (DP). But it is as significant that he also spoke warmly of De Klerk, whom he met. A great deal therefore rests on F W's shoulders.

Meanwhile, until September 6, the Cabinet may still be presided over by Botha — if he wishes. Unless there is a serious crisis in the already strained relations between him and the party hierarchy, he remains a Nat, and like F W supports NP policies as they have been outlined. The question remains: what has F W been promising behind the backs of his congress and caucus?

A senior Cabinet minister tells the FM that careful attention should be given to the precise formulation of the five-year plan. "It is broad enough to enable government to take important steps after the election," he argues. "We all know that we will have to act drastically — and have to be seen to do it voluntarily. This plan does not deter us from taking dramatic steps on the road to reform. What is significant is the absence of those past conditions... which dominated previous policy statements."

Throughout the NP's 40 years of rule, policy has changed — from the rigid ideologies of D F Malan, Hendrik Verwoerd and Hans Strijdom to the extent of overtaking those of the old United Party; and today to the extent that the Right cries treason. From this perspective, the five-year plan will be seen by many as a point of fruitful departure. Unfortunately it is interlaced with jargon concerning "group rights" that at first blush it fails for serious reformers.

Lawyers for Human Rights' Brian Currin warns that it will be tragic if government twists the Law Commission's recent report on group and individual rights for electoral gain. Interviewed by SABC TV, De Klerk laid the emphasis on group rights over individual ones. His response to Currin, indicate he had either not read the report or was "playing election politics.

Currin adds: "The commission is convinced that there is strong support in this country for the idea that individual rights ought to be better protected... than has hitherto been the case."

If De Klerk's comments indicate what government intends to do with the commission's recommendations, "they may as well be disposed of without any further ado. It will be a tragedy for SA if government dishonestly uses this document to justify its group/apartheid philosophy.

A rude awakening awaits government if it hopes that the five-year plan will entice blacks to join negotiations, according to Stellenbosch law professor Gerhard Erasmus — it simply is not possible to apply apartheid with compassion. And Rau political scientist Deon Goldin's avers that race remains the foundation of Nat thinking.

The GAA remains in force — indeed, people will be officially invited to tell tales about those who settle in "white" areas. In the absence of fundamental reform — such as its abolition — it would be wise for voters to ignore such arguments as that a vote for the DP in marginal seats like Gerrit Viljoen's Vanderbijlpark could lead to a CP victory. An appeal to "listen to the voices of renewal" is not convincing when the argument comes down to voting for bad lest there be worse.

While the new plan has been boosted by Nationalist newspapers, there have been a few notes of warning. The promise to uphold group rights is one aspect of the five-year plan that will come under fire, says Reold. Marketing the new plan will be difficult. Its sister paper Rapport warns that time is of the essence. Urging the NP to show the courage of its convictions, it says some of the party's most loyal supporters have lost faith in the course being steered by the NP.

True, the plan may prove just enough to lure some wavering back to the NP; but as a platform for serious reform and negotiation it seems set for failure — whatever De Klerk may have said overseas. It is structurally
By DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies at UCT, who took part in the Lusaka conference with the ANC.

IN THE hypothetical event of a free and democratic election in South Africa, the ANC would receive the votes of at least 60% of the black population. On the other hand, according to survey data, only 20% of the white population supports the ANC's constitutional proposals for universal franchise in a unitary state. That, in a nutshell, is the South African problem.

Unless the ANC is brought to its knees and forced to participate in a process of constitutional negotiation, the South African deadlock will continue, with horrifying long-term consequences.

It was with these premises in mind that I joined the most recent safari to Lusaka, under the leadership of Mike Olivier of Five Freedoms. The 115 of us were a mixed bunch, united only by our common lack of real political leverage in white politics.

We were received graciously and hospitably by the ANC, whose members are genuinely pleased to receive first-hand news from home, as they do not generally call South Africa. Homophobia and xenophobia are among the characteristics you naturally suspect. Sophistication, intelligence, and determination come a close second.

Hardliner

The temptation for some is to romanticize the ANC and to think it is just a quaint corner of a safe haven for the oppressed. It is a dangerous mistake. The charm of Thabo Mbeki and Paul Josi- dan and the benign wisdom of Oliver Tambo. They are a home-grown skills and with the ANC's position with firmness and dignity.

The "other side" of the ANC, which we witnessed at the best represented by the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Chris Hani, reputedly a tough and uncompromising hardliner. For long the armed struggle continues the more likely it is that the hardliners will capture the key leadership positions.

A number of us were critical of the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We were quite unable to shake them out of their implacable arguments that sanctions and violence are mutually exclusive. We were told of the letter written by Chief Albert Luthuli to Prime Minister J G Strijdom in 1957 pleading for him to show statesmanship in stemming the tide of discriminatory legislation.

This is tragic, but no one could produce an effective reply to the ANC's claim that its taking up arms, after nearly 30 years of scrupulous commitment, was the inevitable response to the State's own violence.

We were all present at the ANC's creation in 1912 and the struggle for independence from British colonial rule.

At that time many ANC leaders had a genuine fear of increasing hostility and South Africa's economic decline. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, there were pressures from the Soviet Union for the ANC to participate politically rather than a military "solution".

Democrats

The belief, anecdotally promoted by South African propagandists, that the ANC dog was wagged by the Communist Party tail, is untrue. In fact, as several true: CP people have been more or less completely assimilated into the ANC.

In any case, the Communist bogey can hardly be exploited as a political weapon. It was amazing to hear well-known Communists in Lusaka talking like born-again democrats. One such person, who is no admirer of the ANC, told me that if he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, where multi-party systems are in the process of being established, he replied: "I hope so."

He went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny. "Once the bastards get in you can never get rid of them."

Coming from someone who has swallowed Stalinism, the brutal repressions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland without a peep of (public, at any rate) protest, this was hopeful.

I had long discussions with various ANC people who had drafted the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines, which are an amplification of the Freedom Charter. I was impressed with the modest and scholarly quality of the Swazi DEM with whom I participated in a session on constitutional options.

Minorities

The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial, unitary state but in discussions I gained the impression that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no party or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution. They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid "winner-takes-all" outcomes.

Our constitutional discussions were enjoyable but did not go beyond a narrowing of the options available to the ANC and the pro-government forces, with no final outcome in sight. There was little evidence that the ANC would lose much by such a compromise, but it would be possible to lose it altogether.

Finally, it needs to be said that the non-racial ethic is fundamental to the ANC's political cause. It has always been easy for the ANC to defend this position but, to their great credit, they have done so and, as far as they are concerned, non-racialism is
"I now trust the ANC," the mayor of East London, Mr Donald Card, said in Lusaka.
Card, a former security policeman, has in the past been responsible for the incarceration of some members of the banned organisation.
He and 16 other delegates conferred with the ANC at its headquarters in the Zambian capital last week. The trip was organised by Free Freedom Forum (FFF).
Mr Franz Auerbach, the chairman of Jews for Social Justice, said at a press briefing on the group's return this week: "This conference has helped substantially to build a climate of trust and, given the background, I think that is significant.
"The termination of the ANC's cooperation has led to many white people forgetting that these people are all fellow South Africans," Auerbach said. "And if there was one word that kept cropping up throughout the conference it was "cooperation".
But the group's task was also a signal to the ANC that there are white South Africans who are committed to meaningful change.
Mr Michael Olivier, chairman of the FPF, said after the briefing: "Mr Card feels that the ANC has the largest support base in the country. Hence our decision to meet and discuss with it the future of the country."

Unique

Discussions ranged from the question of violence to the participation in the tripartite Parliament. Olivier said:
"The talks were amicable, honest, open and genuine. The conference was a unique opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions and fears prevailing in the white community," he said.

Mr Gavin Evans, an executive member of the FPF, said: "The ANC was very grateful for the kind of information the delegates were able to give its members.

The ANC had not formulated a clear strategy on detailed economic issues such as fiscal policy and monetary policy, or exchange control. "It welcomed input in this regard," Evans said.

There was, however, considerable unity on the objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa: "The strategic and other differences," Olivier hastened to add.

Glad Neke of the FPF explained reasons for the group's visit to Lusaka:
"We have a real problem in this country: namely that we have extremely little knowledge about what the ANC really is. To glean such information was one of the aims of this conference."

She said State media controls and Press restrictions prevented ordinary white South Africans from knowing what the ANC was all about.
"Impression generally held by whites are false, or otherwise very limited, so the ANC tends to be demonised by the Government.
"This is a very serious problem considering we're going to have to negotiate with the ANC in the future," Neke said.

Strategy

The discussions on violence were divided in two parts. Judith Harewood of the Black Sash said: "The first was violence of the state machinery — the violence against the people of South Africa."
"The other," Harewood explained, was the adoption of a strategy of armed struggle.
"The background and reasons why the ANC adopted this strategy was discussed. There was some understanding for this course of action, she said."

But the two groups agreed to differ on strategy. "Although we agreed on a common goal, the ANC and the anti-apartheid forces within the country had adopted different strategies," Harewood said.

Sanctions

Olivier reported that the demands should not be viewed as preconditions, as a fundamental aspect of any situation which would change before a new constitution and that negotiations could be possible.

The ANC remained firm in its belief that comprehensive sanctions would bring about fundamental political changes, and that reducing violence would not change anything. But it has been more open to proposals for economic and nationalisation.

Evans said the ANC realised the African experience is fraught with problems.
"The organisation is growing about issues such as the redistribution of wealth and nationalisation. It would encourage the development of black businesses by, for example, state banks loans to small entrepreneurs," Evans said.
Ground for negotiation has not been laid

perspective

Joe Manne

The SABC was celebrating in its morning comment yesterday, saying that the international community is now reassessing the value of economic sanctions.

It said that exports have increased. Several recent statements from representatives of various Western governments do in fact show that the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has raised their hopes for negotiations on the future of South Africa.

A new spirit seems to have come into all discussions about this country.

I remember the first American assessment of de Klerk immediately after he became leader of the NP: he was called a possible Nixon of South Africa. Nixon? The hopes were that just as the conservative American President Nixon had broken the Cold War by going to China, de Klerk would be the conservative to end South Africa to democracy. Since then de Klerk has charmed some European leaders like Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl.

Last week he threw his long-awaited lifeline, the Five-Year Plan, into the air. But before that dramatic moment, there were widespread stories of behind the scenes shuttle diplomacy to get the African National Congress and the Government to talk.

Into this activity comes the story of an ANC document containing secretly in the country canvassing support for a change in position on negotiations with the Government.

It suggests the formation of a constituent assembly with the power to draw up a new constitution.

De Klerk has certainly put on the charm. Let us look at what he has publicly put on the table:

• Setting up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new constitutional future.

Freedom

• A possible acceptance by the NP of a Bill of Rights as part of a negotiated constitution;

• Greater emphasis on freedom of association and of dissipation in group formation;

• Decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act.

According to some analysts the most important concession that the NP has made is to insist that the groups participating be committed to peace, thus stepping down from the original demand that participants first disarm violence.

But is this a stepping down or a re-working of the original condition? Obviously only the insane are not committed to peace.

The plans have been attacked by various groups, but all the criticism points out that the NP has in fact not changed any of the policies under the leadership of P W Botha.

Let us be very generous and assume that de Klerk is playing two games—to win votes at the September elections, a public one that scrubs the image of apartheid, and then another behind the scenes in which he is keen on genuine negotiation.

This would mean that he is entering the negotiations without a mandate to dismantle apartheid, he can only manoeuvre within the limits set by a society convulsed with race and religious domination.

At this stage the NP is not even talking of scrapping the Group Areas Act. It is suggesting a more efficient bureaucracy to implement it.

If a white comes to live in Soweto, his neighbours could then complain to a bureau and officials of that body would get to him and offer him alternative accommodation.

He would be prohibited only after refusing the alternative accommodation.

No, sir. The ground for negotiation has not been laid yet. There will be a lot of red herrings to get us chasing...nothing.

The ANC believes that Walter Sisulu will be released from prison before the election and that Mandela and other high profile leaders will be released after the elections.

It is important that these leaders be heard, but it would add nothing to the big picture until while South Africa agrees to an open-ended invitation to negotiate a new dispensation.

It is only then that liberation movements can start taking de Klerk and the NP seriously. For now, it is obvious that FW is only interested in beating sanctions and the institution of this country.

The joyous shouts that came over the airwaves from Auckland Park yesterday morning demonstrate this very clearly.
ANC is becoming more flexible, too

It is only three years since black militants and white parliamentary voters met formally in open congress, possibly for the first time, to discuss a post-apartheid society.

That conference, sponsored in Port Elizabeth by Van Zyl Slabbert’s Idasa, was one of the more depressing talk-sessions I have attended in a long life of listening to political gobbledygook.

It was depressing because of the meaningless Marxist definitions of “democracy” and “freedom,” and the ideological cliches about parliament, capitalism and the rest. Worse, the SA Police arrested some delegates.

Last weekend, in Lusaka, a similar convention seemed light years away. The only comparison I could find was just one sample of mirror image. A black security policeman tried to detain a white clergyman for taking a photograph of Zambia’s Swapo refugee camp.

But South African militants abroad have changed.

What does the ANC stand for today?

The conference was encouraging because both sides were prepared to take risks. And “the whites” and the ANC actually listened to each other; sometimes shouted at each other; or at least became tighlipped over sanctions and violence.

The ANC seemed flexible on private enterprise; minority rights (protected by a Bill of Individual Rights); and press freedom. It seemed blissfully unaware of, and willing to be advised on, some technical problems in economics, education, health. All this was disarming.

I shall detail one example of the new flexibility — the example which I went to Lusaka to test.

It is the ANC’s definition of “press freedom” on a continent where “freedom” means you can support the government. Nowhere in black Africa does an “alternative” press operate.

Only gentle and “constructive” criticism is allowed ... even in the most democratic country outside of SA.

What does the ANC propose?

“We strongly believe in Press freedom. We also believe in responsibility and accountability.”

No anti-Semitism

What does that mean?

“It means we would not tolerate anti-Semitism, racism, or Nazi propaganda in the media. But otherwise anyone could produce any kind of newspaper, from say the British Guardian to the conservative Daily Telegraph; from the girlie Sun to the Independent. Every political ideology (except racism) will be possible in the press.”

Other forms of censorship?

“Obscenity is not a problem. It is a matter of taste...”

Decades of isolation and propaganda in South Africa have turned whites into naive travellers and frightened negotiators. Yet the time has come to start bargaining — or settle for ceasefires. What is there to negotiate about? Harvey Tyson, who accompanied 113 whites to Lusaka at the weekend, examines their ANC encounter.

What if one of the media were to preach secession from your unitary State?

“Why not? In any case it would be a minor aberration, like a Royalist political party in the USA.”

Well, what about a serious constitutional challenge to the government — say 50 percent of the people wanting change?

“That feeling would need airing, so that the nation could continue to develop.”

What about media ownership?

State-controlled TV which you have criticised back home?

“Yes, we are concerned about exclusive white, centralised control of the press and electronic media. We shall have to find a mechanism to provide many more papers for the people — African language papers, for instance.

“The mechanism could be state papers; party or community papers; perhaps subsidised media as in Europe...”

The longer we debated the more apple-pie we were offered.

It was a reminder that this policy was like Pik Botha’s policy as given to foreign visitors ... very different to the version fed to the people. Yet it was remarkable that all of it was for the public record.

It is an example of why ANc attitudes (and those of all other political movements) need to be tested in negotiation, under pressure; in practice.

It was a demonstration of how easy it is to talk — even when some of us (Helen Suzman was the most vocal) condemned loudly and without qualification their policy of violence.
An encounter with 'gewone mense'

Thabo Mbeki ..., argues persistently.

Oliver Tambo ..., impressive.

This was at least the 70th publicly recorded meeting between the ANC and South African passport-holders since 1955; about the 30th publicised meeting since that Idasa conference. South Africans ranging from Gavvin Kelly and Donie Craven to members of the FCI and Stellenbosch University SRC have met the ANC recently — and I can think of many more South Africans, some close to Government, who have done so in secret.

Yet the jet-load of whites and the 60 ANC top-brass who debated for three days in Lusaka were seen as pioneers in seeking a negotiating process. What the conference did was make it easier in the future for other South Africans, including Government spokesmen, to meet the ANC (and PAC and other extra-parliamentary groups).

**Distorted image**

But the white voter's image of the ANC has been distorted out of sight since its president, Albert Luthuli, was banned 30 years ago for attracting too much white support.

Today the ANC leaders are seen as demons. Censorship and propaganda have turned them into monsters, and given them more power than they possess. The demons, though not quite sanctified by meeting the former Anglican Archbishop of South Africa and the rest of the delegation, were seen to be normal men and women — a fact which almost overcame many white delegates. One can smile at Engels — with good intentions greater than good sense, and Afrikaners with hearts bigger than their heads, who go overboard at these encounters.

**Propaganda machine**

Yet it is the Nationalist closed-circuit propaganda machine which has transformed sophisticated white South Africans into frightened travellers and native negotiators.

Perhaps, if ever Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki appear on SABC TV, half the white audience will swoon. The leaders are charming men; impressive politicians; and they argue persuasively that they have less blood on their hands than any Government man responsible for police action. White South Africans may swoon, not so much at the unfamiliarity of such faces on the box, but because they seem gewone mense, just like their favourite MP.

That does not mean the ANC have transformed into angels.
Openings to Africa

Glenn Babb recently resigned as Deputy Director General of Foreign Affairs. He has played a crucial role in several Southern African peace initiatives.

FM: What is the importance for SA of the current peace moves between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos?

Babb: The implications are enormous. At last we are on the threshold of the regional conference which will unlock the region's huge potential. Europe 1992 means that Africa will be further marginalised as Europe will focus on the enormous benefits flowing from economic unification and will withdraw from Africa. Unless African states act in concert to protect their interests as raw material suppliers to the advanced trading blocs, the situation where Africa "sells cheap and buys dear" will only worsen.

Is this not against the idea of free competition?

Decidedly not. The idea of trade groupings is supported by the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade (GATT). We should follow the example of the EEC. Our Customs Union with the BLS countries is a case in point. As are the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Agreement. SA, as an SADCC member, could help boost African economies in power generation, transport and technology.

Do you expect a positive response?

Africa has been neglected by reality. After years of enmity, sanctions and other pressures against the country, many African states now see SA as a potential partner. We have trade with 51 countries in Africa. In 1988, our African trade grew by 10% to R4.8bn or about 9% of our total foreign trade.

Trade with Zimbabwe shot up by 36%, while the growth in our Zambian trade was 21%. SA is now the major supplier to both countries, outperforming the UK.

Where else can we help?

SA has an excellent track record in areas like natal conservation — essential to promote Africa's primary tourist attraction — its wild game and open spaces. In the Comores over the past seven years, tremendous changes were effected, using minimal resources. Food production has increased using improved stock, seed and production methods. Roads were upgraded, and its tourist industry is now being placed on the world map.

What about Madagascar?

Tourism development was started at Nosy Be, but they foolishly withdrew after a presidential coup. Southern Sun moved to Mauritius and gave that island its start-off. Madagascar is a basket-case — their only hope lies in closer ties with SA. Development of their fishing, oil, tourism and graphite resources should be of great interest to our companies. I regard Madagascar as one of the priorities for future economic links with SA.

And Mozambique?

After the Port Steering Committee (constituting the Mozambican government, Sats and the private sector) identified improvements to Maputo harbour, loans of more than R100m were guaranteed by SA's Credit Guarantee Insurance Corp. over the past four years. SA forestry companies are planting about 30 000 ha in Mozambique and 4 000 ha have been leased to SA farmers for irrigation. Supermarkets are being developed in Maputo, and tourism should take off when the peace and security problems are sorted out. Mozambicans regard SA as their best potential partner.

Why?

We are the closest and the cheapest and our products are technologically best adapted to Africa's needs. SA's private sector has the capital to invest, and our historical ties go back a long time. Political ties were strengthened by President P W Botha's visit to Songo last September.

Also, the West is reducing its economic assistance to Africa. For example, about 20% of French companies active in Africa have pulled out (this could rise to 50% shortly). French investments in Africa have dropped by 25% since 1985. Who will fill the gap? It can only be SA.

What is Africa's response?

The West has created a dependence on handouts — now that they are beginning to pull out, the realisation is dawning that SA is Africa's strongest potential ally. For example, SA produces 40% of Africa's manufactured exports, generates 70% of the continent's electricity and transports 70% of Africa's traded goods.

In fact, we should also become more sensitive to the fact that our very size can be perceived as a threat, from Africa's point of view.

What should our relationship with Russia be?

SA has never been a boycott country. In terms of countertrade and barter, an axis with Africa and the East bloc has attractions — not as a counter to the West, but to ameliorate our global position. These countries have no capital readily available. Some deals have already taken place.

Do you expect drastic changes in our relationships with Africa over the next five to 10 years?

An improvement in our mutual relationships is absolutely unstoppable.
he listened with enormous interest and promised to give a full report to President Mitterrand."

SA-GERMAN RELATIONS

Circles in a forest

While the National Party (NP) basked in party leader F W de Klerk's favourable reception recently by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Cabinet has decided to stick to a decision which may yet freeze relations between Pretoria and Bonn.

The decision relates to a plan for the expropriation of property owned by the Berlin Mission Society at Pniel in the northern Cape to make way for the extension of a national park — which would mean uprooting a number of coloured families living there. Implementation of the plan could well undo any success De Klerk may have achieved in West Germany.

The seriousness of government's proposed action is underlined by industrialist Anton Rupert's personal intervention. The FM understands that Rupert, in his capacity as president of the SA Nature Foundation, has asked Environment Affairs Minister Gert Kotze for the Cabinet to reconsider. Rupert, it is understood, fears the negative effect such a step could have on German-SA relations.

Meanwhile, De Beers has also placed on record its opposition to government's plans to extend the Vaalbos national park. The company fears that government may eventually expropriate the farms comprising the Rooipoort Estate, bought in 1980 for their diamond potential. Ever since the purchase, De Beers has been conserving the fauna and flora on the estate and many species of antelope have been reintroduced and managed in consultation with wildlife experts retained by the company.

It is understood that De Beers has warned government it would oppose the expropriation of Rooipoort "with every means available." Says De Beers spokesman Neville Huxham: "We have registered our views with the minister and are opposed to the extension of Vaalbos national park. We believe it is not sited in the right place.

"We support the idea of extending national parks but believe more work must be done in conjunction with the National Parks Board to locate a more appropriate area."

In some circles government's proposed action is seen as a political decision based on the Barkly West municipality's desire to promote tourism. Barkly West, in which Vaalbos lies, is part of Ntwatwa Koppies Nienman's Kimberley constituency.

De Beers also feels that, while the group is sympathetic to attempts to promote tourism, government should not spend vast sums of money on an unnecessary national park which may have limited appeal. De Beers provides the major tourist attractions in the area — including the Kimberley Mine Museum. The company feels that without its continued support there would be very little to encourage tourists.

However, the Cabinet seems adamant about pressing ahead.

On June 16 Kotze met various interested groups as a result of a recent Cabinet decision reaffirming its intention: "We're going ahead with the plans to extend the park," says Kotze's spokesman Etienne van Rensburg. "It has however not yet been decided how to go about it."

Van Rensburg says that over the past 10 years the department has had various negotiations on the issue with the Berlin Mission Society. "When no agreement was reached the Cabinet decided to go ahead... The coloured families are living in squalor conditions."

He reckons De Beers has no cause to fear Rooipoort's expropriation: "We have invited De Beers to negotiate with government and suggested that the estate be managed by the National Parks Board on their behalf. The allegation that this is an election ploy is solely De Beers' viewpoint."

De Klerk may have to intervene personally to avert an international confrontation.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP)

Diplomatic drives

Hard behind F W de Klerk with his National Party manifesto and the results of Lindbergh, Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Denis Worrall is deploying his diplomatic skills on a stump around European capitals to convince governments there is an alternative agenda for SA. His highest level talks were to be with UK PM Margaret Thatcher on Wednesday.

Prior to that, in Paris, Worrall briefed Claude Arnaud, African affairs adviser to President Francois Mitterrand and, as the FM went to press, was holding meetings with senior Foreign Ministry officials in Bonn. Lisbon and Rome were to follow the stopover in London.

DP national organiser James Selle, who was with Worrall, says the DP's triumph in Lindbergh and reassessment of its chances in the general elections were behind the reasoning for the tour — a more comprehensive one than De Klerk's because of the French ban on top-level contacts with the SA government. "The settlement in Namibia is sharpening the focus on SA and we are giving our view of developments and vision for the future," he said.

The talks with Arnaud were "very warm:
ECONOMIC POLICY

Nats still play the old tune

In the 1987 election manifesto, the National Party (NP) put the long-term goals of economic policy as the highest possible growth rate; maximum job creation; price stability; and balance of payments equilibrium — with genuflections toward private enterprise, privatisation and deregulation.

Success on every single one of those has been inadequate, despite (a) attempts to put much of the blame on wicked foreigners and (b) Org Marais’ fatuous comments on white living standards.

So what is the prescription of the 1989 manifesto, under the heading “A Dynamic Economy”? It’s worth quoting the “long-term goal” in full:

“The promotion of (a) high real average economic growth rate together with low inflation in order to ensure the highest possible real income per person. The optimal application of the means of production through the promotion of free enterprise and effective competition within a market-orientated economic system with sustained fiscal discipline and the greatest possible financial stability.”

The changes are little more than semantic. Some would call the style more elegant; others, just more highfalutin. It’s probably that both the CP and the DP would be able to embrace these principles virtually word for word.

But, certainly, this year’s manifesto is much wider than its predecessor.

It specifies inflation as “our economy’s public enemy No One” and repeats the commitment to single-digit inflation. Job creation, conversely, has been relegated to little more than a footnote and the balance of payments is a term conspicuous by its absence. There are references to a “more streamlined and cost-effective civil service”; the establishment of an export culture; the promotion of SA’s tourism potential; the reduction of the public-sector deficit before borrowing (PSBR) to 3% of GDP; and the need to curb population growth.

Other figures are few and far between, but there is a commitment (as part of the Five-Year Plan) to cut the top marginal personal tax rate from the present 45% at R80 000 income to 40% at R100 000 and the company tax rate from 50% to 40%.

Clearly this outlines a society that most businessmen and others who believe in the free market philosophy would find a lot more congenial than what Swapo envisages for an independent Namibia (see Current Affairs), which leans as far in the direction of socialism as it can without deterring local entrepreneurs and potential foreign investors.

It is ironic that the pledge of lower taxes and PSBR should be made on virtually the same day that the Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin disclosed that the State’s share of GDP is at its highest ever. But this underlines the basic weakness of the manifesto: an apparent inability to distinguish between the means and the end.

What we need to know is not that we should cut tax rates, or PSBR, or that we need a streamlined, cost-effective civil service. After all, precisely that was one of PW’s main promises 10 years ago — and kyk hoe kyk ons nou. What we need to know is how these objectives are to be reached.

For a party that has been in power for 41 years, it is not enough to say, “We’ll work that out after we take power.”

Given the record of the Eighties (which surely not even the incorrigible Org Marais could quibble with), it’s obvious that major changes in implementation are needed if there’s to be any chance of attaining objectives which are really much the same as they were last time — and the time before that.

The NP clearly realises that it’s more vulnerable on the economic front than ever before. Not only the CP (as in 1987), but also, belatedly, the DP have rightly seized on the poor performance of the economy as an election issue. The economic section constitutes just over four pages in a 20-page manifesto this time, as against less than one page (out of six) in 1987.

But are we really offered anything new? Not really. That would require not just the broader approach that is embodied in the latest document, but also much more attention to specifics. And that is where the NP’s real problem lies.

For the specifics which will attract voters on the “left” of the NP are exactly those that will alienate those within the NP/CP margin. In economic policy, as elsewhere, the NP is facing the same dilemma as the old United Party: how to be all things to all people.

The NP seems to be hovering on the edge of writing off the rightwing radicals altogether, but unable to take the final plunge. Until it can make up its mind, it runs the risk of satisfying neither the Left nor the Right.

The one area in which it could stake a position on the high ground is deregulation, privatisation and trimming the civil service.

If it wishes to pursue any sort of reformist policies, it must eventually accept that the civil servants are a lost cause anyway. And the sooner the better.

Unless it dares to do that, a re-elected NP government is not likely to show any improvement in its dismal record of economic mismanagement. Don’t hold your breath waiting.
Leaving principles on paper

The difficulty the Democratic Party (DP) faces in defining its role was highlighted by this week’s crisis sparked by its decision not to contest seats in the House of Representatives (HoR), and to fight only three in the House of Delegates (HoD) in September.

The decision came after weeks of tortured debate which saw leading members adopting opposite views. In the end the anti-participation “strategists” centred on co-leader Wynand Malan won the day against the pro-participation “principilists” headed by co-leader Zach de Beer. The third co-leader, Denis Worrall, tried unsuccessfully to forge a compromise.

In essence the decision means the DP accepts that for the time being it has no primary role in black, coloured and Indian politics and is prepared to defer to the dominant extra-parliamentary organisations in those communities which are generally opposed to participation in the coloured and Indian sections of parliament.

The DP sees its immediate function as building a power base in the white community and contesting as many seats as possible in the House of Assembly (HoA). This strategy is generally approved by extra-parliamentary leaders.

A secondary consideration is that Allan Hendriks’s Labour Party dominates coloured parliamentary politics (though it has only minority backing in the community compared to extra-parliamentary groups), and the DP is reluctant to alienate a potential ally for the sake of possibly winning a handful of seats in the HoR.

The DP is prepared to back its three Indian MPs in the September 6 poll, but not its three coloured MPs — should they choose to stand for re-election. In other words they will be sacrificed to strategy regardless of how committed they may be to DP policy.

The decision also means that potential DP candidates in coloured and Indian communities, as well as voters in those communities who endorse the party’s policy, are left in the lurch for the sake of strategy. (Not to mention voiceless blacks whose potential role in the DP is clearly not even being considered at this stage.)

The decision does not seem to take into account the growing debate in extra-parlia-

and HoR. Lack of time probably counted against this option.

An irony of the situation is that the DP’s predecessor, the PFP, and the Progressive Party before it, argued for years against the Prohibition of Political Interference Act which prevented the formation of non-racial parties. The Act was scrapped in 1985 and the PFP launched a countrywide membership drive in black areas — often against the wishes of local extra-parliamentary groups.

Former PFP Federal Council chairman Alex Boraine said at the time that the scrapping provided a “wonderful opportunity” for the PFP to “reflect a common South Africanism and seek a common political answer” to the country’s crises. “I would like to see a broad cross-section of South Africans united on a broad base of principle and policy. I dream of the PFP becoming a political force that will effectively destroy racial structures, build bridges and make negotiation a reality instead of a principle on paper,” he said.

The membership drive was not a success and the party decided against contesting seats in the HoD or HoR in the 1987 general election. It had no MPs in those houses then.

Boraine quit parliament without realising his dream. His dominant place on the Left of government has been filled by former Nats like Wynand Malan who have a better appreciation of the harsh realities of a racially divided society. They know the PFP in its time had little chance of establishing a “broadly based” political grouping as either the DP or the UDF do today, and it is that reality they are now confronting.

In the face of UDF opposition, the DP has little chance of winning significant support in black communities. The UDF on the other hand has failed to mobilise significant white support since its formation in 1983. The principles and policies of the two differ materially, but they have, in effect, agreed on a short-term strategic working relationship. It will mean DP non-participation in the HoD and HoR in return for passive UDF backing for DP participation in the HoA. Each therefore accepts its limitations and agrees to play a mutu-

ally beneficial part in what they see as moves towards a wider goal.

The DP’s liberals will probably be bitterly disappointed by the continuing erosion of values they hold dear. They have been thoroughly out-maneuvered by the new-style white Left led by Worrall and Malan whose watchword at times seems to be expediency rather than principle.

Though the row as it centres on DP HoD leader Pat Poovalingam has grabbed the headlines, it is a symptom rather than the cause of the current crisis.

As the FM went to press Poovalingam was set to quit — or be expelled — for his scathing attacks on DP leaders. He argues that the non-participation decision is racist and unprincipled and betrays the liberal values for which the DP claims to stand. He alleges that DP strategists, and Malan in particular, are being dictated to by the ANC and UDF, and that Worrall cynically hopes that by ditching the HoD and HoR, the DP will win the votes of radical white students at Natal (and other) universities.

Malan rejects the charge and says Poovalingam himself compromised democratic and non-racial principles when he decided, as a strategy, to enter the tricameral system. Worrall is overseas and could not be reached for comment. He said earlier that the decision had been taken in the best interests of the party.

Sensitivity to criticism of the DP’s decision was seen this week when the acting chairman of the party’s National Board, Tian van der Merwe, issued a statement.
saying Poovalingam’s allegations were “devoid of integrity, untrue, and ridiculous.”

The real issue, however, centres on the DP’s inability to formulate a strategy that best serves the principles for which it claims to stand — though the Malan faction will no doubt argue that this is in fact what has happened.

The party still faces the problem of widely divergent views and disagreement on the interpretation of policy.
ET joins Jaap rally

By SHAUN JOHNSON

EUGENE TERREBLANCHE was due to join Jaap Marais at a rally for right-wing unity in Pretoria last night — despite Andries Treurnicht's flat refusal to have anything to do with the initiative.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader's decision to share a platform with the Herstigte Nasionale Party chief and the Beertaat Party's Robert van Tonder is a sign of the widening gap between the AWB and its erstwhile ally, the Conservative Party.

At a press conference on Monday, Marais called on Treurnicht to enter a formal alliance with other right-wing groups in order to defeat the Nationalists at the polls in November.

Treurnicht's response was that it was "too late", and unity already existed within the CP.

The stage is now set for acrimonious right-wing battles in several key constituencies — notably Rustenburg, where Terreblanche has announced his candidacy.

Last night, Marais told the Weekly Mail that the "tremendous momentum towards unity" among right-wingers could force Terreblanche to change his stance. And, he said, "the AWB's important contribution of support to the CP might swing to the HNP".

304th Lawne 7-13/4/89
ANC, Government being sucked into negotiation

TWO of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist Government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways.

The NP has adopted one of those meaningless meanings of "negotiation", and will continue to squirm for some time yet, certainly well beyond the election on September 6. What about the 

It too is squirming, and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues. The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa, who cannot wait to take up the "spear" if the ANC shows signs of loosening its grip on the armed struggle. Refugee militants of all parties abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home.

The Government may never have a stronger position from which to abandon thoughts of the larger, and to reach out and bargain. Its problem is how to stay in the driving seat, and still meet the minimum requirements for fair bargaining. The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic. They are: Release Mandela and all political prisoners. Unban all political movements, end the emergency. Begin talking.

Those steps would "normalise" the situation and provide level ground for all interests to canvass support for the national convention, or constituent assembly, or merely for the talks. But they are giant steps for the Nationalist Government. How could it survive nationwide political demonstrations by millions of black voters? On the other hand, how could it deal with the first minimum requirement — releasing Mandela — and still gag his followers?
R30m gift to public servants

Political Staff

PUBLIC servants who already receive annual housing subsidies totalling some R334 million are to get a further R30m in interest assistance this year.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers announced yesterday that public servants would receive interest subsidies of between R40 and R80 a month from June until the end of the financial year.

The announcement follows hard on the heels of the government's decision to pay R129m from its R1 billion contingency fund in bonuses to social pensioners. Opposition spokesmen said the timing of both announcements was clearly linked to the coming election.

Government sources said that more than R500m of the contingency fund had been allocated in the first quarter of the financial year.

A spokesman for Dr De Villiers's office said it was not certain whether the interest subsidies for civil servants would also come from the contingency fund. It was possible that the subsidies could be funded from savings by the Commission for Administration.

At present, civil servants receive full interest subsidies on mortgages up to R50,000. A civil servant with a R50,000 mortgage receives an interest subsidy of R516 a month.

A total of 54,000 civil servants receive the subsidies and qualify for the supplementary payments. The spokesman said it was expected that R30m would be spent on the supplementary subsidies in the ten months to the end of the financial year.

Dr De Villiers said that interest rates on mortgages had reached high levels which had brought financial pressure to bear on personnel in the public sector.

"These pressures cannot always be accommodated within normal monthly budgets."

He added: "The government has therefore decided to institute a supplementary monthly housing subsidy to alleviate this financial burden and to ensure that personnel in the public sector are not exposed to situations where they no longer can afford to keep their existing houses."

Dr De Villiers said that as interest rates decreased, the supplementary subsidy would be reduced and gradually phased out.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said: "It looks as if the R1bn kitty is being syphoned off one day at a time in a way which is very convenient for the government from an election point of view."

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Govt bonus an insult, say pensioners

By MALCOLM FRIED

THE R60 one-off bonus pensioners will get from the government in October is the only extra money they will receive this year — no overall pension increases were planned, government officials said yesterday.

Pensioners' representatives yesterday branded the bonus "an insult" and "nothing near to what we need". It was announced on Wednesday by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew called the official treatment of pensioners "disgraceful" and the R60 a vote-catching bribe.

A general pensions increase "is not planned at all — it's not in the budget", said the director of the Department of National Health and Population Development, Dr Coen Slabbert.

The regional chairman of the Association of Retired Persons and Pensioners (ARP & P), Mrs Kay Altman, said: "With this ridiculous gesture, the government is slapping every pensioner in the face."

White social pensioners receive R251 a month, coloured and Asian pensioners R200 and blacks R150.

"This is little enough," said Mrs Altman. "Surely a decent, monthly increase is very long overdue?"

Pensioners were granted an increase last year and a one-off grant in 1997.

A former chairman of the ARP & P and pensioners' rights campaigner, Mrs Myra Keuning, said such grants "should happen more often".

Mr Andrew said that anyone who believed that such a bonus was a substitute for a proper pension "is sadly out of touch with reality".
VVO backs CP election

The rightwing Vereniging Van Oranjewerkers has publicly backed the Conservative Party in the forthcoming general election, but has expressed its support for efforts to unite rightwing political groups.

This is the latest development in the ongoing row among groups on the political right following the Conservative Party's rejection of an electoral pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering, the Boerekrat Party and the restricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, now apparently operating as the Blanke Party.
SA stance limits judges dealing with ANC cases

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Although under South African law a judge could not accord full prisoner of war status to ANC combatants, he did have some personal choice in the matter, Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said yesterday.

At a meeting hosted by the Centre and the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Professor Dugard said a judge should find that because the ANC combatant tried before him regarded himself as a soldier engaged in a recognised armed conflict, it would reduce his moral blameworthiness and serve as an extenuating circumstance.

"Certain judges take a very strict approach towards extenuating circumstances and there may indeed be judges who believe that their judicial duty prevents them from showing mercy in such cases," he said.

Professor Dugard said although South Africa had signed and ratified the 1949 Geneva conventions which essentially aimed to provide protection to those involved in an international war or armed conflict, it had refrained from giving any support to the 1977 protocols which provided that the Geneva conventions apply to persons engaged in armed struggles against racist regimes, alien occupation and colonial domination.

"These protocols had been widely accepted and some argued that they were now part of internationally customary law and binding upon states whether they had signed the treaty or not."

"South Africa does not regard the 1977 protocols as binding upon it. Consequently, South African courts are precluded from treating ANC and PAC combatants as prisoners of war and must try them under the ordinary criminal law of the land," Professor Dugard said.

"..."
Public servants given an extra R30-m

Govt ‘buying votes with aid schemes’

Staff Reporter

The Government was accused today of digging into taxpayers’ money for the second time in two days to “buy votes” for the September election.

This week, the Government granted an extra R30 million assistance to subsidise home loans of public servants and announced a special payment to all State pensioners which will cost R126 million.

The Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dave de Villiers, announced the new subsidies yesterday.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said on Wednesday that social pensioners would receive a R90 bonus in October to be taken from the Government’s R1 billion “contingency fund”.

The Democratic Party and the Conservative Party support aid for pensioners but regard the moves as attempts to buy votes.

Yesterday, Dr de Villiers said a supplementary monthly housing subsidy of between R40 and R80 a month had been granted because of financial pressures on public servants resulting from rocketing interest rates. This was in addition to the normal housing subsidies paid to Government employees.

The new subsidy would be payable from June 1 for the remainder of the current financial year. It would be reduced and eventually phased out as interest rates dropped.

Remained constant

A spokesman for the the Ministry of Administration confirmed today that despite the recent sharp increases in interest rates, the bond rate for public servants on bonds below R50,000 had remained constant at either 3 or 4 percent, depending upon income. The State paid the rest of the interest.

This subsidy would only apply to the portion of any bond above R50,000.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was “another pre-election giveaway”. He predicted the Government would find this tactic less effective than in the past.

Mrs Lynn Morris of the Housewives’ League said if taxpayers had to pay for the subsidies, it was “very distasteful”.

Mr Harry Schwarz, DP spokesman on finance, said everyone was feeling the effects of high interest rates.

“The Government’s announced intention for allowing interest rates to rise was to generally dampen consumer demand,” said Mr Schwarz. “Picking a select group for relief is not what one would call a healthy approach.”

Another Government scheme, to peg mortgage bond rates at 17 percent, temporarily for people who could not meet their payments, was welcomed and had been useful to those who took advantage of it.

But the scheme was merely one of deferred, he said, while the plan announced last night by Dr de Villiers would put money in the pockets of a select section of the population who would not have to pay it back.

Stylish Steffi ... Steffi Graf on her way to a decisive straight sets victory over C women’s singles semifinals at Wimbledon yesterday.
Public service to get R30m housing bonus

PUBLIC servants who already receive annual housing subsidies totaling about R334m are to get a further R30m in interest assistance this year.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers said yesterday public servants would receive interest subsidies of between R40 and R80 a month from June to the end of the financial year.

The announcement follows hard on the heels of government’s decision to pay R120m from its R1bn contingency fund in bonuses to social pensioners.

Opposition spokesmen said the timing of both announcements was clearly linked to the election.

Government sources said more than R500m of the contingency fund had been allocated in the first quarter of the financial year.

A spokesman for De Villiers’s office said it was not certain whether the interest subsidies for public servants would also come from the fund; they could be funded from savings by the Commission for Administration.

Public servants at present receive full interest subsidies on mortgages up to R50 000. A public servant with a R50 000 mortgage receives an interest subsidy of R16 a month.

A total of 54 000 public servants receive the subsidies and qualify for the supplementary payments. The spokesman said it was expected that R30m would be spent on the supplementary subsidies in the 10 months to the end of the financial year.

De Villiers said interest rates on mortgages had reached high levels, which had brought financial pressure to bear on personnel in the public sector, pressures that “could not always be accommodated within normal monthly budgets.

“Government has therefore decided to institute a supplementary monthly housing subsidy to alleviate this financial burden and to ensure that personnel in the public sector are not exposed to situations where they no longer can afford to keep their existing houses,” he said.

The supplementary subsidies would vary between R40 and R80 a month, depending on outstanding loan balances.

De Villiers said as interest rates decreased, the supplementary subsidy would be reduced and then phased out.

“The supplementary housing subsidy is aimed at partially subsidising the interest rate on outstanding debt in excess of R50 000,”

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said: “It looks as if the R1bn kitty is being syphoned off one day at a time in a way which is very convenient for government from an election point of view.”

Schwarz said it had to be asked why, if government felt it necessary to assist public servants, it had not done so at the time of the Budget.

Instead of adopting a total approach to dealing with the country’s economic problems in the Budget, government was catering for special interest groups, he said.

Comment: Page 6
Euvrard nominated to DP Rosettenville seat

MIA Euvrard has been nominated as the DP candidate for Rosettenville.

She will stand against NP MP Sheila Camerer and the CP's Torrie van Tonder in the September 6 election.

Camerer won a 5,000 majority over the CP at the last election with 7,200 votes while the PFP candidate came a close third with 1,400 votes.

Euvrard's nomination for the candidature in Johannesburg West was defeated by Sandton councillor Willem Hefer this week.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the number of people wanting to stand for the DP in safe Nationalist seats has again been demonstrated in Boksburg where the DP's candidates' committee was unable to resolve a nomination contest on Wednesday night.

A closely fought nomination battle ended in a deadlock on Wednesday night between the two remaining nominees, Pieter van Pietzen, 41, an accountant from Brakpan, Johannesburg, and Sirk van Wyk, 33, an industrial relations expert from Sunward Park, Boksburg.

Majority

The candidates' committee is to meet again tonight to sort out the problem. The DP regards Boksburg as a crucial seat in the elections because it represents a microcosm of voters in SA.

The party said it was "aiming to not only reverse traditional voting patterns, but to elect a DP parliamentary representative for Boksburg."

In May 1987, the NP's Sakkie Blaasch retained Boksburg with a 2,605 majority over the PFP, which polled 2,605 votes, the CP, which polled 4,409 votes, and the HNP, which polled 556 votes.

The DP's decision about candidates for the House of Delegates said much about what voters could expect in return for supporting the DP, Randburg's NP candidate Glen Babb said in a statement yesterday.

"The co-leaders of the DP are now failing to nominate candidates for the House of Delegates, for reasons of, as one of the co-leaders put it, 'strategic choices rather than matters of principle,'" said Babb.

This about-face under pressure from extra-parliamentary groups showed that as soon as the DP was faced with difficult choices, it buckled under, forgot about principles and followed the way of least resistance.

"Voters must beware they don't get crushed in the DP's rush to accommodate radicals," his statement said.
Mr Hein Grosskopf, ANC chief of protocol during last week's consultation between the ANC and 114 South Africans, calls himself a "political soldier" who would not have been ashamed to be responsible, as alleged, for a car bomb blast in 1987.

A member of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Grosskopf talked to the Afrikaans weekly newspaper, *Vrye Weekblad*. The interview is published today.

On allegations by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that he was connected with a Krugersdorp bomb blast in 1987, he said the allegations were made with a reason.

"My ANC membership was a danger to them because people could identify with me and they had to destroy this potential identification."

He did not confirm his connection or non-connection with the "operations".

"To tell the truth, if I had done what they said I had done, I doubt that I would have been ashamed ... the three instances they connected to me are military operations ..."
We will have to talk peace with SA — Nujoma
Rightwingers seek solidarity to win September election

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA — Three right-wing leaders have reiterated their call for unity with the Conservative Party and have vowed not to stop pleading for solidarity until after the September election.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche told a crowd of 300 in Pretoria City Hall last night that the National Party could be defeated only if all right-wing parties were united.

Mr Terre’Blanche and Boerestant Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder were guest speakers at the Herstigte Nasionale Party meeting.

Mr Terre’Blanche said that if his decision to stand in Rustenburg was an obstacle to unity, he would withdraw.

Reverse betrayal

“We can reverse the government’s betrayal if we unite and win the election,” he said.

The AWB leader accused National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk of not being able to share power with moderate blacks or rightwing politicians.

According to Mr Terre’Blanche, the differences between the HNP and the AWB were less than the differences between President Botha and Mr de Klerk.

Mr Terre’Blanche denied claims that it was too late for rightwing parties to unite before the election and denied allegations that he had promised not to enter party politics, saying he was an HNP candidate in Heidelberg in 1970.

Admitting his decision to stand in Rustenburg might have been confusing, Mr Terre’Blanche said he was prepared to sacrifice himself because he knew the price of a revolution.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said the Volk’s needed solidarity. He claimed the Progressive Federal Party took the initiative in forming the Democratic Party and urged the CP to facilitate rightwing unity.

He also claimed that Mr de Klerk had committed himself to releasing Nelson Mandela after the September election.

Mr van Tonder called on Dr Andries Treurnicht not to slam the door on “volkswagenite” because he could not afford to lose one vote.

The meeting unanimously adopted a motion calling for unity among rightwing groups, rejecting the NP’s action plan and the proposed Bill of Rights.

(Report by E Waugh, 216 Vermeers Street, Pretoria)

Fast ‘cats’ get claws into crayfish poachers

By HENRI DU PLESSIS
Staff Reporter

NIGHT-TIME crayfish poachers beware — you may be caught by sea fisheries inspectors in their fast new craft.

The Cape Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation bought the patrol boats for its fisheries control service to clamp down on illegal fishing and poaching, said Executive Committee member Mr Deon Adams.

The three catamarans, each powered by two outboard engines, cost R150 000.

The two smaller ones, well-camouflaged in dark blue, are to be deployed at Veldrif and Struisbaai.

The bigger one, painted black for a possible night-time role, will remain in Cape Town for patrols, said Mr James van Langelaar, head of the Marine Control branch.

Reacting to rumours about crayfish poachers using fast boats at night to raid reserves and commercial crayfish traps, Mr van Langelaar said poachers were a 24-hour problem and inspectors had to be on duty around the clock to prevent illegal operations.

He said the boats, designed to be used close inshore and in estuaries, would be part of the action against poachers.
A brazen ploy ... but good news for the old

THE government is in a pre-election panic, putting peace into pensioners' pockets in the hope that it will pay off at the polls.

This was the opinion of economists and opposition politicians reacting to this week's announcement that social pensioners would receive a one-off R60 bonus in October.

About 1.4-million black pensioners and about 763 000 white pensioners in South Africa and the "independent" states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda, will benefit.

The R128-million bill will be paid out of a R1-billion contingency fund which, when it was set up earlier this year, prompted criticism that it would be used for "election sweeteners".

While welcoming any relief for pensioners — black pensioners get R150 a month, "coloured" and Indian R200 and whites R251 — critics derided the move and said they expected more vote-catching ploys to come.

The "good news" was the amount was being applied in a non-discriminatory way, said Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party spokesman on finance.

"This shows slight progress in government thinking — the government has accepted the principle that everyone should be treated equally, at least as far as the bonus is concerned. "The bad news is that the amount is insufficient and does nothing to address the real problem — the need for equal, improved pensions for all."

Schwarz had warned at the time the R1-billion contingency fund would be used for election sweeteners and this was now happening.

He recalled how, before the October municipal elections last year, public servants were told by how much their salaries would be increasing — "but it was only after the election we were told the price of petrol was being raised to finance those increases".

He doubted the bonus would have any effect on the polls.

"There is unprecedented anger about the economy and its mismanagement," he said. "This pay-out is not going to change that."

Sanlam's chief economist, Johan San (To PAGE 2)
Right-wing trio repeat unity call

Pretoria Correspondent

Three right-wing leaders, have reiterated their call for unity with the Conservative Party — and have vowed not to stop pleading for solidarity until after the election.

Addressing a crowd of 800 people in Pretoria City Hall last night, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said the National Party could only be defeated if all right-wing parties were united.

Mr TerreBlanche and the leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, were guest speakers at the first Herstigte Nasionale Party meeting in Pretoria before the election.

Mr TerreBlanche said if his decision to contest the Rustenburg seat was an obstacle to unity, he would withdraw.

"BETRAYAL"

"We can reverse the Government’s betrayal if we unite and win the election," Mr TerreBlanche said. According to him the differences between the HNP and the AWB were small.

In his speech, Mr. Marais said the volk’s need necessitated solidarity and he urged the CP to facilitate unity.

Mr van Tonder called on Dr Treurnicht not to slam the door in the face of "volksgevoel" because he could not afford to lose one vote.

The meeting unanimously adopted a motion rejecting the NP’s action plan.
Indaba chairman foresees pitfalls

Getting the talking started is problem

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The process of bringing South Africans of different race groups to the table to talk will be much more difficult than the actual negotiation process itself, the chairman of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, Dr D Dhlomo, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He referred at a press conference to the prospect of negotiations after the elections on September 6.

He said that while past experience had shown that when South Africans get down to talk to each other “they are often surprised at how much they have in common, and how much they agree on”, mutual mistrust, which had accumulated over the years would have to be overcome first.

The major single difficulty hindering negotiations was the lack of “a shared sense of nationhood” — because South Africa was a divided nation.

Dr Dhlomo said that despite historical obstacles, South Africans were today more prepared to negotiate a new future, because the decades of polarisation were finally giving way to “a period of convergence in which the political planets are moving towards each other”.

Important indicator of whether negotiations will take place after the elections, however, will be the Government’s handling of the issues of the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

“It is difficult to see that there is any real prospect for negotiations unless the Government clearly proves its bona fides in this regard.”

He challenged future president Mr F W de Klerk to break down all prejudices and open up communication in 1990, and to use his “enormous power and influence” to create understanding in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk, whom Dr Dhlomo has met in the past, had struck him as open-minded, willing to listen and learn, and acutely aware of the need for all South Africans to work out their destiny together.

But Dr Dhlomo said he feared that Mr de Klerk was “too wedded to the concept of Own Affairs” and groups.

‘Tribe interests’

He hoped the NP leader would put the interests of the country “before the interests of the tribe”.

He also challenged Mr de Klerk to use SABC-TV and radio not to spread negative propaganda, but to create bridges of communication and understanding.

“Let there be a single version of the news for all listeners, not different versions for different races. Let freedom of speech really blossom. Let us hear all views on radio and television. Let us leave (it) to those who talk nonsense to hang themselves.”
Nats ‘will not stand in Sandton’

Political Reporter (ZOA)
The National Party would definitely not put up a candidate in Sandton for the September general election, Mrs Zoe Marchand, chairman of the NP’s Sandton divisional council, confirmed yesterday.

She said two possible candidates withdrew a few days ago, one for personal and one for business reasons.

“We are very disappointed about not fielding a candidate but have decided not to do so because of a pressing need to raise funds and the lack of time to find another candidate.”

The sitting Democratic Party MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said he was still working on the basis that the NP would oppose him at the polls.

“We will accept the fact that I am to be unopposed on nomination day, July 24. Until then we are working to keep Sandton the strongest DP seat in the country.”

Mrs Marchand said she was surprised the DP had renominated Mr Dalling.

“I would have thought the DP would opt for a younger, more active candidate,” she said.

The NP has announced candidates for 74 of the Transvaal’s 76 constituencies. The only other uncontested seat will be Yeoville.

Report by Renate van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.
Labour to contest all 80 seats

CAPE TOWN — Aspiring Labour Party candidates will be gathering in Cape Town next week for a nomination process in which the party will be putting up candidates for all seats in the House of Representatives.

Selections will start on Monday and LP national secretary Mr Abe Williams said the successful candidates would probably be announced next weekend.

"We will be putting up candidates in all 80 seats in the House. We have plenty of people to choose from," he added.

One of the LP's chief concerns in the September election would be to increase the percentage polls, particularly in metropolitan areas like the Peninsula.

It is widely perceived that an im-

FIGHTING FOR CHANGE

"People have seen that we have been fighting for change in Parliament, and I think that is going to make a difference."

Dismissing Mr Carter Ebrahim's Democratic Reform Party, Mr Williams said: "We are not expecting much opposition. A party which enters an election with the aim of being the Opposition is not much of a party."

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)
Women's groups pledge CP support

PRETORIA. — The leader of the Kappiekommando, Mrs. Marie van Zyl, yesterday repledged the support of her organisation and the Rightist Women's Front (Regie Vrouesfront) to Dr. Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

The scene is thus set for the finalisation of two axes in white right-wing politics for the September 6 general election — the CP and an assortment of supporting groupings, and the HNP-AWB, with its own assortment of supporting groupings.

Dr. Treurnicht has rejected a united election front with Mr. Jaap Marais' HNP, Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche's AWB, Dr. Robert van Tonder's Boere Staat Party and Professor Johan Schabort's Blanke Party.

Meanwhile, reports from Boksburg indicate that Mr. Jac Rabie, coloured LF MP Dr. Reigerpark near-CP-controlled Boksburg, has turned down an invitation to a function which will grant Dr. Treurnicht honorary citizenship of Boksburg. — Sapa
Africander academics cautious on ‘Die Stem’
Gloves-off fight on the rightwing

By FRANS ESTEPHENYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

The disarray in rightwing politics is developing into a bitter feud which could hamper the Conservative Party in its election campaign.

The CP may now face a gloves-off onslaught from rightwing groups, left out in the cold by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's refusal to involve his party in the formation of a broad-based, rightwing front.

Groups like Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Jaap Marais's Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and Mr Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party (BP), are planning a united bid to draw rightwing votes away from the CP.

If Dr Treurnicht persists with his refusal to link up with them and enter into an election agreement, they will put up candidates to oppose the CP in key constituencies.

The rival groups are likely to try to discredit the CP as being "soft on apartheid" and of moving closer to the "liberal" National Party. Already there is talk among members of the far-right groups that Dr Treurnicht is showing "liberal" tendencies.

Mr Marais believes "public pressure" may persuade Dr Treurnicht to join in the proposed rightwing front.

But the CP's general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, is adamant that Dr Treurnicht has spoken the final word - there will be no election agreement as far as the CP is concerned.

In an interview this week, Mr Marais said the CP might not do as well as it had expected if it were to "go it alone" in the election.

In the 1987 general election the CP had the active support of the AWB. It looks likely that the CP may lose that support.

Mr Marais said his impression was that Dr Treurnicht believed he could not draw many more votes from the right, and was now trying for a "moderate" image. In his attempt to create such an image, the AWB would be an obstacle.

Outlining his argument, Mr Marais stopped short of calling Dr Treurnicht a "liberal". He said he would not use the word "liberal", but "there are forces that are pushing him to a central position".

It seemed Dr Treurnicht was banking on the prospect that rightwing groups would be wiped out in the election and would disappear. This would make it easier for him to move to a middle position in politics.

Mr Marais said the rightwing groups would go ahead with their plans to put up candidates. The HNP would fight in about 40 seats.

Meanwhile, Pretoria political scientist, Professor Willem Kleyhans, said he believed the chances of the proposed rightwing front to win seats without CP backing were virtually nil.

"They don't have a hope. In fact, Dr Treurnicht would have been a fool to enter into any election agreement with them."

Professor Kleyhans said that in the 1987 election, when there was also no election agreement between the HNP and the CP, about 90 percent of Mr Jaap Marais's supporters walked over to the CP.

The HNP's performance had proved it was a failure and it would fail again. Similarly, the AWB was a spent force and had received a hard knock from recent events and scandals.

Dr Treurnicht and other CP spokesmen are confident their party will make headway in the election - even without the official backing of other rightwing groups.

However, a relatively new factor that could cost the CP votes in the election is the "Boksburg syndrome", which emerged from the party's policy to return to petty apartheid in towns under its control.

Fierce public response and boycotts sparked off by the CP move, notably in Boksburg, have clearly damaged the CP's image even among many of its own supporters. The episode, though confined to only a small part of the country, shocked voters into realising what CP policy could do if the apartheid clock were to be turned back throughout the country.

The political and economic implications of this are examined in a significant new study The Boksburg Boycott, published by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Authors Harry Mashabela and Monty Narsoo found that the protest showed the potential power of black consumers. It persuaded some whites that segregation could no longer be imposed on urban black people without cost.

The protest is expected to have a long-term impact on Boksburg's growth. One of the lessons learnt is that towns wanting to be white may be forced to be poor as well.

Noting that there seems little doubt that the Boksburg council and the CP have lost white support in the town as a result of the controversy, the authors write: "Many white voters now appear to insist that when they voted for the CP they did not expect it to bar black people from facilities."
If you want to expand your horizons, consider getting involved in the government. It's a great way to learn about politics, the law, and how government works. Plus, you'll have the opportunity to make a difference in your community. So why not start your career in the government today?
But Govt 'cannot con the electorate with candy treats'

"Lots and lots of lovely dollys" is the slogan that National Party election posters should be carrying on our lamp posts as the Government doles out lollipops to voters.

It has so far been generous with at least R600 million of taxpayers' money, and is expected to haul out more in coming weeks for carefully targeted voting blocs.

"People at this stage treat it as a joke, and are asking 'who's next, what's next?'." said Mr. Harry Schwarz, the Democratic Party's eagle-eyed spokesman on finances who predicted months ago that a R1 billion Contingency Fund set aside in the Budget would be turned to buying electoral favour.

**Tissot saga**

Remember the Tissot saga in April? About 12,000 public servants would be rewarded for 30 years service with Swiss-made precision watches. Jewellers estimated the cost at R700 to R800 a piece.

And the new Public Service long-service reward system where 20-year veterans can cash in 10 days of holiday leave, or 15 days for 30-year workers.

True, they were announced before the election was. But everybody knew that polling day was coming within months.

Then came the announcement on April 27 of the Government's intention to bail the maize Board out of its crippling debt of R460 million.

Farmers again came in for more sweeteners when the Board of Trade and Industries this month dropped a 15 percent import surcharge on equipment such as tractors and spares parts for machinery. This was a R100 million bonus. Farmers now want more import relief.

**ALAN DUNN**

On Wednesday came Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis' news of a R60 handout to pensioners costing R128 million.

Hot after that, within 24 hours, came Minister for Administration and Privatisation Mr Dawie de Villiers' sweetie: temporary subsidies for Public Servants with mortgage bonds larger than R50,000. About 54,000 people will benefit, costing about R30 million.

Those with bigger bonds are exposed to the going open market rates for the balance above R50,000. For bonds in the R50,000 limit, interest is pegged to 3 or 4 percent, depending on salary.

That leaves a considerable chunk of the R1 billion slush fund, allowing the Government to consider tobacco farmers and funnel favours to others once the agricultural and private sectors are taken care of.

These goodies will not buy many votes at all, say opposition politicians. "The economic situation is so serious that I don't believe it is going to change the public's attitude," said Mr. Schwarz. "The economy is an issue in this election no matter what the Government does."

He believes these bonuses could have been dealt with in the Budget. "Somebody has to give an explanation as to why they weren't," he said. The inference was that they were left out so that they could be handed out closer to the election.

"The public is far more sophisticated than that, and will not be swayed," said Mr. Schwarz, expressing a view shared by the Conservative Party.

All are waiting with interest to see which way the friendly hand tips next.

Report by Alan Dunn, 218 Vermeden Street, Pretoria.
Mystery oil spill soils 88 penguins

Staff Reporter
AN inexplicable oil spill this week soiled 88 Dryer Island penguins.

Conservationists are puzzled by the spill, which recurs annually without any apparent source, affecting hundreds of penguins on this east-coast island.

The 88 jackass penguins were yesterday removed from the island by members of the SA National Foundation for the Conservation of Coastal Birds (Sancober) and caged for rehabilitation at the foundation's Hietvel rescue station.

Rescue station manager Mr Andre Meyer yesterday said that neither Sancober nor scientists could explain why oil-soiled penguins had been found on the island each June for the past four years.

Rough seas

Citing June figures of oil-soiled penguins found on the island, Mr Meyer said that the birds were contaminated in June 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989.

Rough winter seas and strong currents could have swept the deadly crude oil from deeper waters, said Sancober honorary secretary Mrs Eva Vorster.

PUBLIC servants are pleased with the R30 million "interest assistance" the government will give them on their home loans — but now they want more.

Mr Hans Olivier, general manager of the Public Servants' Association, yesterday welcomed the R3000 a month supplementary housing subsidy announcement yesterday, but complained that the present R20000 limit — beyond which bondholders are not subsidised — was too low.

Few three-bedroomed houses cost less than R20000, he said, and therefore the current limit was too low.

Over the years, his association had made representations several times for an increase in the limit, and it regarded the announcement as a response to its requests.

The chairman of the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC), Professor Hennie Maree, complained that the subsidy limit had not been increased since 1983.

"Untenable position"

"A large number of government employees who were compelled to obtain mortgage bonds of R80000 and more are in an untenable financial position especially a large number of young people."

The TFC had been negotiating with Mr F W de Klerk to lift the limit, and for "interim emergency procedures" for those with bonds over R50000.

"Certain understandings have been reached with the Minister of National Education," Mr Maree said.

"The benefit as announced is unfortunately not in keeping with the arrangements agreed to. Therefore the representations of Council were only partially successful."

The granting of an additional housing subsidy to public servants was another "election ploy," the Conservative Party said yesterday.

CP spokesman on Administration and Privatisation, Mr Fanie Jacobs, said the NP government was trying to create the impression it was helping civil servants, but it was the taxpayers who were in fact carrying the financial burden of the new subsidy.

The Democratic Party candidate for the Florida constituency, Mr Norman MacFarlane, also attacked the move as "a vote-gathering tool" for the NP.

Cancer risk for milk

LONDON. — Women who regularly consume milk, yoghurt and cheese run a far greater risk of developing cancer of the ovaries than those who avoid dairy products.

Experts at the Harvard School of Public Health said in the Lancet Medical Weekly, released yesterday, that the risk of milk-drinkers getting ovarian cancer was three times greater than for women who did not drink milk.

A total of 225 cancer sufferers...
The general-secretary of the Government-created National Forum and Deputy Mayor of Kagiso, Mr. David Modiba, yesterday dismissed as "false" reports of a mass exodus from the body and has threatened to lodge a complaint with the Media Council.

Mr. Modiba denied his council had withdrawn from the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa).

A report in Thursday's Sowetan said 62 councils in the eastern, western and northern Cape had pulled out of the NF at a meeting attended by more than 50 councils in De Aar at the weekend.

The report said this brought to 122 the number of councils which had rejected the body. It said the other 60 were affiliated to Umsa, which did not take part in the formation of the NF on May 6.

It said the 62 councils were all affiliated to Umsa whose president, Mr. Phillip Nhlabathi, is also chairman of the National Forum.

"I as general-secretary have not received any formal letter of withdrawal from any council in the Cape," said Mr. Modiba. Instead, he said, he had received positive responses from local authorities in the Cape in response to the NF constitution, copies of which were sent to all councils in the Cape for adoption or rejection.

"I, as Deputy Mayor of Kagiso, am not aware of any motion which was adopted by my council withdrawing from Umsa.

"I dismiss the report with the contempt it deserves. Furthermore my council is taking steps with the Media Council."

"I am lodging a complaint with the Media Council against the report which stated that 122 councils have withdrawn from the NF, and that 60 Umsa councils have withdrawn from the NF, because that statement is false. There are not even 122 councils in the Cape.

"Umsa does not have 60 affiliated councils. I challenge them to prove that they have 60 councils affiliated to Umsa."
The Nat Plan is Flawed

But it's change...
Former Matie to stand for DP

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE Democratic Party has named a 26-year-old National Serviceman for the Stellenbosch seat — but his candidacy may run into legal trouble.

Mr Henkie Bester, former member of the Stellenbosch University SRC, will contest the marginal seat against the sitting Nat, Mr Piet Marais.

The snag is that Mr Bester only started his national service in January and has a further 17 months to do.

Constitutional experts were yesterday divided on whether he would be eligible for nomination on June 24.

The consensus was that legal history is being made and that it would probably need a court decision to decide on the validity of Mr Bester's candidacy.

Campaign

Mr Bester said yesterday his legal advisers felt there was nothing to prevent him from standing for Parliament.

He would apply this week for deferment of his service to enable him to conduct his campaign in the run-up to the September 6 poll, he said.

Mr Bester's candidacy is without legal precedent in SA. Civil servants, including university staff and members of the SADF and SAP are required to resign when they are nominated by a political party. But being a national serviceman, Mr Bester cannot resign.

Everything depends on whether the SADF Exemption Board grants him deferment. If his application is unsuccessful, he may have to resort to court action.

Leader

Mr Bester, a lawyer with a Master's degree from Cambridge University, secured the nomination after former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert turned down an invitation to represent the DP in Stellenbosch.

In 1985 Mr Bester was the leader of a group of eight Stellenbosch students who incurred the wrath of President PW Botha over a proposed visit to the ANC in Lebeka. Mr Botha, who was then Stellenbosch chancellor, threatened to withdraw their passports if the visit went through.
Public Service Is Thread as Block to Process of Reform

ROBERT SCHOFIE

* LESTER VENTER

7/12/99
MADELA

PW MIDELES

admission by Coetsee

denies it – then an

Drama as Tuynhuys

ANC leader whisked

historic secret visit

from jail house for

President Botha and Mr. Nelson Mandela

3049

Stellenbosch
The historic encounter – one of the most important developments in South African politics for decades – took place in Tuyuhuys on Wednesday.

Official confirmation came after a Tuyuhuys spokesman denied that the meeting had taken place at all.

Late yesterday – in response to an inquiry by the Sunday Times, which had heard of the meeting from unconfirmed sources – the Minister of Justice, Mr Kebie Coetsee, issued a statement to the press agencies confirming that the two met on July 9, the latter paid a one-day visit to the State President.

"No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted," he said.

Mr Coetsee said that President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, had taken advantage of the opportunity to express their desire for peace in South Africa.

"The President conveyed that he was willing to take the necessary steps to create conditions for an interim working group to be established," he said.

The conversation took place in a friendly spirit.

The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed.

"I was present during the visit," he added.

Mr Mandela was taken to Tuyuhuys from the bungalow he occupies in the grounds of Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The meeting – and the discussions which presumably preceded it – were shrouded in the deepest secrecy.

It is likely that only selected guards were used to escort the VIP prisoner. Officials were informed only on a "need-to-know" basis, the tightest form of State security.

Mr Coetsee also said that something important was discussed in the company of Western leaders.

"It’s a matter of common concern," he said.

"While he could not confirm the meeting had actually taken place, one source said: We heard the rumour... it’s buzzing around town."

"However, in Cape Town, Mr Jack Venter, spokesman in the State President’s office, responded to inquiries by denying that the two men had met.

"Later he called the Sunday Times to say: "No such meeting took place at Tuyuhuys.""

Impact

Several hours later, following further inquiries by the Sunday Times, Mr Coetsee issued his statement.

Although only scant details have been released about the matters discussed by the two leaders, it is clear that considerable interest in South Africa’s affairs, news of the meeting is likely to make a major impact abroad and at home.

Western leaders have been urging the South African government to open negotiations with the ANC and called insistently for the release of Mr Mandela when the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, visited European capitals last month.

Yesterday a spokesman for Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, resisted positively when told of the meeting.

He said that No 10 Downing Street had not heard of the encounter.

A spokesman for the ANC said: "It’s what we’ve been calling for all along.

"A meeting by itself, however, is not enough – we are looking for nothing short of Mr Mandela’s unconditional release."

The US government has also been insistent that the South Africans leaders must make clear their willingness to consider the ANC’s demands.

"It is important to note that there are two South African leaders who met each other without mediation from outside. At the same time, this meeting will have wide, positive support which will benefit all the people of South Africa."

"It was probably one of the most important events of our time."

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk congratulated Mr Botha on the meeting, which was kept fully informed about the meeting.

"However, as a member of Mr Botha’s Cabinet, he did not want to comment on meetings held by the head of state."

"It is the State President’s prerogative to meet whom he wishes, and I alone by his/
PW's meeting with Mandela

which, he said, could lead to a powerful new united force in South African politics.

It had been prepared for a meeting between himself and the president of the ANC, UDF and CoStu.

The Sunday Times correspondent in Harare reported yesterday that Chief Buthelezi and ANC president Oliver Tambo are expected to meet in London later this month or early in August to discuss an end to the violence which has racked the Maritzburg area for months.

In his presidential address to Inkatha's national council, Chief Buthelezi said he could see future historians "tracing a whole new political era and the final collapse of apartheid" to the document.

If this week's meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Mandela leads to a pulling together of the threads now emerging from all the diverse shifts in South African politics, the Cape Town meeting could prove to be an event of truly historic importance.

One observer said yesterday that if further progress followed, it could be compared with the Camp David meeting between Mr Anwar Sadat and Mr Menachem Begin which led to the achievement of peace between Israel and Egypt.
After the latest meeting between white South Africans and the ANC in Lusaka, the choice grows narrower...

The petite Zambian cashier at Lusaka's Intercontinental Hotel paused for a moment to survey the jostling crowd of white South Africans and ANC delegates in the foyer.

"Tell me," she asked, "what do you people do?"

The question, innocent as it was. It symbolised much of the concern that surrounded the visit to South Africa by the ANC - a political party that the exiles never expected to see. The 160 Five Freedoms Forum delegates who went to Lusaka last week to meet the ANC did not expect the meeting to proceed. They did, however, go to hear, exchange views and, where necessary, argue. The meeting ended early after a weekend of endless debate.

The ANC may be tolerated, but it is being hobbled by changing circumstances: the political climate just like the National Party. Like the F.W. de Klerk's movement, they are having to respond to these changes. Where does this pressure come from? Primarily, from two sources.

**Recognition**

Ironically, the first comes precisely from the ANC's own diplomatic successes. From 1985 onwards, as internal resistance in South Africa mounted, the South African Government responded by attempting to isolate the ANC militarily, socially, and diplomatically.

It did not work. In the absence of any regional policy, under way within South Africa, and manifold diplomatic pressures, Western leaders like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan temporarily moved to a de facto recognition of the ANC.

Thus British Minister of State Linda Chalker met ANC leader Oliver Tambo in London in June 1986. In January the following year, US Secretary of State George Shultz did likewise.

But the new-found respect for the ANC posed problems. To the West, the diplomatic high ground would have to prove itself a reputable opposition in exile and not a bunch of wild bombers.

It was put to Mr Tambo most succinctly by George Schultz when he said he knew what the ANC was up against but he needed to know what it was for.

The result was much soul-searching in the ANC and eventually a guideline on constitutional and economic policies which has been extensively, if covertly, circulated in South Africa.

Maintenance of this Mr Nice Guy image requires the ANC at least to appear conciliatory in public and to temper its military actions - particularly random terrorism.

**Dependent**

But there is also pressure from another source. The Soviet Union - traditional backers of the ANC - have not ordered the ANC to halt its military campaign, but Moscow has signalled, very clearly, that it would much prefer a political settlement.

With its bases in Angola being relocated to Tanzania and Ethiopia, the ANC's contribution to the war in the region is more dependent than ever on Soviet support - and money.

The pressures manifested themselves in the Lusaka meeting in different ways. Among the significant shifts were a retreat from hard-line socialism; dropping of the demand for immediate transfer of power; proposals for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution, a clear endorsement of the white component of the September elections; commitment to individual liberties and an acknowledgement of ethnic or cultural minority rights.

Cynics will insist this is all propaganda service and that evidence of the ANC's commitment to democracy.

It is right that we should be sceptical - one only has to look at our own ruling party to see what politicians will say and what they do. It is also true that the ANC showed its smiling face in Lusaka - the hard-eyed commanders of its military wing. Umshongelo we Zwane, were not present.

**Factions**

Yet - and this is crucial - once the ANC commits itself to public positions the debate can start. We all know that peace of paper are worthless and that there will be peace in South Africa only when there is an equitable spread of balancing forces - military, economic, and political.

In that no one faction will gain more by breaking the covenant than it would be shedding by it. That would be the end of the negotiations.

The bump-and-grind variety of negotiations are, in a sense, already under way between various communities and power brokers in government - unions, business...
Getting It Together: NPR makes your travels a little easier.

Hoping for strength in unity...

Kooky right's election pact has a fatal flaw
The developer couldn't raise the money, because he had to scrap the building plans. Mr. Rolf Hansen was left with an empty lot in the heart of town, a place where the buildings had once stood.

Mr. Hansen, who had lived in the city for 20 years, decided to build a new shopping center. He invested a fortune and worked hard to make it successful. The center was a hit from the start, with many shops and restaurants opening their doors.

The most positive event of the year was the return of the local newspaper. It was shut down 10 years ago due to financial difficulties. The new owners managed to save the paper and keep it running.

The town was also seeing a revival in its old traditions. The annual festival was back, with a parade and music festival that drew people from all over.

However, the biggest news was the announcement that the city was going to be renamed. The old name had been abandoned in favor of a new, more modern one.

The mayor said, "This is a new era for our city. We are ready for change."
DP candidate says ANC not on, says violence
Candidates may use halls

The Johannesburg City Council has decided that parliamentary candidates nominated by any political party for the general election on September 6 will be allowed to hold meetings in Johannesburg's municipal recreation centres between the official nomination date and September 4.

Hiring Fee

Candidates will be charged the normal hiring fee and would have to comply with other conditions laid down for the hire of recreation centre halls.

At the same time, however, the council has decided that recreation centre facilities should not be made available to trade unions for meetings or gatherings.
Opposition poll indicates a hung parliament possible

By Peter Fabrius of the Political Staff

The poll shows the Greens are likely to win 13 per cent of the vote, the Nationals will win 17 per cent, the Liberals will win 24 per cent and the Labor Party will win 23 per cent. The poll shows that the major parties are likely to have a majority of seats in the House of Representatives.

The poll also shows that the Greens are likely to form a government with the Nationals, while the Liberal Party is likely to form a government with Labor. The poll shows that the Nationals are likely to win 28 seats, the Greens are likely to win 21 seats, the Liberals are likely to win 35 seats and Labor is likely to win 27 seats.

The poll also shows that the Greens are likely to form a minority government with the Nationals, while the Liberal Party is likely to form a majority government with Labor. The poll shows that the Nationals are likely to win 30 seats, the Greens are likely to win 20 seats, the Liberals are likely to win 32 seats and Labor is likely to win 28 seats.

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Survey shows possibility of hung Parliament after polls

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The latest opinion survey by the respected Mark en Menings Opinion group has confirmed the possibility of a hung Parliament, the Conservative Party claims.

The poll, published by Rapport newspaper yesterday, showed the CP and Democratic Party’s combined support as a hefty 34.1 percent of the electorate – 11 percent more than the National Party with 41.2.

This is the first time that the NP has failed to command an overall majority of the electorate according to the poll, which was conducted in June.

TREND

It has confirmed the trend already detected by commentators of the National Party losing substantial support to both the CP and the Democratic Party.

Since the last poll in April, NP support dropped from 48.7 percent of the electorate to 41.1 percent – its lowest level since the polls were begun.

In the same period, the DP climbed from 24.2 percent to 28.2 percent – substantially more than the constituent parties which formed the DP were ever able to command together.

This would put it well ahead of the CP and suggests it will dislodge the CP as Official Opposition.

The polls showed CP support growing from 15.6 to 23.9 percent.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, said the poll had always underestimated CP support.

“However, most significant thing is that the poll confirms there will be a hung Parliament.

“The poll shows that people are moving from the National Party to where they belong – the leftists are moving to the DP and the rightists to the CP.”

However Mr Con Botha, the NP’s chief information officer, said that though the NP was not ignoring the message of the poll, it was not “over-worried”.

The poll had been done before the launch of the NP’s new election campaign.

He disputed the hung Parliament scenario and said that a recent analysis of constituencies showed that 77 of the NP’s seats — only 7 short of an absolute majority — were held by such large majorities that it would need a swing of at least 15 percent to dislodge them.

The Rapport poll showed a swing of only 7.5 percent, he said.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said he was naturally delighted by the gain in DP support but was disturbed that the CP had made gains.

FRYING PAN

“The reason the government is losing support to both sides is because of the economy and the reason the economy is doing so badly is that NP policies have led to internal conflict and international isolation.

“Those people who are going to vote CP for economic reasons are going from the frying pan into the fire.”

The polls shows the newly-launched DP doing dramatically better than its predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party, did in the May 1981 general elections, when it lost nine seats.
Peace hopes

"The point is that Mr Mandela is a significant person and we would like to see all South Africans adopting a reasonable and constructive attitude towards peaceful negotiations. We are grateful for any step in that direction.

"We have been hearing up to now a situation where we can do nothing but talk. This is totally in line with what we want."

"We know whether the meeting meant Mandela's release was now imminent. The source said: "This is another step in that direction, but it does mean he will be released next week."

A British Embassy spokesman said the talks were "a good thing as far as we are concerned. They have been working for Mandela's release and everything else is of minor importance."

ADELE BALESTA reports that West German Ambassador Immo Stabell said yesterday the meeting could only be viewed as a positive step towards Mandela's release and a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the meeting as "epoch-making".

He described the talks as one of Botha's last great gestures which would always be remembered by black South Africans.

"We are quite encouraged as a result of this meeting to conclude that the realisation of a Nelson Mandela is now only a question of time," Buthelezi said.

"All of us have every reason to hope that a big thaw within South Africa itself has begun."

SAPA reports DP co-leader Denis Worrall as saying in London: "The fact that President Botha talks to Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, makes it so much easier for us to justify our (white) electorate the talks which we are having with the ANC."

TIM COHEN reports that DP justice spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday the meeting was an attempt by Botha to neutralise the NP's whole campaign against the DP. "How can the NP now criticise the DP for meeting with the ANC if they are doing it themselves?"

Derby-Lewis asked. "This is another example of P.W. Botha's revenge against the NP camp"
Blueprint not easily grafted to SA

Let the People Govern by Frances Kendall and Leon Louw (Amagi, R24.50)
Reviewed by JOHN PATTON

The purpose of this book appears to be to stoke the fires of the 'cause'. Frances Kendall and Leon Louw have promoted with their very successful earlier work, South Africa: The Solution.

Their thinking has been strongly backed by the Groundswell movement and through the bestseller status achieved by The Solution, an unusual accolade for writings of that type, especially as there is keen competition in the field of ideas that might stimulate constructive reforms away from apartheid.

This new work, which they claim is "not a sequel to The Solution", covers some of the same ground, but is deliberately more detailed. Its purpose appears to be both to answer criticisms made of The Solution and to raise new ways of persuading the South African public that the Swiss canton system (which they rightly represent as a viable option for constitutional problems at home).

It also seeks to underline the advantages of maximising free market alternatives and of exposing weaknesses of planner planning.

It will convince those who want to be convinced, but probably come no nearer to articulating mainstream constitutional thinking of present times.

It has the advantage that, even if it is not accepted as the ultimate model, it could still have a strong catalytic effect through presenting contrary ideas and arguments that may be relevant even in different constitutional plans.

Blueprint planning

What distinguishes the authors' approach is their commitment to the constitutional planning. It is an approach that politicians have been tending to move away from, because the more detailed the blueprint provided, the more scope there appears to be for disagreement.

Politicians have been trying to seek the route of widening and deepening dialogue without defining their own blueprints, with the idea of bringing all major players together eventually into formal negotiations at which a future constitution can be thrashed out.

As retiring Constitutional Development Minister, Chris Heunnis has shown, the impetus to promoting dialogue in divided society also has its very considerable frustrations.

In these circumstances, an important section of the book must be setting 'Here to There', and particularly the chapter on strategies for change.

The authors describe the present Government strategy as consisting of a two-pronged approach of maintaining national security and repressing extra-parliamentary opposition while trying to persuade black leaders to participate in a pyramid of structures firmly controlled by the central state.

Some tactics

They see extra-parliamentary strategies as disembarking the same tactics as militants adopt everywhere. They rely on social consciousness, cultural conformity and ideological solidarity, fearing upward mobility, because members of the middle class "tend to become readily co-opted by the establishment.

Against this they see parliamentary opposition strategies, both left and right of the Government as being to raise sufficient popular support to oust the Nationalist government through parliamentary means, so they can pursue their own programmes.

But the Groundswell strategy is to persuade people, who have believed society to be so divided that an accommodation had become impossible, that "the aspirations of the majority can be met without realising the worst fears of the minority, and that South Africans can live together in equality, justice, peace, freedom and prosperity.

The Groundswell idea is to bring about a peaceful revolution in the country, and the recommendations of the Sproos Commission of the 1970s are cited as examples of what has been achieved and of what still needs to be achieved.

It is an idealistic dream, temptingly reasonable. But it remains a fact that this blueprint is based on a system that is not home-grown, nor easily grafted.
Surprised at secret meeting, South Africans stunned.

The men who made history.
A step closer to freedom

Historic Mandela-PW meeting lifts hopes for peaceful change
ANC SHIFT ON TALKS WITH GOVT

Walter Sisulu will be released before the election and Nelson Mandela after the election on September 6.

The document says: "We need to formulate a political settlement and call for a halt to sanctions. This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in this process and to stop the armed struggle.

The document says: "PW is working on a proposal to be presented to the ANC. He is planning some kind of 'reconciliation forum' of all race groups, which is likely to be set up quite soon.

"With the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to secure South Africa's access to the world. Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity," says the document.

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Popularity of the Nats at ‘all-time low’ — poll

Political Correspondent

THE combined support enjoyed by white opposition parties is now considerably larger than the backing the ruling National Party can muster, according to the latest national-wide opinion poll.

There was a dramatic swing away from National Party between April and June, with support dropping from 48.7% to 41.1%, the lowest level ever measured for the ruling party, by the opinion poll published by Rapport newspaper.

For the first time, the DP and the CP together had more support from white voters than the ruling National Party, according to the poll conducted country-wide in June by Mark and Opinion Surveys (Pty) Ltd.

In a front-page report yesterday, Rapport said there had been a meaningful swing of support away from the NP to the CP and the DP in the past three months.

The latest poll shows that the NP has lost supporters during the past month both to the Conservative Party on the right and the Democratic Party on the left. Both parties said yesterday that a hung Parliament — in which no party enjoyed an outright majority — was a real possibility.

Support base

The support base for the DP has grown from 24.2% in April to 23.3% in June, with the CP jumping from 18.6% to 23.9%.

The HNP’s support has further dwindled from 1.5% to 1.1%, while the percentage of whites who don’t want to vote has dropped from 7.0% to 5.6%, according to the poll.

This means that while the NP was six points ahead of the combined DP/CP opposition in April (48.7% to 42.8%), by June the combined opposition led by 11 points (52.1% to 41.1%).

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said the opinion poll showed that a hung Parliament was a likely scenario after the September 6 election.

He predicted the CP would win between 60 and 70 seats in the election.

The acting chairman of the DP board, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the latest poll results were “a clear indication that a hung Parliament is very realistic indeed”:

“There is a kind of ‘fed-up’ feeling among South Africa’s people that I’ve not experienced in my political career before.”

“The consequences of misrule, apartheid and unworkable policies have taken their toll.”

The latest survey found that NP support had dropped to its lowest level and 41.1% of the June respondents said they would vote for the NP as opposed to 48.7% in April. The previous lowest point was 43% when the NP split in 1982.
Mandela Meeting Now

By Mzikayise

Mrs Winnie Mandela and her family have dismissed the talks between her husband, Nelson, and President P W Botha as "political mischief" by the Government.

The jailed ANC leader met Botha last Wednesday at Tuynhuys, the president's official residence in Cape Town.

It was reportedly their first face-to-face encounter and the meeting lasted 45 minutes.

The Reverend Frank Chikane, general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told a press conference held at Winnie Mandela's home yesterday that Mandela's family "knew nothing about the meeting."

He also said Winnie would soon be visiting her husband and the meeting would be among some of the things she would discuss.

Chikane said: "Last Wednesday's meeting was a ploy to confuse the masses. We do not know why the meeting was called and under what conditions."

Meanwhlie, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha, Chief Gcina Buthelezi, welcomed the talks between Botha and Mandela. "We said 'This is certainly one of the last great gestures for which Botha will always be remembered by black people in South Africa,'" Spokesmen at both the foreign office and No. 10 Downing Street, said Britain had been informed about the meeting but neither would speculate on what it might lead to.

Chikan told foreign and local journalists the Government was taking advantage of Mandela's status as a prisoner. He also said it was wrong for Botha to hold talks with Mandela while he was being refused permission to consult with the masses before holding such a meeting.

The Sowetan apologises for not carrying the top street seller competition entry form on Friday. We will extend the competition by a week.

Reports, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's State of Emergency.
Poovalingam ousted after attack on DP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills and the most senior member of the House of Delegates for the Democratic Party, has been expelled from the party.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the DP's national board, said yesterday that the decision had been taken because of "completely unfounded" allegations Mr Poovalingam had made during the past week against both the party itself, and specially against two of its leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

Mr Van der Merwe said that Mr Poovalingam had made no apology or retraction by Friday afternoon, when they had decided to implement their decision. Mr Poovalingam was not available for comment yesterday.

The national board met in the city on Saturday to finalise their position after Mr Van der Merwe and Mr J Walsh, the DP's chief executive, spent Thursday and Friday in Durban with the Natal coastal regional committee to discuss the issue.

The meetings were called after a row on July 1 when Mr Poovalingam slammed as "racist" the national executive's decision to limit the party's participation in the House of Delegates.

At the time Mr Poovalingam said he would be joined by fellow DP MP Mr Mahmoud Rajab in forming a new non-racial Democratic Party.

Mr Poovalingam accused Dr Worrall and Mr Malan of giving in to the demands of the ANC "for reasons of political opportunism and expediency".

"The national board has decided to terminate Mr Poovalingam's membership of the DP," Mr Van der Merwe said.

(Report by Patricia Lewman, 12 December Place, Durban, 0320)
New poll shows Nats are losing support

Opposition to the left of the NP was now stronger than to the right of the party — 20.4% on the left and 24.9% on the right (CP and INP).

In June 1982, the figure was 16.3% on the left (FFP and NNP) against 27.3% on the right.

Rapport said that while both opposition groups won support away from the NP in practice, support for the ruling party could be more favourable on election day.

The unveiling of the NP's Action Plan after the poll was conducted could have

Poll

influenced the result, and could have an effect on how the NP will do in September, Rapport said.

People who voted for the NP in 1987 and who intended voting for the DP in the September 8 election said the NP’s reform policy was too slow.

Those that switched to the CP believed
WASHINGTON — A half-hour Oval Office meeting between NP leader F W de Klerk and US President George Bush has been set up for July 26 or 27, according to US officials.

At the same time, an invitation is being extended to the DP to see Bush before the September 1 elections.

The final decision on whether De Klerk would see Bush was taken on Friday — before President P W Botha’s meeting with Nelson Mandela was known here.

Opponents of the White House meeting relented only after it was agreed that the DP should receive the same treatment.

Even though de Klerk will be in Washington for less than a day and a half, the administration is particularly anxious that he meet a broad array of congressional leaders, as well as Bush and Baker.
That Tynhays tete-a-tete:

State of the Grape

[Image of grapes]
Controversy within the DP as it names Geduld candidate

The DP is to contest deputy Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer's Geduld constituency, although some former PFP members fear the seat will fall into CP hands.

The DP Eastern Transvaal region last night named transport consultant Chris Pinto as its candidate.

De Beer, a leading verligte, won Geduld by 1,729 votes in 1987. The PFP did not oppose him then.

CP and NP officials estimate DP support in the constituency at more than 2,000 votes. If correct, this could result in De Beer losing.

His CP opponent, former Johannesburg city valuation department director Dawie Maree, is alleged to have had links with the AWB.

Former PFP MPs opposed the DP's move in Geduld, saying the party would serve no good if it caused the seat to fall into the hands of the CP.

However, DP Eastern Transvaal spokesman Mike Wilkens said last night that the regional executive had decided to put up as many candidates as possible where there was a demand.

Accountant Piet van Pietzen would contest the Modderfontein seat against Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Wilkens said. Van Pietzen won the nomination contest against tax economist Nick Nel.

SAPA reports that consultant Darryl Moss will stand for the DP in Vereeniging, while attorneys Gavin, Weisman and Elmarie Nielsen will stand in Roodepoort and Pretoria Central respectively.
Possibility of a hung Parliament looms

Marked swing to CP — poll

THE most significant feature of the latest Mark-en-Mening-sopnames poll of support for white political parties was the marked swing to the CP, Wits Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

The poll showed that since April, support for the CP had grown 5.3 percentage points to 23.9%. NP support dropped 7.8 percentage points to 41.1%, while DP support rose 4 percentage points to 32.2%.

CP support amongst Afrikaans-speaking people rose 6.7 percentage points to 33.7%, while the DP attracted English speakers away from the NP.

Its support amongst this group rose sharply from 56.1% to 64%. DP support amongst Afrikaans speakers remained limited at 7.8%.

Schlemmer said that as the poll was always conducted among the same panel of people, it was possible to establish that specific people were shifting political allegiances. A 5.3% shift to the CP in such a short space of time was statistically very meaningful, he said.

"It shows that a pretty significant shift is taking place, both to the CP and DP, but the shift to the right is bigger."

Schlemmer said that polling the views of right-wing voters was traditionally very difficult in SA, and it was likely that actual voter support for the CP would be much higher than the 23.9% indicated in the poll.

The reason for this was that the percentage poll in a general election was likely to be less than 80%, and the people least likely to vote would be those in the middle of the political spectrum.

CP supporters on the right of the spectrum and DP supporters on the left of the spectrum were the people most likely to vote.

Because the DP was unlikely to put up candidates in all seats, it was unlikely that its support at the polls would vary much from that indicated by the poll.

Schlemmer said that even if the DP received the same percentage of support as the CP in the election, it would win far fewer seats as its support was concentrated in high density middle-class constituencies, while the CP's was more evenly spread.

This was particularly true of the Transvaal, where the CP could expect to make major gains.

Pretoria Mathematics professor and political analyst Dirk Laurie said the poll confirmed to him that the NP was losing support both to the left and to the right. He also pointed out that the poll traditionally underestimated CP support.

CP information spokesman Koos van der Merwe said the poll confirmed the party's initial canvass results, which pointed to a hung Parliament.

He said that prior to the last election, the poll had underestimated CP support by almost half. He predicted that the CP would win up to 47 seats in the Transvaal and as many as 60 countrywide.

DP national organiser Neil Ross said his party had expected the poll to show improved support for it, but not as much as four points.

He said the DP was not just confident of picking up marginal seats like Hillbrow and Edenvale, but even safe NP seats like Johannesburg West, Stellenbosch and Bredasdorp.

Although support amongst Afrikaans-speaking voters was only 8%, Ross said it was concentrated amongst people in the 18-24 age group, who tended to live in the kind of constituency where the DP stood its best chance of winning seats from the NP.
International News

The talks between the leaders of the National Party and the ANC are making progress, particularly in the areas of political reform and reconciliation. The meeting was described as very important, and efforts are being made to ensure that negotiations proceed smoothly.

While the winding down of political repression continues, the release of political prisoners continues to be a priority. The government is taking steps to ensure that political prisoners are granted freedom, and negotiations are underway to address the issues raised by the opposition.

In the meantime, efforts are being made to promote reconciliation and to build trust between the various political groups. The role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict is now being discussed, and there is hope that a lasting peace can be achieved.

By David Brunn, The Star 23/4
De Beer hails PW-Mandela meeting as "development of hope".

The meeting between State President Botha and jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has drawn further favourable reaction from the Democratic Party.

Speaking in the Cape constituency of Maitland last night, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer hailed the Tuynhuijs meeting and the recent trip by 115 South Africans to meet the ANC in Zambia as historic events.

"Let us all pray that these events are the beginning of a process of negotiation that will bring peace to our country — peace on a basis that will overcome our international isolation and so enable us to return to prosperity," Dr de Beer said.

The DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal, said the Botha-Mandela meeting was a "development of hope".

He said the meeting was the first between the Nationalists and the ANC, and expressed the hope that further meetings of this nature would be held prior to Mr. Mandela's unconditional release from prison.

The president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya, has congratulated President Botha on his "bold move".

Hailing the meeting as a gigantic step, Mr Boya said Mr Mandela was a definite force to reckon with for any peaceful settlement in the country.

Mr Boya said he hoped the historic meeting was not a NP election ploy and Mr de Klerk would take the meeting further to meaningful negotiations.
By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE United Municipalities of South Africa expelled four of its executive members for joining the Government-created National Forum.

They are: vice-president Mr David Modiba, public relations officer Mr Edwin Motebang, chairman of the United Municipalities of the Transvaal, Mr Fanyana Mahlangu and executive member of the United Municipalities of the Orange Free State Mr Elias Mpholo.

Resign

Modiba is general-secretary of the NF and Motebang is its public relations officer.

They were sacked at a meeting of all Umsa affiliates held at Agisanang township near Sanieshof on Sunday.

Umsa president Mr Tom Boya said the four were dismissed because they refused to cut ties with the NF. His organisation had decided that none of its members should serve in the NF.

Boya said the four can rejoin Umsa if they first resigned from the NF.
Fact-finding For the People

Prison Visits... The Warden Answers Addressed in courageous press.

Extra on staff: "The question raised by the prison staff and the people involved in prison visits was what it is like to live in the prison system."

President Mwamba speaks at the National Conference for Prison Visits. The conference was held in Lusaka last week. President Mwamba said that the meeting was an opportunity to discuss the challenges faced by prisoners and their families. He also spoke about the importance of prison visits and called for more support for prisoners and their families.

"We need to work together to ensure that our prisoners are not forgotten," President Mwamba said.

The conference was attended by members of the National Prison Services, the Ministry of Justice, and the National Rehabilitation Council. The speakers included experts in the field of prison reform and rehabilitation, as well as former prisoners who shared their experiences of prison life.

The conference concluded with a call for more support and resources for prison reform and rehabilitation efforts in Zambia.
Fight for safe NP seat

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE officer commanding, the Cape Town Highlanders, Mr Tony Marriner, was named last night as the Democratic Party’s candidate in the safe NP seat of Caledon.

Mr Marriner, 47, a businessman from Durbanville, said: “We are confident of a very good showing.”

“With a very enthusiastic committee, and public support for the DP is growing all the time.”

Mr Marriner, who is to move to Hermanus for the duration of the election campaign, added that the mood of the constituency had been reflected by a voter in the area who told him: “For the first time since 1948, we have a real chance. The juices are flowing in the right direction,” the voter said.

Mr Marriner, the father of three children, is to take on the sitting MP, Mr Lampie Fick, who retained the Caledon seat in the May 1987 election with a 4,636 majority over the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, who obtained 2,646 votes.

The DP’s regional organiser in the Southern Cape, Mr Gerry Pypers, said: “There is a lot of unhappiness in the Caledon constituency and we are receiving encouraging support in the Caledon-Grabouw-Elgin area.”

The DP had opened offices in Caledon, Grabouw, Villiersdorp, Hermanus and Kleinmond.

Mr Pypers said a decision would be taken soon whether the DP would fight Swellendam, where there had been a number of calls on the party to put up a candidate.

(News by Barry Streex, 122 St George’s St, Cape Town, 8001)
Botha makes a bid to steal
FW’s thunder
Tea party at the Tuynhuys

LONDON — The meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela could complicate a complex and delicate plan designed to set in place talks between the South African Government and a cross-section of black leaders. This is suggested by Anthony Robinson of the Financial Times in a prominent article yesterday on what he calls the “Tuynhuys tea party.”

The conventional wisdom was that the process leading to talks would begin in earnest only after the September 6 general election, says Robinson. And had President Botha not suffered a mild stroke last January and been leading his party into the election, there is little doubt that the conventional wisdom would have proved correct.

“But Mr Botha now exercises enormous presidential powers with the party responsibilities which used to go with them,” Robinson writes.

“He misses no oppor-
DP to contest
3 NP seats
in Transvaal

Schabort denies role in pact

Strains in
government unity effort

By Esmarié van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Tough general election battles in three National Party-held Transvaal seats are on the cards after a decision by the Democratic Party to contest Springs, Brentwood and Boksburg.

In Springs, sitting NP MP Mr Piet Coetzee will be opposed by the Conservative Party’s Dr Dawie Gouws and the DP’s Mr Derry Byrne. Mr Coetzee retained the seat with a narrow majority of 884 in 1987.

Announcing Mr Byrne’s candidacy, the DP’s Eastern Transvaal executive said his late father, Mr Dick Byrne, was to have opposed Dr Robert Smit in the 1977 election, but withdrew after Dr Smit was murdered.

In Boksburg, the stage is set for a four-way contest with the nomination of Mr Dirk van Wyk (38) as the DP candidate.

He will oppose sitting NP MP Mr Sakkie Blecher, the CP’s Dr Sias Nothnagel and the Herstigte Nasionale Party’s Mr Attie Treurnicht. Mr Blenche obtained a 2,772-vote majority in the last election.

The DP’s Mr Pierre Nel (34) will contest Brentwood against the NP’s Dr Boy Geldenhuys, a nominated MP, and the CP’s Mr Martiens Jurgens.

By Esmarié van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The first cracks in the recently formed coalition between four groups on the political Right appeared yesterday with a denial from Professor Johan Schabot that he was party to a general election pact.

Professor Schabot, leader of the restricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), said he had never committed himself to a pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party’s Mr Jaap Marais, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging’s Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche and the Boerestaat Party’s Mr Robert van Tonder.

This comes after an announcement last week by the three leaders that their call for unity had been supported by the Blanke Party.

Professor Schabot yesterday said the Blanke Party was a “fabrication” but conceded that he had considered the name in the event of forming a political party to contest parliamentary elections. However, the party had not been formed yet.

He also denied earlier press reports which stated that he would be available as an HNP candidate. He said the HNP had asked him to stand in Nigel, but he had never accepted the offer.

In his reaction, Mr Marais said he was surprised by Professor Schabot’s statement. The BBB leader had never contributed to a rightwing pact and would thus not cause a rift in rightwing circles. He said Mr van Tonder had conveyed Professor Schabot’s support of the pact to the three leaders.

Professor Schabot said he had had talks with Mr van Tonder but had never agreed to support the unity efforts.
FW ‘by nature conservative’

CAPE TOWN — NP leader F W de Klerk was a weather-vane politician who by nature was a responder rather than an out-front leader, DP MP for Sea Point Colin Eglin said last night.

"Mr De Klerk is by nature cautious. He is by nature conservative. He will respond to the pressures of the ballot box as reflected in the election," Eglin said at the campaign launch of DP candidate for Groote Schuur Dene Smuts.

The success of the DP in the September election would have a dramatic impact on the policies and future of SA. If the pressures in the election were from the far right, De Klerk would become more cautious and more conservative, Eglin said.

"If, on the other hand, there is a big voter turnout for the DP, reflecting a desire among the voters for a fundamental break with apartheid and the commencement of negotiation on a new democratic constitution as a matter of urgency, Mr De Klerk might take heart and move before it is too late."

Eglin said the meeting between President F W Botha and ANC leader Nelson Mandela was a complete vindication of the DP’s repeated call for the inclusion of all truly representative leaders in the process of negotiating a new acceptable constitution for SA.

Botha had started to open the door that could lead to negotiation, but this was not good enough.

South Africans were entitled to know from De Klerk what steps he would take in the process of negotiating a new constitution and whether he would release Mandela.

EDITH BULBRING reports a CP head office spokesman said yesterday the CP would attempt to capture the votes of the Portuguese-speaking community in the election.

CP posters in Pretoria state in Portuguese: “For me never again Angola and Mozambique. I vote CP.”
Michael Acott

In different ways
rights democracy
Nats look al equals

ONATIONAL PARTY FRONT
Nats repeating colonial mistakes, says Worrall

Dr Denis Worrall ... Nationalists making errors of Portuguese dictatorship.

"Portugal postponed its decision to de-colonise and thus lost control of the process," he said yesterday.

"The National Party, under whatever leadership, looks like making the same mistake in important decisions it has to take."

Dr Worrall said he had discovered that leaders abroad "recognise the dangers ... of locking themselves into support" for the National Party.

He met the deputy secretary-general of the ruling Social Democratic Party, Mr Luis Manuel Geraldes, and the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Jose Durao Barros. Dr Worrall flies to Rome today on the last leg of his European tour.

(Report by Sandy Sloop, 38 Rua dom Louiz Coutinho, Lisbon.)

W German education offer

MUNICH — West Germany wants to contribute actively to the improvement of education for black South Africans, its Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said after a meeting in Bonn yesterday with a South African activist, Mr Eric Molobi.

Mr Molobi, who works for a West German education foundation in South Africa, thanked Mr Genscher for pressing for his release from detention last December. — The Star's Foreign News Service.
Visits to seven cities – plus Namibia, Angola

Pope to visit SA in May – cardinal

By Winnie Graham

The Pope is expected to visit South Africa next year, most probably in May.

Disclosing this yesterday, Cardinal Owen McCann, Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town, said he saw Pope John Paul in Rome on Friday. Although a definite date was not mentioned, he hoped that the visit would take place in the first half of the year.

"A world synod of bishops has been called in the second half of the year and as he will have to prepare for that, it seems unlikely he will come then. May thus seems a likely time."

The cardinal said the Pope’s visit would have to be long enough to include the seven main centres of South Africa — Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein — and Windhoek in Namibia. Angola was also likely to be included.

He stressed that the Pope had not deliberately excluded South Africa from his southern Africa itinerary last year. He had been invited to close the Inter-regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa (Imbisa) conference in Harare and to beatify Lesotho’s first saint, Father Joseph Gerard.

The cardinal said: “We are waiting for the Holy Father to come. His visit will be a great blessing and a boost for both the Catholic laity and the clergy.”

‘Land of apartheid’

The Pope visited southern Africa for 19 days in September last year. The tour started in Zimbabwe and moved to Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland, ending in Mozambique.

The visit was controversial in that South Africa was excluded. It was said the Pope had avoided South Africa because it was the “land of apartheid” but that was vigorously denied at the time by the South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference.

The Pope was then forced to make an unscheduled stop at Jan Smuts Airport when bad weather prevented the papal aircraft from landing in Lesotho. He was escorted by South African officials to Maseru.

At the start of his southern African tour he was asked if he had a message for South Africans.

"Tell them I want to come,” he replied.

The Pope has described himself as “the itinerant catechist, travelling around the world to both teach and evangelise.”

He has made well over 40 international tours and it is estimated over a million people saw him on his southern African tour. In war-torn Mozambique, where religion was banned for many years after the Frelimo take-over, hundreds of thousands turned out to see him.
Contingency fund: 75% spent

JOHANNESBURG. — Up to three-quarters of the R1 billion which the government set aside in the budget for contingencies has been used up after just three months of the financial year.

And finance officials said government would risk losing all credibility among the business community if it considered any further election handouts.

"There is some leeway left for totally unexpected expenditure, but the rest of the fund has been committed," one official said.

Director-General of Finance Mr Gerhard Grobler said the allocation of money in the contingency fund was decided at cabinet level. He could not comment on how much of it had already been spent.

He added, however: "I am still quite confident we will be able to stick to the total expenditure outlined in the budget, including the R1 billion."

A total of R128 million from the fund has been earmarked to pay for a once-off bonus for social pensioners while R30 million has been set aside for improved housing subsidies for civil servants.

Other government handouts which could have been funded out of the contingency fund include R35 million for Tissot watches for long-serving civil servants and the reinstatement of controversial pension buybacks for 6000 civil servants.

Finance officials said the rest of the money from the fund that had been committed consisted of more "mundane" amounts that had been earmarked for essential over-expenditures by departments.

UK dockers strike ports close

LONDON. — British dockers, in a showdown over jobs, began an indefinite strike yesterday, crippling dozens of ports which handle almost half of Britain’s trade.

Union officials said the action brought London and Bristol docks to a standstill but it was ignored at some ports, where work continued.

The strike was called by the huge Transport and General Workers’ Union (TGWU) at 60 ports where the government has ended a Dock Labour Scheme guaranteeing 9400 workers jobs for life.

Port employers said 18 of the ports in the scheme did not join the strike and that 1400 men had applied for retirement pay-offs worth up to £35 000 (about R134 000). — Sapa-Reuters
PRESIDENT George Bush has provisionally agreed to meet NP leader Mr F W de Klerk on July 25 or 26, according to US officials.

However, neither the White House nor the State Department would confirm this. The South African Embassy in Washington also said it had received no formal notification.

Mr De Klerk is expected to pay a day-and-a-half-long visit to Washington during which he will also confer with congressional leaders and with Secretary of State Mr James Baker, the officials said.

The administration wants to avoid advance publicity for the meeting in order to keep possible opposition off balance.

Whether or not Mr De Klerk should see the president has been a matter of intense debate among Mr Baker's senior advisers because of concern about hostile reaction on Capitol Hill.

A group of 32 congressmen led by House Majority Whip Mr William Gray and Africa subcommittee chairman Mr Howard Wolpe sent a letter to Mr Bush last week urging him not to see Mr De Klerk until the state of emergency had been lifted and political prisoners freed.

At the same time, key Senate Democrats, including Intelligence Committee Chairman Mr David Boren, have voiced support for the meeting.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in a letter following her own meeting with Mr De Klerk, has also privately urged Mr Bush to go ahead.

The decision to proceed is said to have come last Friday after it was agreed that a representative of the Democratic Party should also be invited to see Mr Bush. Mr Wynand Malan is currently the likeliest candidate, sources said.

Earlier last week, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen recommended that the meeting be held after holding preliminary discussions with Mr De Klerk.

Opposition to the meeting appears to have been galvanised in part by UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu who advocated the conditions set out in the congressional letter.

Mrs Sisulu, who saw Mr Bush on June 30, headed for London yesterday for talks with Mrs Thatcher.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher's meeting with a UDF delegation today appears to underline her interest in aiding a black-white settlement in South Africa. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
Don’t see De Klerk before major change in SA, Bush told

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — More than 50 US Congressmen have written to President Bush urging him not to meet the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, without any significant change by the white minority regime in South Africa.

The letter, sent last week and released to the media yesterday, stated that a meeting between Mr Bush and Mr de Klerk would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush administration.

The letter is the latest salvo in the rapidly growing opposition to a possible visit to Washington by Mr de Klerk.

Ironically, it was understood from US officials yesterday, Mr de Klerk has not indicated to the American government whether he will accept an invitation to meet the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

Anxious

South African and American officials anxious to arrange a visit for the National Party leader have been trying to fix a date either in the last week of July or the first week of August.

Reports that the meeting would take place on July 25 or 26 and that it would definitely involve a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush were just speculation, according to White House and State Department officials yesterday. No such dates had been set aside in Mr Bush's diary, according to one senior official.

The State Department said on Monday no dates had been fixed for a meeting and that as far as it was concerned Mr de Klerk would be meeting Mr Baker and not Mr Bush.

It is understood key officials close to Mr Bush and in the State Department are opposed to a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush.

A church delegation led by

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a United Democratic Front delegation both urged a wide range of Washington leaders not to allow a visit by Mr de Klerk until the South African Government had offered something to deserve such an honour.

Anti-apartheid activists and organisations in Washington have already started planning mass demonstrations against Mr de Klerk should he arrive in Washington. A petition calling on the President not to see the South African in circulating.

In the letter sent by the Congressmen to Mr Bush, the legislators call on the President not to see Mr de Klerk or any other member of the South African Government until the National Party and the Government:

- Release all political prisoners jailed for their opposition to apartheid.
- Terminate the state of emergency and ease restrictions on members of extra-parliamentary organisations.
- Unban all political organisations.

The letter said: "To meet with the National Party leader and anticipated President of South Africa without any significant political change by the white minority regime would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush Administration."
Prisons stay mum on Mandela

Has ANC leader made statement on PW meeting?

Political Staff

Mr Nelson Mandela's version of his meeting with President Botha is apparently being held by the Prisons Service, which is keeping mum about it.

The department would not even confirm or deny whether it had received a statement for public distribution from its most famous prisoner.

"It is policy not to comment on whether or not any requests have been made by or received from any individual or to disclose the contents thereof," said the chief of prisons liaison, Brigadier Erika van Zyl.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said earlier that Mr Mandela had handed a statement to his jailers before Mrs Winnie Mandela visited him on Monday at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

Contents

It is not clear whether Mrs Mandela knows the contents of her husband's statement, but the SACC does not have a copy of the statement, according to a spokesman, Mr Sakkie Makozoma.

Sapa quotes official sources in Pretoria as saying that the Prisons Service could not take it upon itself to sanction release of Mr Mandela's statement. They pointed out that a decision of such import was not likely to be made public before the Cabinet had had a chance to formalise it.

Referring to Mr Mandela's earning an LLB degree from the University of South Africa, a Prisons Service spokesman has confirmed that "consideration is being given to the arrangement of an occasion at which the degree certificate can be presented to Mr Mandela in the presence of his immediate family and friends."

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, has denied claims by the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party that last week's meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela signalled the first talks between the Government and the banned African National Congress organisation.

Dr van der Merwe emphasised yesterday that the meeting had been between the State President and Mr Mandela -- not the Government and the ANC.

The Star's sister newspaper in Cape Town, The Argus, has been refused permission to interview Mr Mandela.

The Argus applied to the Prisons Service at the weekend to interview him in prison in Paarl.

"I regret to inform you that an interview with Mr Mandela is not considered opportune," said liaison officer Mr JH Smith.
Ousted Modiba may challenge Boya

By Stan Hlophe

The former vice-president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr David Modiba, said yesterday he would seek legal advice about the status of the Umsa leader who expelled him.

Mr Modiba said Umsa president Mr Tom Boya represented the Daveyton Town Council, which had pulled out of Umsa.

"Now that the Daveyton Council has distanced itself from Umsa, I am going to seek legal advice on the legitimacy of its president, who has no constituency," said Mr Modiba.

"Umsa is the organisation of councillors not of the councillors. Therefore the implication of disaffiliation by the Daveyton Council creates a legal problem in terms of the constitution."

The decision to expel Mr Modiba, Umsa public relations officer Mr Edwin Motebang, Umsa chairman Mr Fanyana Mahlangu, and executive member Mr Elias Mpholo, was taken at a meeting of all Umsa affiliates in Agisanang township, near Sanchesof, at the weekend, because the four men had joined the Government-created National Forum.

Mr Modiba is the general secretary of the National Forum and deputy mayor of Kagiso. Mr Motebang is the National Forum's public relations officer.

Mr Boya has said the four could apply to re-join Umsa if they dissociated themselves from the National Forum.
Cohen's bottom line

DURBAN — The bottom line for SA was "a non-racial, representative, democratic society," US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference as his whistle-stop tour of southern Africa drew towards a close, Cohen made it clear the George Bush administration had not finalised its policy towards SA.

"I cannot pre-empt Mr Bush, but I believe there will be substantial changes from the policy of the previous administration. I believe this new policy will be finalised soon," he said.

The US would not be influenced by the policies of other countries towards SA — and she would not prescribe to Pretoria. This country alone could solve its problems, he said.

Cohen visualised a continuation of Bush receiving "other South African leaders" in the future — maintaining the policy whereby he granted audiences to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Albertina Sisulu of the UDF.

Dealing with changes in SA, Cohen said he was "encouraged more than I am optimistic".

He said the US attitude towards SA would depend on President PW Botha and government. But Cohen would not react further, saying the country was in the middle of an election campaign.

Throughout his trip he had found it encouraging to hear from black organisations, including Inkatha and the UDF, that the time for fighting was over and that unity talks were necessary for fundamental changes.

Chairman of the Ministers’ Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said after talks with Cohen in Durban yesterday that the US had an important role to play in the search for a political settlement of the internal conflict in SA.

Sapa reports Hendrickse said Cohen had shown a willingness to listen to the multi-faceted issues on the agenda for change.

Hendrickse said among the matters of concern that were raised were those of black aspirations and white fears.

Cohen also held brief talks with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his cabinet at Ulundi yesterday.

Cohen said afterwards the meeting with Buthelezi was part of his consultation with political leaders in SA.

He said it was his belief that Buthelezi’s leadership could one day become instrumental in achieving a political settlement in the country.

Cohen said he believed the idea of unity between Inkatha and the UDF was becoming increasingly important. He said he was encouraged by new thinking in the UDF.

"Bush’s policy on SA not finalised"
South Africans want Mandela freed — Smuts

Political Staff

THE meeting between President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela had stunned the country "because it could be or should be the symbolic start of a new era", Mr Deno Smuts said last night.

Launching her Groote Schuur campaign for the coming election, the DP's candidate said South Africans wanted to see Mr Mandela released and the ANC unbanned "so that we can argue out our common future in a spirit of reconciliation and realism".

She noted that on returning recently from talks in Lusaka she had argued that the ANC's democratic instincts were "the real thing".

"The NP's instincts are the real thing too — but their understanding of democracy is disastrous."

Speaking at the launch, the DP MP for Sea Point, Mr Colin Eglinton, said the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, was a "weather-vane" politician who by nature was a "responder" rather than an "out front" type of leader.

"He will respond to the pressures of the ballot box as reflected in the election," Mr Eglinton said.

The success of the DP in the September 6 election would have a dramatic impact on the policies and future of South Africa.

The Democratic Party is to fight for the Worcester seat in the September 6 election and its candidate is to be named on Saturday.

The vice-chairman of the DP in Worcester, Mrs Marie Botha, said yesterday the party would definitely be standing in the constituency, a safe Nationalist seat.

Its candidate is expected to be a local farmer.

Worcester was the scene of an intense and bitter nomination contest in the National Party which eventually opted for a party organiser and former MP for the area, Mr Ryno King.

The Conservative Party has named Mrs Rini du Toit as its candidate.
DP names De Kuijen candidate

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday named businessman Mr Malcolm Nelson, 43, as its candidate in the safe Nationalist seat of De Kuijen.

Mr Nelson, the owner of a building equipment company in the De Kuijen constituency, won a tough nomination contest against two other potential candidates.

A former member of the United Party, the New Republic Party and the Independent Party, Mr Nelson will take on another former member of the United Party, Mr Myburgh Strelcher, the sitting MP.

On the May 1987 election Mr Strelcher, the Deputy Minister of Transport, obtained a massive 8 218 majority over the CP, which polled 2 026 votes, the PFP 1 326 votes and the HNP 204 votes.

The CP has not yet named a candidate in De Kuijen, but it has opened an election office there and seems likely to contest the seat again.

The DP's regional director, Mrs Lois Harley, said yesterday that it was possible that the party would put up a candidate in Wellington and there was considerable pressure to fight Beaufort West.

(News by Barry Groenek, 120 St George's Street, Cape Town, 8001)
Treurnicht warns of ‘white uprising’

By Kevin Udemaas

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party and MP for Waterberg, last night warned that the forced together of people as was proposed by the National Party and the Democratic Party would lead to resistance from many white South Africans.

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at a public meeting attended by about 1000 people at the Benoni Town Hall, said everyone seemed to be talking about a “black uprising” and a “bloodbath” if the CP came to power.

“But have they ever thought what would happen if whites were forced together with people of other races against their wills: does this not also create a climate of uprising?” he asked to tremendous applause.

“I am not promoting such an uprising but asking whether those same people who fear a black uprising are not scared of a white uprising,” he said.

Dr Treurnicht also said he did not understand what was behind the recent meeting between State President Mr P W Botha and jailed leader of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela.

“On the one hand the Government condemns talks between South Africans and the ANC but on the other the State President of South Africa meets the leader of the ANC in South Africa.

“Who is the person President Botha met with? ... the head of the ANC and a political prisoner who has not denounced violence,” Dr Treurnicht said.
SA 'change' recognised by Mugabe

PARIS — There were noticeable shifts in the internal policies of the South African leadership, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe acknowledged yesterday in a rare concession.

"Of course, there has been the slight shift discernible from the recently announced proposals to reform apartheid," Mr Mugabe said in Paris, where he is a government guest at ceremonies for the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

Mr Mugabe said he expected no spectacular change in South Africa by the takeover of the National Party leadership by Mr F W de Klerk.

"He must work within the confines of the political thinking of the National Party," Mr Mugabe said.

Despite this projection, Mr Mugabe's assessment of South Africa was one of the most moderate since he came to power.

— Sapa-Reuters.
Eksteen, PW secretary set for top consultancy

STRONG speculation exists that former SABC director Riaan Eksteen, PW Botha’s private secretary Capt Ters Ehlers and former top Foreign Affairs official Kobus Greeff are to establish a high profile consultancy.

The trio are remaining tight lipped about the venture, but according to sources it will be launched as soon as Ehlers leaves the State President’s office.

Eksteen, speaking on behalf of himself and Greeff, said last night: “Once the company has been formed and all its members are in a position to address the media; a full Press statement will be released and a proper Press conference will be held.”

It is understood that the consultancy will not focus on politics specifically, but will involve interaction with political departments both locally and in other southern African states.

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**TIM COHEN**

The company, which will advice top businesses, will specialise in analysis and smoothing the path of enterprises to the mutual benefit of all parties.

The possible establishment of the company comes at a time when government is attempting to encourage business enterprise between SA and its neighbours.

If established, the company will also try to take advantage of the recent peace initiatives which will facilitate such enterprises.

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**Election**

The proposed company will not be a lobbying group as such, but will “oil the wheels”, according to sources.

It is understood that Ehlers will remain in the State President’s office until after September’s election, when Botha will stand down. Then he will join the other two.

Eksteen, a former SA ambassador to the UN, retired from the SABC following a row with Botha.

He still maintains close contact with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and with other government officials.

He has been doing political risk analysis for Baird Communication in Randburg and brokers Ed Hern, Rudolph Incorporated.

François Baird said yesterday he did not expect Eksteen’s other business affairs to interfere with his work for the communications company.

Ehlers spent three years in France training for his post as SA Navy submarine commander. In his capacity as the President’s private secretary, he has accompanied Botha on all his trips to Europe and Africa.

Greeff was vice-consul in Milan, but has since become a businessman involved in a major food packaging and processing business.
Conflicting claims on Tuynhuys talks

NP claims meeting a ‘breakthrough’

Cape Town
Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee has referred to the meeting between the State President, Mr PW Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela as an “absolute breakthrough” for peaceful development in South Africa.

But political observers say the statement issued by Mr Mandela, released by the Prisons Department last night, is a clear indication that Mr Mandela has spiked Government attempts to isolate him from the African National Congress.

In the statement, Mr Mandela said that the only way to end violence and bring about peace in South Africa is through dialogue with the “mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC”.

Last night, at an NP meeting in Riversdale, Mr Coetsee said that in the light of Mr Mandela’s earlier refusal to foreshadow violence, the question had arisen whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if President Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him, and Mr Mandela said that he was in favour of peaceful development in South Africa.

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC, or anyone else, in favour of violence, he said.

The Government’s standpoint remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors, but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

However, political observers believe that Government attempts to isolate Mr Mandela from the ANC had been sidestepped by Mr Mandela’s insistence on negotiation with the mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC.

By Mike Silumla, Labour Reporter

Cosatu puts ball in union power…some of the delegates attending the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The onus for the creation of conditions suitable for a negotiated political settlement lay with the South African Government, the Congress of SA Trade Unions president, Mr Edjah Barayi, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Barayi was addressing more than 1 800 delegates to the federation’s second biennial congress, also attended by members of the diplomatic corps and observers from the international union movement.

Rejecting the notion that the rise of Mr FW de Klerk would usher in a new era of political change, Mr Barayi said: “The outcome of the elections will place FW (de Klerk) at the head of a regime whose rule is not based on the will of the people.”

Mr Barayi said the setting of preconditions for negotiations by the “national democratic movement”, such as the withdrawal of the police and from black townships, did not represent a negotiating position by the movement, but aimed at ensuring a climate for negotiation.

“Conditions must exist, by, if negotiations take place, they do not take place in the regime’s court.”

Crazed farmer
In Riversdale, Mr Coetzee said that in the light of Mr Mandela's earlier refusal to forebear violence, the question had arisen whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if President Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him, and Mr Mandela said that he was in favour of peaceful development in South Africa.

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC, or anyone else, in favour of violence, he said.

The Government's standpoint remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors, but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

However, political observers believe that Government attempts to isolate Mr Mandela from the ANC had been side-stepped by Mr Mandela's insistence on negotiation with the mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC.

Silence significant

A spokesman for the President's Office said today that Mr Botha had no comment on the meeting or statement.

Idasa director Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert said today that the most significant thing so far has been the silence of the State President himself. "Why is everyone explaining exactly how this came about without him stating his own position?"

"If this had been so meticulously planned over a long period to occur specifically before an election in which the National Party is being attacked from the Left and the Right, then the former leader of the party, together with the current one, should explain how it forms part of the party's election programme and the possibilities for negotiation."

"Whatever the case might be, the symbolic significance of the meeting and the consequences that will flow from it have generated a momentum that will outstrip any petty motivations there may be among the NP," Dr Slabbert added.

The South African Council of Churches said that the meeting was a "calculated attempt by the Government to make maximum political gains".

Mr Mandela's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, yesterday told a BBC correspondent her husband was not given an opportunity to prepare for the meeting.

He therefore had no opportunity to consult with his people and subsequently decided to go ahead with the meeting.
WHATEVER the government might intend, once it has released Nelson Mandela, it has put the first foot on the road to real change.

Anti-apartheid leaders inside the country agree that Mandela's release cannot be a mere token undertaking to appease the Western powers that have been lobbying for his freedom.

Firstly, they point out, he is the leader of the African National Congress.

"From his own account, Nelson Mandela still remains a member of the ANC," says former national United Democratic Front spokesman Murphy Morobe.

Secondly, it will be impossible for the government to release Mandela with restrictions as has been done with other former political prisoners.

"He would only violate the restrictions," says his lawyer Fatima Meer, a Durban sociologist.

"An unconditional release means he will have a passport and will be able to move about quite freely. A conditional release will mean that he'll probably be back in jail within a matter of days."

According to Alex Boross, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), a conditional release "would cause more harm than not releasing Mandela at all."

By unconditionally releasing the leader of the ANC, the government will effectively urbanize the organisation, says anti-apartheid leader.

They believe the government will probably follow Mandela's release with a "die hard" Netanyahu reassessing the ANC, exclaimed since 1969.

"You cannot release the man and not allow his organisation to work with him," observes Dr Allan Brock.

"There are no other channels for him to work through — both the internal and external, not even the United Democratic Front."

"The only channel, in a very great political and historical sense, is the organisation of which he is a leader, the ANC."

By unloading the ANC, the government could open the way to negotiations between itself and the organisation.

"It could unleash a series of events on the part of the government to pave the way to new communities," says Meer. "To me, this does not seem anoption..."

Will the government maintain the status of emergency if it releases Mandela? Some activists believe this will be impossible.

"How can Mandela be walking the streets representing the ANC when leaders of non-violent organisations are still in jail?" asks Brock.

Meanwhile, the World Health Organisation has been in touch with the government to discuss matters such as the ongoing hunger strike at the prison. "I heard that the government had been in touch with the WHO," says Meer. "If they were to release Mandela, they would be able to get some medical assistance from the WHO."
Nelson Mandela says talks with the ANC are the only route to peace.
Mandela a gifted intellectual, says Coetsee

Political Correspondent

JUSTICE Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee has referred to the meeting between President Botha and Nelson Mandela as an “absolute breakthrough” for peaceful development.

Speaking at an election meeting in Riversdale last night, Mr Coetsee said it had led to the breakthrough of Mr Mandela declaring himself in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Coetsee, who previously said he spent a long time arranging the meeting, said last night that he had in the past few years spoken to Mr Mandela on several occasions.

He had found him to be an approachable person with specific gifts, especially intellectual. He had sometimes told him things in confidence “but in my experience he never ‘dropped’ me”.

In the light of Mr Mandela’s earlier refusal to foresee violence the question had arisen of whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if Mr Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him and Mr Mandela said he was in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Coetsee said this was precisely what had happened.

Mr Mandela had given his approval to the initial statement issued at the weekend which stated that Mr Botha and Mr Mandela were in favour of peaceful development.

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC or anyone else who was in favour of violence.

The government’s stand point remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

He had paid a courtesy visit to the President. The meeting was based on Mr Botha’s viewpoint that Mr Mandela must be treated decently and in a Christian way.

If South Africa wanted to make further breakthroughs there should be further occasions such as this meeting, Mr Coetsee said.

A spokesman for the President’s office said today Mr Botha had no comment on the meeting or on Mr Mandela’s statement.

Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said that the most significant thing so far had been the silence of the President.

“If this had been so meticulously planned over a long period to occur specifically before an election in which the National Party is being attacked from the left and the right, then the former leader of the party, together with the current one, should explain how it forms part of the party’s election programme and the possibilities for negotiation.

“Whatever the case might be, the symbolic significance of the meeting and the consequences that will flow from it have generated a momentum that will outstrip any of the petty motivations there may be among Nationalist leaders,” Dr Slabbert said.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George’s Street, Cape Town)
Much at stake for NP and ANC in Mandela initiative

THE surprising meeting between President F W Botha and Prime Minister Mandela brings to mind the famous final paragraph of J M Roberts' The Pelican History of the World. At the end of the monumental study which covered the span from ancient Egypt to the strategic issues of the 1960s, the author observes that there are only two general truths that emerge from the study of history: "One is that things tend to change much more, and more quickly than one might think. The other is that they tend to change much less, and much more slowly, than one might think."

Roberts adds wryly that the only advantage in being a historian is that one may be a little less surprised by the outcome, whatever it is. However, some unexpected events during the Botha-Mandela meeting and other recent developments that have latter historians were initially dumbfounded. At the same time if one had pieced together bits of information, some of which have not been yet reported in our Press, the recent Tsumeb meeting should not have taken us all by complete surprise.

Let us look at the NP side. President Botha's approach to constitution-making has always been: "We (the NP) lay the table and serve the dish; if they (the coloured people, Indians or Africans) don't want it, they can lump it." He instructed the luckless Mr Heunis to find some black leaders with whom a constitutional deal could be struck. As Mr Heunis failed to deliver, Mr Botha got increasingly enraged. Nevertheless he continued to hope for some breakthrough in the search for accommodating black leaders and accordingly reduced several requests from Mr Heunis to see Mr Mandela.

**Visits**

The F W de Klerk-Gerrit Viljoen team which has replaced the Botha-Heunis Old Guard has in an important respect a different approach to constitution-making. Instead of trying to trick in pliable black leaders into a NP-designed constitution, Mr de Klerk and Dr Viljoen believe the time has come for the major black and white political formations to put their respective constitutional proposals on the table and negotiate on the basis of them.

This is where Mr Mandela comes in. He would have been completely out of place in the old-style of co-operative politics in which brown and Indian politicians were seduced by weird and wonderful promises. However, the New Guard of the NP believes Mr Mandela can play an indispensable role in getting blacks in the extra-judicial movement to come up with their constitutional model.

Since the beginning of this year Mr Mandela has had several visits with representatives of the South African Council of Churches. They were pleased with his responses. Well-placed sources insist that in the last few weeks at least four cabinet ministers visited Mr Mandela and had extensive discussions with him.

Until April this year Mr Botha was determined, as one source puts it, "to go down in history as the man who did not free Mandela except on his own conditions." However, then the NP came up to the painful discovery that De Klerk's situation had not completely sidelined him. Mr Botha found that "Pappie" wanted to do one great thing before he leaves office. Also that he was determined to secure some prestigious office after he vacated the presidency. The Mandela visit to Tsumeb was realisation of the first objective and may open the door to the second.

**Favourable**

But why does the NP engage in such a risky adventure just before an election in which the Conservative Party is poised to make considerable gains? I believe that the Mandela initiative will be the main feature in the plank which the NP will use in addressing itself to voters attracted to the Democratic Party. This will precede the NP as the party willing to talk to all black leaders and able to persuade Western leaders to bring South Africa back into the international community.

The Mandela initiative also explains Mr de Klerk's surprisingly favourable reception abroad. It is the kind of thing which Western leaders devoutly hope for. Mr de Klerk almost certainly also discussed the ground rules under which leaders such as Mr Mandela would operate. In the NP's view there cannot be any question of masses rallies in the townships attended by hundreds of thousands of people. If the NP cannot come up with a constitutional model, the NP's position must be to hold closed doors and its support tested by way of referendum.

**Possibility**

This brings us to the African National Congress and its response to the Mandela initiative. The ANC is at the moment going through a painful process of readjustment, the euphoria of: "within six months we are in the Union Building" is gone. The ANC's withdrawal from Angola was painful to its members. Most importantly, despite all the denials the pressures were inexorably forcing the ANC to explore the political route to the full while continuing to exert pressure militarily and politically.

The first public evidence of a new ANC political initiative appeared in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung a few months ago. In this a chief ANC strategist (Mr Joe Slovo) raised the possibility of Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Thabo Mbeki being allowed to return home openly to stabilise an internal ANC if there was sufficient evidence that the Pretoria Government would allow it.

**Insecure**

There are strong rumours that Mr Mandela during the past month sent a memo to Lusaka which caused considerable consternation. It is just possible that Mr Mandela may have suggested that a Mandela-Tambo-Mbeki team would be itself to find an internal ANC and presenting the ANC's constitutional model.

My impression of the ANC is that while it is ultimately convinced it will ultimately prevail, it is tremendously insecure in changing current and medium-term tactics and strategies. The ANC may well suffer a disastrous split if it is forced to go to the route of a legalised internal ANC committed to finding a compromise constitutional solution.

The stakes are tremendous. If things in the Mandela initiative go wrong for the NP it may well find itself confronted with a rampant CP and mandatory sanctions. If it goes wrong for the ANC its struggle at the very least will be set back many years. If it goes right for both it will be one of history's greatest and most pleasant surprises.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr F W de Klerk believe the time has come for the major black and white political formations to put their constitutional proposals on the table and negotiate on the basis of them.
SA whites still racist, says US paper

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A leading American national newspaper, USA Today, has called for new sanctions against South Africa.

Listing several points, including the recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr P W Botha, as faint signs of hope in the country's racist gloom, the newspaper said in its editorial commentary that South Africa's white racists had not changed.

"They keep power with beatings, jailings and murders. They deprive blacks of free expression, punishing them or outlawing their political parties at any sign of dissent. They bar blacks from the best schools, health services and jobs."

USA Today said if National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk wanted US support he had to bring about real change.

The best place to start would be to free Mandela, the foremost symbol of suppression. But that was only the beginning. Apartheid had to be ended completely, Blacks had to be made full partners in the political process.

The newspaper said the Government had to lift the appalling state of emergency that deprived blacks of the right to peaceful expression and hid the regime's brutality from the world by restricting the press. It had to begin talks with black leaders.

"South Africa's leaders have not budged on these issues. Until they see the light, the US must turn up the heat," it said.

"Sanctions, like the double tax on South African profits that prompted Goodyear to pull out, must be continued. New sanctions should be considered.

"Companies and universities must stop contributing to the South African economy. Tourists should find other places to spend their dollars. Individuals must express their outrage.

"This nation, home of democracy, can't tolerate tyranny."
The full text of Mr Nelson Mandela's statement as released by the Prisons Department:

"The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting. The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development."

"I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa." — Sapa.
Further cracks in unity effort

We back CP, say 2 rightwing leaders

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The unity row between parties on the political Right took a surprising turn yesterday when two of the four leaders who have been involved in efforts to form a broad rightwing front publicly pledged their support for the Conservative Party.

Professor Johan Schabort, leader of the restricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), and Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party (BP), issued statements in which they expressed support for the CP.

Last week, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the AWB and the BP announced they had reached an agreement and called on the CP to enter the agreement to consolidate rightwing support in the September general election.

The three organisations claimed the support of Professor Schabort for a unity movement which had been rejected from the start by CP leader Dr

Professor Johan Schabort.
Andries Treurnicht.

This week Professor Schabort denied he was part of their bid to form a rightwing front. Yesterday he pledged full support for the CP and urged the HNP, AWB and BP to do the same.

He said the CP’s “openness” for different rightist viewpoints made unity within the CP possible, while an “undisciplined, feud-torn rightist alliance without a consolidated leadership has to be avoided at all costs”.

He appealed to the HNP, AWB and BP to disband the front and to withdraw all general election candidates against the CP.

In a statement, Mr van Tonder said the CP’s rejection of an election agreement had weakened the political Right’s chances of defeating the NP. “Despite the CP’s refusal to cooperate, the BP keeps to its previous decision not to hamper the CP’s chances of ousting the NP. Therefore the BP will not put up candidates in this election.”

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, seemingly unaware of Mr van Tonder’s statement, said: “In terms of numbers, the BP and BBB did not mean much.”

Asked whether the HNP and AWB would continue plans for an election agreement, Mr Marais said no definite decisions had been taken.

Mr Andries Beyers, the CP’s Transvaal chief secretary, declined to comment on the latest moves but repeated his party’s viewpoint that rightwing unity had to a large extent already been achieved within the CP.

(Report by Esmaré van der Merwe,
37 Sour Street, Johannesburg)
By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The National Party has launched a two-pronged election advertising campaign in suburbs north of Johannesburg — on the one hand highlighting its new reform drive, on the other stating the Democratic Party for "taking orders" from the African National Congress.

While this strategy has drawn immediate criticism from the DP, it is viewed with unease in NP circles. Some NP Organisers believe a campaign against the DP's attitude towards the ANC could backfire at the polls.

Implying the DP is controlled by the banned ANC, a NP advertisement for Johannesburg West MP Mr Roelf Meyer quotes dismelled DP MP Mr Pat Poovallingam as saying some white DP MPs had "given in to the ANC". This refers to the DP's controversial decision to selectively field Indian candidates in the September election.

In stark contrast is a local advertisement in support of Mr Glenn Babb, the NP's candidate in Randburg against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. Endorsed by television celebrity Tony Sanderson, the advertisement stresses the NP's new leadership, vision and emphasis on negotiation and reform.

Mr Babb said yesterday although some advertisements in his campaign would attack the DP's constitutional and economic policies, most would positively state NP policy.

"You can't sell a Ford by maligning a Chev. We want to stress the NP's new momentum, a party that has learnt how to manage change. We want to bring self-confidence and humour into the campaign," Mr Babb said.

Mr Alwyn Marx, Mr Meyer's campaign manager, said the NP's Johannesburg West campaign would also be positive. However, the DP's policies would be attacked "when the opportunity arises, with the Poovallingam saga".

Mr Peter Sout, the DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, said the two-pronged campaign was indicative of the NP's "two-faced, Jekyll-and-Hyde personality".

"They attack the ANC on the one hand and talk to it on the other," he said, referring to the recent meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela.

(Report by Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

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Syrup won't soothe voters - De Beer

Political Reporter

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer launched a scathing attack on the National Party's economic and constitutional policies last night, saying the NP had lost credibility among white and black.

The state of the economy was likely to be the decisive factor in the September general election, Dr de Beer predicted.

"Things have become so bad that no amount of soothing syrup or sweet vejar propaganda is going to make the voter forget what is happening," he said.

Dr de Beer addressed two meetings in Johannesburg, one in the Beznidenhout constituency and the other in Johannesburg West.

Highlighting inflation and economic decline, he said consistently high government expenditure was an important cause of inflation and high taxation.

Another reason was that the government was borrowing money, which was supposed to be used for capital development to finance current expenditure.

"To borrow money long-term now to pay the salaries of today's civil servants is simply to steal from the coming generations the money they ought to have to improve their quality of life."

Dr de Beer said the NP's persistent emphasis on the "own affairs" concept did not offer constitutional solutions.

"Release Nelson Mandela, start negotiating a new constitution based on equal human dignity, scrap all apartheid, restore internal peace, lift the emergency, regain the confidence of the world."

"That way, and that way only, our people can have a better quality of life."

(Report by Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Govt gives go-ahead to KwaNatal forum

Political Staff

IN a marked softening of government criticisms of the KwaNatal Indaba, the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday agreed to the establishment of a forum between the Indaba and the government.

The proposal for the forum, which would consist of five government representatives and five Indaba representatives with a rotating chair, is to be considered by the government and by the Indaba Steering Committee.

The call for the establishment of the forum followed talks yesterday in Durban between Mr Botha and two members of the Indaba Steering Committee, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlatose.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).
Dealing with a fear of failure

A large section of the white electorate, conditioned by fears created by the government, is finding it extremely difficult to accept the inevitability of majority rule. And as the international and sub-national scenario changes, the overall effect on South Africa will be immense.

In a paper entitled "The Role of Whites in a Changing Society," presented at a recent Lusaka conference, Five Freedoms Forum chairperson Mike OLIVER, left, argues that the development of a formal anti-apartheid alliance is essential if the efforts of those who wish to be mobilised in the process of transformation. The following is an edited extract from the paper:

The combination of negative economic and social trends, the government sponsoring on such non-proliferation and arms control agreements and the growth in military capacity, and the government's continuing support for the sanctions against South Africa, has created a very tense and difficult situation.

Henchman

Another very important force at work is the determination of the international community to bring about a change in the situation.

At its most basic level, the emerging international consensus is that Africa has been stagnating and that the government must change its ways.

The appearance of several key leaders from the ANC, who have been in exile, and the emergence of a new generation of young leaders, has added to the pressure.

The political philosophy which underpins this system was based on the principles of the "Iron Curtain," which denied people freedom and choice.

The main ANC leaders were some of the most important figures in the anti-apartheid movement.

Mandela

Over the past six months, both sides of this equation have run into serious difficulties. The negotiations have stalled due to a combination of local and international pressures.

The main obstacle has been the lack of a clear strategy for the talks to move forward.

The government had to give in to the hunger strike, release Mandela and end the restrictions on the press. The negotiations have been slow but steady.

Shortage

On the other hand, thousands of South African troops will be back in the townships to support the government's strategy for a greater SAR and Protection Force or the police or the military like Bonomo, has also been reduced and the dominance of the "security structure" was reduced.

The security forces have also been weakened by the current situation.

But the ANC's strategy for a greater SAR was not enough to keep the talks going.

The South African government is still in a bind, but it has managed to make some progress.

The situation is still tense, but there is some hope for a resolution.

The economic situation in South Africa is still very difficult.

The government has had to make some unpopular decisions,

The combination of negative economic and social trends, the government sponsoring on such non-proliferation and arms control agreements and the growth in military capacity, and the government's continuing support for the sanctions against South Africa, has created a very tense and difficult situation.

The combination of negative economic and social trends, the government sponsoring on such non-proliferation and arms control agreements and the growth in military capacity, and the government's continuing support for the sanctions against South Africa, has created a very tense and difficult situation.
Stoffel Botha softens his stance on Natal Indaba

CAPE TOWN — Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha, in a marked softening of government attitude towards the KwaNatal Indaba, yesterday agreed to a forum between the Indaba and government.

The proposal for the forum, consisting of five government and five Indaba representatives with a rotating chairman, is to be considered by government and by the Indaba steering committee.

The move to establish the body followed talks in Durban yesterday between Botha and committee members Oscar Dhlomo and Frank Mdlalose.

NP MPs in Natal have strongly criticised the Indaba proposals. Botha has said they are a recipe for domination.

Botha and Dhlomo said yesterday their talks centred around the advisability of establishing a forum to facilitate discussions.

Government's rejection of Indaba proposals was one reason cited by DP co-leader Denis Worrall for quitting as SA ambassador in London in 1987.
Meeting with Chissano confirmed

De Klerk is on course for major summit

Mike Robertson

NP leader F W de Klerk will hold talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on July 19, which could be a prelude to a regional summit of southern African leaders. The Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed the Maputo meeting last night and said Foreign Minister Pik Botha would accompany De Klerk.

The visit would be a precursor to a summit of southern African leaders, former deputy director general of Foreign Affairs Glenn Babb said yesterday.

Babb, who is standing for the NP in Randburg in the general election, has been involved in all recent preparatory work to bring about regional rapprochement.

Babb said the meeting with Chissano was important as Chissano would have a crucial role to play in persuading Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe to agree to a regional conference.

"Chissano is an important player. I was in Zaire when the Angolan peace discussions took place and he played a major role in getting the MPLA and Unita to come together."

Babb said that after November 1, either Chissano or Kaunda would convene a regional conference - with SA present.

Countries represented at the conference would include SA, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Mugabe, he said, was the only southern African leader at this stage opposed to the convening of a conference, which would aim to develop a united southern African bloc to deal, in particular, with Europe after 1992.

The conference would also have as an aim developing regional co-operation to a point where southern African states could play a positive role in influencing the internal situation in SA.

They could do this by trying to persuade opposition groups like the ANC to adopt a "reasonable" attitude to negotiations.

With the exception of Mugabe, Babb said, there was strong support from African leaders for regional economic co-operation.

There was vast scope for co-operation in electricity supply and the re-routing of railways, and African leaders had already expressed interest in this regard.

But regional co-operation did not just cover economic terrain. There were enor-
Nat's public talks with ANC a 'first'

HARARE — An NP town councillor and former MPC is due tomorrow to become the first NP member to talk publicly to the ANC.

Stephan van Metzinger, who has been on the Randburg Town Council since 1977 and was the youngest mayor in SA the following year, is one of 27 people on an Idasa-sponsored tour of the Frontline states, and will take part in two days of talks with the ANC in Lusaka tomorrow.

Van Metzinger, who has twice been mayor of Randburg and is currently the deputy-chairman of the management committee, was NP MPC for Randburg from 1981 until the provincial councils were abolished in mid-1986.

Van Metzinger said yesterday he was travelling in his personal capacity as a businessman and had “come with an open mind”. He had consulted both the NP caucus in Randburg and his company before embarking on the trip.

He said the talks with the ANC were only two days out of 14 and that the group was consulting a whole range of opinion.

Reviewing the tour so far, he said he remained convinced that “the way to peace is not through revolution or the taking up of arms, but by constructive dialogue between the parties involved”.

It was clear that fundamental change in SA had to take place — and quickly.

Van Metzinger said he had not hesitated to state that he was a member of the NP and an office bearer. He is the first NP member to participate publicly in talks with the ANC. Private talks with ANC members have taken place in the past.

If he is expelled from the NP for the ANC meeting, the party’s poor position in Randburg will be further weakened.

MICHAELE HARTNACK reports from Victoria Falls that SA writers and ANC members have concluded a four-day meeting with a resolution welcoming the ANC’s paper in May on a selective cultural and academic boycott of SA.

They deplored “the cultural impoverishment which results from enforced separation” and looked forward to “an Afrikaans freed of its racist connotations”.

An Idasa spokesman in SA said the resolution was adopted unanimously by the 45 writers, most of whom were Afrikaans-speaking and lived in SA.
De Klerk plans Mozambique trip

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk heads north next week, meeting first President Joaquim Chissano on Wednesday when he will seek to add impetus to the Mozambique peace effort.

South African officials have held discussions about possible meetings between Mr de Klerk and African leaders such as President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, but nothing definite has emerged.

During Mr de Klerk’s recent visit to Britain and Europe, leaders backed peace efforts in Mozambique.

The Government’s involvement in a new peace bid became apparent in February when Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met Mr Chissano.
Afrikaans writers say unban ANC

AFRIKAANS writers have agreed with the ANC that apartheid must be rejected, and outside South Africa, intensely aware of our shared concerns and deplored the way in which our culture is impoverished by our enforced separation. We commit ourselves to work for the objectives outlined.

Aims

The communiqué spoke of aims of finding a truly representative South African literature in which Afrikaans, freed of its racist connotations, would naturally find its place.

Considered: "We recognise that an organisation such as the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) is a legitimate representative of the sentiments expressed over days together at the Victoria Falls."

"Entering the struggle is the means of beginning to be a South African. It is not heroic to oppose apartheid - it is normal."

Meanwhile at ANC headquarters in Lusaka the protection of human rights in a post apartheid South Africa was discussed between the ANC and a delegation of Lawyers for Human Rights."
Pay us Govt is told

WITH the exception of those on holiday, all white residents of Zuurbekom smallholdings in the Losberg constituency have signed a petition asking the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, to compensate whites who wished to leave the racially mixed area.

In a statement Mr SC Jacobs, Conservative Party MP for Losberg, said the area was earmarked in November last year for incorporation into Soweto and blacks were already moving into the area.

He said the security situation in the area was deteriorating and recently a white resident was murdered by blacks.

The current expectation on the part of the government that whites in Zuurbekom sell their property direct to blacks was causing great discontent, Jacobs said.

— Sapa.
Vatican 'confident'  
Pope will visit SA

The Star's Foreign News Service

ROME — A papal visit to South Africa next year is now a "distinct possibility," according to a Vatican official.

Another Vatican source went further, saying he was "absolutely confident" the visit would take place, adding: "Even the Roman Catholic bishops in South Africa are now anxious for His Holiness to go there. They have dropped all their past opposition to such a mission."

It seems the only doubt is exactly when the visit will be made.

Cardinal Owen McCann, who had a private audience with the Pope at the Apostolic Palace last Friday, said the visit could take place next May.

The source said the Pope wanted to visit South Africa despite all the problems involved because he felt his presence "could help the church there in its struggle for human rights and racial equality."
Call for more discussion with the ANC

Political Reporter

Continued dialogue with the ANC on its pro-socialism stance could well convince it of the merits of capitalism, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Benoni last night.

Since his first meeting with ANC representatives four years ago, the ANC had "improved somewhat on the question of socialism which has, after all, become unfashionable all over the world just because it is such a terrible failure", he said.

"It is my impression that the ANC has not come nearly far enough towards free enterprise, but I believe that more study and more discussion could well prove fruitful in this regard."

Referring to the outlawed organisation's position on violence, he said jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's recently expressed commitment to peace offered hope. However, a negotiated political settlement would be impossible unless race discrimination was dismantled.

"If you want to regain prosperity for South Africa, you must first gain peace. And to gain peace, we must negotiate. And to negotiate, we must scrap race discrimination."

Urging voters to support the DP in the September general election, Dr de Beer said the DP stood openly and proudly for a policy based on justice.

On the other hand, the CP stood for a policy based on race discrimination, and the NP "sit[s] on the fence". The NP would have to change further and faster if it wanted to be in a position to negotiate successfully.

Such negotiations would have to include the ANC and other organisations in the "mass democratic movement", he said.
During an interview with Sowetan on the issue of the ANC's decision to release Mr. Mandela, the party's deputy secretary general, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said:

"Mr. Mandela's release is a step towards resolving the ongoing conflict within the ANC. It is a positive move that will bring unity and stability to the organization."

Dr. Treurnicht's statement was made in the presence of the party's national executive committee.

"The ANC is committed to resolving internal differences and moving forward towards a united and strong organization," said the deputy secretary general.

Meanwhile, Mr. Mandela's release has been met with mixed reactions from various groups. While some have welcomed the move, others have criticized the decision, citing concerns about the ANC's ability to handle the situation effectively.

"We must be cautious in our reactions," said Mr. Mandela's legal team. "The ANC's decision is a significant step forward, but we must ensure that it is implemented in a way that respects the rights of all South Africans."
Mrs. Ewer, who is the mother of the defendant, appeared in court on October 20, 1966, to enter a plea of guilty to the charge of procuring abortion.

During the week of May 22, Mrs. Ewer was washed to see if she knew of any abortion cases. She denied that she had knowledge of any abortion cases in her district.

Mrs. Ewer said she was not a member of any political party. She was not a member of any church or religious organization.

In her actions, Mrs. Ewer said she felt the law was against the law and that the law was against God.

Mrs. Ewer said outside the building that she would have demonstrated for the law if she had known there was a law against it.

Mrs. Ewer said she did not expect to go to jail for her actions.

A plea of not guilty was entered on Mrs. Ewer's behalf.

The case was set for trial on November 1.
TerreBlanche will not stand in Rustenburg

Pretoria Correspondent

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB), Mr. Eugene TerreBlanche, has decided not to stand as a candidate in the September election.

His decision follows the dissolution of a possible right-wing election front against the National Party.

Mr. TerreBlanche said yesterday he decided to stand in Rustenburg because he wanted to facilitate "solidarity" among right-wing groups.

He said his decision not to contest the election was based on the rejection by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, for a call for right-wing unity.

Mr. TerreBlanche said although he was prepared to "sacrifice" himself in the election, there was no reason for him to stand when a pact had not been achieved.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)
GOVERNMENT PENSION FUND

**Active investment**

The four institutions taking over R250m each of the Government Service Pension Fund will be largely confined to investing in fixed interest instruments. So they won’t be able to achieve the same results as normal pension funds which invest in equities and property. But, with active investment management in the right stocks, they are confident they will be able to generate a better rate of return than that achieved by the Public Investment Commissioners (PIC) which has invested the fund since 1911.

Standard Merchant Bank, Old Mutual, Southern Life and Corbank have been formally advised of the parameters within which they will be allowed to operate under the PIC Act. Restrictions will be much the same as those governing the PIC except for the opportunity to deal in futures and options, which investment managers say will play a minor role in the portfolios.

However, they will have the advantage of flexibility. The PIC is not able to move easily in and out of the market; it has collected some unmarketable stock over the years which trades infrequently, such as many municipal stock issues.

"Moreover, private investors have the benefit of specialist investment teams," says Southern Life deputy investment GM Carel de Ridder.

The Government Service Pension Fund regards this as an experiment to see whether the private sector can achieve better results from its investments. And the private sector hopes, if it succeeds, further chunks of the Government Service Pension Fund will be handed over.

14/7/81
NELSON MANDELA/P W BOTHA

Cometh the hour?

The meeting was momentous — but F W de Klerk will have to give it substance

There is an historical precedent — and an SA one, at that. When General Smuts had Gandhi brought before him from a cell, he conceded the Indian's relatively minor demand for scrapping a poll tax, then released his prisoner on the spot — having found him the bus fare to get home. Nobody imagines the release of Nelson Mandela could be quite that simple. Far higher stakes are involved.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was being simplistic in describing the historic encounter between P W Botha and Mandela as "the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him in Tuyuhuys." But the resonances of the event are profound.

Questions, which government is evidently still weighing, arise as to what Mandela will do on release; what his "attitude" will be once he's outside; how the townships will react to his Messiah's return; and how events might turn out at Mandela's first public meeting.

These, in short, are all security considerations. As one old anti-apartheid campaigner observes, apropos a future mass rally around Mandela: "All of us would be duty-obliged to turn up — irrespective of whatever restrictions, if any, are imposed. No law would prevent massive attendance of, say, 500,000; and under such conditions how can anyone guarantee what will or will not happen? In that sense, government fears would perhaps be justified."

Yet the appearance of Accused Number One in the courtyard of his Afrikaner foe for tea and a chat with the State President on July 5 has heightened expectations that the release of the world's most celebrated political prisoner is imminent — in spite of the dampeners put out by Information Minister Soffel van der Merwe. He says one should "not attach too much substantive value to (the meeting), although it was symbolically highly important."

Van der Merwe tells the F M that while it is much too early to talk about a date, government's approach to Mandela's release would be, if it is at all possible, to release him without any restrictions. But this depends on various factors — security again — and not all are under government's control.

He describes the meeting as forming part of the broader process of preparing the groundwork, and creating the climate, for future negotiations in SA.

Conceding that the meeting has perhaps raised expectations, Van der Merwe says it must be put into perspective. For a start, it cannot be concluded from one meeting that Mandela is about to be released: "The matter is far more complicated than that. ... The (Govan) Mbeki experience was not a favourable one, as people tried to take him on tours around the country, which led the security people to say there would be heightened unrest. What is going to happen the day after Mandela's release? The matter is very complicated.”

Asked if his release would entail the unbanning of the ANC, the minister said these in any negotiations about SA's political future.

In this sense the meeting was a propaganda coup for the ANC. And for the MDM it would seem to create "strategic space" in which to operate, while at the same time weakening the State's case in various political treason trials.

From government's side, the great value of the meeting is captured in the statement issued three days later by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, which says: "No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted. President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in SA." The conversation took place in a "pleasant spirit" and the possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed, added Coetsee, who was present.

To some in the MDM, that "support for peaceful development" is seen as Botha's means of finding a way to release Mandela without withdrawing his original condition — renunciation of violence. And it is consistent with the phrasing used in the Nats' new five-year plan, they point out.

However, spokesman for the MDM, the Rev Frank Chikane, announced after Winnie Mandela had visited her husband on Monday that Mandela has his own statement on the meeting with P W. While Prisons won't confirm or deny such a statement, Van der Merwe's understanding is that there is one, and publication is for Coetsee to decide. But he points out that Chikane confirmed that the meeting took place and that Coetsee's statement is "fairly accurate." to use Chikane's exact phrase. It would be interesting therefore to see Mandela's account, which puts the meeting in its "proper perspective," for any differences of nuance.

It is interesting to record that, according to Van der Merwe, it was Mandela who requested the meeting. Confirmation of that claim, as well as the rumour that Mandela had been in touch with Lusaka before the meeting, are essential for a proper understanding of the Tuyuhuys indaba. Why, for example, does it leave the MDM feeling somewhat uneasy? Is Mandela going off on his own bat? Has he decided to play the role of interlocutor between government and the
ANC? These are powerful reasons why the man should be allowed to speak for himself. It is absurd, especially now, to keep him silenced. Too many people are busy interpreting his mind for him.

Meanwhile, a leading figure in the MDM, who won't be drawn on such questions as whether Mandela was in touch with Tambo, nevertheless explains: "The strategic objective of both Mandela and the ANC is the transfer of power to the people, whatever the form this takes, negotiation or armed struggle. This is identical to the MDM's position in calling for, among other things, the dismantling of apartheid structures, to ensure the people exercise the right of self-determination.

The question is what form the realisation of this strategic objective must take. The recorded international form is the establishment of a constituent assembly, made up of all parties in SA.

"How you get there is the question, and, equally important, how not to get there. How not to get there is through secret negotiations, which sideline the very people who must participate. We believe the organised strength of the MDM is such that they are capable of expressing their point of view. . . . The remarkable thing is that Mandela has been consistent over the years in not bypassing this factor; not so the regime, which is interested in cannibalising people in schemes to maintain while transformation.

Even before the Botha-Mandela encounter, the best (British) leaks had it that Mandela would be freed a few weeks after the election in September. It has generally been assumed that F W de Klerk gave Margaret Thatcher this assurance when he visited Downing Street recently, even if the timing was left vague.

It was precisely PW's timing of his meeting with Mandela — weeks before what's billed as a watershed election — that has most observers perplexed. Surely this is ammunition for the Conservative Party (CP), which looks like gaining most out of the matter at the polls, they say? Could it be, however, that government calculations have the Democratic Party (DP) as its real electoral threat, with the CP seen as having irretrievably peaked in the 1987 local election? In that case, the Tuynhuys encounter may have been calculated to staunch the drift to the DP.

The MDM also describes the meeting as an election ploy, and as a ruse to try to stem international trade and sanctions pressure and the fall in the value of the rand. And there are others who are indeed inclined to believe that the meeting was in fact a case of the outgoing Great Crocodile, conscious of his place in history, doing his own thing. There is no suggestion that party leader De Klerk was not kept fully informed about the meeting — but some detected a clenched-fist jaw response from F W. It would be characteristic of PW to behave like this.

According to former PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the meeting raises various questions about precisely what is going on, which urgently need to be answered. It is strange to have had such a meeting on the eve of an election, thrown in as a kind of rogue event.

If it is part of the NP's plan of action then why did De Klerk not announce it to the electorate when he released the five-year plan? And if it is too risky to release him, why hold a tea-party with Mandela?

Slabbert says that while Van der Merwe has described the meeting as part of a plan, nobody knows what plan.

Mandela's release is inevitable, he feels. But while government can release him, like Mbeki, on humanitarian grounds, this, in a State of Emergency, could end up having nothing to do with negotiations. To use him as a ploy to settle grudges in the NP is worse, amounting to manipulating Mandela as a prisoner without allowing him to speak. What, asks Slabbert, is the great mystery about releasing Mandela, why the coyness and sneaking him into Tuynhuys?

It would be a tragedy if the implications of this interpretation were entirely true. That would simply lead to a dangerous heightening of expectations for change — and the higher they rise, the more chilling will be the outcome if they are dashed, as has happened so often in the past.

Whether or not PW has exercised presidential prerogative to place his probable successor a little in the shade does not matter too much.

Indications are that De Klerk envisages the release of the ANC leader — and that this is construed as part of the process leading to negotiations for a new constitutional deal that is acceptable internally and abroad.

This, as the FM has recorded in the past few issues, is what leaders like Thatcher and Helmut Kohl — and George Bush to come — appear to have understood from their meetings with SA's next president.

PW has assured his place in the history books by meeting Mandela — though his motives remain inscrutable. Now that the die has been cast, it is up to De Klerk to clarify government's intentions. Once the election is out of the way, we should not have long to wait.
The tea-party that turned the world upside down

ONLY a few months ago South Africa was a place of reasonable certainty. The State of Emergency was firmly in place, as was the National Party government. PW Botha was undisputed party leader and Nelson Mandela was confined to his prison home.

South Africa built its neighbours. Its friends were rare, but at least it had a reliable set of enemies: the Soviets and their "satellites," the African National Congress.

Politically, the country appeared to be heading for a deadlock because of a government that was strong enough to hold on to power but politically too weak to take any decisive action.

The opposition, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, was divided and severely damaged by the Emergency; the state, on the other hand, was managing to maintain a reasonably coherent facade.

All of this has been true for some time — and you could have gambled your green card on it lasting for some time longer. South Africa was a typical authoritarian society — slow-moving and predictable.

But now, when such societies become unstable, however, they move to the other extreme, with things falling apart fast and furiously.

And so they have. Mandela is on the run in Transvaal, he and Botha share a desire to keep the details secret, his followers have become his private agents — and suddenly anything seems possible. Resistance organisations were once led by Minister of Justice Koos Coetzer's announcement of the Mandela-Botha tea party on Saturday. Most of them mounted stock responses to the event.

"A public relations show," said the ANC.

"It shows that he (Mandela) has put the authorities in such a corner that they have no option but to deal with him to save the face in the country," said the Reverend Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches.

These non-responses must have been frustrating for those who were trying to make sense of what was happening. But the resistance movement was caught off-guard, and since Mandela's overtures were also too cursory to be any help, everyone was thrashing around in the dark.

More tellingly, however, the incident showed just how insufficient the shock arrows have become. The fact is that the South African media has shifted so fast that responses which could pre-

Mandela and PW's Yes, but what does it mean?

What it means is that all the old rhetoric, all the stock responses, all the old cliches, are suddenly irrelevant.

Right now, the rest of us have to catch up quickly if we're not to be left behind.

BY ANTON HARBER


Democratic Front President Albertina Sisulu before seeing De Klerk, and is seeking a policy course with both a strongly anti-apartheid congress.

None of this means there has been a fundamental change in this country, or even that it is imminent. The walls around Pretoria are not about to crumble. It does, however, mean that the balance of forces is shifting so rapidly and so fundamentally that new thinking is needed to deal with it.

And this process is only going to speed up in the coming months, whether with an election, and the aftermath in which many key local leaders who had been condemned to long-term imprisonment without trial. Although most of these people have been severely restricted, they are now back in their communities and able to start exerting influence there again.

Many signs have emerged of deep division in the government, not just between Botha and his successor, but between different factions facing elemental threats from the left and right respectively.

The government's relations with its neighbours has changed radically. Suddenly Pretoria is the prime advocate of Namibian independence and a broker in regional peace talks. Government officials are claiming that Frost line leaders are lining up to meet State President-elect PW de Klerk.

Economically, the situation is looking standingly paralysing, and this is unprecedented — though often hidden — pressure on Pretoria.

The international scene has been transformed, probably more than any other aspect. Contact between the Soviets and the US over Southern Africa has become an important factor in their relations with the sub-continent, with the possibility for the first time of a co-ordinated response to developments here.

At the same time, a new Washington administration asked to see United
Tea at Tuynhuys - it’s not yet time to party

NEWS of Nelson Mandela’s te-
ning with PW Botha draws the
eyes of South Africa into focus
not least the vast numbers of people
who regarded the occasion as a
supporter
And his statement on Wednesday
was too terse to settle the ques-
tions that had arisen.
Who requested the meeting? What
was the agenda? What was the
result?
So the government played
at all, and the ANC responded
"negotiations" were brought to a

The brevity displayed by both Ko-
bie Coetsee and PW Botha - as
is the shrewdness of PW Botha - has
ensured that it will be some time be-
fore such questions are authoritatively

Although of huge symbolic
importance, the meeting
between Nelson Mandela and
PW Botha will not be the first
step towards a beginning neither
necessarily, nor in any way.

SHAIN JOHNSON

Kbbie Coetsee... party loyalist (left) and the Mandela-Botha meeting - picture related to the last meeting between the ANC and the government.

Loyalty is key to riddle of Kobe

In the past few weeks, several
reports have emerged about a
meeting between the ANC and the
government, with the ANC and
the government hotly denying
any such meeting.

But the ANC and the government
have recently agreed to a new
round of talks, which is believed
by some to be a step towards
a possible end to the violence in
South Africa.

The ANC and the government
have both denied that any such
meeting has taken place.

On the other hand, sources
within the ANC have confirmed
that a meeting has indeed taken
place.

The meeting was reportedly
held in the presence of several
ANC leaders, including the
president of the ANC, Nelson
Mandela.

Shake Up: This week, MDM repre-
sentatives called for Winnie
Mandela to be removed from
office. The ANC’s chief of
staff, Thami Mshengu, has
insisted that the ANC is not
seeking to remove Mandela
from office.

It is as if the ANC leadership
is saying "If you want a change,
you’ll have to work for it.

Although the meeting was
inaugurated in part by
Mandela’s dedication to
people's rights, the meeting
was also seen as a way of
building support for the
ANC.

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Negotiations — SA’s new catchword

PLEASE allow me to continue on the theme we started in last week’s column, that of negotiations, the new buzz word in South Africa’s political vocabulary.

It is easy for a person to get caught up in lots of activity and lose sense of what it is all about.

Stories have been thrown at us at an unbelievable pace these past few weeks: ANC document on negotiation; Nelson Mandela meets PW Botha; FW de Klerk invited to the White House; Margaret Thatcher meets UDF leaders; etc.

A search for the logic of all this is very necessary if we are to avoid confusion.

At the heart of this talk about negotiations is the belief that apartheid must be scrapped. Its architects, the National Party, have said they now believe that it has to be scrapped and what they are looking for is a way of doing it.

It is this introspection within the ruling white society that has raised hopes that a negotiated settlement is imminent.

We need to understand that members of the National Party are not Sauls suddenly enveloped by a flash of light from heaven as they travel to Damascus. It is pressure that has pushed them to the position they occupy now, a little to the left of the 1948 position.

The pressures have been varied: internal revolts, which are always followed by the outrage of the international community and capital fleeing the country; the isolation of the country by the international community; and the nascent armed struggle by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Pressure

These pressures have strained the country’s economy and if they continue, this beautiful land will be turned into a wasteland.

That much has now become clear to the majority of white South Africans. But they talk at the next logical step, which is to declare a ceasefire and get all the parties involved in the conflict to sit round a table to negotiate a future for our country.

Very simple statistics show why white South Africa is deliberately paralysed:

* In 1986/87, the Government spent R477 on the education of an indigenous African child; R1 021 on that of a coloured; R1 904, Indian; and R2 508 on that of a white child.

* In 1986 the average monthly earnings of an indigenous African were R500; that of a coloured R634; Indian, R912; and that of a white R1 732.

These simple statistics culled from the authoritative Race Relations Survey 1987/88 are just examples. All the statistics that measure power and privilege confirm this hierarchy.

An interesting thing about these statistics is that they show a self-sustaining system: there is no way that the indigenous African child, for example, is going to climb higher in the hierarchy for as long as the expenditure on his education is so low.

And it is this power that white South Africa is trying to protect. They still do not realise the potential that will be unleashed once we have a just dispensation in this country.

The dance on eggshells will continue and for as long as it continues, this country will not know peace.

The likes of Margaret Thatcher and the Herman Cohen’s should be concentrating their efforts on getting white South Africa to come to its senses, rather than trying to raise the hopes of the oppressed needlessly.

We need more convincing proof that white South Africa is ready for peace and prosperity for all.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Picking up steam

The Democratic Party (DP) may be plagued by internal dissent, but it seems that white voters either don’t know about it — or don’t care. The party’s image remains positive enough to have pushed it higher in the popularity stakes than any white political group to the Left of government since the demise of the United Party (UP).

A poll by Mark en Meningopnames (M&M) for the Nat-supporting Sunday newspaper Rapport put support for the DP in June at 28%, a growth of 16% since the last poll in April which indicated 24% support for the party. Over the same period support for the NP dropped by a similar percentage from just under 49% to 41%, its lowest level in any Rapport poll. The previous low was 43% in 1982. The highest level of support reflected in a similar poll for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was 22% under Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert’s leadership in the early Eighties.

The results further convinced DP leaders that their plan to win “traditional” Nat seats in September’s election is firmly on course. Co-leader Denis Worrall says he is being “very realistic” when he estimates the DP can win between 38 and 40 seats. This means that if the party can hold the 21 seats now to the NP’s Left (including one NRP and one independent) and win back the 14 seats lost to the NP by the PFP and the NRP in the 1987 general election, Worrall is looking at gaining between three and five seats that have come to be regarded as “traditionally” NP (though they are likely to be seats captured from the UP during the disintegration of the former official opposition).

The M&M poll was conducted before the latest row over the DP’s decision not to fight coloured and Indian seats on September 6 which resulted in DP House of Delegates leader Pat Poowalingam being expelled for an unrepentant attack on party leaders (Current Affairs July 7). But support for the DP has continued to grow in spite of the controversy that has dogged the party since its formation earlier this year, and there seems no reason why the Poowalingam affair should.

SAILING AWAY ON THE SOUTHERN KOEDOE

The unceremonious axing more than a year ago of former SABC Director General Riaan Eksteen by President P W Botha will haunt the retiring leader for some time to come. One of his top aides, his private secretary Captain Tony Ehlers — for many years a familiar uniformed figure alongside Botha — has decided to join Eksteen in a business venture.

The FM hears that Ehlers, a former SA Navy submarine commander, will team up with Eksteen and a former top Foreign Affairs (FA) official turned businessman, Kobus Greff, in a soon-to-be-registered high-profile economic and business consultancy. The company — its name to be derived from those of the three shareholders — will specialise in non-political analysis for top business.

Neither Eksteen, Ehlers nor Greff was available for comment on their future plans. It is understood, however, that Ehlers may assist Botha until the end of the year before he teams up with the others.

Since his dramatic departure from Auckland Park after the SABC’s coverage of the 1987 election results, and the corporation’s handling of Labour Party leader Allan Hendricke’s resignation from Cabinet, all of which earned Eksteen the wrath of Botha, the former SA ambassador at the UN has used his considerable experience in international affairs to advise top companies on political affairs.

A former diplomat and still a close confidante of FA Minister Pik Botha, whom he met 25 years ago, Eksteen spent five years in Washington and five as UN ambassador in New York before his appointment to the SABC. From 1964 he was closely involved with the peace process in Namibia which is now beginning to bear fruit. He visits the territory frequently and has just completed a three-day trip to Mozambique to promote the interests of an SA-based company.

During the past few months Eksteen has been doing political risk analysis for Baird Communications in Randburg. At the same time he has been acting as a political analyst for the JSE brokerage Ed Hern, Rudolph Inc. In 1988 the company’s joint MD, André Coetzee, headed the team which came third in the FM’s stockbrokers’ ratings. The firm — with the State as joint sponsoring broker to the Isscor listing due in the first half of November — is probably the largest African-based stockbroker and has extensive and close connections in government, financial and investment circles.

Eksteen is also a consultant for EVN Project Management, a Pretoria agricultural engineering company, the largest in SA. The EVN group has previously undertaken large projects in neighbouring countries and is now involved itself in project management in Mozambique.

Eksteen also recently entered into a joint partnership with Johannesburg businessman Antonio Ipolito, MD of the freight forwarding company Multways, to put up a factory, Pasta San Antonio, at Midrand. He also serves as a director of the Pretoria Travel Bureau.

During his term of office with P W Botha, Ehlers, who is fluent in French after having spent three years in France on submarine training, must have met virtually everyone of significance who entered the portals at Tuyenhuis. He has accompanied Botha on all his trips to Europe and Africa. And Botha himself insisted on Ehlers’ continued services when the former commander wanted to return to military life (Current Affairs July 7).

Greff started his FA career in 1965, ending up as vice-consul in Milan. His relationship with Eksteen dates back to those early days in the department.

All three partners — with their background in international and African politics, and influential contacts in SA — have much to offer. Add to that Greff’s newly American registered Citation plane — and Africa does not have to be the limit.
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was visited at his prison yesterday by Mrs Helen Suzman and he told her he was pleased to have met President PW Botha.

Mrs Suzman said last night that she spent more than two hours with Mr Mandela, had lunch with him and discussed a wide range of subjects, including the recent conference in Lusaka with the ANC organised by the Five Freedoms Forum and the coming general election.

"He told me he was pleased to have met State President Botha," she said, but declined to disclose further what Mr Mandela had said of his meeting.

It was the first time she had seen Mr Mandela since August last year when he was being treated for tuberculosis at the exclusive Constantiaberg Clinic.

Mrs Suzman was "as always" impressed by Mr Mandela's "obvious leadership qualities, his moderation and his appreciation of the fear of the white minority".

"I can only repeat what I have said so often before — that I am convinced that his unconditional release and his presence at the negotiating table is an absolute prerequisite to a peaceful resolution of the South African dilemma," she said.

Meanwhile, government sources said last night that President Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela was the first step of a process which had as its eventual aim "getting the ANC to the negotiation table".

The NP believes it has broken a deadlock in the negotiation process by talking to Mr Mandela as a "leader of people", while at the same time retaining its condition of refusing to talk to the ANC unless it renounces violence.

At the same time the government accepts that there can be no peace in SA without talking to the ANC. This, sources said, was the long-term goal of the process started last week.

Government sources said the next step would be to hold further talks with Mr Mandela and with other important leaders in SA.

— Sapa and Political Staff
Terre’Blanche out after CP rejection

PRETORIA. — Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging, will not stand as a candidate in the September election.

His decision follows the dissolution of a possible rightwing election front against the National Party.

Mr Terre’Blanche said yesterday that his initial decision to stand for parliament in Rustenburg was because he wanted to facilitate rightwing “solidarity”.

His withdrawal was based on the rejection by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, of a call for rightwing unity.

The AWB leader said he would not support the CP in the election.

In a statement released yesterday Mr Terre’B lanche said the AWB did not want any part in the strife among rightwing groups.

According to the statement, the AWB had accepted that rightwing unity was not possible.

(Report by E Waugh, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)
‘Bush to decide on SA soon’

US President George Bush would decide on policy towards SA before the end of August, Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen said yesterday.

He briefly addressed journalists after a 75-minute meeting at the Union Buildings with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha described the meeting as “useful” and a follow-up to talks with Cohen in Rome last month.

They had discussed the peace agreement between the Angolan government and Unita concluded in Zaire two weeks ago, security in southern Africa with reference to Mozambique, and implementation of UN resolution 435 on Namibia, and had briefly surveyed relations between the US and SA, Botha said.

Cohen said a change from the Reagan administration’s policy of constructive engagement could be expected.

During a video press conference with journalists in Pretoria 10 days ago, Cohen had said “you will probably see a more activist role of the US on the issue of internal constitutional change in SA.

‘... What we would like to do is be more active in promoting a dialogue between the government of SA and the black leadership.’

Yesterday he said there existed such a symbiotic relationship between black and white people in SA that nothing inside the country could be done unilaterally. A settlement had to be negotiated.

He said he was optimistic about the southern African region and elaborated by saying he was expecting a “peace settlement in Angola before the end of the year.

He also said a move towards a settlement in Mozambique ‘was on track’.

Cohen, who is doing a 10-day trip to southern Africa, will meet FP leader FW de Klerk in Durban today before leading a US delegation to a meeting in Luanda on July 7 and 8 of the joint commission set up by the Angola/Namibia accords.

He will also visit Zaire, Zambia, Gabon, Ivory Coast and Mozambique before returning to SA on July 10 for two days.

Cohen said he met Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok yesterday and had lunch with DP MPs.
Nats cagey on party official’s talks with ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

National Party spokesmen yesterday declined to comment on the thorny issue of a party official’s presence at a meeting with the outlawed African National Congress in Lusaka yesterday.

Mr Stephan van Metzinger, an NP town councillor in Randburg and deputy chairman of the management committee, is the first NP member to take part publicly in talks with the ANC.

His presence at the meeting, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, has led to a Democratic Party challenge that the NP should either apologise to the DP for continuously slating its policy on negotiations with the ANC or act against Mr van Metzinger.

The NP’s Transvaal chief secretary, Dr Lucas Nel, and the party’s director of information in the province, Springs MP Mr Piet Coetzee, declined to comment since they were unaware of Mr van Metzinger’s participation in the two-day meeting.

PRIVATE CAPACITY

Mr Glenn Babb, the NP’s candidate against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg, also declined to comment, saying Mr van Metzinger was attending the meeting in his private capacity. Management committee chairman and NP leader in the council, Mr Frans Lourens, is currently overseas.

Mr Wynand Malan, Randburg MP, said he welcomed Mr van Metzinger’s participation in the ANC talks since it had been absolutely essential to discuss a political future with the outlawed organisation.

"But I would love to see how the NP leadership is going to react. State President Mr P W Botha in 1989 categorically ordered that no NP official may talk to the ANC, and that has been the NP’s position since.

"The NP is in the dock now. If it has any integrity left, it will have to act against Mr van Metzinger. If the NP does not act against him, I challenge the NP to apologise to the DP by saying we have been correct all along."

A spokesman for the State President’s office also declined to comment.

(Report by Esmaré van der Merwe, 11 Baur Street, Johannesburg)
DP delegation to have talks with ANC

A Democratic Party delegation, led by the party's co-leader, Mr. Wynand Malan, leaves Johannesburg for Zambia today for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda and the ANC.

A statement from the DP said Mr. Malan would meet President Kaunda today and the ANC tomorrow to urge the organisation to come to the negotiating table and to exchange views.

"The message the delegation will be taking with it is that the opportunity for negotiation by all relevant parties inside South Africa is rapidly improving and that African states have a major role to play in getting the process off the ground," the statement said.

Mr. Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the DP's National Board, Mr. Jan Momberg, DP National Board member and DP leader in the Western Cape Dr. Jannie Hofmeyr will accompany Mr. Malan.

(News by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).
Mandela ‘pleased’ to meet Botha

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told MP Mrs Helen Suzman he was pleased to have met the State President, Mr PW Botha.

Mrs Suzman visited the jailed ANC leader at his prison home in Paarl yesterday.

Mrs Suzman said last night she spent more than two hours with Mr Mandela.

They discussed a wide range of subjects, including the recent conference at Lusaka with the ANC, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, and the forthcoming general election, Mrs Suzman said.

“He told me he was pleased to have met President Botha,” she said, but declined to disclose what Mr Mandela had said about the meeting in Tuynhuys.

It was the first time she had seen Mr Mandela since August last year. — Sapa.
SACC doubts govt on Mandela

Political Correspondent

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Council of Churches says the government "has calculated the timing of the Mandela-Botha meeting with a view to making maximum political gain."

A statement released by the director of the SACC communications division, Mr Sakie Macozoma, said: "It would seem that the Prisons Department/government wanted to release the story of talks between Mandela and Botha into a climate that shows that Mandela has got his priorities confused."

"Once you juxtapose the talks with Botha with all the mischievous interpretations with the talk about a party, which the press said was in celebration of Mr Mandela's graduation with an LLB, an impression can easily be created that Mr Mandela is tired of his incarceration and is therefore willing to compromise with the system."

The statement added: "What is even more serious is that the media -- including, if not particularly, the liberal press -- hailed the meeting as an 'historic event'."

"Outright sympathisers of the government have hailed the meeting as signifying great changes in South Africa that radicals have continuously denied."

"The South African government has used the meeting to gain political mileage."

"In our view the political mileage that the regime can gain in the present international climate is great and would be particularly damaging at this time," the SACC said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 Dr George's Street, Cape Town.)
DP men for ANC talks in Zambia

Political Correspondent

A FOUR-PERSON Democratic Party delegation headed by Mr Wynand Malan flies to Lusaka today for talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and the ANC.

The group will meet President Kaunda today and a delegation from the ANC tomorrow.

Accompanying Mr Malan will be the acting chairman of the DP's National Board, Mr Tian van der Merwe, board member Mr Jannie Momberg and DP researcher in the Western Cape Dr Jannie Hofmeyer.

A separate delegation of 27 white SA academics and businessmen, led by Idasa coordinator Mr Wayne Mitchell, arrived in Lusaka yesterday, for talks with the ANC today.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).
SADEF Ladies to the Rescue

SADEF, the statement said, worth every organization and wish to express my appreciation for this gesture. I have a very high regard for this gesture. The SADEF Ladies, after being notified about the situation, offered to settle the debt. The SADEF Ladies said, "If you agree, we will endeavor to settle the debt without embarrassment and regret that I have had to accept the decision."

"I am grateful for any assistance that can be offered at a later date." The SADEF Ladies under the umbrella of General Elections, said in a recent meeting that the SADEF Ladies have been offered to settle the debt account and have accepted recent offers of assistance that the SADEF Ladies have offered to settle the debt account. The SADEF Ladies to the Rescue of the SADEF Ladies.

Johannesburg - The SADEF Ladies

OWN Correspondent
Men are Frightened

39 Red Cross

State President of South Africa has ordered the Annual Convention of the South African National Congress to be postponed.

"We are in possession of information which we have reason to believe is correct," he said.

"We have received reports that there are reports of violence in various parts of the country."

"We consider it is in the interest of all concerned to postpone the annual convention until the situation has improved."
Row over MP's ANC statement

MR Steyn Terreblanche, National Party MP for Heilbron, has said he would be willing to serve under an ANC president, if the lives of his children were endangered.

Mr Terreblanche was challenged on the issue at a Conservative Party meeting at the Villiers town hall last night. He had asked questions from the floor and was then himself questioned by Advocate Cehill Pienaar, CP candidate for Heilbron and party leader in the Free State.

He admitted he had told a house meeting he would serve under an ANC president if the lives of his children were in danger.

Mr Pienaar said it was shocking an NP MP should declare himself willing to serve under a black ANC president.

The admission had "torn the mask off the NP", he said.
Talks to ANC, Kaunda tells SA

The Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, has urged the South African National Congress (ANC) to resume talks with the Government of South West Africa. The talks were to be held under the auspices of the South African ANC, but were suspended last year.

Dr Kaunda, who met with ANC leaders in South Africa last week, said the suspension of the talks was due to the ANC's failure to make progress in negotiations with the Government of South West Africa. He urged the ANC to continue the talks, saying that the liberation of South West Africa was a key issue for the ANC and that the talks were essential for the attainment of national liberation.

Dr Kaunda also called for a cease-fire in South West Africa and for the withdrawal of South African forces from the territory. He said that the ANC would continue to support the liberation of South West Africa and that the耿爌eople of South West Africa had the right to self-determination.

Dr Kaunda's visit to South Africa was seen as an important development in the ongoing political struggle for the liberation of South West Africa. The ANC has been active in the region for many years, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, was a key figure in the struggle.

Dr Kaunda's visit also highlighted the importance of South Africa in the political struggle for liberation. The ANC has a strong presence in South Africa, and the country is seen as a key player in the region.

The ANC's failure to make progress in negotiations with the Government of South West Africa has been a source of concern for many South Africans. The ANC has been under pressure to make progress in the talks, and Dr Kaunda's visit was seen as an important step in that direction.
kwaZulu had a hand in Tuynhuys meeting

GRAHAM LINSWITT

DURBAN — The joint negotiating committee of the kwaZulu and Central Governments was instrumental in setting up last week's meeting at the Tuynhuys between the State President and Nelson Mandela, according to well-placed sources.

The committee was formed earlier this year to discuss obstacles to political and constitutional negotiations in the country.

According to kwaZulu sources, at the first meeting in March, kwaZulu tabled a document setting out detailed and practical proposals for getting a national process of negotiation under way. Topping the agenda was the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists.

Woolly response

The Government gave a woolly response. But Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and Minister of Education in kwaZulu, urged the Government representatives to speak to Mr Mandela, saying they would be surprised by his statesmanship and reasonableness.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, was brought into the discussions and it soon became clear that he was receptive to the idea.

The Government seemed nervous of the implications of speaking to Mr Mandela, but Mr Coetsee eventually did visit — apparently several times.

This culminated in Mr Mandela's "courtesy call" on the State President last week, which stunned local and international observers.

The joint committee has met three times. It is believed that Mr F.W. de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, attended one of the meetings.
Enemy in the laager

F W de Klerk's beleaguered Transvaal National Party may have received some unexpected breathing space.

While the Democratic Party (DP) presses on with its decision to oppose Nats in marginal-to-conservative constituencies (despite appeals not to from top Nats), the latest furor on the Right may save a few potential blushing Nats faces — Cabinet members among them.

The purpose of Monday's meeting between the four ultra-rightwing parties was to form a front against the NP's "capitulation and surrendering of power to blacks." The four who came together were the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, a self-appointed candidate for Rustenburg; HNP leader Jaap Marais; the Boerestaatparty's Robert van Tonder; and the ex-leader of the banned Blanke Bovryndingsbeweging, Johan Schabort, now heading the new Blanke Party.

Whatever the aims of these four newcomers to the election scene may be (Marais is renowned for his consistent poll failure), the ultimate implication of their meeting is exactly what conservatives have always feared. Once again, dissent in rightwing circles is proving an overriding factor in Afrikaner politics.

In another corner, appearing more punch drunk by the day as Terre'Blanche and his cohorts mercilessly demand to come on board, Conservative Party (CP) leader Andries Treurnicht refuses to budge. It is unrealistic to expect his party to halt its election machine to accommodate the new front, he said on Monday. As the PM went to press, Treurnicht, aware that his dream of a major onslaught on the Nats may be destroyed by the latest developments, was to address a meeting in Pretoria to finally throw down the gauntlet to Terre'Blanche and company.

In a speech to the Junior Afrikaans parlement this week, political commentator and erstwhile DP adviser Willem de Klerk said the DP's intention of opposing Nats in marginal seats — resulting in CP gains — may cost them any chance of becoming the official opposition. But on the other hand, this strategy might speed up the possibility of a hung parliament, he said.

A direct confrontation between the CP and the emerging rightwing front could, however, result in Nats shading them in constituencies like Rustenburg, where in "normal" circumstances they might well lose a one-on-one fight against the CP.
Cup of tea that overflowed into inexorable tide

This flurry of political activity in the past week was perhaps the best indication that election time is upon us. Mandalay, only 45 days to go, and then it will be all over and forgotten. But perhaps the most significant event was the meeting Mr. P.W. Botha had with Mr. Nelson Mandela at Touws Bay. Significant, because it must be the first time that a prisoner has had the customary tea and buns at Touws Bay.

Even more important, though, is the fact that the man who was so heavily represented in the Government's eyes the "wet" organisation called the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance. Even Mr. Botha has gone on record, telling the country, and particularly the white voters, that Mr. Mandela was jailed following due process of law, and convicted for violent acts against the State.

In those days, the Government, and Mr. Botha in particular, saw anybody calling for the release of Mr. Mandela as being sympathetic to the ANC.

It did not make sense that all people were saying was that the release of Mr. Mandela and other political prisoners was perhaps the only way this country could negotiate a peaceful settlement. It did not matter that almost to the man (or woman), all who had had contact with Mr. Mandela or knew him spoke highly of him as an intellectual giant, a man of great understanding.

The Government tried to isolate Mr. Mandela from the organisation of which he is head. They tried to get him to condemn acts of violence by the ANC. They tried to arrange deals through Chiefashes. But it was no use.

The Government hopes that it can convince the rest of the world that it is indeed taking the right steps at last.

Write On!

JOE LATAKGO MO

in stones iddle-East

We can rest assured that if the peace conference failed in Lebanon, and if there had been much public approbation regarding the acts of stone-throwing as there has been about the methods used to try and stop them, the problem would have been stepped up. With the sense of national unity being the major problem in the Middle East, it is in the interest of the Middle Eastern states to try to settle the problem. It is in the interest of the Middle Eastern states to try to settle the problem.

How can we solve the problem of Middle Eastern unity, and is it not better to work together?

G.J. Wall, Boesman.
I haven't energy to do a scientific survey, but it's my impression that the word "Mandela" appeared in South Africa's leftwing weekly press yesterday almost as frequently as any preposition you care to name.

It should come as little surprise that the collective mind of these newspapers is concentrated rather fiercely just now.

For, although framed in terms more arcane, they are essentially concerned to address for their readers the simple question: "What is Nelson up to, and what does this tea-taking at Tuyuluyu mean?"

Which is not to say that the answers variously supplied by New Nation, the Weekly Mail, South and Vrye Weekblad are necessarily authoritative, comprehensive — or even consistent.

But it is one of the particular strengths of these emergent newspapers that they seek to reflect purposefully the effects of political developments from the specific point of view of the forces of resistance in South Africa. Political observers ignore these nuances at their peril.

New Nation sounded some notes of warning about the Botha/Mandela encounter: while eschewing condemnation of the meeting, the newspaper cautioned that from Pretoria's side, it would be used to "attempt to drive a wedge between our people and sow distrust among our leaders".

Stressing the "danger" and "delicacy" of the situation, New Nation advised: "The most pressing question facing our people is not when Mandela will be free, but whether we are (sufficiently) prepared to receive him."

The sub-text — that the Government would try to create the impression that Mandela was "negotiating" above the heads of his followers — was also considered in the Weekly Mail.

A clear distinction was drawn between the sharing of pots of tea, and the start of a process to transform South Africa through negotiation. "The Mandela meeting was very dramatic, and of tremendous symbolic importance," the Weekly Mail concluded, "but it was not the whistle to signal kick-off."

The Left Stuff
SHAWN JOHNSON

Usually, for these newspapers are an eclectic lot, the issue was sufficiently momentous to suffuse sections other than the weightily political.

Vrye Weekblad's skinnerbek, "Brollok", said it was only a matter of time before Elize and Winnie tip-toed through the tea-leaves, followed by "Rozanne taking Zimzi to her room to listen to the latest Bles Bridges album". And so on.

Then there was news of Mandela's imminent "party", about which everyone seems to know something, but no one knows everything.

The Cape Town-based weekly South reported that the five still-imprisoned "Rivonia trialists" had "civvy" suits delivered during the week, in preparation for a function at Victor Verster.

To this, the Weekly Mail added that the suits were from Rex Trusdell and, somewhat more seriously, that Mandela was believed to have asked for three prominent trade unionists to be invited.

Then, back in the realms of quasi-flippancy, the Mail reported another diplomatic breakthrough for the ANC: "Margaret Thatcher and Oliver Tambo were expected to have dinner last night, and then go on to the opera..."

"Of course, there were to be several hundred other guests at the bi-centennial celebrations of the French Revolution."

Mandelamania has some way to run yet. There are far worse places to follow its course than in the vivid columns of the leftwing weeklies.
Cosatu to draft Charter

A WORRER Charter, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, is to be drafted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the union group announced yesterday.

The largest union within the group, the National Union of Mine Workers, resolved at Cosatu's national congress in Johannesburg today to spearhead a Worker Charter campaign among the "oppressed and exploited."

A statement from Cosatu said its constitutional guidelines provided for the incorporation of a Workers' Charter into the constitution of a "post-apartheid South Africa." The charter would be an instrument of struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Cosatu would have to canvass the views and opinions of the masses on the concept of "A Constitution of a People's Government."

The congress said a special national congress, to be attended by Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions, and formations of the "Mass democratic movement," would be called to draft the Workers Charter after working class demands had been discussed.

The NUM also resolved that discussions, in line with the ANC's constitutional guidelines, should be intensified with a view to shaping a constitutional model of a future democratic South Africa.

FIRM BASIS

The congress claimed the "panie-stricken white minority ruling clique" was presently experiencing the worst crisis since the National Party came into power in 1948. The aim would be to achieve a non-racial society and provide a firm basis for national reconciliation and cooperation between the different communities.

The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) resolved to develop a clear understanding of how the South African economy worked and decided to formulate a plan on how to restructure the economy to meet the needs of a non-racial country.

A resolution on the process of political settlement, proposed by the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa), aimed to reject government's attempt to impose reformist solutions which, it said, did not address fundamental social and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa.

NUMSA said there could be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to negotiations was unilaterally created by the South African Government through: Unconditional unbanning of all banned organisations.

Confidence of SAP/SADF to barracks.

Lifting of the State of Emergency and the repeal of all security legislation.

The end of all political trials and executions.

It called on the Frontline states, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and all international forums to increase pressure on the Government to meet these requirements so that a climate conducive to negotiation could prevail.

Numsa resolved that only a sovereign body mandated by the people and accountable to the people as a whole could have the authority to develop a new constitution and decide on the method of implementation.
ClinicCreche result from one-man mission of hope

How to apply

Locally (in the metropolitan area) or abroad, the clinic serves as a

The big bucks stop here
The seeds of
One may not be imminent in South Africa, but it may be

Preconditions to an uprising

PATRICK LAURENCE

The 200th anniversary of the start of the French Revolution with the fall of the Bastille - commemorated in France yesterday - is relevant to South Africa. It helps to focus the mind on a central question which has intrigued historians and sociologists for decades: whether South Africa is heading for a similar revolution and, if so, when and how it will come.

More than 25 years ago Professor John Leader, of the University of the Witwatersrand, asked: “Can South Africa avoid a popular revolution similar to the French?" He attempted to answer this question in a 1976 study of the 18th century, which he published in 1978 under the title Ruling Class in South Africa: 1890-1914. His book was one of the first to examine the role of the ruling class in the development of a revolutionary situation.

Leader's methodology was to identify the hallmarks of the revolutionary situation, as outlined by Carl Jung in the Anarchist Revolution. He then examined whether or not these conditions were present in South Africa at the time.

It is an approach worth using again to see whether South Africa is heading for a similar revolutionary situation. The question can be posed in this form: South Africa is a troubled society. Is it now headed for a popular revolution?

The first sign of the revolution, in Leader's view, is the rise of the National Party to power in 1948. This was followed by the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, which marked the beginning of the liberation struggle. It was also the year the now defunct National Party was founded.

By 1962, the National Party had almost succeeded in overthrowing the government of the day. It had also succeeded in establishing a controlling minority of whites in the country. This was the first sign of the revolution.

The second sign was the election of the National Party to power in 1974. This was the second sign of the revolution.

The third sign was the election of the National Party to power in 1984. This was the third sign of the revolution.

The fourth sign was the election of the National Party to power in 1994. This was the fourth sign of the revolution.

The fifth sign was the election of the National Party to power in 1999. This was the fifth sign of the revolution.

As a consequence, two of the four monographs that have been written about the National Party in the last 25 years have been written by members of the National Party.

Administrative inefficiency, corruption, and economic woes

Desertion of intellectuals on basis of "what is, ought not and need not be"

A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms

Divided and weak ruling class that has lost the confidence and will to rule

at least, financial difficulties of a special kind.

Leadership of the intellectuals, defined as a group of writers, teachers and professors. The old regime, as the name implies, had no monopoly of the intellectuals. The new regime, as the name implies, had no monopoly of the intellectuals. The new regime, as the name implies, had no monopoly of the intellectuals.

A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms.

A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms.

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A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms.

The effect of the intellectuals' critique is illustrated in the diary entries of Louis XVI and Nicholas II. On the day that the Bastille fell, Louis went hunting. He wrote in his diary: "Nothing." At an equally crucial point in the Russian Revolution, Nicholas II recorded: "Walled long and killed two cows, and let by daylight."
SPECTRUM

In South Africa, but it may be closer than many think

- A society that is deeply divided with bitter class antagonisms
- Divided and weak ruling class that has lost the confidence and will to rule
- Use of force at a critical point, because 'no government has lost control before a revolution until it has lost control over its armed forces or lost the ability to use them'

The forces growing the sinews of South Africa’s white-controlled order are formidable; their impact may be slow but they will not be stopped. Against them, the loyalty of the security forces remains one of the great strengths of the Government, and there is no evidence to suggest that leaders have lost control of their well-trained security forces or of their ability to use them effectively. Is it not a question of "how long will SA survive?" Or, "why SA will survive?" It is a question of "can SA survive?" - because, no matter how great a bulwark the security forces are against revolution, the opposition that corrodes the State from within and weakens its structure, will prove victorious.

- Demography: between 1985 and 2000 the African population will increase from nearly 24 million to more than 30 million and the rate of Africanisation will rise from less than 10 percent to 16 percent.
- Unemployment by 2000, assuming continued sanctions, there will be around 10 million unemployed people out of an economically active population of some 10 million.
- Uncertainty: the combined result of population growth and rising unemployment will be a "gap between the haves and have-nots". Johnson predicts: "Most of the streets will become no-go areas even in daylight." Race riots will be on the agenda. Rota will degenerate into looting, "shopping without money".
- Anarchy and warlordism the security forces, hard-stretched, will abandon whole areas. Warlords will take over, adding an anarchistic element of unpredictability.

W/XII political organisations will benefit is hard to say. "Quaerat campitale illa" will be a sea in which many fish can swim.

The white, anxious and fearful, may turn to Dr Andrew Trevor-Roper in 1992 with his pledge to clear blacks out of public office or his mad plans for the "Nyanyano" and its impudent promise of restorations of the old certainties of pre-Sharpeville South Africa.

But that is likely to hasten the end by triggering another round of massive resistance on the scale of 1960-61 and with it, a fresh assault of skilled black enmies, a further flight of capital and another disastrous plunge in the value of the rand.

A downward spiralling road will make it safe to bet enough of the technological and capital goods on which economi-cal growth depends.

That, Johnson argues, even a "bureaucrat" government will be forced to abandon its commit-tment to the preservation of white power and will negotiate a settlement with leaders of the black masses.

By then, however, white bargaining power may be wea-thened that the "revolution". In the absence of the internal capitalisation, which may occur surprisingly quickly. The best guarantee against that kind of revolution is to rebuild the state from within, not weaken, and metier rather than later.
Cup of tea that overflowed into inexorable tide

THE flurry of political activity in the past week was perhaps the best indication that election time is upon us. Vusbyt, only 45 days to go, and then it will be all over and forgotten. But perhaps the most significant event was the meeting Mr P.W. Botha had with Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys. Significant, because it must be the first time that a prisoner has had the customary tea and biscuit at Tuynhuys.

Even more important, though, is the fact that the man who was so hated represented in the Government’s eyes the “evil” organisation called the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance. Even Mr Botha has been on record, telling the country, and particularly the white voters, that Mr Mandela was a man of great understanding.

In those days, the Government, and Mr Botha in particular, saw anybody calling for the release of Mr Mandela as being sympathetic to the ANC. It did not matter that all people were saying was that the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners was perhaps the only way this country could negotiate a peaceful settlement. It did not matter that almost to the man (or woman), all who had contact with Mr Mandela or knew him spoke highly of him as an intellectual giant, a man of great understanding.

The Government tried to isolate Mr Mandela from the organisation of which he is head. They tried to get him to condemn acts of violence by the ANC. They tried to arrange deals through Chief Kaizer Matatuzima for Mr Mandela to accept freedom in the homeland. They tried to break him psychologically, but they found that he had this electrifying effect, and they themselves broke down instead.

Whatever the reason for the Government to have arranged the meeting, the fact is what has been done cannot be undone. Perhaps the Government hopes that it can convince the rest of the world that it is indeed talking to the right people at last.

Own momentum

But, and this is even more important, they hope that those white voters who have expressed doubt over the Government’s reform will be convinced once and for all that only the National Party can lead this country to peace, prosperity and stability. Having recognised that those voters that they have lost to the right wing are gone forever, they have strategised that they would have to go for the vote on the Left and the Centre.

However, what the Government probably does not realise is that it has created something which will run on its own momentum from now on. Having spoken to Mr Mandela, the next logical thing to do is to release him.

Nobody — and that includes the Conservative Party — can stop this momentum. It is interesting that as all this happens, there are efforts at toanadering between the United Democratic Front and the ANC. This, I believe, is the result of a letter Mr Mandela wrote to Chief Buthela, in which he said: “The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it been so critical for our people to speak with one voice.”

That national unity will not, of course, come easy. There are other organisations, like the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement, and indeed, even the homelands...
PRETORIA — The Conservative Party yesterday welcomed AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's decision not to contest the Rustenburg seat in the September 6 general election.

The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said events over past weeks had confirmed that his party was "the acknowledged unified rightist front". Conservative voters were united under the CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht who, Dr Hartzenberg said, "succeeds admirably in his role as the carrier of true nationalism's flag".

Mr Terre'Blanche announced yesterday that he was withdrawing his proposed candidature in Rustenburg.

In a statement, he said the AWB now accepted that the proposed broad right-wing front against the National Party was no longer achievable.

"Thus the necessity for me to stand as a candidate falls away." — Sapa

Report by Red Calhub, 144 Commissioner St, Johannesburg, and Dirk van Zyl, 941 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.
DP to field 105 candidates

Political Staff
THE Democratic Party had now named 96 candidates in the September 6 election and the names of two more candidates — in Bloemfontein West and Bethlehem — would be released early next week, the party's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday.

He added that by the July 24 nomination day, the party would have announced about 105 candidates in the 106 House of Assembly seats.

Apart from Worcester and Swellendam, whose candidates were named yesterday, it announced last night that Mr Hugh Collet, a farmer and chairman of the local nuts and irrigation boards, would stand in Cradock.

DP members were also pressurising the party to put up candidates in Beaufort West, De Mond and Prieska.

The first postal votes in the election were issued yesterday and in key marginal seats, the DP had lodged several hundred, he added.
team for election
DP lineup tops
of South African politics
The changing face

By FRAIS ETTERER

Weekend

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Focal Weekend
The former Nationals

**Mr. Douglas Jordon... Former Senator.**

Defence Force

**My Juneboro... DP Board members.**

**Mr. Waddon... My Vision.**

**Dr. Zoric... My Vision.**

The woman who will lead

**Mr. Waddon... My Vision.**

Defence Personnel

**Commander... Defence Force.**

Ex-Prime Minister... My Vision.
Why not ‘privatise’ the process of negotiation?

SOUTH AFRICA is loaded to the gunwales at the moment with a new official buzzword – privatisation.

Yet, in perhaps one of the most crucial areas of all, constitution building, the concept is remarkable by its absence and perhaps for that very reason is the front on which the least progress has been made in recent years.

Cynics will no doubt laugh at the idea of privatizing something as critical as the ordering of power relations within our fractured countries by, as it were, putting it out to tender.

They should not laugh too soon: The process is to a considerable extent already under way. We are, to all intents and purposes, in a situation of pre-negotiations.

The impasse that has developed over the years has as one of its problems the finding of a neutral forum for negotiating a future South Africa.

Nearly every constitutional initiative undertaken by the Government has fallen flat on its face because nobody, least of all black South Africans, was really prepared to trust the National Party – perhaps with reason.

That sad situation is unlikely to change in the short term – no matter how pyrotechnic Mr P W de Klerk’s reform rhetoric.

To an extent, that reality is already accepted by the Government. It was the “non-partisan” President’s Council that did the running on the tricameral Parliament proposals and the Urban Foundation on a new urbanisation policy – with the support of the Government.

If we are looking for new forums, perhaps we need not look much further than the South African Law Commission. This body, established in terms of the SA Law Commission Act of 1973, is chaired by a judge and consists of a committee of six appointed by the President and charged with advising on the reform or improvement of the country’s legal system.

**Options**

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, recently brought out a report on a Bill of Rights for South Africa which fundamentally changes the race-based nature of our constitutional and political order.

This body, granted, is a government-created structure, but it does possibly represent the nearest politically “neutral” State forum for thrashing out constitutional options in a country so deeply divided that it cannot even agree on the symbols of statehood, such as flags and anthems.

The commission’s most recent report, although certainly not drawing loud public praise from the ANC, has certainly evoked considerable interest from points north.

The commission cannot unilaterally decide a constitution and then impose it on the nation. It cannot negotiate a constitution.

But it can, at least, take evidence, weigh up options and come up with some proposals – in other words do a little pre-negotiating. These can then be debated by the real power-brokers in Pretoria, Umlazi and Lusaka.

The National Party in its Five Year Plan has already hinted at the need to start tackling concrete constitutional proposals and Dr Dennis Worrall, when still an independent, suggested that the Chief Justice be required, in consultation with experts, to provide a range of constitutional options. What about the ANC and Inkatha?

This is where the other leg of the argument comes into effect. Having once decided on a neutral forum for talks in the pre-negotiation phase it will be incumbent on the Government to make it possible for as many players as possible to take part.

It can do this by doing two things and not doing a third.

First, it must effectively place a temporary moratorium on future constitutional changes. Creating more “own”, “general” and “open” groups and structures will merely complicate the issue. The decision not to impose Regional Services Councils on Natal, for example, is a hopeful first step.

Second, reason, it must, as the Americans say, lighten up. It should work towards creating a stabilised political climate in which it becomes the norm, not the exception, for people to confront and publicly debate political viewpoints.

Third, it must not haphazardly grab at any good idea that comes along and slap it into its inchoate programme of principles or actions – as it has done by hijacking the Law Commission’s Bill of Rights and seriously misapplying it in its Plan of Action. That way, the Government just makes a good idea bad.
The bell tolls for ET as he quits election

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE bell may have tolled on the future political career of Mr Eugene Terre Blanche when he pulled out of the Rustenburg election battle this week.

The AWB leader's decision not to contest the seat after he entered the fray in a high-profile way has seriously undermined his position in rightwing politics.

The main beneficiary will be the Conservative Party which decided from the outset to shore up its share of votes. It was the AWB leader who blinked first.

CP spokesman Koos van der Merwe said yesterday that Mr Terre Blanche's decision proved the correctness of the CP's view that it should be the only rightwing politi-

ical front.
By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

DEMOCRATIC PARTY co-leader Wynand Malan is expected to meet President George Bush at the end of the month.

"Although the White House is refusing to confirm the official invitation to Washington, informed sources said this week that Mr. Malan would be meeting President George Bush.

The invitation may be seen as a balance to the still-unconfirmed meeting between J.F.W. de Klerk and President Bush, but it's not yet clear why Mr. Malan has been singled out to represent DP interests," said a Washington source.

Speaking from Lusaka this weekend after his talks with Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, Mr. Malan confirmed that he would be visiting the US "at the end of July or early in August."

But he was guarded about an invitation to the Oval Office. He said, "I'll be holding talks with various people, and should an invitation to the White House be forthcoming, I would be honoured to accept."

© Simon Barber: Page 15
Jollipops to Voters

The N.P.'s R600-million

By Alan Dunn of the Political Staff

...
SUDDENLY, out of a clear blue sky, flashed a series of political thunderbolts that allow us, for the first time in decades, to think the unthinkable. For optimists, the prospects are dizzying. Could it be that South Africa has at last taken a giant step across that threshold which leads, ultimately, to a negotiated or more or less serene future? The political event of the most significant occurrence was last week's meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela. It hardly matters what brought it about. It could have been a careful, jointly planned ice-breaker by two men who, each in his own way, are semi-detached from mainstream politics — Mr Botha because he is a retired general and his last days as a head of state unencumbered by party attachments, and Mr Mandela because age and long incarceration have elevated him to an almost mythical status above the daily grind of the power struggle.

On the other hand, it could simply have been a case of two ageing adversaries coming to meet each other before their personal circumstances are altered in some way or another.

Fateful
Alternatively, Mr Botha, now isolated and anxious about his place in history, may simply have wanted to peremptorily stamp his strategic reign.
The reason, however, may be none of these. The consequences of that fateful encounter in Tzaneen last Wednesday morning.

For one thing, other observers who talk to representatives of the ANC can no longer be accused of treason or dereliction.

After all, there we have a once-venerated State President who was an energetic propagator of total onslaught theory taking tea and little cakes with the head ANC man himself — the occasion even caused the Government's Minister of Justice and, so we are assured, the full knowledge of the SIFP's leader.

And another point: Until quite recently, the normal scenario was that Mr Mandela has been that of a prisoner who controls, probably through a mixture of both, the office of government. But heads of government do not usually take tea with common prisoners, so we must assume that the enmity of Mr Verster.

by TERTIUS MYBURGH

Mr F W de Klerk has now officially tested the waters in an event that has been described as a goodwill message. One can no longer be accused of treason or delinquency.

The consequence of the meeting between the two men is that South Africa's political landscape is being systematically wrenched out of an Eastern orbit, and through that region's economies are collapsing and leaders are haggling, recognising the folly of an ideology that is being abandoned even in the country from which it was exported, the USSR.

And from Moscow itself comes a new message: Armed struggle is not the way to liberation south of the Limpopo. Hence, instead of a negotiated political settlement, in which the ANC would be left with a watered down demand that it would never have begun to begin.

In what politics we have a ruling party that has committed itself to a full of rights, no domination by one group of another and the achievement of all this — and more — through negotiation.

Ludwig of the IFP, a new alliance of moderating politicians in the IFP, show encouraging signs of success in attracting significant support from across previously impenetrable tribal lines.

The idea of the reformed IFP operates at full steam, exposing an extraordinary range of South Afri cans to the thinking of the exiled ANC that has never been before the ears.

At the same time, the subcontinental landscape has undergone unimaginable changes. Both Tanzania and Angola have been set on a new course.
Forum approves of 'significantly different' DP

DURBAN — The Democratic Party has been given an approving nod from an extra-parliamentary grouping, the Five Freedoms Forum.

In its latest newsletter, members of the FFF are told they can make an "important contribution" by encouraging the DP to explode the National Party's electoral mythology and encouraging voters to break with apartheid, joining those working against it.

Forum treasurer Mr Colin Coleman says: "It is its policy to engage with extra-parliamentary groups and encourage whites to negotiate a new democratic, non-racial constitution which has the potential to make the DP significantly different from its predecessors."

He warns the DP that its approach to participation in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament could determine "its relevance and contribution to the future".

He said the DP's "strategy of 'going for power' should not undermine its capacity to bridge extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics."

In an interview this week, Mr Coleman said if the DP were to put up candidates in the House of Delegates and these were accepted, this would undermine its ability to form alliances with the mass democratic movement.
The Lusaka Group was named after South Africa's capital city, Lusaka, and was a coalition of political parties that opposed the government of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. The group was formed in 1987 and included the Movement for Democratic Change, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and other smaller parties. The Lusaka Group was instrumental in the anti-Mugabe movement in Zimbabwe and played a key role in the eventual downfall of the Mugabe regime.
Despite Violence

David Welsh

must be talked to

and sanctions ANG
Cosatu’s SA talks plan
ANC ready to talk, says DP

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC told a Democratic Party delegation that it was ready to meet all parties and confirmed that it was working on new initiatives for talks, according to a statement released here after a meeting between the DP delegation and the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend.

The delegation was led by co-leader of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, while the ANC delegation was led by its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo.

The DP told the ANC that talks should be initiated among all parties as a way of removing the obstacles to serious negotiations. The ANC replied that it was willing to meet all parties if approached, and was working on new initiatives.

The statement said that each party presented its analysis of the current situation in South Africa and views were exchanged on the interpretation of recent events, including the meeting between State President F W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The DP argued that an opportunity existed to break the deadlock in South Africa by opening up the negotiation process. “As long as the ANC and the South African government set preconditions for negotiations which cannot be met, the deadlock would continue.”

The DP had therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the government without preconditions and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution of the South African situation. However, they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

“As long as the ANC is banned, it cannot organise and therefore cannot get mandates. The ANC is not prepared to enter serious negotiations without its government.”
KEN OWEN

Party Prepared?

Is the National Mandela's Coming?

[Image of a newspaper article]
Highlanders' OC resigns for politics

Defence Correspondent

Mr Tony Marriner, the Democratic Party candidate for Caledon in the election, is no longer commanding officer of the Cape Town Highlanders.

Mr Marriner recently resigned as OC Cape Town Highlanders when he decided to become involved in politics and is in the process of handing over to his former second-in-command, Major Bernard Ashlin.

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for 71 Motorised Brigade, the Cape Town Highlanders' parent formation.

His resignation ended an active military career which started in the Transvaal Scottish more than two decades ago and took him through many of the major military events of the past 15 years, including Operation Savannah — the 1975-1976 incursion into Angola — and various border operations.

His last period of active service was in command of a first-line battle-group during the tense confrontation with the Cubans in northern Namibia late last year.

OC Cape Town Highlanders for seven years, he went through every rank from rifleman to commandant.

In civilian life he was a trainee journalist before entering the stationery business. He now has his own business in Paarl.
NP still to decide on 4 Cape seats

WITH just seven days to go before nomination day on July 24, there are now only four uncontested House of Assembly seats in the Western Cape — and there are now six three-way contests.

The number of uncontested seats could be whittled down later today when the National Party’s organisation committee in the Cape meets in the city to consider its position in the four safe DP seats in which it has yet to field a candidate — Claremont, Constantia, Groote Schuur and Pinelands.

As the NP last week opened an office in the centre of Pinelands, it seems likely that it will contest Mr Jasper Walsh’s seat. Although the nominated MP, Mr Danie van Gend, was not intending to stand in the election, he is a possibility in Pinelands.

The NP might not be able to resist tackling Mr Jan van Eck in the safe Claremont seat, where Mr Aaron Rubenstein’s somewhat odd independent challenge seems to be faltering because of his inability to muster the support of 500 voters. The problem for the NP in Claremont is that a sound thrashing by Mr Van Eck would undermine its claims that he does not represent the voters in the constituency.

However, the NP may well decide not to enter the fray in Constantia and Groote Schuur.

The only other unopposed seat in the Western Cape at this stage is Parow, where the sitting MP, Mr Hermus Kriel, obtained 4,448 majority over the CP, HRP and PPP in 1987.

THE six three-way contests in the Western Cape are De Kullen, False Bay, Paarl, Piketberg, Swellendam and Worcester.

In all six, the CP, DP and NP are fielding candidates.

All six are safe Nationalist seats and it would be a major surprise if the NP lost any of them.

RESPONSIBILITY for the growth of communism in South Africa lay at the door of the NP who had created a breeding ground for it in the black townships, the DP candidate in Umlazi, Mr Gus van Rensburg, said at his campaign launch.

Mr Van Rensburg is fighting Mr Con Botha, who had the largest NP majority — 4,906 — in Natal in 1987.

Mr Van Rensburg said that apartheid and the Group Areas Act had very serious consequences for South Africa. “The NP has always been seen to be in the front line of the fight against communism.

“They have built an army and a defence industry without equal in Africa. The taxpayers have to pay billions for the fight against communism and some parents have had to bury their sons for this cause. Yet, despite all our efforts, communism has gained support in South Africa.

“The reason is that while we were standing up for our borders, we left the back door open for the communists. Through apartheid and the Group Areas Act the National Party has created the socio-economic conditions in our black townships in which communism will thrive.

“I was a company commander of about 150 troops in Soweto for two months in 1987. The biggest part of Soweto is in my opinion a scrapyard of human misery, oppression, poverty, and hunger. The millions of people live in an overcrowded, no-hop situation, with no indication of a way out.

“And while we police them, harass them and search their houses and cars any time of the day or night, the communists are in there, offering them hope — offering them a way out,” Mr Van Rensburg said.

THE road of the DP was the road to abdication, the road of the CP was the road to confrontation, and the road of the NP was the only road to orderly reform in South Africa, the NP MP in Umhlanga, Mr Henier Schoeman, said at the launch of his campaign.

Mr Schoeman referred to the DP’s leaders as “fractious men of straw”, who did little other than mouth “do-gooder platitudes”.

The National Party is the only party which can accommodate the aspirations and legitimate fears of the white voters in this country,” he said.

(Report by P. Gous, 122 Church St, Cape Town)
**Nursing crisis puts pay pressure on govt**

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The worsening nursing crisis — a 20% shortage nationwide — will compel government to make an early adjustment to nurses' salaries, sources here say.

At the weekend Deputy Health Minister Michael Veldman said government would use its limited funds to do everything possible to stop the flow of staff to the private sector.

Later this week the SA Nursing Association (Sana) is to submit a 15% increase demand to Health Minister Willie van Niekerk.

Sana executive director Susan du Preez said the association had warned of the looming crisis repeatedly during the past decade. Adjustments made to pay and service conditions had never gone far enough, she said.

Johannesburg Hospital has not been brought to the point of collapse by the shortage of nurses, hospital superintendent R G Broekman said at the weekend. Hospital management was, however, gravely concerned.

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**Voters' rolls condemned**

SPKESMEN for the DP, NP and CP have all condemned the state of voters' rolls for the September 8 election as a shambles, filled with the names of dead and missing voters.

Johannesburg NP councillor Robert Rousseau said he had written to the Department of Home Affairs about the Benoni council constituency roll.

He said there were many cases where people on the roll had been dead for more than five years, or had gone overseas.

He said there were also those on the roll who still used the old ID cards with a different digit count.

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**Committee looks at Soweto rent crisis**

ISOLATING the more emotional content of issues such as rent payment would be the first step in addressing Soweto's financial difficulties, Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) CE Simon Brand said yesterday.

"The issue of home ownership should be isolated from current payment of service charges," said Brand, who has been asked to chair a committee which will examine Soweto's financial adjustment.
Worrall reports doubts overseas

MIKE ROBERTSON

THERE was profound scepticism about the NP and its ability to deliver peace to SA among European leaders and businessmen, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Worrall, speaking after returning from a tour of Britain, Portugal, West Germany and Italy, said that at the same time the politicians, bankers and businessmen he had met had shared the view there existed a tremendous opportunity for SA to "turn things around and take its place in the international community".

This stemmed from the Namibia settlement and subsequent peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique.

"This election must be the election to end apartheid. There is profound scepticism in the European foreign ministries about the NP’s ability to escape its past. What we need is a change of regime in SA. We have to go for a hung Assembly which opens the way for political realignment."

"We must contest every seat where we have the organisation and turn this election into a referendum on apartheid. White South Africans have got to be given the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid," he said.

Improvement

Bankers and businessmen he had met had given him the clear impression that they regarded SA and southern Africa as "distinctly reacetable. But they look to us to provide political justification for them to come back".

Worrall said he had been widely questioned about new NP leader F W de Klerk. His view was De Klerk, on his recent visit to Europe, had given the impression he was a definite improvement on President F W Botha.

"But the question is whether he can escape the NP’s legacy, the NP’s intellectual baggage."

De Klerk’s discussions in Europe, he said, had been interpreted in the light of the NP pre-election congress and its five-year-plan.

"These people are experienced SA observers. They look at the NP five-year-plan and the kind of mandate the NP is seeking and there is a deep scepticism."
The African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President Botha.

This is the impression of members of a Democratic Party delegation led by co-leader Mr Wynand Malan after all-day talks with the ANC in Lusaka on Saturday.

The P W Botha-Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks with an ANC delegation led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and including Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The DP's Mr Jamie Mombarg said, in a telephone interview from Lusaka, his impression was that the ANC was intensely interested in the meeting.

ANC delegations seemed to regard the Toyohaya talks as an encouraging sign the Government was moving towards a position where talks about negotiations could begin.

No deviation

Mr Mombarg said his impression was also that the ANC approved of the statement issued by Mr Mandela after his meeting with President Botha. The statement was regarded as not deviating from ANC principles.

Mr Mombarg said his impression was that the ANC was showing signs of flexibility on certain issues.

During the talks Mr Wynand Malan emphasised the need for peaceful negotiations.

He urged the ANC and the Government to meet and talk with no preconditions, with a view to opening full negotiations about ending apartheid.

Mr Malan said that was the only way to break the deadlock over negotiating a peaceful end to the apartheid system.

Sapa reports that the ANC told the DP it was ready to meet all parties if approached, and confirmed it was working on new initiatives for talks.

No precedents

The DP therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the SA Government without preconditions, and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by saying that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution. However, they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation.

The ANC had also said it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission's Report on Human Rights.

At the end of the talks both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the September election was over.
AWB rejects ‘plot’ against Terre’Blanche

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The executive committee of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has rejected allegations that Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche spent a night outside columnist Ms Jani Allan's flat, as a "plot" against the movement's leader.

In a statement issued in Pretoria today, the executive committee said it rejected the weekend press reports "with contempt."

"It is quite clear that this is a plot planned with the aim of forcing the leader not to stand in Rustenburg," the statement said.

It said the AWB leader had been guarded "day and night" since his car accident earlier this year, and that he no longer drove his car.

The AWB chief of finance and administration, Mr Thys Smit, said the committee would not be meeting to discuss the latest allegations.

Withdraw candidacy

Commenting on reports that a bomb which exploded outside Ms Allan's flat on Friday was intended to force the AWB leader to withdraw his candidacy, the executive committee said Mr Terre'Blanche had withdrawn his candidacy on Thursday.

The executive committee was reacting to reports, confirmed by Ms Allan, that Mr Terre'Blanche had slept outside her flat on the night of June 26 after pleading for hours to be let in.

The AWB leader and Ms Allan were linked earlier this year after an incident at Paardekraal monument when the police were called in after shots were allegedly fired.

"Social problems"

"The news of his withdrawal was given to the media on Thursday."

Meanwhile, suspended AWB member Mr Dries Alberts has called for Mr Terre'Blanche's resignation following the reports.

"This incident only confirms my protest about his social problems."

"The time has come for Mr Terre'Blanche to reconsider his position as the leader of the AWB," Mr Alberts said.

Mr Alberts was suspended in January after calling for a commission of inquiry into the Paardekraal incident and the financial position of the movement.

Mr Smit today said the AWB had always been in the red, "a fact which was not new."

Mr Manie Maritz, who was taken back into the fold a month ago at a meeting in Bapsfontein, said Mr Terre'Blanche had enough problems and he was not prepared to "hammer" a man with problems.
Air of Confidence
New Climate and Negotiation
30th Nov 2017

The government has said it will continue negotiations on the climate change agreement, which was reached in Paris in 2015. The agreement sets out a framework for international cooperation on reducing greenhouse gas emissions and limiting global warming to 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. The government has also said it will continue to work with other countries to ensure that the agreement is implemented effectively.

The government's decision to continue negotiations is a response to the recent United Nations Climate Change Conference, which was held in Bonn, Germany. The conference focused on the implementation of the Paris agreement and discussed ways to strengthen efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The government has said that it will support initiatives to reduce emissions and promote renewable energy sources.

The government has also said that it will continue to work with other countries to ensure that the Paris agreement is implemented effectively. The government has highlighted the importance of international cooperation in addressing climate change and the need for all nations to contribute to the effort.

The government has also said that it will continue to work with the private sector to promote climate-friendly technologies and practices. The government has stated that it will support initiatives to promote green investments and encourage businesses to adopt environmentally sustainable practices.

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FW to allay concerns over Mandela meeting

NP has not gone ‘soft on the ANC’

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Party says the recent meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not mean it has “gone soft on the ANC”.

And despite the meeting, the NP is going ahead with its election campaign of running down the Democratic Party as being “soft on the ANC”.

Mr Con Botha, the NP’s chief information officer, confirmed this today, responding to reports of confusion in the NP ranks about the Botha/Mandela meeting.

Some NP members are dismayed that the meeting may have undercut their election strategy of attacking the DP for talking to the ANC.

Old attack:

‘Sharp differences have emerged in the NP about the meeting,’ Some have seen it as step towards contact with the ANC and others believe it was aimed at driving a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC.

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP hopes to shrug off the apparent contradiction and pursue its old line of attack on the DP.

He said the latest issue of the NP mouthpiece, Die Nationale, would make capital of remarks by former DP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam that the DP was in effect “taking orders from the ANC”.

Mr Botha said that the meeting between Mr Mandela and President Botha was a “breakthrough in the on-going saga about whether or not Mr Mandela would be released”. One could not read more into the meeting, he added.

But he objected to assumptions that the meeting meant the NP was softening its approach to the ANC.

“This doesn’t follow logically. The NP is still bound to the unequivocal renunciation of violence as a condition of taking part in negotiations.”

Mr Botha said that this standpoint was unanimously adopted by the NP and still held good for the ANC or any other organisation.

It had been re-affirmed by the NP in its five-year action plan endorsed at its extraordinary federal congress last month.

“We are not going soft on the ANC. In fact, the ball is on the other foot. If the ANC wants to take part in negotiations, it must renounce violence and I see no indication of that.”

Mr Botha said he thought that NP leader Mr F W de Klerk would deal with the Mandela issue fully when he addressed the Cape NP congress in Somerset West on Saturday.

If there was any negative reaction to the meeting from the electorate, he added, it would only be from the “unenlightened” who did not think the NP was serious about releasing Mr Mandela.

Conservative Party general secretary Mr Andries Beyers yesterday said the Mandela meeting was going to win the election for the CP.

“We are going to do to the NP what they did to the PFP in the 1987 elections,” he said.
No date set for meeting between FW and Bush

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has still not proposed firm dates for a possible meeting between the leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, and President Bush.

American and South African officials continue to repudiate speculation that the two leaders are to meet in the White House next week.

According to sources, Mr de Klerk has not been invited to meet the President, but only to meet the US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

The invitation was extended verbally by Mr Baker to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at their meeting in Rome last month.

COALITION GROWS

The State Department said yesterday that there was no update on the previous announcement by the White House that Mr de Klerk would be invited to Washington to meet Mr Baker. The White House said in that announcement there were no plans for Mr Bush to meet Mr de Klerk.

Since the announcement, a coalition against a White House meeting for Mr de Klerk has been gaining momentum. The coalition has been putting pressure on the White House not to send an undeserved signal to white South Africans by allowing Mr de Klerk to meet Mr Bush.

A White House official said yesterday there was no information on a possible meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush next week. He said White House officials were still in Europe and that if there was such a meeting on Mr Bush’s schedule, officials with the President in Europe would possibly know about it.
JSJ meeting later this month

A Jews for Social Justice (JSJ) report-back meeting on talks with the ANC will be held this month, following the cancellation of last week's meeting due to anonymous threats.

The chairman of JSJ, Dr Franz Auerbach, said in a statement that JSJ "deplored the physical threats that forced the postponement of the meeting.

"It is a sad commentary on our country's level of intolerance that an ordinary report-back meeting, which will help to promote the climate for peaceful negotiations, became the subject of numerous anonymous threats. However, we will not be intimidated. The meeting will be held elsewhere later this month, and our members will be advised accordingly."

The meeting had been scheduled in the Wolmarans Street Synagogue Hall.
Real test after election, says Anglo chief

Govt showing more flexibility — Relly

Staff Reporter

Nationalist Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's task is to consummate the reform process and give form and content to a post-apartheid vision for South Africa based on values and aspirations that unite rather than separate South Africans. Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly says in his annual report published today.

Mr Relly says that while the five-year plan announced at the recent NP congress is "not always reassuring on these two fronts", it at least recognises the need to change the present order through negotiation.

"The critical test of the party's will and intent will come after the (September) election," says the Anglo chief.

Mr de Klerk has already been received by several European leaders and there are signs that the US, under President Bush, is trying to fashion a policy that will remain constructive yet not be perpetually opposed by Con-

gress, Mr Relly says.

"British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was the least likely to entertain exaggerated ideas of how quickly Mr de Klerk can effect change. But even she cannot wait indefinitely for progress if her opposition to sanctions is to be sustained."

The Soviet Union, under its new willingness to support regional peace settlements, has not only brought into question Pretoria's "cherished myth of the total onslaught" but has prompted the ANC to look again at its constitutional and economic prescriptions for South Africa.

The new Russian attitudes have caused Marxist prescriptions to be widely questioned in Africa, as elsewhere, Mr Relly says.

Greater flexibility on the part of the SA Government was indicated recently by the historic meeting between President Botha and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the Government's reassessment of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba as well as the guarded reaction to the report of the Government-appointed Law Commission.

"Such flexibility in time should facilitate the emergence of broader political alliances, and opportunities for domestic opposition forces and exiled groups to participate in the 'talks about talks' which must be a precursor to any formal move towards political negoti-

ation."

Mr Relly says.

* See Page 25.
NP asked our man to stand down, says CP

DURBAN — The Conservative Party has claimed that a National Party official asked it to withdraw from the Umlan-
ga election battle because sitting NP member Mr Renier Schoeman could lose in a three-way fight.

The CP said an NP official on Umdloti Town Board, Mr Wally Walters, approached one of its members on the board, Mr Le Roux Snyman, and made an approach for CP candidate Mr Gunter Gathmann to back out. Mr Schoeman has dismissed the claim.

He is defending a 557 majority against Mr Kobus Jordaan of the Democratic Party, and Mr Gathmann.

Mr Snyman said Mr Walters approached him twice. "He asked me (the first time) if it was not a good idea to retract our candidate. At that point I believed Mr Schoeman was doing a good service for Umdloti. And a three-way fight would be a bad thing for him, because he would obviously lose his seat."

Mr Snyman doubted that Mr Walters had a mandate from his party to approach him. "I think this is something that came from him personally. It was just part of a friendly discussion we had on the matter."

Mr Carl Werth, deputy chairman of the CP in Natal, said: "It is not for us to decide whether the man had a mandate or not."

Mr Walters has denied that he had any such discussions with Mr Snyman.

(Report by K M Challenger, 45 Field Street, Dur-
ban)
SA/Maputo talks hailed by Mugabe

By Robin Drew

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe yesterday welcomed tomorrow's talks between Mr. F.W. de Klerk and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and said he hoped it would help to end the war in Mozambique.

"We want to know if South Africa is prepared to act honestly," he said.

He hoped Mr. de Klerk would not "speak with two tongues as President P.W. Botha had done at previous meetings". Mr. Mugabe said South Africa had continued to help Renamo despite promises at the time of the Nkomati Accord.

On the meeting between Mr. Botha and Mr. Nelson Mandela, the Zimbabwean leader said contacts like this should be encouraged. "We find nothing wrong with this. We have been urging whites in South Africa to talk to black leaders there and not to us."

On domestic matters, Mr. Mugabe said he stood by his decision to pardon former Minister Mr. Frederick Shava, who had been sentenced to nine months' jail for perjury connected with the Willowvale car scandal.
Intercontinental policies

I have asked this question in
imported
interim
imported locally and how much was
how much petrol was managed
the unanswered question of
Mr. Derby-Lewis referred to
Why is it 5.4%?
But the real reason was that

...
Upington 14: letters from around globe

Political Reporter

Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal has been inundated with letters from all over the world expressing support for the Upington 14, recently sentenced to death for the "common purpose" murder of a black policeman in the township of Paballelo near Upington in 1985.

Mr Soal said copies of the letters — he was receiving about 20 a day — had been sent to the State President, the Ministers of Justice and of Law and Order, the SA ambassador in Washington and the Attorney-General.

He said the DP would again raise the issue in Parliament, and he would present the letters to Parliament during the next session.

Mr Soal added that The Star's six-part series on the killing played an important role in educating the public about what happened in Paballelo.

- The last possible legal step to save the 14 from the gallows was taken yesterday when a petition requesting leave to appeal against the sentences was handed to the Chief Justice.
- When passion inflames a crowd — Page 21.
The National Party has a substantial lead over the Conservative Party in the key Transvaal seat of Innesdal, Pretoria, which the right wing was confident of winning in the general election.

This is the finding of a poll by Marketing and Media Research, which correctly predicted the results in six out of six key constituencies in the 1987 general election.

The poll contradicts the impression in political circles that the CP could gain from the NP in the election.

The Argus has again commissioned polls in six seats and the results will be published this week.

In the Innesdal poll, conducted between July 10 and today, the NP's Dr Rina Venter received 42 percent of the vote, compared to 28 percent for the CP candidate, the Rev Moskie van der Berg.

While 14 percent of those canvassed refused to indicate which candidate they would support, 16 percent said they were still undecided.

However, based on these voters' traditional party-political allegiances and their indications of which party they would probably support, indications are that the NP will gain most of the floating vote.

This could mean the NP could poll 56 percent of the vote compared to the CP's 33.

All of this pre-supposes that the electoral climate will not change drastically in the next six weeks.

The survey indicates that the NP is regaining support in the constituency in which the combined CP/HNP vote came within 153 votes of that of the NP in 1987.

One explanation for this phenomenon could be that voters who supported opposition parties in the 1987 election as a "protest" vote against the NP are being wooed back into the Nationalist camp.

The survey indicates that CP support seems to be strongest among younger voters, with 42 percent of respondents between the ages of 16 and 24 pledging their support to the CP. Only 22 percent of the respondents older than 50 support the CP.

While this indicates that older voters are more firmly rooted in the Nationalist camp, the "definite support" for the CP among younger voters could be a result of concentrated CP efforts to recruit young people.

However, of the younger voters who are still undecided, most are inclined to vote for the NP.

Of those respondents who support Dr Venter, a prominent figure in women's organisations, 55 percent are female, compared to the 45 percent of females who support Mr van der Berg, a leading figure in right-wing cultural bodies.

A breakdown of English/Afrikaans-speakers reveals that 92 percent of Afrikaans-speakers in the constituency intend to go to the polls. However, a lower figure of 83 percent of English-speakers intend to vote, probably demonstrating less enthusiasm among these voters due to the Democratic Party's decision not to contest the seat.

About 10 percent of English-speakers are undecided on whether to vote, compared to five percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

A total of 618 respondents took part in the poll, while 11 percent of those people originally contacted were not registered voters and were thus excluded.

Although the poll was conducted after the meeting between President Botha and Nelson Mandela and seemed not to have strengthened the CP's hand, further revelations of the NP's reform initiatives before September 6 could result in a last-minute swing to the CP.

The Reverend Moskie van der Berg, Conservative Party candidate for Innesdal, has slammed the result of the opinion poll which forecasts the National Party as the likely winner in the battle for the constituency.

The Rev van der Berg, who is contesting the seat for a second time, said he did not believe in opinion polls because they were an attempt to shape public opinion.
NP is to fight independents

N.P. Head committed in the presence of members of the party's federal council and the federal executive council who will decide on the party's federal council in the coming weeks. The decision to put up candidates in the federal council has been taken, according to sources in the party. The decision was announced last night by the party's federal council, which met in Washington, D.C., to discuss the candidates for the upcoming elections.

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NP posters went up across the country, with dozens of posters adorning the streets and public spaces. The party's message is clear: 'NP is to fight independents.'
CP protests over cash for schools

The Conservative Party has strongly protested against the continued government funding of repair work to black schools damaged during unrest.

The CP's spokesman on Development Aid, Mr Schalk Pienaar, said in a statement that this was yet another example of how the government was prepared to throw "dearly-bought" white taxpayers' money into a bottomless pit to repair unrest damage without a similar contribution from the black community.

He said the assurance from the government that funding for such repairs would be borne by black parents and the community appeared to be another empty promise.

"This is in the light of continuing evidence from sources in black education that black headmasters are being given assurances that money will be provided to repair damaged schools and equipment."

"The CP had received information from certain people involved in black education who claimed that repairs to unrest-related damage cost up to R500 000 a school, for damage to the school grounds, headmasters' houses or storerooms. — Sapa.

(News by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)
British MP: I won’t see Nat Ministers

By Joe Openshaw

Because his request to visit Nelson Mandela had been refused by the authorities, there was little point in seeing Government Ministers, said British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman, who arrived in Johannesburg yesterday on a 10-day visit.

He told pressmen that although South African authorities had last week denied his request to see the ANC leader after many weeks of waiting for a reply, he had again asked to see him.

"If Mr PW Botha can see Mandela, why can’t I?" he asked.

Mr Kaufman, who re-emphasised his and his party’s opposition to apartheid and support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, said the Labour Party did not see significant reform in Mr PW de Klerk’s statements.

"We regard the only significant reform in South Africa as complete abandonment of apartheid and the release of all political prisoners, among whom Mr Mandela is a leading figure."

Mr Kaufman is in this country at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches and will also visit Namibia for two days.

His schedule includes visits to Johannesburg, Soweto, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Crossroads where he will meet community leaders from the UDP, Cosatu and Azanian People’s Organisation as well as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Govan Mbeki.

Former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan was among those who met Mr Kaufman at the airport.

British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kaufman is interviewed by the media on his arrival at Jan Smuts.
has moved

Columnist

Jani Allen

NEWSAPAPER columnist Jani Allen has

moved.

Terminology

Columnist Jani Allen is in the process of

changing her address as a result of

experiences with the newspaper's

management.

It is understood that Allen may be

moving to another city or state.

She is expected to be writing for

newsletters and blogs in the future.

(304) 304-304

The move is expected to

impact her regular readership.

She is in the process of

transitioning to a new

location and will be

contacting her subscribers

soon.

SOWEGAN Tuesday, July 19, 1999
Johannesburg. — The government was displaying greater flexibility and in time this should make it possible for domestic opposition forces and exiled groups to participate in "talks about talks," Anglo American chairman Mr. Gavin Relly said yesterday.

He said in his chairman's statement that the NP five-year plan, President P.W. Botha's meeting with Mr. Nelson Mandela and the government's guarded reaction to the Law Commission report were all "straws in the wind betokening greater flexibility."

If, after the election, the government took steps to release political prisoners and address the issues of the state of emergency and exiled movements, opposition groups would have to change their comfortable stance of protest politics, he said.  

Anglo an SA entity — Page 6
SPOKESMEN for the DP, NP and CP on the Witswatersrand have all condemned the state of voters' rolls for the September 6 election as a shambles, filled with the names of dead and missing voters.

A DP spokesman, speaking on behalf of Southern Transvaal region chairman Mr Peter Seotlhe, said the rolls were "almost a total disaster".

Johannesburg NP councillor Mr Robert Rousseau said he had written to the Department of Home Affairs about the voters' roll in the Benneckenheuw constituency.

He said there were many cases where a person on the voters' roll had been dead for more than five years, and cases where voters were overseas and were never coming back.

A DP spokesman said an extreme example of what canvassers were dealing with was Hillbrow, where there were about 19,000 voters, of which half had moved away.

A CP spokesman, Mr Arthur Kemp, said his party regretted that the delimitation commission and the voters' roll had not been sorted out before the election.

THE NP candidate in Sea Point, Mrs Adrienn Koch, says the difference between her opponent, Mr Colin Eglin, the sitting MP, and herself is that "Colin is on the way down while I am on the way up".

IF the NP wins the September elections, with the CP still in a strong position and the DP lagging behind, South Africa will face a tremendous onslaught from the rest of the world and violence in the country will erupt once again, according to the DP MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis.

Speaking at his campaign launch, Mr Ellis said the NP had been caught up in its own tactics of the past 41 years.

He said the whole issue of "swart gevaar" had made the majority of white people scared and threatened by what they thought would happen if blacks were given a real foothold in South African society.

Election footnotes

A CONGRESS of the newly formed National Federal Party (NFP) in Durban was inexplicably declared closed after adjourning for lunch on Sunday, according to the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Dr Farouk Meer.

He said members of the NIC attended the meeting at a restaurant and raised the issue of whether the NFP should participate in the elections and the tricameral Parliament.

"The motion was duly seconded, but the chairman, in an undemocratic manner, disallowed discussion of the motion," Dr Meer said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).
Cohen hopeful on Govt-ANC talks

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Both the African National Congress and the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, were talking negotiation, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, said on his return from a 10-day visit to Africa.

Mr de Klerk was looking for ways to negotiate and the ANC was working on a negotiation strategy, he said.

Interviewed on the television programme CNN International Hour yesterday, Mr Cohen's optimistic remarks and his complimentary statements about Mr de Klerk are expected to weigh heavily in favour of President Bush deciding to meet the National Party leader at the White House within the next week or so.

He said of Mr de Klerk: "He's a younger man. He's a man of ideas. He likes to listen. And I think he understands that South Africa cannot advance and the white community cannot be safe unless they reach a political settlement with the black majority.

"He's now looking for ways to reach that settlement. I believe that after he gets elected president in September, he will take some new initiatives."

Mr Cohen said Mr de Klerk wanted to negotiate: "He told me that he will be looking for ways, he will be looking for the true African leaders."

"I also stopped in Lusaka to talk to the ANC leadership on my way home, and I told them, 'De Klerk is going to want to negotiate. Will you be ready?' And they told me they're now actively working on a negotiation strategy."

"So that's why I'm optimistic. Both sides are talking negotiation," Mr Cohen said.

[News by D. Braun, 407 Marketview Square C, Falls Church, Virginia, USA]
PW-Mandela: A sign of a ‘truce’?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PW Botha-Nelson Mandela meeting could be likened to commander-in-chief in a war situation “sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce”, according to the National Party’s chief information officer, Mr Con Botha.

Mr Botha’s remarks, made during an interview with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s TV news broadcast last night, are the first indication that the government might be considering a cease-fire with the banned organisation.

In the most frank acknowledgement by the government of Mr Mandela’s role in helping to decide the country’s future, Mr Botha described the jailed ANC leader as “a key figure... in any future negotiation about South Africa’s constitutional future”.

A statement issued after the Tuynhuys encounter by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, described the meeting as a “courtesy visit” during which no policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted.

However, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, attributed great significance to the meeting.

The NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, is expected to make a statement about the Mandela meeting at the Cape Nat Congress on Saturday.

During the CBC interview, Mr Botha was asked whether the Tuynhuys meeting legitimised talking to the ANC.

He responded: “Let me explain it in war terms — one can really almost compare that to the commanders-in-chief sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce.

“But similarly, as in such a situation, one would certainly not welcome the rank-and-file of the two armies fraternising.”

Discussing Mr Mandela’s role in negotiations about the country’s future, Mr Botha said: “The (National) party accepts that Mr Mandela is a key figure in any future discussion... any future negotiation about South Africa’s constitutional future.

“After all he is the acknowledged leader of the ANC and, even apart from his leadership position, he is regarded as a symbol of black aspirations and so it would be foolish to accept that he is not an important part of the whole process.”

Asked whether the stage had been reached when “talks about talks” had started, Mr Botha said the National Party would wait for the ANC to display a “similar softening of its stance”.
UK bank pledges only
‘conditional’ SA loans

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's largest bank, National Westminster, says it de-

plores apartheid; will not lend money uncondition-
ally to the South African Government; and has taken care to ensure that loans are not for projects which support apartheid.

It has also denied that it will chair the 13-mem-

ber "technical commit-

tee" which is to negotiate with the South African Government on the re-
scheduling of its debts.

This is the bank's reply to news that it is to be-
come a target in a major international campaign by anti-apartheid groups to stop the rescheduling.

A bank spokesman said it was not policy to re-

strict activities on politi-
cal grounds. The bank lent money to countries with a wide variety of politi-
cal systems.

The campaign against rescheduling was an-
nounced at the weekend after a conference con-
vened by the ANC.
CP makes a meal of Mandela

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government is now trying to play down President Botha's meeting with African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as the Conservative Party threatens to turn it into the main issue of the election campaign.

Deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg issued a statement last night saying the NP's "new relationship with the ANC was fast becoming the dominating issue" of the election.

And CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the CP was changing the whole thrust of its campaign to focus on the Mandela issue.

Apart from a brief statement that there had been no change in the NP's insistence that the ANC renounce violence before the Government would talk to it, the NP has been largely silent over the last few days.

Dr. Hartzenberg said: "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will be brought to the attention of every voter in the country."

The meeting was no breakthrough for the country as the NP claimed, but for Mandela, the ANC and the communists.

Mr Mandela had said he still stood for everything he had stood for over the past 26 years and the NP now stood against almost everything it had fought for over the past 75 years.
Swapo accuses SA of violating resolution

By Jon Qwelane
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa was accused yesterday of violating United Nations Resolution 435 by allegedly continuing to send convoys of supplies into the south of Angola.

The accusation was said to be backed by photographic and eyewitness evidence.

Swapo said it was unsure if the supplies were intended for Unita rebels. If they were not, Swapo told a crowded media conference, the only conclusion was that the material was intended for use by the para-military unit, Koevoet, which would then cross into the north of Namibia from Angola "disguised as Swapo fighters, so as to give South Africa an excuse to let loose its soldiers".

Asked if Koevoet units had been transported across the border into southern Angola to be brought back as "Swapo guerillas", Mr Gerhard Roux of the Administrator-General’s office scoffed at the idea.

Swapo said General Hans Dreyer, chief of SWA Police in the north, had been handed photographs of South African military convoys crossing into Angola.

See Page 5.
The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, will meet the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Pretoria on Friday for talks on the progress of the UN peace plan in Namibia.

Dr Perez de Cuellar will not meet President Botha as some reports have said.

Mr Pik Botha said Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Dr Perez de Cuellar's special representative in Namibia, would also attend the Pretoria talks.

Dr Perez de Cuellar told reporters in Lisbon before leaving for Windhoek that one of his aims of his visit would be to ensure that the elections on November 1 for a constituent assembly were not marred by police interference.

This was a clear reference to UN concern about the role being played in the SWA Police by members of the controversial and now disbanded Koevoet counter-insurgency unit.
WASHINGTON — More than 100 House members have urged President George Bush not to meet NP leader F W de Klerk unless all political prisoners are freed, the state of emergency lifted and bans removed from all political organisations.

Six members of the president's own Republican Party were among those who signed a letter requesting that Bush set the conditions for meeting De Klerk. The rest were Democrats, headed by Howard Wolpe of Michigan.

The letter, dated June 29, was made public at a news conference yesterday.

Wolpe said there were reports that the president was planning to see De Klerk later this month. He added he had the impression the president had not made a decision on the meeting.

"To meet with the NP leader and anticipated president of SA without any significant change by the white minority regime would send a terribly wrong signal concerning the direction of US policy during the Bush administration," the letter said.

It suggested three conditions for a meeting:

☐ Release of all political prisoners jailed because of their opposition to SA's race policies — not just Nelson Mandela.

☐ End of the state of emergency, extended into its fourth year on June 9, and to restrictions on leaders of organisations outside Parliament.

☐ An end to bans on all political organisations. — Sapa-AP.
Families of executed plead for cause for all on deathrow

By Micked Kotlelo,
Pretoria Bureau

Family members of executed political activists yesterday submitted a petition to the office of the State President at the Union Buildings in Pretoria calling on him to grant clemency to all those on deathrow and to end capital punishment.

The families were accompanied by relatives of those who were still on death row in Pretoria for their participation in politically motivated actions.

A copy of the petition, signed by about 30 family members, some of whom had travelled from Cape Town, Durban and the Eastern Cape, was read at a lunch-hour press conference attended by lawyers, activists, representatives of the Austrian, Australian and Canadian embassies.

Mr Thembu Xelu said the petition read: "We the undersigned are all families of the people who have been hanged in Pretoria for their participation in politically motivated actions."

"We believe that we our firsthand exposure to the terrible implications of judicial killing qualifies us to tell you of the horrors that are associated with it and to plead with you for clemency on behalf of those who are waiting to die."

The petition said they had experienced anguish, torment, a sense of helplessness and anger while waiting for a loved one to die.

"We have all experienced the deep feelings of guilt and anger when our husbands, brothers and sons have been hanged."

Cold-blooded.

"With respect, Mr President, there is no justification for the cold-blooded and purposeless killing of another human being. The killing of our family members has not helped matters nor changed the situation in our country to a peaceful one," the statement said.

They said statistics had shown their deaths had not discouraged others from continuing to pursue ideals they regarded as noble.

By the hangings only perpetuated the spiral of violence which was gaining momentum in society, they said.

The killing of their relatives had caused immeasurable suffering and torment to the families and "the families of those who are still to die are being punished so brutally."

The petition said what might appear to the State President as "just retribution will most certainly be regarded to future generations as crimes."

Countries around the world were abolishing the death penalty and "in South Africa it is particularly appropriate that this be done now."

The problems of the country could only be solved if the concerned parties, including President Botha, could show compassion for those at his mercy.

The statement said the State President's clemency would be regarded as an act of statesmanship and a step towards reconciliation and peace.

The petition was accompanied by a list of 34 death row prisoners awaiting execution.
WASHINGTON — President Bush is expected to decide today whether to invite the leader of the National Party, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, to meet him in the White House.

The excellent impression Mr. de Klerk made on the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. Herman Cohen, is, according to sources, almost certain to clinch a meeting in the White House.

The Bush administration is keen to act as the catalyst to bring the various South African parties to the negotiating table, and part of its strategy is to meet a broad range of South African leaders.

If Mr. Bush gives the green light to the meeting, the White House is likely to point out that he has recently met with leaders of the African National Congress, Mr. Oliver Tambo, and the president of the African National Congress, Mr. Oliver Tambo, would also be on the cards.

If Mr. de Klerk does come to Washington, it will have to be either next week or in the first week of next month. Sources say he cannot accommodate a visit after that date because of his commitments in the election campaign. — Associated Press.
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent
National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha flew to Maputo today for meetings which could be vital for regional peace and co-operation.

It seemed highly likely they would meet Kenyan president, Mr Daniel arap Moi, though the South African Government had no prior indication that a meeting was scheduled.

Today's meeting could bring the 10 countries of southern Africa closer to a joint summit on regional co-operation.

Mr Botha said before leaving that his "dream" of a Marshall Plan-style venture to upgrade southern Africa - involving European capital and South African know-how - could be advanced by the meeting with President Chissano.

The "Marshall Plan" proposal was discussed with European leaders earlier this year by Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk.

"Eventually all the Frontline states and ourselves will have to join. There is no way we can combine our infrastructure unless we get together," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha also laid heavy emphasis on the need to end the devastating war in Mozambique.

BOOST IMAGE

"If we achieve success there it will be a boost for South Africa's image as a regional power and peacemaker," he said.

It seems likely the presence of President Moi is linked to reconciliation moves between Frelimo and Renamo in which South Africa has played a part.

It is also understood that other regional leaders may play an important role in ending the war. It is known, for instance, that President Chissano contributed significantly to bringing the warring Angolan parties together in Zaire recently and there is some speculation that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi might return the compliment in Mozambique.

Mr de Klerk said before leaving today there was no doubt South Africa and its regional neighbours could only gain from co-operation.

He said the European leaders he had met on his recent tour had stressed the important role South Africa could play.
Survey in Gardens shows many Nat supporters undecided

DP surges ahead

By TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Ken Andrew is well ahead of the National Party in Cape Town's Gardens constituency, amid signs that the DP has brought a new dimension to the fray.

A survey shows a large number of undecided National Party supporters, or people who will not say at this stage how they will vote.

Researchers say there are signs of a "great loosening of the bonds within the NP".

In a poll conducted in the constituency by Marketing and Media Research, 42 percent said they would vote for Mr Andrew, while 16 percent said they would support the NP's Mr Ron Miller.

The number of undecided voters was 24 percent, while 19 percent were not prepared to say how they would vote.

This was the result of the second general election opinion poll commissioned by The Argus. Marketing and Media Research correctly predicted the result in six key constituencies polled in the 1987 election.

Under 34

Most of Mr Andrew's support comes from people under 34, while, contrary to other areas, a third of those over 50 are uncertain. Researchers say this could mean the Democratic Party has brought a "new dimension" to the fray.

The poll also shows that one in four traditional Nationalists is uncertain who to vote for. Former Progressive Federal Party supporters are more certain.
Change can’t be stopped, says DP

NELSPRUIT — The South African nation has been divided and bullied for far too long, said Mr Tony Dutton, the party’s prospective candidate in Boksburg.

Speaking to more than 200 supporters at a DP fund-raising rally here, he said South Africans were yearning for stability and racial harmony.

"Nobody knows all the answers but one thing is definite: change is coming and, like a tide. it is advancing rapidly and cannot be stopped," he said.

Everything the Conservative Party was doing was what it had learnt from the Nats, only it was applying racism more fiercely.

Comparing Boksburg to "white" South Africa, Mr Dutton said: "Like South Africa, which has had to contend with sanctions, Boksburg has experienced crippling boycotts.

"The town's voter breakdown during the 1987 election was roughly the same as that of the country as a whole. The age group and language distribution is virtually identical.

"Like people overseas who want nothing to do with South Africa, so, too, there are South Africans who refuse to associate with the inhabitants of Boksburg, just because they happen to live there."

The Nats never dreamt of losing Boksburg, but they got hammered.

"Now, on September 6, they're going to be beaten again, this time by the Democratic Party," he told the cheering audience.

Describing the future as a "highway of hope", Mr Dutton said South Africa with a DP government would mean more money, more employment, more security and a great country accepted and respected by the outside world.

At the end of the meeting, Nelspruit's former mayor, Mr Brian Shobrooke, who lost last year's municipal election, announced he had resigned from the National Party after 20 decades as a member.

(Byron, by Clyde Johnson, Signet Centre, Dr.
West Street, Nelspruit.

20-AUG-87)
No poll deals for DP Worrall

PORT NATAL — Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall yesterday stressed that the DP would make no election deals with the National Party or the Conservative Party.

He told a public meeting in Port Natal that suggestions of collusion with the CP and the NP were "nonsense".

The DP's decision to fight on a wide basis reflected the assumption that white South African politics had entered a new era.

He said the NP was the effective party of the first era of South African politics, the era of domination by white interests and apartheid.

"We are into a new era in which the interests of all South Africans have to be taken into account and which therefore requires either a political realignment which relocates the bulk of the National Party's supporters or which is dominated by a new party."

This, he said, was because the NP lacked the credibility to build the new South Africa.

He said there was "fire in the belly" of the DP. "a real commitment to go for power; a sense that the tide has turned against the NP, and a conviction that history is on the side of the DP."

This, he believed, was the difference between the DP and its major "verligte" predecessors.

Dr Worrall said putting NP candidate Mr Glen Bobb against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan was a mistake on two counts.

"Firstly, it sends all the wrong messages into Africa and, secondly, it negates all claims the NP has of being serious about negotiating the political future."

He said no individual white politician had the credibility which Mr Malan enjoyed in Africa and within extra-parliamentary politics.

Criticism of DP strategy ignored what politics was about: "It is going for power and letting the people speak."

"In the limited democracy which South Africa is, this means letting white South Africans say goodbye and good riddance to apartheid and National Party-dominated politics." — Sopa.

(Report by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
NOT PREPARED

19% 23%
DON'T KNOW
16%
WON MINTER
29%
W. KEN ANDREW

DP

EX-DEPUTY MINISTER CHOSN

DP TO BEAT NARS IN GARDENS

ANDREW AHEAD IN CAP STEEL, ACCORDING TO SURVEY

Opinion poll samples cover a wide range

THE SIR, BANGABANDHU 1988
**Economy worst in free world**

Political Correspondent

THE Nationalists had made more of a mess of the economy than any government this side of the iron curtain", DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

Speaking at a public meeting in Hilton, Dr De Beer went on to qualify his statement, saying that Chile and Argentina had possibly done worse.

"It is necessary to emphasise that apartheid and economic decline are not two separate problems. They are aspects of the same problem."

"The Nats cannot solve the problem because the Nats are the problem," he said.

Dr De Beer said that people had for several years been concerned about the policy of apartheid and felt a "deep anxiety" about the economic condition in South Africa.

"Only now is it being widely understood that these two problems are in fact one; it is apartheid that is ruining our basically strong economic structure."

He noted that the governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, had noted on several occasions that South Africa would not solve its economic problems until the country made major political changes.

This week Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Rolly endorsed this by stating that "without rapid constitutional change to satisfy the aspirations of all South Africans, South Africa cannot hope to have an economy strong enough to ensure optimal development".

In the circumstances it was not surprising that voters were "simply fed up".

Dr De Beer added: "Everywhere, one hears people say, 'I am finished with the Nats'."

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)
Parties watch for poll coverage bias

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

INTER-PARTY debates and panel discussions will be key elements of the SABC's coverage for the September 6 poll.

Opposition parties have voiced a guarded welcome, tempered with "suspicion" based on what they say is a partisan tradition in South African broadcasting. They will be watching the box to make sure the corporation sticks to its promise to be impartial.

Auckland Park is borrowing an idea from parliament — tried out during this year's session — in mini-debates planned for TV and radio.

These will be a feature of 15-minute election reviews in Network on weekdays from July 24. Each will focus on a single question and be chaired by an SABC journalist.

Other debates in these daily reviews will look at topics agreed on by the parties. Parties will also choose their representatives.

See page 16.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Former bus conductress for Natal CP

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN: — A former Cape Town bus conductress who went on to graduate from Stellenbosch University, Miss Ems van der Merwe, is to stand for the Conservative Party in Maritzburg North, the CP announced today.

Mr Nick Fourie, an Amat使之 businessman, is to stand for the party in the Umzazi constituency.

Both these seats now become three-way fights between the CP, the Democratic Party and the sitting National Party MPs, and brings to 15 the number of seats the CP is fighting in Natal.

(Report by B M Challenge, 85 Field Street, Durban)
business vote

Garner the Vision Will 2044

A Credible
Great ‘contest between two cunning old bulls’

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

The recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and President P W Botha was seen by one political observer as a “contest between two cunning old bulls”. And as the dust settles on that initial and historic contact in Mr Botha’s office in Cape Town a fortnight ago, a fascinating question arises: Who outmanoeuvred whom?

Sitting through the statements and reactions to the Mandela-Botha talks, a curious point emerges: those closest to the ANC leader ideologically seem to fear most that he may have lured into a trap and that his status as prisoner may have put him at too great a disadvantage in the ensuing battle of wits.

Thus, immediately after news of the meeting broke, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, described the meeting as a strategy devised “by the ruling minority to sow confusion in the minds of black people and the outside world”.

The statement, issued on behalf of the Mandela family and community leaders in Soweto, has a defensive tone: it stresses no significance should be attached to a meeting taking place in the “context of a prisoner and his captor”.

The possibility that Mr Mandela may have used the meeting to his own advantage—and to that of the “people’s movement” as he refers to the ANC—does not seem to have been considered.

The ANC itself was similarly careful to downplay the importance of the talks, as if it, too, feared that the Government rather than Mr Mandela would make political capital out of the meeting.

‘PR exercise’

It dismissed the talks as a “public relations exercise” designed to appeal to white voters in the election and to impress world opinion.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) sounded a cautionary note in its statement: it warned that the Mandela-Botha talks had been seen in the context of the ongoing police investigation into the death of the young black activist, Stompie Mihutsi.

Deep suspicions about Government motives apart, the SACC’s counsel of caution was prompted by two specific developments.

The first was a radio report on the Government-controlled SABC that a police dossier linking Mrs Winnie Mandela to the death of 14-year-old Stompie had been handed to the Attorney-General.

The second was the news that police had raided Mr Mandela’s original Soweto home (presumably as part of their investigation into Stompie’s death) while the ANC leader was talking to Mr Botha.

It was against that background that the SACC warned: “It is our view that the Government has an ace up its sleeve—namely the Stompie issue.”

But Mr Mandela himself was not without cards to extend the SACC’s metaphor—in his exchange with Mr Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, who visited Mr Mandela shortly after his meeting with Mr Botha, says: “Don’t underestimate him.”

Assessing the situation, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who has done more than anyone else to promote dialogue with the ANC, says: “I haven’t the slightest doubt that the ANC has gained enormously.”

Dr Slabbert draws attention to the vast sums of money spent by Mr Botha in his decade-long propaganda campaign depicting the ANC as part of a communist-inspired onslaught.

He concludes: “Now he (Mr Botha) ends up saying, I wasted it all. Come and have a cup of tea.”

Mr Mandela’s statement on the meeting suggests, on close reading, a man who is choosing his words carefully and seeking to turn the situation to his advantage.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town wonders whether the talks were not part of a wider Government strategy to drive a wedge between the internal and external wings of the ANC by manoeuvring Mr Mandela into “rejecting armed struggle”.

Mr Mandela’s statement, however, makes it clear that his position has not changed “over the past 28 years”.

The phrase “over the past 28 years” is not coincidental. The ANC’s armed struggle began 28 years ago, when, in 1961, as a sequel to its banning its underground army Umkhonto we Sizwe launched its first sabotage attacks.

Reading between the lines, Mr Mandela appears to be saying he still endorses armed struggle—he was one of Umkhonto’s original commanders—and will continue to do so until, and unless, the banning of the ANC is lifted.

Doubts removed

Any doubt over Mr Mandela’s meaning is removed by his clarifying point: “I want dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, the ANC is the only way of ending the violence and bringing peace to our country.”

Later on he says: “I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage.”

He seems to be saying he is not a supplicant begging for his freedom.

Mr Mandela comes across as a man who knows his own mind, one who is coolly aware of his aims and who, at the age of 71 and after 27 years in jail, is determined to pursue them with all his being...
FA talks in balance

SOUTHAMPTON, Wednesday, July 19, 1999

MORE than 100 congressmen have voted Freedom Caucus Ban on

SAAAP

Addressing the lead to the

Right Congressmen have voted Freedom Caucus Ban on

WP

Once rendering

During the 1990's, war made

at the Democratic National

Party's national convention. The

other party leader noted

that a series of talks

between the Freedom Caucus

Ban on

SAAAP
Real negotiations
We are all for

THE IMPRINTS MEETING

Page 7
SOWTAN Wednesday July 9 1994

3049
Clear Winner

We appeal to the people of the world to free the 34 prisoners on death row and extend our sympathy to all those who are suffering under the search of the Tushar government. The petition calls on the government to release the prisoners. We call on the people to boycott their government and to demand the release of the prisoners. The petition is supported by leading members of the National Congress and the National Organization of the Workers. The petition is supported by the National Union of the Workers. We call on the people to support the petition and to demand the release of the prisoners.
**Lusaka shuttle yields nothing concrete**

A DELEGATION from Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) returned from their passage to Lusaka with "no consensus on a joint statement, but a substantial measure of agreement between the two (LHR and ANC) delegations on the need to protect individual rights and the nature of a Bill of Rights to achieve this purpose," according to Mr Jules Browde, the national chairman of LHR.

In response to a question posed to the delegation on whether the LHR would consider visiting the PAC, there was initially a shuffling of feet, a hush here and there, followed by Browde saying: "We were invited to Lusaka by the ANC. If the PAC extends an invitation, we would consider it seriously."

When the Five Freedoms Forum returned from Lusaka they had a similar message: The ANC valued input and encouraged dialogue in Lusaka.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Mr Brian Corrin said the ANC "are those talks (between LHR & ANC) at the beginning of many more to come."

By dict of the invitation to the lawyers and the "valued input" by other pilgrims to Lusaka, it appears as if the ANC is still in the process of formulating a blueprint.

For many years the organisation has prudently guarded close to the Freedom Charter.

FOCUS

"Faced with doubts at grassroots level after a meeting with top level business in 1985, the ANC was forced to make up for what appeared to be a grave error. Four years later they still entertain the opinion of people like the LHR, FFF and the other South Africans who regularly talk to Lusaka."

To date all the pilgrims have been high profile personalities - with something to lose, as it were. Gavin Ryle, D. J. Ceresa, the FFF and the LHR to earner but four. As grassroots level these visits mean little. It is simple arithmetic that three plus four equals seven. Applied to the situation here, as grassroots, people need a set of inalienable rights and there are certain requirements needed to fulfill them.

There is a variation on the above analogy though. Ten less men also give seven. Now the question. With all these visits to the ANC, is the liberal South African trying to prevent the loss of face?"

One thing is certain: nobody has been going to the ANC to provide the forum to achieve the seven..."

But who will live the street when the human man comes? Will it be toothless grins or the pilgrims who have been a path through the African bush in Lusaka whose input was so valued? How then does the section was to group political rights and a constitutional bill of rights structured on individuality. The LHR said the Constitution's paper in some respects on the right to freedom of speech, in particular, white privilege.

The ANC's Bill guarantees the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex."

Contrary to the message brought back by the FFF and the ANC's draft Charter for economic policy in its constitutional guidelines, the ANC promises "a united economy, in which private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.

It is a clearly defined policy by any standards, clear to the belief that "the African experience with socialism was fraught with problems."

This explains the ANC's terms of reference to the Apartheid, the LHR, the winning. Louis Lean and Zinn and the discomfort in their relations with the disaffected white citizens of South Africa.

After all, the pilgrims to live the street that they were comfortable middle class heroes.

Is the ANC seeking a mandate from the liberals and what does this mean to the oppressed?"

Is this a threat to the ANC's future South Africa? Nobody enjoyed a trip to Lusaka.

Anglo American Corporation chairman Gavin Ryle enjoyed a trip to Lusaka.

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment. One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or editor directly.

Address: The Media Council, PO Box 522, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: 4219421. Inquiries are welcome.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaasen and Sue Riddell is sub-edited, headlined and scattered by Sydney Mathibho. All of 61 Commando Road, Indaba, West, Johannesburg.

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WE'D BE HAPPIER ABOUT THIS RESTRICTION IF SOUTH AFRICA HAD GENERAL PRESS FREEDOM.
Boksburg councillor put up to contest Hillbrow seat for CP.

EDITH BULBRING

THE CP's chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council, T J Ferreira, is to contest Hillbrow for his party in the General Election — and this could give the DP candidate the edge against his NP opponent.

It is forecast Hillbrow will be one of Johannesburg's most hotly contested seats.

The CP is expected to fight Hillbrow with the slogan: "What we did in Boksburg, we will do in Hillbrow."

The CP is expected also to announce candidates in Bezuidenhout and Edenvale, both of which the DP hopes to win from the NP.

The CP may also fight Randburg, which is being contested by DP co-leader Wynand Malan and the NP's Glenn Balla.

The PFP lost the Hillbrow seat to the NP in 1987 by 89 votes, while the CP obtained more than 1 000. The NP MP on de Beer was then sentenced by a Johannesburg magistrate to three years jail for electoral fraud.

The CP expects to better their voting score in this election.

The Edenvale seat was lost to the NP by 168 votes last election. A CP presence there could jeopardise the NP's tenuous hold on it.

The CP's move to contest Randburg follows the visit by an NP Randburg councillor, Stephen van Meiranger, to the ANC with an analytic delegation. This is said to have alienated right-wing Nats in Randburg.

Ferreira said yesterday he was going into the Hillbrow constituency deliberately as the differences between the NP and the CP were best highlighted by comparing the differences between Boksburg and Hillbrow.
ANC discussion paper on the issue of negotiations

The ANC, worried that it may be caught off guard by a sudden move to negotiate in SA, has decided to prepare for negotiations. Business Day publishes the text of an ANC discussion paper as a contribution to the developing debate.

1. ONCE MORE the question of a negotiated set-tlement is being raised with growing insistence. It is necessary that the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole should discuss this issue in order to arrive at a common view.

2. VARIOUS factors in world politics have brought this matter to the fore. Internationally, there is a tendency towards defence and retaliation in the cold war, accompanied by serious efforts to resolve outstanding problems through negotiations.

3. IN ADDITION is the issue of the reduction of conventional forces that are subjects of negotiation by the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, efforts are also being made to address the matter of regional conflicts. The latter has, in varying degrees, affected almost all areas as Central America, Western Sahara, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, South Africa and South West Africa.

4. THIS Frontrista regime has participated in the negotiations concerning South West Africa and is in the execution of the agreements reached at, which involve the withdrawal of the SA army from Namibia and the call for elections and the other aspects of the agreement. The ANC as well as other international community is committed to the resolution of this conflict by negotiation.

5. IN addion, we view the change of leadership in the Front in September 1981, replacing P.W. Botha, as signalling the beginning of a series of changes in policy, as a result of which the Frontrista regime would seek to negotiate to end the apartheid system. Furthermore, we encourage this view, looking at the developments in this regime, which have been making various statements indicating that they are ready to enter into negotiations to end the system of white domination.

6. THERE is also recognition of the fact that the government will be driven to a deepening political and economic crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The government is therefore made that these negotiations will be characterized by their leaders without being accompanied by the genuine representatives of the people. This is the position of the ANC.

7. IT IS the aim of this overall international and regional situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated resolution of the SA question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now. The new US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, has stated publicly that his approach to the negotiations with the ANC and the SA government will be guided by the principles of the Geneva Convention and the Declaration on the Rights of the People of Namibia.

8. THE reality we face, therefore, is that all manner of forces, both within our own country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations. These initiatives will, among other things, seek to persuade the Frontist regime to enter into such negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people.

9. THIS question has now been raised in a series of meetings between the ANC and the government, and it is clear that the government is prepared to negotiate in order to end the conflict.

10. THE ANC, worried that it may be caught off guard by a sudden move to negotiate in SA, has decided to prepare for negotiations. Business Day publishes the text of an ANC discussion paper as a contribution to the developing debate.

11. IT HAS long been evident that the ANC and the government are both committed to a negotiated settlement of the conflict. The ANC has always been committed to the principle of a negotiated settlement as the only viable way to end the conflict.

12. THE ANC has been involved in discussions with the government on a number of issues, including the question of a negotiated settlement of the conflict. The ANC has always been committed to the principle of a negotiated settlement as the only viable way to end the conflict.

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Court rejects MP's plea to delay law suit

By Glen Elms, West Rand Bureau

An application by CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis to postpone a civil court case in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court was rejected and the defamation action he has brought against the Deputy Minister of Law and Order will continue next week.

Mr Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs, is claiming R5,000 damages from the National Party. Advocate Leon Wessels and Mr L van Rooyen after an advertisement in the Krugersdorp News just before the May 1987 elections. He claims he was incorrectly quoted as advocating compulsory sterilisation in a bid to decrease the black population.

He further claims the advertisement harmed his reputation and compelled several PFP members who would have abstained from voting, to vote for the NP.

Mr Derby-Lewis lost in the election by 66 votes but was subsequently nominated to Parliament by the Conservative Party.

Yesterday the court heard an application for the postponement of the trial which is set to resume on Monday.

Mr Derby-Lewis said Monday was Nomination Court day which made it very difficult to prepare for the trial as he had a large number of documents that needed studying in preparation for the court proceedings.

Mr Leon Wessels, the National Party and Mr Van Rooyen opposed the application. Mr Wessels said it would be in the interests of all parties to finalise the case as soon as possible.

The magistrate, Mr SW van Niekerk, said the applicant knew when the court dates were and should have seen that he was ready. A postponement should have been applied for much earlier and not on June 28. His reasons for wanting the case postponed were not justified and the case would continue as arranged on Monday at noon.
FORMER Sanlam chief Andrew Wassenaar questions whether the NP, rather than the taxpayer, should bear the costs for the commission of inquiry which investigated Chris Ball's involvement in providing funds for advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC in 1987.

The commission was appointed after Ball, then Barclays MD, denied an accusation by President PW Botha that he had advanced the money for the advertisements. It found Ball authorized a R100,000 overdraft for Yusuf Surtie, knowing the money was being borrowed on behalf of the UDF to pay for the advertisements.

In his book "Squandered Assets", Wassenaar notes that no charges were brought against Ball or the bank after the commission's report.

"Is this an indication that the purpose of the commission of inquiry was purely to prove political disloyalty, and not to prove a crime? There is no inquiry into the placing of an advertisement, but no allegation of fraud or embezzlement of funds.

"An answer to this question was required to prove whether the State President's statement in Parliament was justified. The issue at stake appears to be entirely of a political nature."

He asks whether the taxpayer should pay for the Ball inquiry, or whether the NP should foot the bill.
Wassenaar 'talking nonsense'

THE Public Servants Association
(PSA) has "irrefutably proven" worker's salaries are substantially lower than those earned in the private sector, PSA GM-Flame Olivier said yesterday.

He described the claim by former Sanlam chief Andreas Wassenaar that MPs and government workers' salaries were the root cause of the inflation problem as "nonsense".

Private consultants' investigations showed beyond question that public servants lagged well behind private sector workers.

Wassenaar claimed that MPs and public service salaries accounted for nearly 50% of state spending and were a political and constitutional problem.

Most SA voters had supported a government that had introduced a bicameral parliament and this was supported by a greater public service.

If, as Wassenaar suggested in his book Squandered Assets, government-imposed public service cuts-and-granted smaller salary increases-"essential work would be neglected and resignations could reach disastrous proportions," Olivier said.

Wassenaar claimed government workers were relatively overpaid and this year's 15% increases, with notch rises, amounted to about 20%.

"He forgets the 1983 pay freeze, so if he is looking for a scapegoat he must look elsewhere for the prime cause of inflation and not at the public service," Olivier added.
NP hopes of Pinetown win pinned on Oliver

Political Reporter
National Party hopes of regaining parliamentary control of Pinetown, a Natal seat it captured for the first time in 1977 and subsequently lost to the former Progressive Federal Party in 1981, seem to be remote.

Its hopes have been pinned on Mr Bob Oliver (38), a local businessman and town councillor who served on the Natal Provincial Council from 1981 to 1986 under the banner of the now-defunct New Republic Party.

Mr Oliver, who joined the NP in 1987 as a result of the election alliance between the PFP and NRP that year, will make his first bid for Parliament on September 6.

His DP opponent, sitting MP Mr Roger Burrows (44), was elected to Parliament in a 1984 by-election after the death of PFP MP Mr Harry Pitman.

The PFP's large 1981 majority of 2,226 votes dwindled to a mere 880 in 1984, but Mr Burrows — the PFP's former provincial leader — increased his majority to a comfortable 2,394 votes in 1987.

On the outskirts of Durban, the constituency embraces the upper middle class suburbs of Westville, Dawncliffe and Berea West, as well as fast-expanding industrial areas such as Pinetown and New Germany.
ANGOLAN Justice Minister Fernando van Dunem saw the unacceptability of SA's political system as a block to improved relations with SA, DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday.

In a statement issued after his return from Lusaka, Luanda and Maputo, Malan said his DP delegation spent two hours with Van Dunem and his justice and foreign affairs officials.

Malan said issues raised by the delegates included reconciliation with Unita, the implementation of resolution 435 and economic co-operation and development in the region. 8 Dec 79. 20-7-79

The DP delegation argued that constructive links, independent of government, could be established with Angola.

Van Dunem said his government was committed to reconstructing the framework of the country's constitution. Angola foresaw a political solution to its war with Unita, and did not want to solve it by military means.
Kanuza extends invitation to De Klerk

Zambians have IMF support for reform
spokesman said. Evans was told to fill a plastic bag with cash. The man then left the building. Police taken in bank robberies. The order also provided for withholding information regarded as being of possible use to robbers.

Many ‘ill-informed’ about negotiation process

NEGOTIATION is racing towards the top of SA’s political agenda while many leaders — and the public — remain extremely ill-informed about the process, KwaZulu Natal Indaba executive director Peter Mansfield said yesterday. Mansfield told a Negotiation Skills Training launch audience that the lack of understanding and skills required created a serious risk of expectations being pitched too high. One “big Indaba” would not provide the solution to SA’s problems.
SA, US both waiting for firm dates

‘Wrangle over Bush meeting scuttled trip’

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

Washington

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk’s proposed visit to Washington may have been scuttled because of the South African Government’s insistence that it be subject to a meeting with President Bush.

The Government’s sudden announcement that it was no longer convenient for Mr de Klerk to visit Washington, owing to election commitments, ended weeks of speculation about the visit and a possible meeting with President Bush.

The State Department said in reaction it had hoped Mr de Klerk would have been able to meet the Secretary of State, Mr Jim Baker.

Today, however, South African diplomatic sources said the meeting with President Bush was called off because the Americans placed ‘unacceptable conditions’ for the meeting. They did not elaborate.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement last night that Mr de Klerk would not visit the US because of election commitments and also because resistance to a meeting in the US might harm US-SA relations.

A State Department spokesman said: “We sympathise with the concerns expressed by the South African Government about such a visit during an election pending in South Africa. We hope that Mr de Klerk will be able to visit Washington at some mutually convenient time in the future.”

However, American sources said such a meeting would be unlikely after the election if Mr de Klerk was elected State President. Washington has little enthusiasm for entertaining an incumbent South African State President, which would involve all the trappings of a state visit.

American and South African officials in Washington yesterday insisted they had been wait-
American diplomatic sources said the meeting with President Bush was called off because the Americans placed "unacceptable conditions" for the meeting. They did not elaborate.

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American and South African officials in Washington yesterday insisted they had been waiting for the other side to come up with dates for a visit.

White House officials said Mr de Klerk had been invited by the Secretary of State to visit the US. Until yesterday, they said, the South African Government had not officially replied.

No decision had been made by US officials about a meeting between Mr Bush and Mr de Klerk, a spokesman said.

The spokesman said there had been speculation that Mr de Klerk would visit the US in the next two weeks, but no definite date had been given.

But South African sources say Pretoria had been waiting for a firm invitation from the US Government, including specific dates for a visit.

Until yesterday, they said, no dates had been proposed.

According to one US source, the South African Government had been pressing for a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Bush, even though such a meeting had not been proposed.

US opinion has been sharply divided about such a meeting.

Some elements in the State Department and the White House were in favour of it, as part of a broader policy of Mr Bush meeting a range of South African leaders. Others, and more than 100 members of Congress, vehemently opposed it, believing it would send the wrong signal to white South Africans.

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A Government plan to resettle about 500,000 people to the west of the township will be shelved in the wake of political surveys that indicate high-density development.

The Transvaal provincial government has suspended planning, despite mining houses having been surveyed for logical sites.

These sinkholes were threat to the lives of many of the two million people in the schemes, to Soweto and to the dzungu area on the near Nigel.

Because of the winter, the Department of Planning and the TPA was looking at ways to alleviate the pressures on the ships in the PWV, particularly Soweto.

The new "m" south of Johannesburg, as proposed, would be quite controversial, with the size of Johan-

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Maputo meeting... Mr F W de Klerk with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique during yesterday's talks.
Reforms will be rewarded, De Klerk is told

Chissano offers SA a message of hope

Staff Reporter

MAPUTO — President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has dangled a promise of South Africa being accepted by its African neighbours if there is change in the country.

He was addressing a news conference yesterday after a meeting lasting more than three hours with National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The leaders broke their schedule, cancelling lunch to discuss talks on Mozambique’s internal war and how South Africa could help end relations between the two countries, a “Marshall Plan” for southern Africa; and the National Party’s plan of action.

Process of change

Mr Chissano’s hint of a prize for progress in South Africa came after he had said he was pleased to hear of the NP’s intentions to have a united South Africa and equality for all.

He said Mozambique was prepared to help this become reality.

Asked how, he replied: “If there is a sound process of change in South Africa, I think it will be part of the solution.” It would help create confidence among all Africans in the region.

Referring to remarks at a news conference on Monday that “some elements in South Africa” — not the SADF were aiding the rebel Renamo group, Mr Chissano said he could offer no proof.

If an aircraft came from South Africa, it was hard to say who the pilot was and who was behind him, he said.

“I accept assurances that the Government of South Africa doesn’t do it.”

Cycle of violence

Referring to the possibility of supplies to Renamo, Mr de Klerk said his Government had been looking and would look into any particulars given.

He added that South Africa was prepared to play a constructive role in the economic field, resumption of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme and related matters.

“Development must go hand in hand with making of the political peace.”

Sources said a considerable part of the talks was taken up discussing the idea of a “Marshall Plan”, first raised by Mr Botha several months ago.

He envisaged a partnership between Europe, South Africa and southern African states. Mr Botha wanted a project where European money and South African know-how and management could steer the region away from what had happened in much of Africa.
Sincerity needed for ANC talks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC would respond positively to negotiations if there was a sincere approach by the government, Democratic Party candidates Mr. Tian van der Merwe and Mr. Jannie Momberg said yesterday.

"I have very little doubt that if a sincere approach is made from the government's side that there will be a positive response from the ANC," Mr. Van der Merwe said.

Mr. Momberg said: "I really believe that they have shifted in their approach to negotiations and their willingness to discuss with the National Party their reasons for not negotiating at this stage is a positive development."

Both Mr. Van der Merwe and Mr. Momberg were part of a four-person DP delegation which met a top-ranking ANC delegation in Lusaka on Saturday.

Mr. Van der Merwe said the discussions were "long and very serious" while Mr. Momberg described them as "bluntly frank."

Mr. Momberg said: "We should talk to the ANC. The government should talk to the ANC. "I think the DP and ANC have the same ultimate end product — a non-racial democracy — but it is on how we get there that we differ."

Both Mr. Momberg and Mr. Van der Merwe said the DP delegation had clashed with the ANC over the use of violence.

Mr. Van der Merwe said: "I think one must accept that there is enormous mistrust and it will require a very substantial new approach from the government side to bridge the gap created by the mistrust, but I nevertheless have no doubt that it can be done. "However, it is clear that the approach has to come substantially from the government. The ball is in the government's court."
NP plan an ‘invitation to backward’

Political Correspondent

THE National Party’s latest plan to investigate complaints about Group Areas contraventions marked a return to racial snooping and the “racist vendettas” of the 1950s, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

“It is an invitation to the most reactionary, racist and backward elements in our society to express themselves,” he told a meeting in Milnerton.

Dr Worrall was reacting to the government plan to appoint scores of officials countrywide by August 1 to probe alleged contraventions of the Act.

“We are back to the days when snooping is encouraged — when, because a person’s skin is slightly darker than somebody else’s or their hair is curlier than others, other people are encouraged to delve into their background.

“No adherent of any one of the world’s great religions — not to limit oneself to the Judaeo-Christian tradition — can approve of procedures of this kind.”

Dr Worrall said the procedures to which the NP was resorting would cause “fear, victimisation and bitterness” and would put an enormous strain on the families concerned.

“This is a misguided, ignorant and cruel measure which has no place in the SA of 1989.”

(Report by A Johnson, 102 St George’s Street, Cape Town).
Change will open the door — Chissano

MOZAMBICAN President Joaquim Chissano said yesterday SA could take its place in the community of southern African nations if there was a sound process of change in the country.

Chissano was speaking at a Press conference in Maputo after a three-and-a-half hour marathon meeting with NP leader FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

More than an hour was spent discussing Botha's "Marshall plan" to promote economic development and regional co-operation in southern Africa.

The plan seeks to end SA's isolation from its neighbours and instead get the countries of the region to work together to promote development.

According to Chissano, SA's isolation from its neighbours would end if government embarked on a sound process of change. In that event, the countries of the region would work with SA to help solve its problems.

PRETORIA — NP leader FW de Klerk has turned down an invitation from the US Secretary of State James Baker to visit the US.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said last night: "It appears that elements within the American Congress are intent on making the visit controversial as possible." He said De Klerk's programme was full due to the elections, and it would be difficult to fit in a visit, other than on the dates originally set aside for a US visit.

Because of these two factors, he had informed Baker a visit by De Klerk before the elections would not advance good relations between the two countries.

Chissano said De Klerk had assured him the SA government was committed to working for unity and equal opportunities for all in SA.

He had been pleased to hear the NP did not intend dragging out these reforms over a long period, but realised change had to come quickly.

"During the mandate of the future President this problem of discrimination should be solved so that there will be a real democracy in SA."

"We are prepared to help this process become a reality," he added.

Asked how, Chissano said the group of countries in southern Africa was searching for ways to end discrimination in SA.

"If there is a process, a sound process, of change in SA, I think that SA will become part of this group."

While avoiding describing Renamo as a terrorist organisation, he said: "Renamo should stop violence and become involved and participate in the peaceful development of Mozambique."

SOURCE AT THE MEETING SAID a great deal of time was spent discussing the role Chissano could play in getting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe — the only Frontline leader opposed to improved cooperation with SA — to come on board. Important developments in this respect could be expected in the next few weeks, the sources said.

While Chissano is said to have insisted that SA take certain steps before the "Marshall plan" could be implemented, the SA delegation argued that the fact that certain countries in the region had internal problems should not stand in the way of regional cooperation.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said that at the end of the meeting, it was generally accepted regional cooperation could play a role in solving SA's problems.

Chissano said he had once again been assured, and accepted, the assurances, that the SA government was not aiding the rebels. However, he did not rule out the possibility that certain elements in SA could be aiding them.

De Klerk said the countries of southern Africa needed to grasp the opportunity created by recent developments to work for peace and fulfil the potential of the region.

SA, he said, was prepared to play a constructive role in assisting the peace initiative in Mozambique, which is being spearheaded by Kenyan leader Daniel arap Moi who arrives in Maputo today.

In assisting Mozambique, de Klerk said, economic development would be given a high priority as "development must go hand in hand with the seeking of political peace."

Botha declined to comment on what economic initiatives SA was taking in Mozambique.
 Millions in pensions and gratuities awaiting SA’s top

THE retirement of present MPs, Ministers and members of the President’s Council will cost taxpayers and their children between R675m and R82m, says Andreas Wasseenaar.

This assumes an annual 16% to 18% increase in salaries and pensions.

The former Transvaal chief comments in his new book Squandered Assets that the pension scheme of Ministers and MPs is hedged against inflation “to perfection” at the expense of future taxpayers.

He writes “Their entrenchment is so effective that they have no personal interest in the campaign against inflation. If anything, they stand to benefit from rising rates of inflation.”

“The major attraction of a political career is undoubtedly to get entry into a profession where you fix your own salary, where you decide on how much of it will be taxable and where you decide on your annual increase in salary and pensions.”

Wasseenaar estimates on average it will cost taxpayers R1m every time a Minister retires. Thirty-five officials are categorised as Ministers for pension purposes.

The annual cost of providing a Minister’s pension, assuming no inflation and present salary scale, is between R169 000 and R350 000. This is on top of his R127 000 annual salary.

Assuming a 15% increase in salaries and pensions, Wasseenaar says the annual amount which would have to be set aside in a fund to pay a Minister’s pension would be between R377 000 and R399 000, depending on his age of entry to Parliament. This figure excludes salary and allowances.

A person who entered Parliament two years ago aged 60, who became a Minister and will retire in 1989, will get pension benefits costing the taxpayer R20m — assuming annual 10% salary and pension growth.

Calculations based on Wasseenaar’s figures would indicate that:

An MP elected in 1989 can retire in 15 years time with a pension of R411 139 and a tax-free gratuity of R2m, assuming an 18% increase in salaries and pensions.

His annual contribution to the pension would be R1m, totaling R169 251, while taxpayers would have contributed the remaining R812 138.

A Minister appointed after the September 1989 election would come in on a taxed salary of R230 000 and tax-free allowance of R36 000. After 12 years, he could retire with a pension worth R1.4m and a tax-free gratuity of R42m, again assuming an annual 16% salaries and pension increase.

Wasseenaar believes there is a case for saying that MPs, being part-time employees, should not receive a pension at all — “this form of the private sector”.

Wasseenaar’s estimate of costs to taxpayers excludes retirement costs of funcionaries of six “self-governing states”, two of whose assemblies have already passed pensions legislation duplicating the SA pensions scheme.
DP way ahead in Pinetown — survey

However, the poll confirmed significant trends revealed in the survey conducted in the predominantly English-speaking constituency of Cape Town Gardens, published yesterday.

These include that the DP seems to have succeeded in broadening its support base among Afrikaans-speakers and disillusioned Nationalists.

Confirming the trend in Gardens, the overwhelming majority of Pinetown voters in the extra-parliamentary fold have decided to back the DP instead of boycotting the elections.

Of the respondents between 18 and 24 years who intend to vote in Pinetown, 70 percent said they would support Mr Burrows while Mr Oliver drew only nine percent support.

Undecided

As in Gardens, an unusually high number of NP supporters (31 percent) in Pinetown have not yet decided for who to vote this year.

About 13 percent of Progressives have not made a choice and 36 percent of Conservatives still have to decide.

Confirming the uncertainty among traditional NP voters whether to back the party which has provided them with a political home for many years is the indication that only 84 percent of NP supporters were certain about their choice, compared with 94 percent of DP voters.

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — Mr F W de Klerk’s proposed visit to Washington may have been scuttled because South Africa insists that it be contingent on a meeting with President Bush in the White House.

The government’s sudden announcement that it was no longer convenient for Mr de Klerk to visit Washington, owing to his commitments in the campaign for the September elections, has ended weeks of speculation.

ASKED BY BAKER

A spokesman for the State Department said last night: “We sympathise with the concerns expressed by the South African government about such a visit during an election pending in South Africa. We hope Mr de Klerk will be able to visit Washington at some mutually convenient time in the future.”

American and South African officials in Washington yesterday insisted that they had been waiting for the other side to propose dates for Mr de Klerk’s visit.

White House officials said Mr de Klerk had been invited by the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, to visit the US.

Until yesterday, they said, the government had not notified the US government officially on when he would arrive or even if he would make the trip.

Certainly, no decision had been made by US officials for Mr de Klerk to meet President Bush, according to a White House spokesman.

South African sources, on the other hand, say Pretoria has been waiting for a firm invitation from the United States and specific dates for a visit.

Until yesterday, they said, no dates had been proposed.

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique has raised the possibility of South Africa being accepted by its black African neighbours if change comes.

He was addressing a news conference after a meeting yesterday with Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said in Lusaka this week that he would soon meet Mr de Klerk and was hoping to act as an intermediary between him and the African National Congress.

Mr Kaunda said he had invited Mr de Klerk to meet him. No date had been set but Mr de Klerk had indicated his willingness to attend.

(Report by D Braun, 6087 Monticello, Falls Church, USA and A Dunn, 115 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)
ANC 'bogged down' by outdated policies

By Esmeré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

For the Government to negotiate with the African National Congress would be tantamount to "bargaining with your rapist over how much pain you will endure", the National Party's parliamentary candidate in Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb, said last night.

He was speaking at a public meeting in the constituency which is held by Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, a strong supporter of negotiation with the ANC.

Only about 100 people braved the cold to listen to Mr Babb's address, much of which was devoted to attacking the ANC.

Mr Babb said the ANC was still committed to violence and socialism, policies which were being rejected by the majority of South Africans.

The Government would not negotiate with the organisation unless it renounced violence.

Commenting on jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's recent meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha, Mr Babb said the two leaders' jointy expressed commitment to peace had given a new dimension to the objective of a negotiated political settlement.

However, Mr Mandela's viewpoint was very different from what was happening in Lusaka.

While the NP had, over the years, adjusted to change, the ANC was still bogged down by outdated policies of the 1950s.

Mr Babb said most African leaders foresaw a Nationalist victory at the polls.

"They want the NP to have a large mandate to carry on with its role of regional developer and stabiliser."

A Somali businessman Mr Hassan Wehell last night became the first black person from an African country to publicly endorse the candidature of a Nationalist on a party-political platform. Mr Wehall, an export trader living in South Africa, shared the platform with Mr Babb.

(Report by Esmeré van der Merwe, 41 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Worrall hits out at corruption

STAR 07/01/79 3044
FW and Chissano pledge peace

MAPUTO - If there was a definite move away from discrimination in South Africa, the country could become part of a regional group of Southern African countries, Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, said yesterday. Addressing a joint Press conference with South African National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, he said he believed the "problem of discrimination" would be solved during the term of office of the next SA State President.

The talks between Chissano and De Klerk in Maputo were originally scheduled to last two hours, but the two leaders conferred for more than three hours. Both pledged themselves to work for peace in Southern Africa.

Chissano said supplies were still being flown in for the rebel Renamo movement, but he, once again, accepted assurances given by the SA Government that it was not involved in giving such aid.

De Klerk, who was accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, said all countries needed to play a "positive role" to ensure that the cycle of violence was broken in Southern Africa.

On allegations that Renamo was still receiving aid from within South Africa, he said: "We basically have the attitude that until information is given, we can't work out a strategy to counteract it."

-Sapa.
Gov't Inflates Smoke-Screening Against the Aggrandizion Hypothesis.

By Norma Chandler, President, 20Th Century

...
Lists contain the dead, missing and emigrants

Voters' rolls 'a shambles'

By Joe Openshaw

The voters rolls for the September 6 election were described yesterday as "a shambles", containing many names of missing and dead people.

The assessment was made by Mr Peter Soal, southern Transvaal chairman of the Democratic Party, and Mr Kevin Wearing, the NP's Johannesburg organiser.

Both placed the blame squarely on voters who have not notified the authorities of change of address.

Mr Wearing agreed that half the 19,000 voters in Hillbrow have moved away without notifying the authorities.

The Department of Home Affairs said yesterday it was aware many voters did not respond to appeals to notify the department of address changes.

It accepted that voters' lists for Hillbrow and other areas where there are flatland dwellers and a fluid population would have a high percentage of "missing" voters.

"The department agrees there are names of persons on the voters' lists who are deceased, who have emigrated and who have moved to another constituency," said a spokesman for the department.

"Special campaigns conducted immediately prior to the general election for the House of Assembly in 1987, the municipal elections in 1988 and the forthcoming election have resulted in 2.3 million additions and deletions being made in the voters' lists." The department had no authority to remove a dead person's name from the list unless a death certificate was available.

"Likewise, a name of a voter may only be transferred from one constituency to another if the voter himself has submitted a signed change of address notification.

Legislation allowing the Chief Electoral Officer to investigate and decide when a name may be removed from the voters' roll without documentary proof has been accepted but will only come into operation after the September 6 election.

Mr Soal said the voters were at fault and Home Affairs could not be blamed for the state of the voters' rolls.

"It is also the fault of the Government, which refuses to agree to a change of registration of voters. The last change of registration of voters was 20 years ago."

In some countries, voters are obliged to re-register every year.

(Report by Joe Openshaw, of Sauer St, Johannesburg.)
'Govt no longer dictates change'

RIAAN SMIT

GOVERNMENT could no longer dictate the form and content of change in South Africa because political, social and economic forces inside and outside the country were imposing imperatives which could not be ignored.

This was the dominant theme of speakers at the one-day Megatrends conference at the Johannesburg College of Education yesterday.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre of Policy Studies at Wits told 300 delegates public policy had to be pro-active and not a semi-effective or ineffective rearguard action.

He used government policy on racial zoning, community self-determination and security to illustrate what he meant by rearguard action instead of pro-active policy by government.

Although government had responded to residential integration by making provision for Free Settlement Areas, desegregation was far outstripping the capacity of the new policy to accommodate the pressure, he said.

Curious

Community self-determination — "own affairs" and "general affairs" — was "an utterly central aspect" of present government policy, but could not be defended conceptually or in terms of practical politics.

"The clearest example relates to education. One has the curious situation that real community self-determination or voluntary choice is exercised through support for or attendance of (non-racial) private schools... while the own affairs dispensation dictates uniformly segregated government schools irrespective of whether the feeders want them or not."

Community Agency for Social Enquiry director Mark Orkin argued that sanctions hurt the beneficiaries of apartheid — "the state and its business allies" — more than its side-effects were hurting the black majority.

The effectiveness of economic pressure was "quite evident" in recent political developments, notably the settlement in Namibia.

Among the other speakers were Information Minister Stoffel van der Marwe, DP co-leader Denis Worrall and Soweto editor Aggrey Klaasen.
Only a little time left to talk

BY JOYCE HARRIS
of the Black Sash

I cry for our land. What can be done about a country whose heterogeneous, unbalanced, prejudiced, exploitative, fear-ridden history has produced a situation where, on the same day, the press can report furious letters from a Nationalist and two English-speaking South Africans reviling the Five Freedoms Forum meeting with the ANC, thugs threatening to break up a meeting of Jews for Social Justice to hear a report-back of that same meeting; a meeting between the Head of State and his long-term prisoner, Mr Nelson Mandela; and the Conservative Party leader warning of a white uprising if whites and blacks are encouraged to get together?

There are so many crazy anomalies. A reform-spouting Government destroys shacks and possessions in Thokoza, leaving their inmates in the cold; incorporates communities into homelands against their will, provoking them beyond endurance into violent reaction; breaks up peaceful meetings and detains and restricts community leaders who are seeking to restore peace.

It harasses those who have spoken to the ANC by searching their premises even while it is reading the writing on the wall and itself seeking contact with other African states.

The National Party has destroyed the economy, befouled race relations with its policy of divide and rule and, worst of all, brutalised whole generations of our young people, black and white, by its determination to retain power.

It has produced the likes of Barend Strydom, who killed blacks so indiscriminately and wildly in Pretoria, reared as he was on a diet of racial hatred. How many more are there like him and what will they do to wreck any hopes there may be for peaceful reconciliation in our country?

The white backlash warned of by Dr Treurnicht is a very real danger, given the generations of indoctrination of white supremacy and "swart gevaar".

Now the National Party is hoist with its own petard. It recognises the need for change, but even its own limited prescriptions — strictly within its own framework of separation and ethnicity — find themselves on a collision course with its own teachings.

Those who rail against contact with the ANC on the precept that it is a terrorist organisation fail to recognise decades of structural violence perpetuated by the State. I do not believe that this excuses violence, though it does explain it. I do not believe that good ends can be achieved by bad means.

But to castigate the ANC and at the same time to support the National Party is totally illogical. The National Party cannot protect the people from a danger it has itself created.

It is not the NP that is offering salvation. Neither is it the far right white backlash. Incredibly, it is the measured tones of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela calling for dialogue between the Government and the ANC together with the mass democratic movement as "the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country."

He said: "I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

It is truly amazing that a man who has spent the better part of his life in jail, and who has been denied the opportunity to interact with his fellow-men or to use his undoubted talents in the interests of his people, should show the statesmanship and tolerance so sadly lacking in the leadership of our country and its privileged voters.

There is still time for whites to reassess the situation, to realise that they can expect no salvation from the Nationalists and even less from the far right, and to use the privilege of their votes to give a clear indication that they support the process of negotiation, the creation of a climate to make it possible and a just society.

However, this prospect seems remote while they continue to re-vile contact with the ANC whose violence, though unacceptable, has been relatively disciplined when compared with that of the State.

Perhaps all we can do is cry for our country, even though we ourselves still have the space at least to try to put things right.

It is the motivation that is lacking, plus the capacity to see through the apartheid-created confusion to the fundamental truth that we are all the same, we are all South Africans, and we all need each other.
Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan could come dangerously close to losing his Randburg seat to the National Party's Mr Gleen Babb on September 6, an authoritative opinion poll has shown.

Two surveys, one done in June and the other in July, indicated a swing to the NP in Randburg.

The English-speakers in Randburg seem to be moving from the DP into the Nat camp, while Afrikaans voters appear not to have swapped party allegiances over the last month.

The survey was conducted by Marketing & Media Research.

Mr Malan won the 1987 election as an independent by 3,067 votes after resigning from the NP that year.

The poll is the fourth of six commissioned by The Star to give an insight into the September 6 general election.

The prediction for Krugersdorp, where the Conservative Party expects to oust Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels, will be published in the Saturday Star tomorrow.

(Compiled by Emske van der Merwe, 6 Samor Street, Johannesburg)

See Page 7.
Poll indicates 'clear' NP win

Pretoria - The NP had a good chance of a clear-cut majority in the September 6 election, a Human Sciences Research Council survey of white Pretoria residents has shown.

Researchers Nie Rhodie and Chris de Kock found that any erosion of NP support could be to the left rather than to the right.

The DP and CP could each win between 25% and 30% of votes.

'This means there are more potential recruits within the NP for the DP than for the CP,' Rhodie said.

Rhodie said even if the right wing got 27% and the left wing 25% support, the NP would still emerge as the strongest party.

Some of the findings were:

- 61.9% of those spoken to believed the chances of SA solving its political problems by negotiation were good to very good, while 15.2% said they were poor.
- 55.3% percent saw a future under a multi-racial government as good to very good.
- Nearly 63% saw the reform tempo as being 'just about right', 29.4% saw it as too slow and 20.5% as too fast.

Television was regarded by 69.3% as the most important source of information on national security.

Sapa reports that 56% of respondents would not share residential areas with blacks, and 35% were not prepared to share hospitals.
FW invited for talks by African leaders – Pik

National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk has been invited for negotiations by several African leaders, says the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Interviewed by Radio RSA in Pretoria, he said Dr Kenneth Kaunda’s invitation to Mr de Klerk had been another step towards direct communication between African heads of state and the South African Government.

He said it was clear Africa wanted to enter into open dialogue with South Africa and that the rest of the world should take notice of this development.

REASON TO BE PROUD

Commenting on the recent peace initiative in Angola, Mr Botha emphasised African leaders had reason to be proud as they had succeeded in bringing President Jose Eduard Dos Santos and the leader of the Unita movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to the negotiating table.

He said Mr de Klerk would probably not be able to accept all invitations because of his tight election programme. He said the invitations would be attended to as soon as possible after the general election on September 6. – Sapa.
CONSERVATIVE PARTY

ET to the rescue

Conservative Party (CP) leader Andries Treurnicht must have thought the gods were on his side when he read last Sunday's newspapers (on Monday, of course). The revelations about Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) chief Eugene Terre'Blanche's alleged (and it seems, unrequited) midnight escapades, and the militant organisation's shaky financial affairs, seem to have driven the final nail in the coffin of
criminal record rules out his candidature anyway). He accepted that a united right-wing front against the National Party (NP) was no longer possible, Terre'Blanche said in a statement.

The Johannesburg daily Beeld saw Terre'Blanche's move as an admission of failure, saying that the AWB leader was now engaged in a fight for survival within his own movement.

Whether or not he is granted another lease on life as AWB leader is immaterial, though. In future Terre'Blanche, and probably the AWB too, will probably be judged mainly for their entertainment value.

Treurnicht may benefit from Terre'Blanche's latest antics. Apart from the minor Marais factor (and a few discontented AWB members who may vote HNP), the CP will be able to rely on the bulk of right-wing voters. Already such support has been forthcoming from the banned Blanko Berydingsbeweging's Johan Schabert.

Circumstances are propitious for the conservatives to score hits on a weary NP battle- ship at the polls. They will doubtless argue that F.W. de Klerk's five-year plan is the basis for a complete surrender of power to blacks, which would well scare those blue-collar voters still with the Nats into the CP laager.

For the first time the NP will have its patented refrain "soft on security" (used so effectively against the FFp in the past) thrown back in its face by the Right. The independence process in Namibia, and P.W. Botha's amazing tête-à-tête with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — in the inner sanctum of Tuyuhnuys, nogal — will add grist to the right-wing mill.

Bread-and-butter issues like the rising petrol price, R100 000 army-staged tea-parties for SA's first lady (despite SADF chief Janie Geldenhuys passing the buck on to the ladies themselves), high-level corruption in State departments, and disgraced NP MPs all paint a dismal picture of 40 years of Nat government.

Add to that the Democratic Party (DP)’s intention to fight certain marginal NP seats with candidates squeezing in through the backdoor — and Treurnicht is bound to score some points. Ironically it is the government-supporting press, in the past relentless in its contempt for the left-of-NP party, that now voices concern about the DP's potential of influencing the outcome in certain constituencies in the election.

"The DP is not listening to such advice (not to contest marginal seats) and is determined to let the CP in... Voters will have to ignore the DP and vote to keep the CP out," The Citizen, which has consistently belittled the new party, shrilled.

Does all this make the CP a serious candidate for power? Political pundits differ. Pochefstroom psychologist Donald Simpson forecast after the 1987 elections that the CP could win the next round by bagging the required minimum of 84 seats of the 166 elected total. Based on the CP’s Randfontein by-election win in May 1988, his computer predicted 66 CP MPs.

Last week Simpson told the FM that in his view Treurnicht's party now stands to win 62 seats — a far cry from the 84 needed to move into the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Simpson's colleague, Dirk Laurie, disagrees. The only progress the CP has made since the 1983 referendum has been to the detriment of the HNP, he contends.

Nic Rhodie, chief research specialist in the Institute of Sociological & Demographic Research at the HSRC, says the NP will suffer mainly from erosion of its left flank. Rhodie is one of those analysts who does not rule out a hung parliament after September.

In the HSRC's 1988 edition of SA — The Challenge of Reform, Rhodie and former research colleague Mick Couper wrote that "contrary to what may be expected, no evidence can be found for a 'white backlash' regarding socio-political reform in the area of desegregation."

The authors say that in spite of the present political turmoil and the high level of tension in the country, there is a growing realisation among whites that the statutory entrenchment of white privilege through segregated facilities is morally untenable and unjustifiable.

The failure of the white backlash to materialise has its parallel in the US of the Sixties, according to Rhodie and Couper. It is expected that trends will continue to show steady change in the direction of increasing tolerance. "The idea that reform should be halted until such time as law and order are restored has little empirical justification in terms of white attitudes towards desegregation," they say.

Rhodie and Couper, however, warn government that a lull in the implementation of their reform programme may provide the opportunity for the mobilisation of rightwing opposition to such change.

They report: "All this does not necessarily mean that the path towards desegregation in SA will be a smooth one. On the contrary, because of a long history of segregation, the transition will in all probability be characterised by confusion and even conflict."

For the next six weeks, white SA voters can expect to be entertained by Treurnicht and his band of conservatives beating the deomanday drum of a country on its way to minority rule under the NP. A cautious De Klerk — fearing further disintegration of his Transvaal Nat powerhouse — may not be able to stem the rightwing tide.

Many moderate voters — ex-PFP members and those comprising the so-called Fourth Force of enlightened Afrikaners — will find the DP the answer to their political needs.

Those who still remain in the NP must hope that P.W. Botha will pull another rabbit out of the hat before September 6.
Signals are the key - govt

SOUTHERN African leaders are looking for further positive signals from SA rather than the repeal of specific laws before agreeing to hold a regional summit, government officials say.

President PW Botha’s meeting with Nelson Mandela is the kind of positive signal they are looking for, officials said.

This was their reading of Mozambique leader Joaquim Chissano’s statement that SA would be allowed to take its place in the community of southern African states if there was a sound process of change in the country.

At his meeting with NP leader F W de Klerk on Wednesday, Chissano is understood to have accepted SA’s contention that now was a propitious time to begin talks to end the region’s cycle of violence.

Chissano is said to be prepared to contribute to the ending of violence in SA.

MIKE ROBERTSON

He is understood to have said that a meeting between SA and the Frontline States would be possible if there were further developments inside SA along the lines of the Mandela meeting.

Meanwhile, SA officials have denied reports that De Klerk’s proposed meeting with US President George Bush was postponed because the US had attempted to lay down preconditions.

Rather, they linked the postponement to domestic political considerations in the US, in particular opposition to the visit by 100 Congressmen, and the fact that no agreement on dates could be reached.

It is understood there was also a feeling in government that it would be better for De Klerk to visit the US as president.

Comment: Page 8
US buffer role urged to help SA change

BY DAVID BRAUN, The Star Bureau

The Bush administration has been called on to play a major suppotive and buffer role in helping South Africans make important decisions in the face of turmoil.

WASHINGTON — Speaking at the international conference of the World Future Society in Washington this week, Dr Den Beek, one of South Africa’s leading experts on South Africa, said the time was ripe for South Africans to make some major decisions and that the West, particularly the US government, should be ready to play a facilitative part.

Dr Beek, director of the National Values Centre in Druvalia, Texas, has made a close study of South Africa’s problems for the past eight years, visiting the country 16 times and speaking to scores of South Africans. He recently wrote a series of articles on his views for the Argus group of newspapers.

He said at the World Future Society conference he would be using his good contacts with the White House to press President Bush to act in the correct way to assist South Africa.

It was important for Americans to appreciate that the decisions South Africans were having to make today would be the decisions the rest of the world would have to make in the not-too-distant future, he said.

It was therefore very important for Americans to take an active and positive interest in the solution to South Africa’s problems.

Dr Beek said there were too many vested interests in continuing the South African game, which involved an evil oppressor (the government), a victim (the oppressed black population) and a rescuer (the international community). A lot of people were making a lot of money out of this game, but it was doing nothing to resolve the South African problem.

He said the correct way to understand South Africa was that it was a problem of blacks versus whites, but that there were a number of different interest groups which differed from one another on the basis of values.

Dr Beek said the most difficult aspect of dealing with the South African problem was to reframe the situation so that people did not think in terms of white and black.

The most important aspect to deal with would be to retain and develop the first world component of the country while facilitating the development and progress of the third world component — a problem that would eventually have to be dealt with on a global scale by the world as a whole.

He said South Africa would have to create its own unique political system so as to allow for a strategy which maintained the maximum degree of openness to encourage the development of people.
Randburg swing in one month

 WHICH PARTY ARE YOU GOING TO VOTE FOR IF YOU HAVE A CHOICE BETWEEN ...........?

27% GLENN BABB (NP)
38% WYNAND MALAN (DP)
14% NOT PREPARED TO SAY/REFUSAL
21% UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW/NOR
NEITHER

BASE : 658 PEOPLE WHO INTEND VOTING

NP goes all out to grab Randburg

Political Reporter

The National Party is putting all stops in Randburg in a determined effort to over the Democratic Party in the seat which has become symbolic of the revolt against the NP in the last few years.

It is more than an attempt to increase the number of NP seats in the Transvaal. Much of it has to do with Mr Wynand Malan, Randburg MP since 1957 who resigned from the NP in 1966 and became one of the leading figures in the independent movement which was born that year.

In 1967, he was elected to parliament with a huge majority of 2,853, which dropped to a mere 638 votes in 1969 in a tough battle against the former Progressive Federal Party.

In 1967, standing as an independent, Mr Malan obtained a solid majority of 2,047 in a three-way battle against the NP and the Conservative Party.

This year, the DP and NP will fight it out.

The NP has selected a top candidate in Mr Glenn Babb, former ambassador to Canada and Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs from 1967 until last month.

(Photograph by H. van der Merwe, of The Star, Johannesburg)
Moi leaves on state visit

NAIROBI — President Daniel arap Moi left early today for Mozambique for a two-day official visit. A week ago President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique announced he had invited the Kenyan president to help to define the next steps in his nation’s peace process.

Among those accompanying President Moi were Mr Bethuel Kiplagat, permanent secretary in the foreign ministry, and three Cabinet Ministers. — Sapa-AP.

New light on meeting expected from FW

National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk is expected to throw light on the controversial meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he addresses the congress of the Cape NP in Somerset West tomorrow.

The Cape NP will also use the congress to say goodbye to Mr Botha and to its previous leader, Mr Chris Heunis, who resigned as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning at the start of the month.

Mr Botha, Mr Heunis’s predecessor as Cape leader, is expected to attend the congress after snubbing the NP by refusing to attend its federal congress last month.

A motion of thanks to the President for his contribution to the party will be passed tomorrow.

A party will be held for Mr Heunis and his wife at a Somerset West hotel tonight. Acting Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers — who is almost certain to be confirmed as Cape leader at the congress tomorrow — said today the NP’s five-year action plan for the election would be tabled and debated at the congress.

It was not clear, he said, if any new light would be thrown on NP policy. As there would be only one day of debate, there would not be much opportunity.

The two policy aspects which would be focused on were the economy and constitutional development.

He said Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis would not be attending the congress to take part in the debate on the economy as it was a Cape congress.

Dr de Villiers said he was sure that the congress would be held “in the same positive spirit” that prevailed at the recent federal congress.

The congress started today with closed sessions of the Cape head council and a conference of election candidates. Tomorrow, the provincial leader, two deputy chairman and the chief secretary will be elected.

The discussions on the economy and the constitutional future of South Africa will be held tomorrow afternoon before Mr de Klerk closes the congress.

Much attention will be focused on his expected clarification of the Botha/Mandela meeting.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.
Jo'burg hospital forced to move critical white woman to Baragwanath

By Toni Yoongusband and Sue Olawang

A young white East Rand woman was transferred to the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto last night because all intensive care units at the Johannesburg Hospital were full.

A doctor told The Star the woman, aged 28, was unconscious and suffering from pneumonia, and had been brought from a private clinic to Johannesburg Hospital for specialist treatment.

**URGENT ADMISSION**

“Two people arrived from private clinics at the same time both needing urgent admission. We managed to get a place for the one. The young woman lay around for quite a while before a decision was taken to transfer her to Baragwanath Hospital.

“Baragwanath had a bed available, but I have absolutely no doubt that by today they will need that bed again.”

The medical superintendent of the Johannesburg Hospital, Dr Reg Broekman, apparently made the decision to transfer the young woman because she could not be treated at his hospital.

“She was a critically ill patient who needed immediate intensive care treatment,” Dr Broekman told The Star today.

“We could not take her in our intensive care unit and Baragwanath was the nearest hospital with a bed available. If we can't offer treatment to a patient, we try to do our best to ensure the patient is referred to another centre.”

Staff at the hospital said they wanted to point out that patients were pouring in at an uncontrollable rate.

“The authorities don't seem to realise that we can take no more,” they said.

“If the woman had been Harry Oppenheimer, she would still have had to go to Baragwanath. Something must be done to help us.”

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**Transvaal warmer in daylight**

*Staff Reporter*
NELSON Mandela had gone further than was asked by Mr. Viljoen, who asked why Mr. Mandela had not been released, since he had committed himself to solutions, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development, told an audience of about 60 that Mr. Viljoen had told the audience of about 60 that the Government would have to look carefully at the implications of what member of the audience Mr. Mandela had said.

The importance of what he, as a leader of the ANC, had said was that it clashed with the standpoint of the ANC. The ANC said the only way to effect change was through violence and revolution and that they were only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power.
Stoffel’s U-turn

Government’s agreement to finally take a serious look at the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals — the detailed outline for a non-racial system of political power-sharing for the region hammered out three years ago by more than 30 interest groups — is something of a breakthrough for Indaba supporters. It’s also a U-turn for the NP.

Although far too early to say that the proposal might be accepted for implementation in its present form, which would lead to KwaZulu and Natal becoming the first jointly governed region in the country, last week’s meeting between Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha and Indaba chairman Oscar Dhomo represents a significant shift in government thinking.

Nowhere is this shift more starkly personified than in Botha, who as Natal leader of the NP flatly rejected the proposals only hours after they were released at the end of a marathon eight-month meeting of political, business, and cultural groups in 1986. Despite his protest now that he was “misrepresented” at the time, Botha’s initial views on the Indaba process were made known clearly to a number of people. Either the minister has had a miraculous change of heart, or somebody higher up the hierarchy has nudged him into thinking again.

Government sources suggest the influence could come from F W de Klerk, who, despite sticking firmly to the “own affairs” concept, has not been openly hostile to the Indaba idea. He recently had talks described as “useful” with Dhomo.

Ironically, it is now Botha who will be instrumental in further talks on the Indaba proposals, scheduled to take place before the September elections.

With a bit of give and take on both sides, it is not inconceivable that a variation of the Indaba plan for regional government, or at least parts of it, could be put into practice.

Last week’s meeting has also revived the whole Indaba process, which looked at serious risk of sinking forever. Outgoing Minister of Constitutional Development & Planning, Chris Heunis, had been warming to the proposals with encouraging comments — but the Indaba ran into a brick wall when he resigned and effectively removed himself from the political scene.

While receiving fairly widespread support from business and liberal politicians, getting government to recognize proposals has always been the big prize for the Indaba. Now that they are on the negotiation agenda, the Indaba will undoubtedly steam ahead.

Initial government rejection was also one of the reasons for Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall resigning as ambassador to London and playing his part in establishing the DP.

Government’s warming attitude can also be linked to its earlier withdrawal of the proposed regional services council for Natal and KwaZulu, which Uliandi rejected. A joint model will now be worked out by KwaZulu and the provincial authorities.
As economic claims and counter-claims proliferate in the election campaign, the FM Board of Economists tries to assess the true position, and where you may be heading. The members this time are JC's Ronnie Bethlehem, Brian Kantor of UCT, and Standard Bank's André Hamersma. The chairman, as usual, is ASSCOOM's Raymond Parsons.

Parsons: How would you assess the current situation? Is the economy slowing down?

Bethlehem: There's no doubt the real economy is slowing down. The critical question is whether the financial economy is.

Hamersma: I agree. The financial sector tends to lag the real side a little. In some areas demand for credit remains buoyant, though one senses that some of it is distressed borrowing that may replace other borrowing.

Kantor: The economy is slowing down. The Reserve Bank called a peak towards the end of last year. Money supply growth is slowing on a monthly basis: both note issue growth, which I watch closely, and M3, which the Reserve Bank watches. Monthly increases in M3 are down to about 1.6%.

As always, confidence is the driving force. It took a beating in May when the gold price fell and the rand/dollar exchange rate weakened. The last increase in interest rates distinctly dented confidence — but all these things could turn round again.

Parsons: Which sectors are feeling — or are likely to feel — the slowdown most?

Hamersma: The normal pattern: durable goods, motor cars, furniture and things like bricks, are coming down significantly. The investment cycle is not affected yet.

Kantor: Furniture is particularly badly hit because of the discriminatory nature of direct controls. It is a crying shame that HP controls imposed at the late stage of a boom always affect furniture particularly. Motor cars may not be as severely hit this time round because most sales are to the corporate sector, which is cash flush. New housing must slow down. I wish we didn't do such terrible things to the particular sectors.

Some specific imports are also particularly affected by the high degree of discretion in the import control system. People beat paths to Pretoria to ask for special concessions. It's all very unsatisfactory.

Bethlehem: I would emphasise inflationary expectations, which lead directly to expectations of what will happen to the exchange rate. People are behaving in extraordinary ways to secure motor vehicles in the future at prices they can determine now.

Hamersma: Such goods are becoming investments.

Kantor: Corporate motor car purchases are in fact classified as investments, though as consumption if bought by households.

Parsons: To what extent has the downward affected fixed investment and employment?

Hamersma: Typically the investment cycle lags the downturn of the economy. Though growth is likely to be slower than last year, fixed investment should remain relatively tight range almost independently of assumptions about the gold price, because a better gold price will mean a more buoyant economy and higher demand for imports, so what is gained on the export side will be lost on the import side, and vice versa. The balance of trade will remain not overwhelmingly difficult, but not comfortable, so the outlook for interest rates is for only marginal declines. But if you believe the economy will slow down sharply, then the balance of trade will improve and interest rates will come off.

Bethlehem: If we define net reserves in a crude cash flow way as the difference between the monetary banking sector's gross reserves and short-term foreign liabilities, at the end of March, net reserves were a negative R296m, equivalent to US$335m. That's a bad starting point as you look forward to the June 1990 debt negotiations. I don't think the economy is slowing down fast enough for the balance of payments.

Domestic credit extension (DCE) is still growing significantly faster than M3 year-on-year, though I admit that month-on-month figures are different. DCE grew 30% in the year to May and money supply by 25%. The consequences of this for net reserves are severe. I assume a current account surplus of R2.5bn and with those rates of increase, according to my model, net reserves will decline by over R7bn. Relate this to Japie Jacobs's indication that we need a current account surplus of R4bn in 1989 and R6bn in 1990 to handle debt comfortably. We are moving far away from that.

Of course, the gold price is the Joker in the pack.

Kantor: One has to look at more recent data than year-on-year to get the underlying trend, which in money supply growth and therefore credit creation growth is significantly down. That is what the authorities have been hoping to achieve, and to some extent are. Month-to-month smoothed growth in M3 in the past couple of months I calculate at about 16% annualised.

I don't think the Reserve Bank can be happy with the net reserve position, but it won't deteriorate much. We've had a significant decrease in the real exchange rate. The rand is well off its purchasing power parity again, maybe by up to 15%. That is driving exports up. The trend in rand exports is substantially up again after levelling off for a while. Imports are still rising strongly but should start levelling off. That should hold the fort for the next couple of years.
The split between the CP and NP has made economic issues much more important to the man in the street, in particular in government's own ethnic constituency.

— Bethlehem

The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation.

— Hamersma

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— Bethlehem

The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation.

— Hamersma
public-sector current and investment spending as a percentage of GDP was 36% in 1986, 35.4% in 1987, and 33.6% in 1988.

Hamersma: It is too high. Even a 3% annual rise is too high. Next year if we want to meet our commitments, overall economic growth must be below 3%. Government must make a contribution to that.

Kantor: 3% real growth is as low as we can realistically hope for. I would love to see a much reduced role for central government — though even that may not even bring down spending in the form of transfers and the like. Privatisation and deregulation will help, as will devolution from Pretoria.

Parsons: Is there an economic case for a further increase in public-sector salaries?

Hamersma: Public servants must get competitive salaries. The problem is not increases in public servants’ salaries, but that we have too many of them.

Belfast: Public-sector employment is too great. This is a major factor in the high percentage of government expenditure to GDP. Long-term, government must not accumulate. The bureaucracy is important but it mustn’t get out of hand. The objective must be to increase salaries to the people who deserve them but get the total wage bill down.

Kantor: There must be nominal increases otherwise they fall behind dramatically. Last year’s freeze of nominal wages was a ridiculous piece of incomes policy. But what public-sector salaries really are we don’t know. We only measure the cash wage. All the fringe benefits, pension contributions and the like aren’t measured. But we must eliminate layers of the Pretoria superstructure.

Parsons: What signal would it give if there were an announcement now that from October 1, or whenever, they would get another 10% or 15%?

Kantor: I’m sure that before the election there will be an announcement of a salary increase to be paid next year. Even 15% will at best keep pace with inflation.

Parsons: How worrying are trends in prices? What is your forecast for consumer price index (CPI) inflation this year?

Hamersma: The fight against inflation has been relegated to very low priority, so one cannot be optimistic. I am terribly concerned about the long-term negative effects of inflation. One of the new things in this election is that economic conditions, particularly inflation, have correctly become a significant issue. My inflation forecast for this year is 15% but rising: it could reach 17%.

Belfast: I am just as worried. The year-on-year increase by December will be 17%.

Kantor: I’m worried too but I don’t think it will reach 17%; it will top at 16%. Import price inflation is running at about 15%, so there aren’t the massive increases in import prices we had in 1985. The trend is up slightly and levelling off. I don’t see it coming down very much over the next couple of years. We can’t do anything about it unless the rand appreciates, and that’s not on the cards. Unless we have a massive slowdown in our economy we won’t get the kind of trade balances that would support an appreciating exchange rate and therefore lower inflation.

Parsons: What are your GDP forecasts?

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Kantor: About 2%, slowing to maybe 1% next year.

Parsons: Are we heading for a soft landing?

Belfast: Because of the buoyant credit expansion; I see interest rates peaking only in the first quarter of next year. After the election, if the gold price doesn’t recover we may have to face the crunch on the balance of payments of the external debt renegotiation. Then we could have a soft landing followed by a hard landing.

Kantor: There won’t be a hard landing in the 1984-1985 sense.

Hamersma: It won’t be 1985 all over again but you can’t have a recession without somebody getting hurt.

Belfast: No growth — or even 1% — in 1985 is a hard landing. The population is increasing by 2.5%, the black population by 3% and the urbanising black population by over 7.5% a year.

Kantor: It comes back to the gold price. If gold falls away after the election, confidence will be hurt and spending will drop.

Parsons: Given our circumstances, is there a constraint on our maximum growth potential? If so, what is it, and how can we lift the growth ceiling?

Hamersma: There is a ceiling in the short term. We cannot move out of it overnight, so we have to live with it. With the balance of payments constraint, the need to restructure our economy and the political changes that we are having, we are in a straitjacket for a couple of years. We must work hard now so that in three or four years’ time the new visions will open.

Kantor: There is always a constraint: the availability of savings and the effectiveness with which you use them. SA faces a restricted supply of foreign savings. We have to restructure to use our own savings more effectively. Deregulation and privatisation can raise the ceiling. But there is nothing wrong with the structure of our economy that a little foreign capital couldn’t cure.

We know what’ll bring foreign capital back: political change that will guarantee not only major rule but sound management under majority rule. Two difficult objectives, and possibly contradictory. Sanctions pressure brings out the best and the worst in us.

The best is deregulation and privatisation, which I don’t think would have happened otherwise. The worst is import replacement policies — the motor industry and motor users will be a prime victim.

Belfast: Every serious upsurge in unrest has been preceded by economic deterioration. We are moving into a phase where we can imagine economic deterioration. We must manage our finances properly and not drift into an economic situation that triggers unrest.

Over the past 18 months we have failed hopelessly in our responsibilities.

Parsons: White politics has long been dominated by other issues, but at last bread and butter issues could play a key role. Why is there a perception of deteriorating white living standards, despite Org Marais’ claim?

Hamersma: It is a major issue. People feel that they are not making progress as they want to. Unfortunately this could lead government to take short-term action which will be harmful longer-term. We should try and sell to voters the need for policies which will lead to accelerated growth longer-term.

Belfast: For the National Party the election has come too late. The mood has changed. We face slower growth and higher inflation. Two kinds of people are politically important and may exercise a protest vote: the older income earner who might in normal circumstances worry about the Rand, but is now worried about declining incomes, and has been very vulnerable to inflation.

It is not clear that the younger salary earner is worse off if you look at their consumption, which is the only guide. That protest vote will help the Democratic Party.

But there is also the protest vote on the Right: previously cossed white workers now computing much more directly with blacks and feeling vulnerable because of that; people who used to work for Sats, and people affected by the move to privatisation.

Belfast: Politics in SA has always been blood politics. Nothing illustrates that more than the way in which the NP has been re-elected after election notwithstanding its demonstrable ineptitude in handling monetary and fiscal policy. This has changed in the split between the NP and NP.
Parsons: What is the outlook for the external value of the rand?

Hamersma: In principle, the rand is a weak currency. Problems on the balance of payments and high inflation ensure that. How weak and against what currency is a difficult matter. If you talk about the dollar you must make a forecast about the dollar — which could fall further. Generally, the trade position has improved. But I'm concerned about the debt situation and possible capital flows. I'm not optimistic that when debt is renegotiated we will get a much easier or better deal. Pressure on SA won't ease significantly.

Kantor: The 1985-1986 experience was awful. One doesn't expect anything like that again. But it is hard to see any trade-weighted improvement in the exchange rate. Even a somewhat better gold price will bring a continued, if slower, decline against the dollar. Even if gold reaches $500 by the end of 1991, the rand could still be down to maybe US$33c by then. It will weaken to maintain the advantage exporters have and the disadvantage importers suffer from. Indeed, that will be the policy response until the next upswing, which in a way is being delayed somewhat by the soft landing.

Bethlehem: Prospects for the rand need to be seen in terms of short-, medium- and long-term. Short-term prospects are dominated by what happens to gold and the dollar. The gold price has improved and the dollar has weakened. Medium-term comes the possibility of world economic slowdown and the fact that the gold price is in secular decline against the background of lower inflation, which in turn is closely linked to the prospect of international disarmament and lower defence spending. The long-term determinant is the inflation differential between SA and its major trading partners, and it's difficult to be optimistic about that.

Kantor: The exchange rate is cause as well as effect. The capital account has been the main cause of rand depreciation, which in turn affected inflation, so it is not unidirectional. I'm not sure that the gold price is in secular decline. Declines in US defence expenditure in the late Seventies and what happened to gold then, contradict the military expenditure theory. We'll have to see how the US economy and economic response will affect this. The military expenditure theory is not totally pessimistic that they'll play for the long haul and not encourage inflationary expectations over the next couple of years.

Parsons: Does the policy stance need to be
tightened, relaxed, or stay the same?

Hamersma: There seems no need for tightening in the shorter term, but the instability which emanates from government spending is terribly disconcerting.

Bethlehem: What is the economic policy stance? I'm not sure. We recently had an announcement that there is to be a one-off across-the-board R60 payout to pensioners. There was a denial that this was intended to improve the electoral chances of the NP, but from an economic or politico-economic point of view, government can ignore September 6. It is obviously blaming policy in a manner that makes people feel comfortable and is not negative to its electoral chances.

Kantor: If you ask a Keynesian question you should get a Keynesian answer. If you look at fiscal policy over the past year, it is clear that revenue grew significantly faster than expenditure. This trend will continue for a while. Revenue growth peaks after the business cycle. A Keynesian must believe that is contractionary, though it didn't work that way last year. But fiscal policy alone doesn't tell the story. It all depends on how government spending is financed, whether it is expansionary or not.

Parsons: If the phone rang now and Barend du Plessis was on the other end saying he's about to go into a Cabinet meeting, what should he tell them, what would you say?

Kantor: He shouldn't hope to fine-tune on fiscal policy, and he doesn't. I'd like him to achieve his monetary policy target. If he does he will be doing well enough for the next year. He probably will, because money supply is edging down into the target range and may even fall below that range within 12 months. I wouldn't raise taxes and I certainly wouldn't encourage pump priming.

Bethlehem: Evidence is beginning to emerge of slippages in fiscal policy. We see high current government expenditure growth and pre-election concessions. This shifts the burden towards monetary policy.

Hamersma: One must establish a longer-term pattern on monetary and fiscal policy. Only then do you achieve credibility, and then policies become effective.

Bethlehem: As I have argued before, we need some medium-term financial strategy, like Margaret Thatcher's MTFS, though not necessarily having the same ingredients.

Kantor: The long-term trend in government spending growth is pretty stable. Since 1980 there has been average annualised monthly growth of 3% in real government spending, which is highly satisfactory given the demands government has to listen to.

Parsons: Could interest rates start coming down by September?

Hamersma: That seems a bit early. The economy will not have cooled down enough.

Kantor: It'll be hard to drop short-term interest rates before the election, much as the authorities would like to. After the election, if the economy has already slowed down, and the evidence for that is pretty clear, the requirement to raise interest rates will have passed. Long-term rates may well fall before the election.

Parsons: How high is the risk of "overkill"?

Hamersma: There is a risk, and we must live with it.

Kantor: It is always a risk and it is very dangerous. We had overkill in 1984. Confidence is a very frail reed upon which the whole economy plays and can be dissipated overnight. It can also lead to. After the election, if the economy has already slowed down, and it must be on the conservative side, though nobody likes that.

Kantor: We saw in 1984 what happened with overkill. Gerhard de Kock will believe that he engineered the growth in reserves and enabled us to meet the capital outflows that followed the unrest, but I put the emphasis differently. Interest rate increases were excessive. Consumer demand, especially for durables, fell like a stone, and unrest followed, like night after day. That is the last thing you want. If you've got to err you must err on the side of softly, softly; but I don't know how you do that either.

Bethlehem: There is also a danger of underkill, and it's as great a danger.

Parsons: What is the latest trend in government spending and is its contribution to stabilisation policy?

Bethlehem: Recent figures are a bit discouraging, but in a broader context, total

The split between the CP and NP makes economic issues much more important to the man in the street, in particular in government's own ethnic constituency.

— Bethlehem

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APARTHEID AND THE ECONOMY

The value of action

The commanding height which Anglo American occupies in the SA economy makes the annual chairman's statement of more than cursory interest — particularly since Gavin Relfy, following in the path of Harry Oppenheimer, addresses himself to the wider economic and political environment in which the corporation trades.

Among the points he raises this year are that:

☐ The total abolition of apartheid will not in itself prove a cure-all for our economic malaise. The dangerous rate of population growth; the entrenchment of racial elites, particularly in rural areas; the sheer cost of redressing historical imbalances of privilege — these problems are common to "developing" countries and will endure beyond the moment of political accord;

☐ The route to success — Clem Sunter's High Road — must take in "a multi-party constitutional system and acceptance of the rule of law . . . regard for private property and staunch adherence to free enterprise, deregulation and privatisation, and to the principle that factors of production must be priced according to relative scarcity."

"Over the past three decades, the record of failure has built up not always because policy was inherently at fault. Rather, because "the cutting edge (of policy) has consistently been blunted or eroded by the perceived need of politicians to conciliate this group or that, in the staggeringly innocent belief that the economy can always be made to yield a little more, or suffer a little more, without permanent damage to its wealth-creating ability."

The March Budget reflected an awareness of these limits — "Yet there is no guarantee that spending in politically more sensitive areas, such as the civil service, development aid and defence, will not again be pushed beyond Budget limits in the continued endeavour to placate the discontented through official patronage;" and

☐ Added to the mounting costs of redressing historical inequities, and the persuasive power of pressure groups on the Treasury, there remains the problem of SA's international debt — which means that we "remain bound to repay capital on a scale that makes a mockery of the international community's claim to have the welfare of Africa at heart, and its aim to bring about a material and sustained improvement in living standards."

All this does not imply that apartheid is peripheral to "getting the economy right." Indeed, "Without rapid constitutional change to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of all South Africans we cannot hope to have an economy strong enough to ensure optimal development . . . Progress on the political front is the prerequisite to realising our economic potential, and indeed to our survival as a player in the modern world."

Relfy finds hope in developments within the National Party; the proposed summit between Inkatha, the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF; greater "strategic thinking" among the extra-parliamentarians — and the potential for regeneration within opposition politics.

As importantly, he outlines the role of business in this process of renewal and wealth-generation. Clearly, Anglo — given its position and authority — has the right to make suggestions; it also has a duty to shareholders. These factors are reconciled without conflict in nonracial employment policies, the recruitment and training of blacks for management, academic support programmes to which the group lends financial support, and, of course, the pioneering Employee Shareholder Scheme.

The scheme — in which 133 000 Anglo employees now participate — "is not intended in any way to undermine our commitment to trade union rights and collective bargaining, and indeed it should be seen as an arrangement between shareholders and employees — not one between management and workers."

In other words, group policy vis-à-vis race relations and black advancement is in no sense "affirmative action" — the implementation, one way or another, of racial quotas irrespective of merit. Instead it seeks to match company requirements to wider social wellbeing; and so to serve the best interests of stockholders and a nation finding its way out of the apartheid cul-de-sac and engaging in a critical examination of what a post-apartheid society should ideally be.

The premise, of course, is that capitalism offers more opportunities for overall human fulfilment than the short-term panaceas of socialism.

Anglo would promote the idea — but given the resistance by many blacks to the principles of free enterprise, it's not easy to follow through.

The reaction of all too many would be to value any major corporation solely in terms of its break-up worth.

In this sense, pragmatic engagement in the realities of running a major corporation in a difficult — and mistrustful — society in transition offers a vision for business. And, if the message can be got across in time, to workers on the brink of inheriting a greater share of the political kingdom.

This perception, which underlies Relfy's statement, is not altogether new. But it is of paramount significance that Anglo — and those whose secular interests coincide with Anglo — thought the matter through, weighed up the possibilities, made key decisions, and is seeking to implement them in the most practical way possible.
Campaign starts — and the NP is looking shaky

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE run-up to the September 6 election formally begins on Monday with nomination day — and the National Party is very much on the defensive.

Not only have the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party launched their campaigns with noticeably more enthusiasm than the NP, but opinion polls and the economy, particularly as it affects ordinary voters, are against the ruling party.

The early election sweeteners, or "lollies" as they have been termed, such as increased housing subsidies for civil servants, do not seem to have made much impression.

And the morale-sapping leadership conflict over the role of President PW Botha has added to NP problems.

NP insiders freely admit that the election could have come at a worse time for the party.

The selection of candidates by all three parties says much about the first phase of the election campaign. The CP has named a number of new faces, as has the DP, which has faced many intensely-fought nomination contests in what appears to be safe Nationalist seats.

The NP's new candidates, by contrast, have been uninspiring. With the notable exception of former diplomat Glenn Babb in Randburg, many of the NP's new candidates are old party people, particularly party organizers and President's Council members.

Although there is some optimism talk about the possibility of a "hung" parliament, in which no party has an absolute majority, not many insiders believe this will happen.

A possible scenario in the white chamber is that the DP will have about 35 seats, the CP about 45 seats and the NP the remaining 86.

Such a result would leave the NP in absolute control of the House of Assembly, but it would be a severe setback for the government and it could see some ministers and deputy ministers losing their seats.

In previous elections, new NP leader FW De Klerk has not made much impact on the electorate. He is certainly no PW Botha when it comes to public meetings, but he is being marketed as a president-elect who can negotiate with Western and African leaders.

NIC in anti-voting campaign

By CARMEL RICKARD

The Natal Indian Congress has launched an aggressive campaign to publicise its opposition to participation in the House of Delegates' (HOD) elections.

Targets of this programme are not only the NIC's traditional House of Delegates opponents — Solidarity, the National People's Party and the new National Federal Party. In the last few weeks the NIC has also made its views uncomfortably plain to the Democratic Party, already struggling to accommodate both the pro- and anti-participation lobby.

This week the NIC accepted responsibility for the disruption of two recent political meetings, one of which was addressed by disgraced former HOD leader Ahmed Rahbani, who is making a comeback bid.

NIC official Farouk Meer said his organisation had a duty to point out to people that participation was a serious mistake. The organisation also had the democratic right to challenge people who advocated participation.

He said participants in the HOD had not held reports-back meetings since 1984.

"They have been changing parties, crossing the floor with no consultation. Now we are taking them on in their own turf.

"They have not been accountable. Now we are making them accountable. During the meetings, people be-
Press ‘edging towards NP’

Political Correspondent

CERTAIN newspapers and businessmen who had always called for a non-racial democracy and a free-enterprise economy were “edging uneasily towards the Nats”, the Democratic Party candidate in Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said last night.

This was a surprising development, particularly as it took place against a background of “a great mass of white voters finally moving towards political and economic sharing”, he told a meeting in Wynberg.

“Whilst those in question are insignificant electorally, their open commitment to democracy is important in creating the kind of South Africa we all want to live in.”

Mr Carlisle said that during his canvassing work in the Wynberg constituency and his fund-raising work for the party around the country, the swing to the DP was “unparalleled”.

“The voters crossing to the DP come from every walk of life and demographic group.

“In most cases, the break with the NP appears to be terminal,” he said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 115 B George’s Street, Cape Town)
Councillor resigns from NP

Political Staff

ANOTHER Nationalist councillor in Randburg yesterday resigned from the NP and will support the Democratic Party in the election.

Mr Thys Sutherland, a former mayor of Randburg, said he could no longer support the NP.

One of the co-leaders of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, said that after several discussions with him, Mr Sutherland felt he could identify with the DP.

In June, Randburg councillor Mr Piet Pienaar resigned from the NP to join the DP.

(Report by Barry Stroob 123 St George's St, Cape Town).
DP the only party to embrace basic rights

By HANS MIDDENMANN

IN THE agony of the dying days of apartheid the Law Commission's working paper on Human Rights has become a new benchmark in our political discussion. Different conclusions are drawn from the report by two of our best political analysts.

Ken Owen, in his usual incisive and provocative style, goes back to basics (Cape Times, July 3 1989). He stresses that without universal franchise and the abandonment of "group" rights there can be no true democracy in South Africa. The National Party cannot subscribe to either of these preconditions. It cannot, therefore accept the Commission's proposal to put its human rights bill on the statute book and thereafter repeal all racial laws which are in conflict with it. Because the National Party will continue to look for protection of "both individual rights and group values," Ken Owen foresees conflict and turmoil into the next decade.

Hermann Gillmoree, commenting on Ken Owen (Cape Times, July 6 1989), whom he calls "that stormtrooper of current South African liberalism," takes a different line. He elevates the Law Commission's report to the status of the alternative to the National Party's five-year action plan in the forthcoming election, and dismisses both. But, he says, "What a group wants is proper representation through its own chosen delegates to protect itself and promote its interests as a unique group." In his pessimism he suggests "futilely" that perhaps "the problem with our problem is that there is no solution".

Constitution

It is, therefore, unfortunately unrealistic to imagine a bill of rights being enacted in current circumstances. The Law Commission in its excellent report is, of course, aware of this. A bill of rights, to be effective and lasting, must be enshrined in a constitution that is itself entrenched.

In the words of the final paragraph of the Commission's 440 pages report: "We believe that the legitimisation of a new constitution, including a bill of rights, must take place by way of a single general open referendum which is not restricted to and does not discriminate among voters of particular groups or races, because this, like no other process, will give legitimacy to a constitution."

On the face of it we can never get there under our present dispensation, bearing in mind that the ruling party is committed to group representation which, after all, keeps it in power. That the largest "group" of South Africans has no representation at all up to the present must be recorded here, but does not affect the principle.

This is the full South African dilemma. It is the stuff revolutions are made of. No wonder that army and police chiefs, whose job is the maintenance of law and order, have long come to the conclusion that until there is a political solution there is little hope for internal peace.

The general call for "negotiation" is to be welcomed in the circumstances. But one must hear that as long as one side is bound by its policy of "group" representation, the others will go on fighting for "liberation" — and neither can win.

There is nothing to "negotiate" about the principles on which democratic constitutions are based. These principles were clearly defined 200 years ago and enshrined in the American constitution which has stood the test of time. They are the foundation of the constitutions of all the successful and stable democratic countries in the world.

They are the principles of universal franchise, the deliberate separation of authority between legislature, executive and judiciary — and the equality of all citizens under the law which protects them from arbitrary arrest, and guarantees them freedom of association, of speech, of worship, etc, which amounts to a bill of rights.

The other principle to be enshrined is that of a system of checks and balances. A federal system is perhaps the most important, to prevent unbridled majority rule and the dangers of concentrating to much power in any one institution.

Within these there are many variations in significant details: how the government is elected, how the legislative and executive power is distributed between central, local and government departments, who determines, says, educational policy, etc. Within the parameters of these details there is much room and need for negotiation and, over time, for adjustments.

However, such negotiations cannot seriously begin unless there is all-round agreement on the basic principles. Only such agreement ensures that a negotiated constitution finds majority acceptance in "a single general open referendum . . . to give legitimacy to a constitution". Only in this manner can the constitution itself become truly entrenched and the bill of rights in it unassailable.

Losers

Painful experiences of outside threat or internal strife, which South Africa undergoes now, have led successful countries — the winners — to reach consensus on the need for democratic constitutions.

The losers invariably land up with a military coup or a bloody revolution leading to an autocratic regime of a self-perpetuating group ruling "in the name of the people". The losers become increasingly impoverished, cut off from the mainstream of intellectual and physical wealth of the world. South America, Africa and the Iron Curtain countries are littered with examples.

South Africa is poised between being a winner or a loser! Our political structures and ostensible groupings are locked into such polarised postures that one cannot yet see how and when they could come together to agree on basic principles.

The new Democratic Party is the only party in the "white" election to embrace and propagate these principles. The party is gathering support throughout the country as a result of this. It should get the vote of everyone who wants South Africa to be a winner.

Hans Middlenamm, a leading businessman, is a member of the Council of UCT.
Sorry, De Klerk, the UDF beat you to it.

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How UDF beat FW to Bush

Klerk, raising the prospect of protests when he visited.
Bush, whose administration had not confirmed a meeting with De Klerk but had set tentative dates for it, suddenly backed down when an official yesterday said the invitation was for the South African leader to see Baker. This would be in keeping with the new US president's stated desire to stand with the Democratic Party-controlled Congress in setting a new South African policy, and is the first clear signal of a significant change in attitude from the previous Reagan administration.
De Klerk hurriedly said he was too busy to go to Washington, an apparent attempt to avoid the embarrassing uncertainty of the status of his visit. The visit was planned to come before the September elections, and would have been an important part of the National Party campaign.

De Klerk is much less likely to get an invitation to Washington after the election, because once he is installed as state president, such a trip would require all the pomp and formality of a state visit.
The message now coming back from most of the outside world seems to be: we'll wait and see what De Klerk does.

This was echoed by Mozambican leader Joaquim Chissano, who told De Klerk on Wednesday that South African could be accepted by its neighbours if there is change in the country.
The UDF delegation, led by Sisulu, have seen Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.
This week Cachalia and Eric Molobi met with the Belgian foreign minister, Mark Eyskens, and European Community leaders in Brussels. Eyskens told them that he, like many Western leaders, was "sceptical" of the intentions of De Klerk's government.
Thatcher now appears to be the only Western leader who does not share this scepticism.
The new-look National Party leadership may have won some space in the international community, but it is becoming increasingly clear that this goodwill is dependent on internal changes in South Africa.
Meanwhile, the international standing of the government's opponents has clearly been raised by their mission.
Nigeria calls for democracy in SA

HARARE: Visiting Nigerian president, General Ibrahim Babangida, was hosted by Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe on Wednesday.

Babangida called for concrete action to bring peace and harmony to Southern Africa.

He said Nigeria would not give up its demand for mandatory sanctions on South Africa until apartheid was dismantled and replaced by an authentic democracy.

"We shall not be deceived by mere declarations of intent."
For the CP, a meeting arranged in heaven

The glint in the Conservative Party over recent "locusts" came across last week when Pretoria and Eridge held their first meeting. The meeting was an attempt to discuss ways of implementing the agreement signed last year by the two major parties.

Mrs. Susan Dhlomo, leader of the Conservative Party, said that the meeting was a "great step" towards settling the differences between the two parties.

The meeting was attended by the leaders of both parties, as well as representatives of the provincial and local government.

The main agenda items included the constitution of the new government, the budget for the next financial year, and the future of the nuclear power programme.

The meeting ended with a statement from Mrs. Dhlomo that the two parties had made "good progress" and that they were "well on the way to resolving the differences that have existed between us for so long."

The CP leaders also indicated that they would be willing to consider joining the government if the Conservatives were able to achieve a "clear majority" in the next election.

The meeting was described by some as "a significant step" towards the formation of a new government.

The two parties have been in negotiations for several months, but had reached an impasse over the issue of the nuclear power programme.

The meeting was seen as an opportunity for both parties to find common ground and work towards a solution.

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For more updates on the situation, please visit our website at www.politicalnews.com.

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Stamping hard on our Achilles heel

The link from business, government and anti-apartheid leaders is the same: the desire to end South Africa's economic crisis. But for more than a decade, the government has been unable to act decisively to address the situation.

The financial situation is critical. South Africa's economy is on the brink of collapse. The government has been unable to implement the necessary reforms to stabilize the economy.

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Our new Great Divide:

South African groups have already been hit by the growing international attacks on the ANC. The security forces are not satisfied with the limited gains they have made and are now targeting the ANC specifically.

The ANC, for its part, is determined to continue its struggle and has already made preparations for a possible conflict. The ANC has been able to mobilize a significant number of supporters and has been able to keep the government on the defensive.

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Press Release

The Botelho-Mandelas tea party has raised hopes — but can expectations be met?

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Financial Pressure

Hillary Joffe

For a five to six percent annual economic growth rate (and stability that will allow South Africa to realize a capital export), she said:

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optimists and pessimists

For now, the US will let Britain do the batting

Shaun Johnson

In both Pretoria and London, political strategists are being subjected to a severe arm-wrestling contest as Britain seeks to be removed from the distance, but is acutely unwilling.

But how much pressure can the international community apply, and how far must the US test the limits of its aid to the British defense forces? The test of their will to do what is necessary to keep them in the courtroom.

The recent events in South Africa have once again highlighted the issue of sanctions. The sanctions have been effective in cutting off the flow of goods and services, but they have also had a negative impact on the country's economy.

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Spectre of the ‘hung’ polls

From PAGE 5

...rst, it seems TerreBlanche’s power may finally be broken. According to far-right sources, TerreBlanche’s pro-election defeat in Rustenburg had more to do with threats from the AWB’s financial backers to withdraw funds if he persisted in his candidacy, than with CP leader Andries Treurnicht’s direct opposition.

According to former AWB publicity chief Dries Alberts, the AWB’s financial affairs have been “irresponsibly and informally” managed for some time. Before his summary expulsion from the movement in January this year, Alberts was calling for a full investigation of the movement’s finances.

Other problems beset the AWB. According to Alberts, of the 200 members of the AWB Hoofraad, which returned a seemingly overwhelming vote of confidence in TerreBlanche’s continued leadership when the Jani Allan affair first became public, something less than 50 percent remain. The rest of the AWB leadership has left what they perceive to be a sinking ship.
Tight race for DP, CP
HSRC survey

Political Staff

BOTH the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party could win between 25% and 30% of the vote in the September 6 election and either could become the official opposition, a Human Sciences Research Council survey has found.

However, provided no major internal conflicts disrupted National Party unity, the NP stood a good chance of again achieving a clear-cut majority, in terms of both votes cast and number of seats.

The survey results, which were released yesterday, also indicated that the probability of an erosion from the NP could be expected to the left rather than to the right.

The survey was conducted by political sociologists Dr Nic Rhodie and Dr Chris de Kock.

It was conducted in April this year among whites in cities and towns throughout South Africa.

A majority — 56.5% — described a future under a government consisting of whites, coloured people, Indians and blacks in which no group was dominated by another as "good" to "very good".

Nearly half the respondents — 42.5% — believed the tempo at which the government's current reform plans were being implemented to be "just about right".

However, 29.4% said it was too slow compared with 20.5% who thought the tempo was too rapid.

"It is interesting to note that according to the survey, NP supporters were twice more likely to see the DP as potential partners in pushing through reform than would a CP/ENP/AWB alliance — 20% as against 10% respectively," Dr Rhodie said.

Info Minister aims at 'new SA'

Political Staff

NO political party in South Africa proposed the maintenance of the status quo and most parties believed there should be a movement to a new South Africa, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoef van der Merwe, said yesterday.

The new South Africa would have "one citizenship for all South Africans with one overall government", he said at the International Systems conference in Johannesburg.

In five years, South Africa would be a very different place from what it was today.

People might differ about the ability of the NP to achieve its goal of a new South Africa, but few people could differ with the spirit of this ideal.

Among the problems that stood in the way of achieving this ideal were the diversity of South African society, which created a tremendous potential for conflict if not handled correctly.
It's all a hoodwink

We are worried by the diplomatic offensive the South African Government has launched on the international arena.

As part of its strategy to hoodwink the world into believing that change is taking place in South Africa, a black businesswoman from Samal was invited to open a meeting of a UN candidate in Randburg this week.

In a speech, Mr. Husain, his government launched an offensive of what he described as a "change in thinking" within the National Party on the situation in South Africa.

Maybe the fact that he was the only black person to speak for an NP candidate represented change to Wensley. But to us, that was a meaningless gesture. We know the type of change we want and the day it takes place we will be the first to commend the Government for it.

To us, change means a lot more than allowing black people to share platforms with whites. The NP knows that very well. Following on the footsteps of the government, Mr. P W Botha, Mr. P W de Klerk, also seems to be more concerned with making friends overseas than with black South Africans.

If he is staging a successful diplomatic coup internationally, we have yet to see it. We have yet to see it.

We have yet to meet with US President George Bush. Maybe the meeting should not be allowed to take place even after the elections. The success of Government initiative in South Africa can only be determined by South Africans themselves.

SA CRISIS: VIEW FROM LUSAKA

I. ASSESSMENT:
A general strike of the Mass Democratic Movement (ANC, UDF, Cosatu etc) covered the question of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Several weaknesses of the Mass Democratic Movement were also raised, viz., our inability to effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with grassroots levels, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favorable conditions and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda.

In summary, this week we concluded that the current political situation remains tense and that the "fighting must go on." We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of firing up the imagination of the people and building a new society at increasingly higher levels.

2. NEGOTIATIONS:
Our discussion on this issue produced the following general perspectives. In 1987, when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made it clear that, as it could not consider negotiations unless certain preconditions were fulfilled.

- For example, that the release of all political prisoners should be ''unilateral'' so that the regime would not use the opportunity to intimidate the people.
- The apartheid regime was not prepared to make any moves on all the key issues.

Recently, however, as a result of the intensification of pressure being placed on the regime from all quarters and as a result of the ANC's initiatives being taken by the international community, the issue of negotiations has been raised again.

There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive moves towards negotiations and towards meeting the ANC's preconditions set in 1987.

As a result, it is necessary for us to critically review our position on negotiations.

Our position is that we should not accept the recommendations of the Muthume Commission, that the ANC should not accept the recommendations of the Commission, but should instead continue to push for the release of all political prisoners and the abolition of racist legislation.

- The ANC has been preparing for Mr. Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with black leaders in the liberation movement.

Their political and diplomatic activities are aimed at improving the situation from the international level, the creation of a coalition government, the maintenance of the agreement on the further negotiations.

It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle.

Information regarding negotiations initiative.

2.1 BRITISH: Britain has been preparing for Mr. Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with black leaders in the liberation movement.

2.2 USA: The American government has initiated a process of "confidence" and "dialogue" with the ANC. They believe that dialogue is the only way to a solution.

3.2 UKRAINE: The Ukrainian government has initiated a process of "confidence" and "dialogue" with the ANC. They believe that dialogue is the only way to a solution.

Political cartoonist Len Sak is on holiday.
The view from Lusaka

From Page 10

2.10 TOWARDS A PROPOSAL. We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement. We need to ask whether the preconditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these initiatives. From the assessment of the likely scenario, the strategy of imperialism is to pressure the regime into meeting the preconditions. Therefore, it is felt that a detailed plan needs to be worked out at the head of which is a list of pre-conditions.

An idea for dealing with this situation is to propose holding negotiations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which would be empowered to draw up a constitution.

**Who would run the country while such a constituent assembly met?**

**How do we negotiate over the establishment of such an assembly?**

**How would such an assembly be composed?**

These are some of the questions to be addressed. There is another idea, going with the idea of the constituent assembly, that Parliament should be suspended and an interim government established. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal.

An issue to be looked at by the ANC would be the demand for the suspension of armed struggle and how to respond to the call for this in the context of a negotiated settlement.

Yet another issue is that of an "umpire". Do we need one for the purposes of a proposal? There are no definite answers to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

The final question that arises is: How urgent is this for our struggle? What seems clear is that there are a number of meetings taking place at high levels.

We therefore need to act swiftly, taking everything that has been said above.

The OAU summit meets on 29-31 July and is therefore crucial in formulating an All-African position on the issue of a possible negotiated settlement in South Africa. If we are to pre-empt any other initiative, we would need to win support for our position, once it is worked out, by that date.

3.1 BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION.

*We need to restructure the Mass Democratic Movement organisations.*

*We must build unity with the Mass Democratic Movement and broader forces.*

*Discussion of the constitutional guidelines must be deepened.*

*The issue of negotiations must be discussed.*

*The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Natal must continue and be intensified.*

3.2 CAMPAIGNS.

*A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged to deepen our challenge to the regime.*

*The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked. The possibility of widespread mass action and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupation) must be looked at.*

*Other campaigns that need to be focussed on include: housing, Namibia and the September elections.*

In conclusion, we need to aim for the "Workers' Summit of Action" in August followed by our own action in September versus the action of the enemy.

3.3 THE WAY FORWARD:

Discussions on the way forward produced the following conclusions:
South Africans have many different things to say about various matters. For example, the Freedom Party, led by President PW Botha, believes in a policy of "阳光政策" (sunshine policy) which encourages greater openness and transparency in government affairs. The African National Congress (ANC), on the other hand, is committed to achieving a democratic and non-racial South Africa. The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACU), represents the interests of workers across various sectors.

The ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACU) have both been active in campaigning for democratic elections and greater economic freedom for all South Africans. The ANC has played a significant role in the anti-apartheid struggle, and has been instrumental in bringing about significant changes in South Africa's political landscape.

The ANC has made significant gains in recent years, particularly in the 1994 general election, which was held a few months after the end of the apartheid regime. The party won a clear majority in the election, and formed a government under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Since then, the ANC has continued to be a major force in South African politics, and has been responsible for implementing a number of landmark policies and reforms.

The ANC has faced significant challenges in recent years, including corruption allegations and allegations of human rights abuses. However, the party remains a major force in South African politics, and continues to be a key player in the country's democratic development.

In this context, the ANC has been involved in a number of important initiatives, including the fight against poverty, the promotion of economic growth, and the advancement of women's rights. The party has also been active in international affairs, particularly in the fight against apartheid and in support of democratic forces in other parts of the world.
For now, the US will let Britain do the batting

Shaun Johnson

In both Pretoria and London, political strategists are being subjected to a severe arm-twisting. The pressure is being exerted to ensure that the situation is not allowed to become a precedent.

According to the London Daily Mail, if the US is to remain in South Africa, the make-up of the cabinet will be crucial. The US had already announced that it would not consider any cabinet that includes the Afrikaner People's Freedom Party (APFP). This is a deviation from the president's earlier statement that all political parties would be considered.

The Johannesburg Sunday Times reported that the US is pressing for a cabinet that includes the APFP, but the president is firm in his stance.

The Daily Tribune reported that the US is considering the possibility of imposing sanctions on South Africa if the situation does not improve.

Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has been a prominent figure in South African politics for several decades. She is known for her tough approach to negotiations, and her ability to get what she wants. Her influence has been felt in South Africa, and her presence is always felt in the political scene.

In a recent interview, she said that the situation in South Africa is not as bad as some people believe. She said that the government is making progress, and that the situation will improve in the future.

Eugene Terreblanche

Eugene Terreblanche is a member of the Afrikaner People's Freedom Party. He is known for his strong stance on apartheid and his opposition to the ANC. He has been a vocal critic of the ANC and has been a thorn in the side of the ANC leadership.

In a recent statement, he said that the ANC is not interested in dialogue and is only interested in power. He said that the ANC is not interested in a peaceful resolution of the conflict, and that the ANC will do anything to achieve their goals.

Ivor Powell

Ivor Powell is a member of the UK Parliament. He is a member of the Labour Party and has been a vocal critic of the ANC. He has been a strong advocate for the ANC and has been a strong critic of the ANC.

In a recent interview, he said that the ANC is not interested in dialogue and is only interested in power. He said that the ANC will do anything to achieve their goals, and that the ANC is not interested in a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The University of Natal

The University of Natal is a public university located in South Africa. It is one of the oldest universities in South Africa and is known for its strong research programs.

The university has a long history of political activism, and has been a focal point for political protests in the past. The university is currently under pressure to change its name, as it is seen as a symbol of the apartheid regime.

Senor lecturer

Senor lecturer is a position in the University of Natal. It is a senior academic position, and is usually held by a professor or a senior lecturer.

Institution of Natural Resources

The Institution of Natural Resources is a research institution located in South Africa. It is one of the oldest research institutions in South Africa and is known for its strong research programs.

The institution has a long history of political activism, and has been a focal point for political protests in the past. The institution is currently under pressure to change its name, as it is seen as a symbol of the apartheid regime.
The South African market research industry's watchdog body has called on the Government to scrap legislation outlawing political polling after nomination day.

And with nomination day for the September poll coming up on Monday, the Electoral Act prohibits any form of opinion poll being carried out or published until after the elections.

The chairman of the Market Research Standards Authority, Caroline Harben, believes the relevant section of the Electoral Act to be far too wide and far-reaching.

Sensitive

She points out that most democratic countries allow political polling up to election day or "at worst" seven days before it.

"We appreciate that compared with other types of research, public opinion research tends to be a particularly sensitive area. It deals with issues that arouse greater public interest and emotion than most commercial market research projects.

"But, we believe the research community can play a useful social role and that it is desirable that the general public, politicians, the media and other interested groups should have access to accurate and unbiased measures of public attitudes and intentions." She said her organisation had made representation to the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications requesting amendments to the Act.

Amendment

"In his reply, Minister Stoffel Botha said that a select committee of Parliament had been instrumental in recommending section 143 of the Act on the basis that such polling 'could interfere with voters in the free exercise of their franchise'.

He added that an amendment in 1985 excluded by-elections from the prohibition."

Ms Harben said that international findings indicated that right-wing groups held the strongest belief that polling swayed results.
CHOICE BETWEEN
TO VOTE FOR IF YOU HAVE A
WHICH PARTY ARE YOU GOING

"PHOTOGRAPH"

"PREVIOUS"

"SURPRISE"
Gentleman

He has been in the news constantly, be it for financial problems, alleged links with the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging and Ku Klux Klan, or slinging matches with one or other opposition politician.

By contrast, Mr Wessels is regarded as one of the gentlemen of politics. Modest and soft-spoken, he plays a velvet-glove role in the portfolio of law and order to which he was appointed in 1988.

The policeman-turned-lawyer believes solutions to the country's security issues lie on the political terrain, which is one reason why he enthusiastically supports the NP's new reform drive.


In 1987 he narrowly escaped defeat in a two-way battle against the man he will once again meet in September.

(Report by Esme van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Has ET Lost His Grip?

News

Saturday Star July 22 1989

304J

SPECIAL WRITER

HAS Eugene Terry...

a high pitched CP

Yes ET lost his grip?

Yes ET lost his grip?

Yes ET lost his grip?
DP campaign set for lift-off

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party today launches its election campaign with the unveiling of a manifesto aimed at steering South Africa out of its ongoing economic, security and constitutional crisis.

The 15-page manifesto is understood to contain a wide range of proposals with broad appeal to hard-pressed consumers and taxpayers, as well as measures targeted to win favour with specific segments of the voting public, ranging from pensioners to environmentalists.

The document, which will serve as a handbook for DP campaigners in the run-up to the election, puts the blame for a multitude of ills besetting the country squarely on the National Party and its "racist" and "wasteful" policies.

The major lines of attack on the ruling party include rampant inflation and taxes, the plummeting rand, corruption, unemployment, political frustration, increased crime, sanctions and international isolation.

The manifesto contains a three-pronged plan to extricate the country from the current crisis. The plan deals with "economic solutions", what is called "real security" and a new "constitutional vision".

Although the detailed document will be released only today, it is understood that features of the DP's election battle plan include:

- A strong emphasis on security, with a proposal to double the size of the police force.
- However, National Service would be cut immediately to one year, with a view to phasing out compulsory military conscription. In the meantime, alternative National Service would be available.
- A system of universal adult franchise in a federal system with proportional representation and a constitution underpinned by a Bill of Rights.
- Reducing both GST and inflation to single-digit figures, the ending of "punitive" rates of personal taxation and no tax on medicines.
- Separate taxation for married couples and tax relief on petrol and toll roads.
- A new deal for pensioners, including bringing pensions in line with the inflation rate, changes to the means test, drastic reduction in telephone rentals for the elderly and an investments package to protect pensioners' savings against inflation.
- A Depression-style emergency self-help programme to assist the destitute, provide jobs and revitalize the economy.
- The establishment of a US-style Environmental Protection Agency to act as an independent watchdog, the extension of the National Parks system and a major drive to curb pollution.
- Allowing broadcasting companies to compete with the SABC, with M-Net being able to broadcast news.

The detailed manifesto will be released at a campaign rally at a Sea Point hotel today.

Report by Anthony Johnson, 1254 George's St, Cape Town.
voters will hold sway – De Beer

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE outcome of the September 6 general election may be decided by economic rather than ideological issues, according to Dr Zach de Beer, a co-leader of the Democratic Party.

He says that in the current election campaign he has been resoundingly applauded whenever he has focused on economic issues in general and, in particular, on the growing impoverishment of voters.

**Getting steadily poorer**

Dr de Beer cites six sets of figures in demonstrating statistically that South Africa is getting poorer under National Party rule and has been doing so steadily over the past decade or so. They are:

1. A slowing down in the annual average growth rate of the gross domestic product. There has been a decline from 6.7 percent in the period 1966-64 to 1.2 percent in over the period 1985-88.
2. A decrease in the percentage of economically active people in the formal economic sector, including small business (no one really knows what is happening in the informal sector). For the overall population, it has dropped from 76 percent in 1960 to 63 percent in 1985. Broken down racially, blacks are hardest hit.
3. A dwindling in personal disposable income or spending money after taxation. It has fallen from 4 percent in the five years from 1966-64 to 0.7 percent in the years 1985-88.
4. A fall in personal savings expressed as a ratio of income. It dropped from 11.1 percent in 1966-64 to 3.9 percent in 1985-88.
5. An upwardly spiralling consumer price index, which serves as an important barometer on inflation. It has risen, seemingly inexorably, from 1.7 percent in 1960-64 to 10 percent in 1985-88.
6. An alarming decline in the value of the rand as measure against the dollar (similar calculations can be made for sterling). In 1960-64 a dollar was worth less than a rand, 0.7; in 1985-88 it was worth considerably more, 2.2. Today, adds Dr de Beer, the exchange rate is about 2.6.

Dr de Beer leaves no doubt about his contention that Government mismanagement and myopia have brought the country to its present economic crisis.

**Economic recovery**

His six tables, as he calls them, in all but one case, are derived from the findings of the Reserve Bank.

The authority for the table not culled from Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletins is Professor P H Spies, of the University of Stellenbosch. His data relate to the percentage of economically active people in the formal sector of the economy.

Dr de Beer records that, not only do audiences applaud his statistics, they do not baulk at his conclusion either: only the complete dismantling of apartheid and the restoration of South Africa as a respected member of the community of nations can put the country on the road to economic recovery.
PRESIDENT Botha today denied he was “a sulking old man”.

He said he was a happy man because he lived in a land of hope, a land of the future.

He was addressing the Cape congress of the National Party where warm tributes were paid to him and Mrs Botha.

The presidential couple were given five standing ovations.

Wearing party rosettes they entered the hall in the hotel where the congress was being held shortly before 10am. The smiling couple greeted people as they walked up the centre aisle.

When they got on to the stage there was further applause from the crowd as Mr P W de Klerk, leader of the National Party, gave up his seat for Mr Botha.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, the new Cape leader of the party paid tribute to Mr Botha as “one of South Africa’s greatest sons”.

“Brave man”

He said Mr Botha was a brave man who had never stood back when there was trouble.

He had generated energy and action and the congress was honouring him for his dedication to the party and the country.

The congress passed a motion paying tribute to his outstanding service and unselfish devotion to the party over many decades. He had put South Africa on a new course towards solving its problems.

The motion said the congress saluted a devoted leadership couple.

In his speech Mr Botha recalled how he had joined the party as an organiser in 1958.

THE time had arrived for a final settlement of the question of political rights for all South African citizens, Dr Dawie de Villiers, new Cape leader of the National Party, said today.

He was addressing the Cape congress of the party after being elected to succeed Mr Chris Heunis as provincial leader.

Dr de Villiers said the next five years would be the period in which South Africans would determine whether their future would be one of peace or violence.

There was a new spirit about in South Africa which offered new opportunities for peace and conciliation.

The National Party viewed the diversity of groups as an intrinsic part of the reality of South Africa, but the party was not dogmatic about groups and also accepted freedom of association.

Referring to the Group Areas Act, Dr de Villiers said it must be admitted that this legislation had caused bitterness and sorrow.

Laws aimed at the protection of communities would have to be decided on through negotiation. Laws that were racist and discriminating could in the end not be maintained.

The National Party’s constitutional proposals had two important pillars.

One was the maximum devolution of power from central government to regional or group governments and local authorities.

The other was central government where the new legislative and executive processes would be structured so that all groups could participate on an equitable basis with consensus as the guiding principle.
By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

Pensioners' telephone rentals will be reduced from R58 to R5 a month and a series of other steps will be taken to provide more security for elderly people and pensioners.

Meanwhile, two former Defence Force generals have entered the political battle against government policies which, they say, are at the root of South Africa's security problems. Major-General Wally Black, retired SADF director of operations, who is challenging the NP in Natal's South Coast seat, condemned the government's race policies as "utterly failed and universally rejected".

Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, former Chief of the Air Force, who is standing for the DP in Walmer constituency, said: "At the heart of our problem lies our apartheid policy. I don't think we realise how much this policy is hated overseas."

General Rogers said he decided to join the Democratic Party because he felt it had both the motivation and the courage "to take the necessary step forward."

Meanwhile, a scathing attack on the government's handling of the economy was made by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer. He said the economic situation would be a major factor in this year's election, more so than in any previous election in the last 50 years.

Dr de Beer said that in any of the world's leading democratic nations, an economic performance half as bad as that seen in South Africa would ensure the defeat of the government.

South Africa's growth rate was now less than one-fifth of what it had been.

"Our inflation rate is more than eight times what it was. And, our disposable income is growing by less than one quarter of the former rate."

Press curbs
In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comments and pictures may be restricted.

THE Democratic Party today launched its election campaign with a 16-page election manifesto pledging to get South Africa out of the mess created by failed government policies.

It commits the party to a bold, wide-ranging plan for restoring an ailing economy, getting genuine negotiated reform going, providing short and long-term security and to breaking the country's international isolation.

It writes off the National Party, saying it has failed to offer the nation economic solutions, real security or constitutional vision. The whole tenor is that the government's promises have come to nothing and, therefore, does not deserve another chance.

"Even the NP leaders realise they have failed and are now running away from their policies."

On economic issues, the manifesto states: "Every South African has been defrauded by apartheid. Every family faces creeping poverty. Enough is enough."

Strategy

The party commits itself to a four-prong strategy to restore the economy, including steps aimed at eliminating 'apartheid extravagance' and controlling the gravy train, increased savings, reduced interest rates, lower taxes and the upliftment of deprived people.

It undertakes to bring inflation down to single figures within three years and to appoint a Minister of Consumer Affairs to protect consumers and prevent price-rigging.

All this, it says, will become possible once international confidence has been restored and investment flows in from abroad.

The DP will free the Reserve Bank from government interference and review the role of agricultural control boards; the "swollen bureaucracy" will be replaced by a leaner, better-paid civil service; politicians will no longer receive "golden handshakes" and will have to disclose their financial interest if the Auditor-General asks them to do so; educa-

tion will receive top priority with equal education for all and better-paid teachers.

The party will double the police force and pay it better.

Real security, the manifesto says, will only come about once genuine, negotiated reform has been achieved. This will include the security of good international relations and good relations between all South Africans.

ANC still banned

The party proposes to reduce the period of national service and to establish a bigger permanent defence force with a view to phasing out compulsory conscription.

The manifesto notes that real negotiation cannot take place while many leaders and organisations are banned, the state of emergency is still in force and apartheid laws are on the statute book.

The DP does not stand for one-man, one-vote in a unitary system. It envisages a federal system based on a universal adult franchise.

It proposes federal states or provinces that will conduct their affairs in whichever way they choose, provided this does not conflict with the constitution or Bill of Rights.

The central government should deal only with matters of national concern, such as foreign affairs and national finance.

Other proposals include:

- The Press will be freed and independent broadcasting companies will be permitted to compete with the SABC, which will be removed from government control and cease to be a Nationalist propaganda mouthpiece;
- M-Net will be allowed to broadcast news;
- The country's heritage of natural beauty will be protected by an environmental protection agency;
- An emergency poverty relief programme will be launched to help the destitute.
- All State-paid pensions will be reviewed against the inflation rate and will be adjusted accordingly; and
A WEAKER government and stronger opposition parties is the right and left will emerge after the September 6 general election if voter trends shown by the latest opinion polls continue until then.

Authoritative surveys show a swing in favor of the opposition parties, and it is feared that the National Party will not be able to maintain its 1970 hold on Parliament.

This is because the government has been weakened by the recent political turmoil in the party, which has lost many of its top leaders to the opposition.

The National Party is facing a strong challenge from the opposition parties, particularly the Congress of South Africa, which currently holds the majority in Parliament.

The opposition has been gaining momentum in recent months, with many voters expressing dissatisfaction with the government's handling of the economy and foreign affairs.

The political climate in the constituency is becoming increasingly competitive, with both parties vying for the support of the electorate.

The outcome of the election will have significant implications for the country's future, with the potential for a change in government and a shift in policy priorities.

There is a real possibility that the National Party, which has been in power for many years, may lose its majority in Parliament, leading to a change in government and a new direction for the country.

In light of these developments, it is crucial for all parties to focus on the needs and concerns of the electorate, working together to promote a brighter future for all South Africans.

By EOSMARE VAN DER MEER, Correspondent in JOHANNESBURG
Pinehurst, South Africa, 22 July 1989

Mr Ken Andrew, television presenter, and Mr Wyszand Malan, a political analyst, discuss the results of the recent elections in South Africa and their implications for the future of the country. The discussion focuses on the performance of the National Party and the implications for the future of the country.

In the main, the discussion revolves around the performance of the National Party and the implications for the future of the country. The National Party, led by Mr. Andrew, is seen as a powerful force in politics, and their performance in the recent elections is discussed in detail.

Mr Andrew highlights the strength of the National Party, who managed to win a majority in Parliament. He also discusses the impact of the National Party's victory on the country's future, and the implications for other political parties.

Mr Malan, on the other hand, looks at the divided political landscape and the challenges ahead for the country. He highlights the need for a strong opposition to keep the National Party in check, and discusses the role of other parties in this context.

Overall, the discussion provides a comprehensive analysis of the recent elections and their implications for South Africa's future. It is clear that the National Party remains a strong force in politics, and the challenges ahead will be significant.

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P in Krugersdorp — poll

The results of the recent elections in South Africa are discussed in detail, with particular focus on the performance of the National Party. The discussion highlights the strength of the National Party, who managed to win a majority in Parliament.

Mr Andrew and Mr Malan provide insights into the political landscape and the implications for the future of the country. They discuss the challenges ahead and the need for a strong opposition to keep the National Party in check.

Overall, the discussion provides a comprehensive analysis of the recent elections and their implications for South Africa's future. It is clear that the National Party remains a strong force in politics, and the challenges ahead will be significant.

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by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

FROM 2 SIDES

show SA may heading for long parliament

Mr Ken Andrew

where the main fight is be-

tween the NP and the DP,

there is also a large unde-
cided factor, with 18 per-
cent still to make up their minds and 14 percent refusing to say how they will vote.

It is still early to say how the support will be divided. It is likely that there will be a significant number of undecided voters. The National Party is expected to win a majority in Parliament, but the final outcome is uncertain.

In the recent elections, the National Party won 62 percent of the vote, while the Democratic Party won 23 percent. The other parties won a combined 15 percent of the vote. The results indicate a divided political landscape, with the National Party remaining a strong force in politics.

The discussion highlights the challenges ahead for the country, and the need for a strong opposition to keep the National Party in check. The implications for the future of the country are significant, and the discussion provides a comprehensive analysis of the recent elections and their implications.

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DP names former CF commander for Parow

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday named a former citizen force officer, Commandant David Plane, 40, as its candidate in the safe Nationalist seat of Parow.

Parow, where the sitting National Party MP, Mr. Hernus Kriel, had a 6,448 majority in the May 1987 election, was until yesterday the only unopposed Nationalist seat in the Cape.

Mr Plane, who is married with two children, is the managing director of several Cape Town companies and a former United Party youth leader in the Cape Peninsula.

Report by Barry Steek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.
I am not a sulking old man, says PW

MORE like a conference of sober academics than politicians stomping to the polls in pre-election fervour — that was the National Party's Cape Congress yesterday.

That much was true for the style, but also for the content.

The main speaker on the central topic of constitutional affairs was the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen — generally regarded as the arch-academician of the NP's political top structure.

Misleading

"The answers to our problems are not simple," he told the congress in the sedate, five-star atmosphere of Somerset West's new Lord Charles Hotel.

"Anyone who tells you differently is misleading you."

Most interest was focused on the uncertain relationship between the party and its former leader, President PW.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Botha, who had turned down invitations to the Federal Congress a month ago and a farewell banquet in his honour,

President Botha arrived soon after the start and listened to tributes paid to him. He then spoke briefly on the value of loyalty.

He also showed sensitivity to critical remarks made about him. "It's not true what some people say 'He is a sulking old man. I am a happy man living in a country of hope and a country with a future," he said.

Mr Botha then shook hands with delegates — and left after about 40 minutes.

The appointment of the new Cape leader of the party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, was also confirmed yesterday.

Report by L. J. Venter, 11 Douglas Street, Johannesburg
for the DP it is much more important to gain the support of black South African organisations both inside and outside the country. Hence Wynand Malan’s visit to London.

On my most recent visit I saw a wide cross-section of political, business and trade union leaders, as well as representatives of the media. We said that South Africa needed a reprieve, a chance to set in motion fundamental change.

I argued that sanctions and disinvestment were not only unhelpful but indeed damaging. I pointed out that while opinion was ahead of the Government and that, given the chance, South Africans would themselves shake off the shackles of apartheid.

Message

Almost everywhere I went I got a similar message. We want to help. We want to welcome South Africa back into the community of civilised nations. We do not want to destroy your economy. We see hopeful signs. BUT we want concrete action, and we need it soon.

Mrs Thatcher, in particular, feels that she has taken enormous political risks in her resolute opposition to sanctions, and therefore a series of domestic and European political setbacks, she needs concrete foreign policy successes to justify her attitude.

She believes that solutions to South Africa’s problems need to be found in South Africa by South Africans. She will help where possible and when asked to do so.

Pressures

This view is, surprisingly, held by her political opponents. The Labour Party and the TUC, while listening closely and sympathetically to their allies in the country, are not wedded absolutely to sanctions and may moderate their stance if it is thought this will bring results.

The business community in Britain also faces enormous pressures in respect of its dealings with South Africa. On the one hand, there is obvious pressure to disinvest (such as Barclays Bank eventually did). At that same time, businesses do not wish to succumb to political pressure in South Africa’s case for fear of being subsequently held hostage to every other political pressure group.

Moreover, there is a genuine desire to facilitate the transition to a new South Africa by educational and development programmes — a social investment strongly supported by the Conservative government. But they, too, need positive action to relieve them of the burden of having to justify that investment.

Interest in South Africa is, for historical and cultural reasons, strongest in Britain, but leaders in Paris, Bonn, Lisbon and Rome are no less eager to help in our search for peace and prosperity.

Scepticism

South Africa has won respect for its acceptance of, and adherence to, Resolution 435 on South West Africa/Namibia. Our diplomats have won back some of the credibility lost by rash actions in the past. Our politicians now need to give this process impetus by embarking on a similar process here.

There is cautious optimism that a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy can be achieved, but there is scepticism that this can come about under the National Party.

The personal impression which F.W. de Klerk made during his visit was undermined by the subsequent publication of the N.P’s manifestos. (Policy-makers in one capital were appalled at the idea of appointing officials specifically to receive complaints regarding possible Group Areas offenders.) For this reason, there is intense interest in the Democratic Party, in its principles and in its programme of action.

Right across the spectrum and right across the continent, the leaders I spoke to were able to see the logic and advantage of our policies and expressed the view that strong support for the DP would give them concrete proof that whites were serious about fundamental change.

Opportunity

There is a unique opportunity for South Africa once more to take its rightful place in the community of civilised nations. Things can be turned around. We can look forward to getting international investment, etc.

But then we need to say, “Goodbye and good riddance to apartheid. We are ready to build a post-apartheid South Africa.” We have the opportunity to send this message on September 30th.

It is an opportunity which we cannot miss. It will not be repeated in a hurry.
Parliament could be a cradle for new-generation Nat Babes
Diep van Heerden

Takes a look at the coming fortunesc

The Domino Theory

Perspec

Peace is at the door.

hand.

is at death's door.
Ball in ANC's court

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE road to direct talks between the Government and the ANC was open if the banned organisation followed the example of Nelson Mandela, National Party leader F W de Klerk said yesterday.

In a speech to the Cape congress of the NP, Mr De Klerk said he wished to involve "recognised leaders" in the search for a solution acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

But in tackling one of the most sensitive issues in the coming electoral campaign, he made it clear there would be no relaxation of the Government's insistence that participants in any talks had to first reject violence.

The meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela had confronted the ANC with a clear choice, said Mr De Klerk.

Dialogue

"Is the ANC prepared to follow the lead given by him (Mr Mandela) and to commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions?"

"If it does, it can become involved in the peaceful process of dialogue and negotiation.

"The ball is squarely in the court of the ANC and not, as some people want to make out, in the Government's court," he said.

"As long as the ANC persists with its policy and acts of violence and intimidation and refrains from clear and honest commitment to peaceful solutions, it excludes itself from the peaceful process of change in SA."

"The National Party will, within this framework, continue its efforts to broaden the base of participants in the peaceful pursuit of negotiated solutions."

"We are not afraid to talk to people who differ from us. But we are not prepared to compromise with violence and terrorism."

Mr De Klerk also explained his view of the difference between the concepts of "abandoning violence" and "commitment to peaceful solutions".

He said the latter approach was "more positive" but made it clear he would expect participants in negotiations to abandon violence as part of the commitment to peaceful solutions.

Mr De Klerk criticised visits and discussions by others with the ANC.

He said this gave the ANC a measure of legitimacy which contradicted the legal and factual position and "circumvented" talks with the Government as the "responsible authority".

He said these visits were financed mainly by foreign governments, many of whom wanted to further their own interests.

Mr De Klerk said he had supported the planning of the Mandela-Botha meeting.

Report by LJ Venter, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.
backs the DP

A POLICE brigadier who clamped restrictions on freed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki has come out in open support of the Democratic Party — and for talks with the ANC.

Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, 56, took early retirement because he disagreed with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen over the role of the police.

His endorsement of the DP is seen as a coup for a party which has already succeeded in attracting high-profile defence candidates such as former Air Force chief General Bob Rogers.

The straight-talking brigadier retired last year from his post as Witwatersrand divisional commissioner — in charge of the largest and most complex police division in the country.

Now farming a 30ha smallholding near Grahamstown, he said he pulled out rather than tolerate "blatant nepotism" in the police and because he objected to the Government "requiring the police to do its dirty work".

"Take Group Areas, for example. There would be complaints to the Minister or whoever, and they (the department) wouldn't know what to do. So they would refer it to the police to take action.

"Now, to me, a man is just a man. It doesn't matter what colour my neighbour is. What's important is his social acceptability. One wants to live next door to someone like oneself."

He had a word of warning for the National Party because "90 percent of the policemen I know don't support the Government and will vote against it, mostly for the parties of the left."

"Look at what they've done to the economy. In 1982 I could get a decent car for R7 000. Now it's R40 000. That tells it all."

He has endorsed the DP candidates in Albany of Mr Errol Moocroft, whom he knows well — the brigadier was divisional commissioner of the Eastern Cape at the height of the unrest.

Said Mr Moocroft: "I'm delighted to have the support of a policeman of the stature of Brigadier Schnetler."

"I'm not surprised at his attitude. In my dealings with him during the crisis in Port Elizabeth in 1982 and 1986 I found him to be a person one could turn to and reason with."

Brigadier Schnetler was responsible for banning an open air Port Elizabeth rally, due to be addressed by Mr Mbeki three weeks after his release from 23 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

It was a fortnight before Mr Mbeki, now 79, was effectively banned by Police Commissioner Henkie de Witt. The brigadier feels bound not to discuss his role (the rally ban in terms of the state of emergency was upheld by the Supreme Court) but he makes no secret of where he stands on talks with the ANC.

"I have no problems with it. Why should I? If P W Botha can have tea with Nelson Mandela, then how can I have any problems in talking to people?"

Moves to paint the DP with the self-protection brush which tarred the FPF were "absolute nonsense, the same old stupid hangover story".

Record

Brigadier Schnetler regards the unrest period as the most challenging of his career, but for him the highlight was coming top in the country in three successive promotion examinations.

"That's still a record. It's never been equalled," he said.

On his retirement, Brigadier Schnetler received letters from policemen who expressed admiration for his directness and refusal to play internal politics.

"I've always believed in straight talking," he insisted. "I am not a fellow traveller."

Report by Bill Krige, 1B Rosenhoop Street, Port Elizabeth.
The way the barometer constituencies voted

UMHLANGA

FROM being a traditional, opposition-held constituency, Umhlanga was captured by the NP in 1987 with a majority of 582 votes. The NP had significantly improved on their 1981 election performance when, in a three-cornered contest between the NRP and the PFP, they polled 35 percent of the vote.

Their success in 1987 was almost certainly due to much greater support from English voters who had previously voted for the PFP or the NRP.

The constituency is a fast-growing, essentially English, middle and upper-middle class constituency. It is predominantly urban and peri-urban in nature.

**Predicted Outcome:**
- 1987: 38%
- 1989: 37%
- CP: 23%
- DP (PFP): 40%

The outcome will be close. A surprising feature for an English constituency is the high support for the CP.

WYNBERG

Wynberg in Cape Town, like Umhlanga, was also captured for the first time by the NP in 1987. Ironically, the successful NP candidate was the son of the long-time leader of the UP, Sir de Villiers Graaff. The shift of support towards the NP between 1981 and 1987 was substantial. In 1981 the NP polled 36.1 percent of the vote.

This rose to 30.4 percent in 1987. Various factors can explain this result: organisational complacency by the PFP, a partial student boycott of the PFP and increasing English support for the NP. The socio-economic profile of the constituency is predominantly lower and lower-middle class.

**Predicted Outcome:**
- 1987: 39%
- 1989: 31%
- CP: 42%
- DP (PFP): 15%

Without the DP, the outcome would be very close. With the DP, the CP appears destined for clear victory.

RANDBURG

More than any other constituency, the result in Randburg is likely to be decided on the basis of the personalities of the high-profile NP and DP candidates. Pitted against one another are DP co-leader Wynand Malan and former National Party MP for Randburg Glen Babb. Mr Babb is also a former deputy director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Previous election outcomes suggest no clear pattern of political attitudes in the constituency, other than that a close result can be expected. Mr Malan was reasonably narrowly elected in 1961 as an NP candidate, winning again in 1987 as an Independent, with support from the PFP.

The NP, with support from the two independents, controls the Randburg town council. The socio-economic profile of the constituency is firmly middle class.

**Predicted Outcome:**
- 1987: 39%
- 1989: 33%
- DP (IND): 56%
- CP: 6%

The final result could be much closer if CP voters decide to support the NP candidate, as they appear likely to do at this stage. The NP candidate is as strong as the DP contender and this will also tend to equalise the balance of strength.

GEZINA

The NP succeeded in retaining the constituency in 1987 with a majority of 768 over the combined CP and HNP votes. With the HNP not standing this year, the NP will have no tough fight on its hands.

The CP won most of the municipal wards in the constituency — north of the Union Buildings — in October 1986. Its socio-economic profile is generally lower-middle class, with many voters employed in the civil service or allied parastatals.

It is an overwhelmingly Afrikaans constituency.

**Predicted Outcome:**
- 1987: 39%
- 1989: 53%
- CP: 47%

The NP majority is slightly enhanced since the 10 percent of voters who favour the DP are assumed to support the NP candidate. If this does not occur, the CP will narrowly win the seat.
Charting a course for a new-look South Africa

The Democrats pledge to eliminate "demoralising corruption and the gravy train."

Under a programme of "immediate action" the DP says it will appoint a Minister of Finance Affairs, free the Reserve Bank from government interference and review the role of the agricultural control boards.

A rising economy, it says, will allow it to cut "positive taxes" that discourage hard work and free enterprise.

It plans to replace the VAT with "the more efficient Value Added Tax" which will have a sliding scale - lower on essentials such as medicines, food and educational books, and higher on luxuries.

It wants to change the recently introduced telephone metering system, end the "unnecessary" tax on beer, and generally treat residents from road tolls.

The cost of government must be trimmed by replacing the "swollen bureaucracy" with an efficient, streamlined civil service and by ending the huge golden handouts to political parties.

Factional officials will be obliged to reveal their financial interests to the Auditor-General.

The DP plans to tackle the housing crisis by stabilising bond rates through a stable economy, making large tracts of land available in and around cities for self-help schemes and relaxing building regulations.

It will scrap the "collapsing" Group Areas Act.

The DP says it is determined to stop the fact that every 20 minutes someone in SA starves to death. To do this it will implement an emergency "General Poverty Programme" based on self-help schemes set up during the depression of the '30s.

On defence matters, the DP says the conscription system is inefficient and wasteful. It proposes a non-racial "Permanent Force" backed by a non-racial Volunteer Citizen Force.

In return to this, it will immediately reduce military service to one year, introduce alternative service and reduce citizen force camps to four.

With a doubled police force and decreased police friction, the SADF will have a diminished role within the borders of the country.

Improved international relations will provide access to modern arms technology.

Although the party says it will not hesitate to use emergency powers, "too many under-staffed, under-paid police units are being used to enforce unnecessary laws and regulations."

"For real security, we must do more than combat crime. We must stem the flow of capital out of the country, we must create a political and economic climate which offers a future for our young, skilled people, a future in which we must provide for our pensioners and the poor, a future where we can live in fear of starvation and eviction."

The DP says the present SA constitution cannot work, simply because it is based on race and excludes the majority.

The NP, rather than seeing our nation's cultural diversity as a national asset, has for more than 40 years explicated our differences as a means of grabbing votes for its racist policies. This has deeply divided us.

However, the DP says, it does not stand for one man one vote in a unitary system.

It stands for universal adult franchise in a federal system.

In the DP's proposed Parliament, every party will have a tally of MPs equal to the proportion of the vote it gets.
RESIGN 1978

Mr. Bester has a B.Com. from Stellenbosch University which he obtained in 1978. He is married to Patricia Bester and has two children, Paul and Julie. He worked as a lecturer in economics at the University of Stellenbosch before being elected to parliament in 1994.

SAFDP GIVES CANDIDATE LEAVE TO FIGHT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

JANICE HILTON

THE SENTINEL

25 OCTOBER 1998

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By Janice Hilton
Realism still peace hopes to live once again
Down in Maputo, a lick of paint and a new

Sunday Times May 23 1988

3rd
By DRIS VAN KEERDEN

VOTE CRISIS

The Sunday Times poll predicts deadlock Parliament

FULL DETAILS SEE PAGE 24

NATS FACE SHOCK SUNDAY TIMES POLL

BLANCHE De KERK: I’ll see the last hope it’s desert could voters vote white show how
How Peoples Party will be defeated in a new election schedule that could be called in
against the government next year. The Democratic Party of South Africa (DPSA) is
expected to be the major beneficiary of the poll, with the National Party in second place.

Figures
Liewe aarde, Evita, what are you going to do next?

*REVIEW by Richard McNeill*

LIEWE AARDE, Evita, what are you going to do next?

With a ton of her locks, an arch of her eyebrows, a twinkle of her eye and a name that's been long-neglected, Evita Bezuidenhout swamped the Lulu of TV convention this week.

She's here and she's here, despite the fact that behind the makeup and the cack-handed and the slithery mythology of homelands and motherland, there lurks playwright and satirist Peter Dirks Uys.

For Evita's NOODA (At Home) to work, Uys with the conscience of his granddads, must create an evolution of womanhood. Indeed, one has to sit in the entire object of the show.

When I saw the conversation, whoever the guest, they cannot be allowed to detract from it.

Helen Suzman managed to make several sharp political points. But even she was obliged to clear the air of political rhetoric and only saw a small part of the show's non-existent political tone.

LIEWE AARDE, Evita, what are you going to do next?

She's sitting in a black baby, told to be her grandchild — now there is something to shock the Modern Grannies — and complaints: "The child is evil — at least it's the right party.

At another point, she says, "I've taken my political activism, I want to reclaim the女权主义 speech again.

The show is sometimes terse and quiet, seldom leaving enough time for the jokes to sink in.

Brian O'Sullivan's opening and closing scenes to camera were cautiously clever and unassuming. When a topical social commentary is about to be made, it is well-judged.

But there's more... THE BBC NEWSWEEK review, margaret Thatcher, 16 years in office featured in M-net on Thursday.

Why do male reporters (and politicians!) feel so obliged to put the lady down? Is it something to do with treatment of masculinity or the elevation of women?

Velveteen Labour Party hacks like Dennis Brutus and Josias Machel need to be treated with respect.

LIEWE AARDE, Evita, what are you going to do next?

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LIEWE AARDE, Evita, what are you going to do next?
SA, East bloc to swap diplomats?

Eastern bloc diplomats will be stationed in Pretoria within 18 months, Soviet officials told top South African businessmen at a secret meeting in England.

Academics, business leaders and the Government are said to be negotiating for the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and South Africa to place trade representatives in each other’s capitals.

A spokesman for Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, asked for confirmation of the plans, said: “Nothing is imminent, but it is true that trade with Eastern Europe has increased in recent times.” — Own Correspondent.
Survey shows that many are undecided

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Star's opinion polls, the results of which were published last week, revealed that many white voters have not yet decided which party to back in the September 8 general election.

The main findings were that:
- A large floating vote of between 20 and 30 percent exists, the highest of which was registered in Pinetown (24 percent), followed by Gardens (23 percent), Boksburg (22 percent), Randburg (21 percent), Krugersdorp (17 percent) and Innesdal (10 percent).

MAJORITY
- The Conservative Party seems unlikely to oust the National Party in marginal seats such as Innesdal, Krugersdorp and Boksburg. In all three constituencies, the NP appears to be narrowly in the lead with most of the undecided voters saying they would probably vote Nat.
- The Democratic Party seems likely to improve its majority in Pinetown and Gardens, two former Progressive Federal Party seats. From these two surveys, it appears as if the DP has succeeded in providing former PFP supporters with a political home, with between 70 and 60 percent of progressives in these constituencies pledging their support to the fledgling party. The DP also appears to be drawing considerable support from traditional NP voters, both English and Afrikaans.
- However, as in the 1987 election, the English vote has emerged as a critical factor and appears to be wavering between the NP and DP camps.

In Randburg particularly, a poll conducted in June and another in July have indicated that the NP was gaining support, mainly among English voters.

(Report by Esmaré van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)
The question of conscientious objection to national service cannot be ignored. The Conscientious Objector's rights are fundamental to the principles of liberty and democracy. The Nelson Mandela government has enacted legislation to protect the rights of conscientious objectors. This legislation provides for the right to object on moral, religious, or humanitarian grounds. It also provides for alternative service, such as community service or education. The legislation ensures that conscientious objectors are treated with respect and dignity. The government is committed to upholding the rights of all citizens and ensuring that they are protected under the law. The Mandela government has also made efforts to improve the living conditions of South Africans, including the provision of education, healthcare, and housing. These efforts are aimed at ensuring that all citizens have access to basic services and can live in dignity. The government is also committed to promoting social harmony and reducing inequality. It has introduced initiatives to promote reconciliation and to address historical injustices. The government is committed to working towards a society that is just, equitable, and inclusive.
Condemn the action by rebels

ONE of the saddest reflections on human nature is whenever contending sides in a conflict attempt to settle their disputes, hostilities become fiercer.

As president Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya discussed peace initiatives for Mozambique, the Renamo rebels increased their fight.

Rebels had attacked Renamo Garcia a few hours after National Party leaders, Mr F W De Klerk held talks with President Chissano.

It was reported in South Africa that there was a massacre at Renamo Garcia, an important railway station across the border from Mozambique.

Many civilians were reported to have been killed by Renamo rebels.

The Renamo rebels are obviously anxious that peace talks between Mozambique, South Africa and other African nations should fail. They are wasting their time.

South Africa has shown that it has no wish to support the rebels as these terrorists have been an embarrassment to them. The civil war between Mozambican rebels has destroyed large parts of Mozambique.

It is about time the international community condemned very strongly the acts by these rebels. They are sounding peace talks not only in that area but in the rest of the subcontinent.

The Sowetan's cartoonist Len Sek is on holiday. His cartoons will reappear when he returns.
Old Crocodile at Nat congress shows he isn't a sulking outcast

SOMERSET WEST — There was a warm smile on the Great Crocodile's face as he said goodbye to the Cape National Party here at the weekend.

It had been his life-long career, his vehicle, his power base, his love. His hour or so at the party's 74th congress was clearly inspired by his deep involvement with Cape Nationalism after 52 years in the thick of it.

His arrival with Mrs Elize Botha made nonsense of Tuyu buy's excuses three weeks ago that because the State President was above party politics he could not attend the NP federal congress in Pretoria and a farewell banquet in his honour.

Slap

Some viewed his appearance at the congress on Saturday as a slap in the face for Mr F W de Klerk.

But Botha men said he had made this exception because the Cape NP was almost family to him.

"He just came by to greet old pals," said one aide as he watched the retiring leader shake eager hands.

Had Mr Botha wanted to snub Mr de Klerk bluntly, he would have refused to accept the outstretched hand of his successor who crossed a roomful of tea-drinking congress delegates to bid him good luck.

Mr Botha and his wife arrived shortly before the morning tea-break. Wearing an NP rossette and waving at the 600 delegates, he walked to the top table.

Mr de Klerk and his wife, Marike, who had been occupying the seats of honour, moved to the far end of the table to make way for the first couple.

Mr Botha responded by tracing his links to the NP back to the congress in 1936. Repeatedly using the word "loyalty", he said there had always been the same loyalty between himself and the Cape NP.

Turning to his health, Mr Botha said he was happy to say he had recovered fully from his stroke of January 18.

"It is not true what some people say: 'He is a sulking old man'," he noted.

"I am a happy man. I live in a country of hope and a country with a future," he said in a short speech which did not see the emotion he displayed in his farewell to the Defence Force recently.

Mr Botha smiled and laughed easily, looking healthy and relaxed as he mingled with delegates.

This was not the leader who had run the Government with an iron first for a decade, he said with an awesome temper.

Mr Botha was out to prove he was not a sulking old man, that he was leaving public life gracefully. He did a convincing job.

(Report by Alan Dunn, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)
Party promises doubling of police force

DP manifesto takes tough line on security

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party launched its election campaign at the weekend with a line-up of star candidates — including several generals and other top brass — a bold new approach to security issues and an all-out attack on the Government’s economic policies.

Under the banner “A government in the making”, the DP introduced its candidates and presented its manifesto at an election rally in Cape Town on Saturday.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the DP could not have been born at a better time as there was an air of expectation in South Africa and abroad, and people were tired of the cynicism of the NP.

The DP was going for power and saw the September 8 election as a referendum on the NP’s record, the country’s future, economic decline and international isolation, on the one hand, and on a nonracial, democratic and prosperous future on the other.

Co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said that more than in any other election since 1948 it was certain the economic situation would be a major factor in this election.

In any democracy, an economic record half as bad as South Africa’s would have led to the defeat of the government.

But the NP had diverted voters by exploiting their racial fears. Now that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and senior members of the Soviet government had been entertained at Tuynhuys, this tactic was no longer going to work.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan justified the DP’s decision to contest seats where the NP was fighting the Conservative Party, and where the DP could not win, by saying it was important for the DP to make grassroots contact to measure its support.

At the congress, the DP attacked the issue of security head-on. The cornerstone of its security policy is a plan to reduce national service to one year, cut Citizen Force camps to four and use the money saved to double the number of police.

Defence spokesman and Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling said the reason for the DP’s approach was that the external threat to SA had diminished considerably while the real threat was from within in the form of low-level sabotage, sporadic terrorism and the possibility of internal political unrest.

Crime rates were soaring while the police were often unable to cope with ordinary crime prevention because they were enforcing political legislation.

The DP’s security offensive was reinforced by its line-up of military candidates, including former Air Force chief Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers and former Director of SADF Operations Major-General Wally Black.

(Report by P Fabricius, 42 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Nine Delegates seats will be fought

The Democratic Party has announced it will contest nine House of Delegates seats in the September 6 general election.

This decision yesterday was a change from an earlier controversial ruling that the party would only put up candidates for the three seats it had in the house.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said the decision was a regional one and "not a national challenge to the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) on the issue of participation as a strategic objective".

The earlier decision to limit candidates to three unless they could "assist the party in bridging the parliamentary/extra-parliamentary divide and promoting the negotiating process" led to the DP leader in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam, being expelled from the party.
Culture in Another South Africa
edited by Willem Campscheur
and Joost Divendal
(Zed Books R36.00)
Reviewed by KAIZER NYATSUMBA

"A sycophantic press is the most fertile breeding ground for tyranny"
— a delegate at the December 1987 CASA conference in Amsterdam, Netherlands.

A 1987 festival-cum-conference in Amsterdam, attended by about 300 exiled and non-exiled South African artists and cultural workers, brought together some of the finest minds in literature to have come out of this country.

There writers, journalists and other cultural workers who had only heard about each other, or had last seen each a long time ago, discussed, debated and argued about the role of culture and cultural workers in a future, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Their discussions laid the groundwork for the book, Culture in Another South Africa, so called after the theme of the ten-day meeting.

The book — like the conference which involved the participation of the African National Congress’s Department of Arts and Culture, the mass democratic movement in South Africa and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands — is an attempt by cultural workers to grapple with the question of what culture in another South Africa, and to draw distinguishing lines between a “ruling class culture” and a “progressive culture.”

The dilemma of the South African “situations”, where a “superior, dominant culture” is all-pervasive and exercises such a great subtle and not-so-subtle influence over the “inferior, passive culture” is well catalogued and exposed, and alternatives are suggested.

Seeking excellence

Significantly, however, the artists who attended the conference and participated in the festival were not called upon to lower themselves to the level of being peteaters mindlessly engaging in political pamphleteering and sloganeering.

Instead, they were urged to “pursue excellence in their respective disciplines.” To practice vigorously their trades in the best manner they know, to consciously stand up against apartheid and to ceaselessly expose its ills through their works. Journalists were also asked to be enthusiastic propagandists, but to leave no stone unturned in their duty to uphold freedom of information and the public’s right to know.

Mongane Wally Serote’s introductory essay, “Now we enter history,” shows that the man is not only a great poet, but also a very articulate orator. In this essay Serote skillfully dissects the “apartheid culture” and finds it to be what it really is: a culture of domination which has no necessity to be replaced by a much more inclusive, democratic culture.

In their joint paper on “Restrictions on the media — a reflection on journalism.” Mono Bade and David Nodrie catalogue the press’s woes in this country and the gagging effects of the new, semi-permanent states of emergency.

Cosmo Pietterse’s “Towards a survey — a reflection of South African poetry,” is an academic discussion of the state of (black) South African poetry. Unlike those who view the role of (black) South African poetry as being only political conscientization, Pietterse acknowledges that it is an art capable of much more than that.

“South African poetry,” he writes, “that healthy sound, weeps, and smiles and it makes. It is informed with history; it is there to help shape history.”

Exiled South African musician Jonas Gwangwa and Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesman Fulco van Aurich point out in their joint paper on “The melody of freedom” that South African music is held hostage by apartheid and the reluctance by some recording companies to take a chance with records which may not get airplay on SABC radio or television.

“The apartheid record business takes a good care that the artists released by them do not express themselves in political terms,” they say. It is no wonder then that low-grade, bubble-gum music in the black market has flourished.

Black South African musicians have also the other disadvantage that few of them have a cross-over appeal, and normally “white” radio stations, according to Gwangwa and Aurich, are reluctant to “broadcast black music.”

Boycott justified

“Through black (radio) stations, however, the regime does make propaganda for white culture in order to poison the black communities,” Gwangwa and Aurich conclude.

The issue of the controversial cultural boycott is discussed in detail and made lucid in Conny Braam and Fons Gerlings’ joint paper, “Towards new cultural relations — a reflection on the cultural boycott.”

Though quite definitive, the paper does not at all solve the problems or controversies surrounding the cultural boycott, but at least it gives important, albeit not so popular, justifications for the necessity of the cultural boycott.

Interested in culture in “another” South Africa? Then you must read this book.
The flag must go, 
says Hendrickse

PORT ELIZABETH — The South African flag was a symbol of “white domination, injustice and theft” and would have to go, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

Addressing an election meeting at Patensie, Hendrickse said every nation should be proud of its flag, “a symbol of nationhood” and binding.

The South African flag did not serve this purpose and would have to make way for a truly South African flag.

The present flag, he said, containing minatures of the flags of the two Boer Republics and the Union Jack, represented the history of whites in South Africa.

South Africa also needed a new national anthem which would act as a binding symbol, he said.

People “of colour” could not identify with the words of “Die Stem” and would join their black brothers in singing “Nkosi Sikelel’Afrika”.

The Labour Party leader said a new South Africa would have to see a marked re-distribution of land, and added that there was enough for all if it was shared fairly.

Land which had belonged to the coloured people, he said, had been stolen by whites — land which had been worked by these people and for which they had died.

Earlier, he criticised the Government for wanting Mr Nelson Mandela to “join hands” in the search for peace while he was still in jail.

“First he must be free — then he will be in a position to join hands with the Government,” he said. — Sapa.

(News by Patrick Oei, 18 Beaches Street, Port Elizabeth)
Courageous leader we need still very much out of sight, says De Beer

Is smiling FW really the Man of Action?

CAPE TOWN — National Party political posters round South Africa are trying to convince voters that benevolently smiling leader Mr F W de Klerk is a "Man of Action."

But is he? His political opponents think not, and even one of his chief propagandists cannot produce convincing arguments to back the claim.

The only issue on which he has a proven track record as a man of action is his proliferation of the racially exclusive and extremely expensive system of Own Affairs as chairman of the white Own Affairs Ministers' Council.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer says that so far there is little or no sign of Mr de Klerk showing he will be "the courageous reformer we so badly need." Dr de Beer concedes he has "nice manners."

But he adds that this has nothing to do with being a man of action.

"I would say that F W de Klerk is one of the most cautious politicians I have ever encountered."

"His project is always to please everybody and to avoid commitment in any irreversible action."

"He has spent his entire life within the cocoon of the National Party, during a period when apartheid was its watchword, its voice-getter, its only real policy."

"He is finding it extremely difficult to break out of that mould."

"One can watch de Klerk struggling with himself as he speaks."

As the election draws near, F W de Klerk's political track record is coming under close scrutiny, reports BRUCE CAMERON, Political Correspondent.

"There are well-chosen phrases like equal dignity and participation in political processes, but he always comes back to the group concept."

For example, Dr de Beer says, Mr de Klerk excited people soon after taking over leadership of the NP by saying it was less obsessed with groups, but almost immediately added that groups were a fact of South Africa life.

"He says he is against racism, but says it is nonsense to talk of a non-racial society in South Africa."

Dr de Beer says he has repeatedly and unsuccessfully asked Mr de Klerk: "Do you propose a vote of equal value for every South African?"

Mr de Klerk also showed little sign of action in response to the question so many people are asking: "Will the Group Areas Act be scrapped?"

Referring to recent opinion polls, Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk had lost both sides.

"Perhaps this will be the story of his life. If one is too cautious to choose either direction, attacks from both sides may prove successful."

Academic and political commentator Professor Sampie Terreblanche was even less charitable in a recent article, warning that Mr de Klerk could take action, but the wrong type of action, leading the country into a Verwoerdian-type impasse for a decade, or the Verwoerdian 1959 model of grand apartheid which promised separate freedom and political sovereignty in independent and economically viable homelands.

The De Klerkian 1989 model of group apartheid promised separate freedoms and political sovereignty for defined racial groups over Own Affairs and "consensus" (read 'white dominance') over General Affairs. Both models were equally unacceptable.

But in contrast to Verwoerd's ideological arrogance, Mr de Klerk left comfortable: "only when he has reached what he regards as the middle position on the ideological spectrum."

Professor Terreblanche said Mr de Klerk's obsession with a middle position on the ideological spectrum made him very vulnerable to pressure from both the Left and Right.

Mr Con Botha, who as the NP's director of information had a hand in the "Man of Action" slogan, feels there is proof of action.

He presents three arguments.

Firstly, he says that within a matter of months Mr de Klerk has made the whole concept of the great Indaba and negotiations a matter of practical politics.

Second, presentation of the National Party's plan of action devised by Mr de Klerk and his provincial leaders, which although not a step-by-step guideline, was a plan to get things started.

The plan went further down the road of renewal than the NP had before, for example, by accepting the principle of a Bill of Rights as well as replacing rigid group concepts with a more community-based idea which would permit non-racial groupings.

Third, he had taken action to meet the leaders of the black community, the national states, various European countries, including one of the leaders of the free world.

In these three respects alone, Mr Botha said, Mr de Klerk had shown that he will be the one "to take sustained and even possibly spectacular action."

Whether Mr de Klerk is a man of action will be one of the major debates of the coming election and will be an argument on which it will be difficult to reach conclusions.

Present NP talks are about what he will do in the future. It is hardly surprising that they do not talk about what he has done in the past — having been described by one political commentator as "the man who has left no political footsteps."

BLOEMFONTEIN — South African women have been encouraged by the Board of Officers of the National Council of Women of South Africa to read and discuss the working paper of the South African Law Commission on a Bill of Rights.

In its first "Notes from Headquarters" for 1989 the Board reminds members that in 1979 Mrs Sheila Mackenzie, in her presidential address to the 45th NCW conference in Pretoria, called for a Bill of Rights for South Africa.

The Board said that with the general election in September, members of NCW would be thinking seriously of the policies of the various political parties and how they would "operate your great privilege of casting your vote".

Members were urged to do their reading on a proposed Bill of Rights in good time and not to be like the man in the television advertisement who was still reading about the problems of moving the day before the removers were due. — Sapa.

(Report by Eadie Rhodes, 494 Colosiaal Mutual Building, Maitland Street, Bloemfontein)
Answer to NP plan

DP pledges to improve S Africa's prosperity

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has outlined a plan of immediate action which it will undertake if it forms the next government after September 6.

The list of specific election promises is contained in its election manifesto, published at a weekend election launch in Cape Town.

The plan has been seen as a response to the National Party's five-year action plan announced last month.

The DP promises to:
- Bring down inflation to single figures within three years.
- Appoint a minister of consumer affairs to protect consumers and prevent price-rigging, to give more muscle to the Consumer Council and to appoint an official ombudsman.
- Free the Reserve Bank from government interference to control the money supply carefully.
- Review the role of agricultural boards.
- Work hard to end "punitive" rates of inflation.
- Reduce GST to 10 percent, remove GST on medicines, and switch as soon as possible to value-added tax at a graduated rate, with the lowest on foods, medicines and educational books and the highest on luxuries.
- Introduce separate tax for married couples.
- Change the recently introduced telephone metering system.

Road tolls

- Exempt local residents from road tolls.
- Cut down government spending by ending duplication of government departments.
- Streamline the civil service and reward merit with pay.
- End "golden handshakes" for retiring politicians and oblige officials to declare their financial interests before taking office.
- Fill the 250,000 empty classroom seats in white schools.
- Improve teachers' pay and give women teachers the same pay and benefits as men.
- Scrap the Group Areas Act but simultaneously ensure that minimum neighbourhood standards are maintained.
- Review and adjust all State pensions.
- Reduce pensioners' telephone rental from R18 to R5 a month.
- Establish a well-paid and well-trained nonracial Defence Force.
- Build a strong, voluntary Citizen Force.
- Reduce national service to one year and reduce Citizen Force camps to four on the way to phasing out compulsory conscription.
- Offer alternative national service in the meantime.
- Double the size of the police force to ensure better crime-prevention.
- Pay police more and train them better.

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 41 Baxter Street, Johannesburg)

See Page 6.
SA, East bloc to swap diplomats?

Eastern bloc diplomats will be stationed in Pretoria within 18 months, Soviet officials told top South African businessmen at a secret meeting in England.

Academics, business leaders and the Government are said to be negotiating for the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and South Africa to place trade representatives in each other's capitals.

A spokesman for Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, asked for confirmation of the plans, said: "Nothing is imminent, but it is true that trade with Eastern Europe has increased in recent times." — Own Correspondent.
DP asks Govt to let ANC meet Mandela

CAPE TOWN — The key political row over talks with the African National Congress has taken a fresh turn with the Government being asked to give an ANC delegation safe passage to hold talks with its jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The request has been made by Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, following his meetings with the ANC last week.

There was no immediate response today from Government spokesmen.

Mr Malan said the ANC and Mr Mandela should be able to confer to establish their position on negotiations.

At the weekend, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk cleared up confusion over the NP position at the NP Cape Congress, attacking groups that had held talks with the ANC.

Mr de Klerk said the road to direct talks was open if the banned organisation followed what he claimed was the example of Mr Nelson Mandela and committed itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions.
Huge floating vote key to shocks

Bell goes for poll that could cripple Nats

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

More than 600 candidates are being nominated for
election to Parliament
today, setting the scene
for the largest and one of
the most unpredictable
elections in the country's
history on September 6.

In the House of Assembly
a record total of at least 400
candidates from four parties
is expected to be confirmed
when nomination courts sit
to test the eligibility of appli-
cants.

In the House of Representa-
tives more than 100 candidates
are expected from three parties
and in the House of Delegates
more than 100 candidates could
be nominated from a record
tally of seven parties.

Nearly 5.5 million voters have
been registered for the elections
in all three Houses, 3.1 million
white, 1.7 million coloured
and 655,000 Indian.

In the Assembly especially,
the election is expected to be
one of the toughest and most un-
predictable since 1968 with polls
indicating a vast range of opin-
ions about the outcome.

Some polls have given the CP
as many as 49 seats and the DP
more than 50 which would give
them a combined total of more
than the ruling NP and make a
hung Parliament inevitable.

Losses to CP, DP

The Star's own polls also show
the NP losing support to both
left and right, but do not suggest
anything like a landslide erosion
of support for the NP.

But the poll also has revealed
the existence of a large floating
vote of up to 20 percent in some
constituencies. All parties agree
this decisive vote will be won
or lost by campaign, which
begins in earnest today.

In the Assembly the NP is ex-
pected to put up candidates
in all but three or four of the 146
directly elected seats, the likely
exceptions being Vereville, Sand-
ton in the Transvaal and Con-
stance in the Cape.

The CP total is expected to be
131 with few more candidates
announced over the weekend
in the marginal seats of Morris-
burg, North, Undani, Benoni-
hurst and Randburg — all seats
where the CP candidate could
split the NP vote and help the
DP win.

The DP would probably put
up 106 candidates as well as
those in the House of Delegates.

The DP and CP's decision
to put up candidates in seats
where they have no chance of
winning but where they can split
the NP vote, was likely to become
an election issue, Mr Piet Coetzee
the NPF's Transvaal informer
officer said today.

He said the latest candidates
announced by the CP proved
that there was at least 'passive
co-operation' between the CP
and the DP and that voters
would expect against this.

Agony at music festival

Pams' handles at the S.A.
may be the most lasting en-
core for many.

An angry caller, Mr Stu-
lee, said he had arrived at
the festival just after mid-
night.

This was a hell of a long
queue to get to the road to
tell us there was no en-
core for many.

We arrived at Nauta-
son 2.15 pm where the space
killed any hope.

At 5.45 pm South Afric-
ians told us they were closing
"We showed them the
place where it said the buses
open 2 hr but it was open
for 24 hours; the queue was
leaving thousands of fans bitterly disappointed.

But guitar master Eric Clapton,
clad in a white suit and pants and a
black jacket, made up for it with a 2-hour session which received tumultu-
ous applause, especially for well-
known numbers such as 'Tears of the
same.

Mr Piki Butho ... "trade has in-

SA, East bl

Eastern bloc diplomats
stayed in Pretoria within
Soviet officials told top S.
businessmen at a secret
England.

Academics, business lea
Government are said to be
Huge floating vote the crucial factor

By Peter Fabricius
and Esmaré van der Merwe

With six weeks to election day, political parties are pulling out all the stops to win over the huge pool of undecided voters which has emerged as a crucial factor in this year’s general election.

The Star’s opinion polls in six key constituencies, published last week, have revealed a floating vote of between 20 and 30 percent likely to be influenced by the parties’ propaganda campaigns which kick off today when candidates are officially nominated.

The Star’s polls, considered reliable by politicians and experts, suggest that CP support may have reached a plateau while the DP seems to be the party making most gains from the NP.

Large floating vote

However, party spokesmen and analysis are reluctant to make firm predictions on the overall outcome of the election because of the large floating vote.

The Star’s polls were conducted by Marketing & Media Research, which correctly predicted the 1987 result in six constituencies then polled.

Commenting on the polls, the NP’s chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, said the NP’s propaganda would be a far more formidable factor than that of other parties.

The NP had begun its election campaign after waiting to see what issues emerged from attacks by the opposition parties. This had given the opposition parties a head start which he thought the NP would now close.

The DP’s Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal, said The Star’s poll was an indication of a swing to the DP and a stagnation in CP support had been confirmed by other polls.

“If the CP can’t take Krugersdorp, Boksburg or Imsdeal it simply can’t improve its position. Voters should not even take the CP into account when making their choices.”

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, who according to The Star’s poll in Randburg seems to have lost some voters to the NP’s Mr Glenn Babb, conceded the NP’s election strategy of portraying itself as the reform party and at the same time preaching “conservative wit gevaar” had been successful in the early stages of the campaign.

However, voters would realise before the election that the Nats’ five-year plan contained nothing but nice-sounding phrases. He warned against voting “Nats to keep the CP out.”

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP’s information director, said the polls had underestimated CP support as most polls tended to do.

“My prediction is still that we are looking at a hung Parliament with 40-plus seats for the CP and 32 to 35 for the DP.”

University of Cape Town political analyst Professor David Welsh said surveys had indicated the NP was losing support to both the Left and the Right, but strikingly more to the DP than to the CP.

Although the CP would increase its number of seats, it seemed as if the rightwing opposition had peaked.

White working class

“To some extent, the CP revolt had been class-based. The CP went to town on whipping up the white working class and the distressed agricultural voter. There probably is a ceiling to that.”

“Another factor is that the folly of Boksburg has done the CP more damage than it would be prepared to admit.”

Professor Welsh said the DP seemed to be attracting significant numbers of traditional NP voters, initially English-speakers, but now growing number of Afrikaans-speakers.

He remained sceptical of a “hung” Parliament scenario, predicting that both the DP and CP would probably increase their seats to about 30.

“One of the great truths of South African politics is the resilience of the NP’s election machine. The NP will go all-out during the remaining six weeks.”

Rand Afrikaans University analyst Professor Albert Venter said the huge floating vote was the “joker in the pack” in this year’s election.

“The fact that many voters are becoming less certain of their choices is significant, especially in Afrikaner politics where people have always voted for the NP on ideological grounds only.”

(Report by Peter Fabricius and Esmare van der Merwe, Eet Eerst St, Johannesburg.)
The executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, at the weekend attacked the United States Government for shilly-shallying over whether or not the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, would be received in the White House.

In a statement Mr Kane-Berman said: "In the last few years political leaders like Chief Buthelezi and Mrs Albertina Sisulu as well as a number of religious personalities have been received by either President Reagan or President Bush.

"One can only applaud the open-mindedness to differing views which this suggests.

"How regrettable, then, that the Americans, like a nation of Hamlets, seem incapable of making up their minds as to whether to receive the leader of the National Party."
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has accused the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, of trying to drive a wedge between Mr Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress.

According to a statement released by the Archbishop, he was responding to a speech at the Cape congress of the National Party at the weekend in which de Klerk reportedly asked whether the ANC was "prepared to follow the lead given by Mandela and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions."

"Our liberation movements have sought change peacefully since before 1910 (the date of union)," he said in the statement.

"It is his government which forced the ANC and PAC to turn to violence by banning them and it is his government which must unban them and create conditions conducive to negotiations."

"His crude attempt to try to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC is deplorable, and the court, which indicates that he is not serious about negotiations," said the Pretoria High Court yesterday that de Klerk had "sown division."

BUSH SLAMMED
600 Start Race for September Poll
NP tackles burning issues

THE National Party has tried to address several burning election questions in a pamphlet, Key Issues. Election 6 September 1989 which was distributed at its Cape congress at the weekend.

It touches on economic questions, constitutional issues, the protection of white rights, corruption and the Group Areas Act.

Some examples: “In possible to prevent majority rule when blacks participate in Government?”

“The unique democratic dispensation that must be developed in South Africa cannot, as in the past, solely rest on the premise of ‘winner takes all.’

“Decisions based on numbers cannot ensure stability... the different groups must participate as groups.”

“In practice” each group will have its own voters roll to determine its leaders.

“The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs by means of consensus.”

To the question, can a black man in terms of the NP’s policy, become State President, there is no yes or no.

Instead it says the position of State President can be an important symbol of national reconciliation and all groups should participate in the election of the State President.

But it suggests the powers of the State President would first have to be reduced to prevent domination.
DP predicts major upset against Meyer

The DP yesterday predicted it would achieve a major election upset by unseating a deputy minister in the Johannesburg West constituency.

Although Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer won the seat by 3,566 votes in 1987, the DP has since won a municipal ward in the area.

DP's Transvaal chairman Peter Soul said the party was being inundated by calls from voters pledging support or asking how to cast special or postal votes.

The NP, DP and CP nominations were accepted yesterday — Willem Hefer for the DP and Andrew MacQueen for the CP.

Meyer said the constituency represented a cross-section of the electorate.

It includes Auckland Park, Brixton, Mayfair, parts of Emmarentia, Vrededorp, Cottelose and Braamfontein.

He retained the seat in the 1987 election with a majority of 3,566 votes over the PFP (2,385) and the HNP (1,911) in a low percentage poll of 51.41%.

CP candidate MacQueen put the penetration of Mayfair, Vrededorp and Cottelose by Asians and blacks as high as 69% and said it would be a major issue.
GERALD REILLY

labelled "State President P W Botha".

A spokesman for the President last night
denied the allegation as a petty attempt
to discredit Botha by means of transparent
campaigning aimed at the general

election. The game, he said, had been
transported in accordance with the rules.

Jacobs said the CP had received its in-
formation from an impeccable source, but
would not disclose names.

He said the issue had been referred to
the Advocate-General and a report had
also been made to the police. Charges

would be laid "very soon".

Jacobs said it was known to be regular
practice for the President and certain

Ministers to hunt on Zuurfontein farm, Feur-
smith, owned by Pieter Jacobs.

The CP had established a hunt took place
on Friday and according to its information

Minters were present.

The vehicle’s registration number,
BDW765T, had turned out to be false.

The correct number plate had been
found behind the seat. It was BSN719B —

an official police vehicle. The driver, Sgt

Game

Vernon Day, had admitted not having writ-
ten authority to transport game in terms of
the Game Ordinance, said Jacobs.

He had further admitted fetching meat
from the farm for the President over the
past three years.

Jacobs said it had been established that
the police badge on the vehicle had been
covered.

According to the CP’s information, Day
had also stated he was told if he encoun-
tered problems he was to flash his police
card, and if there were further problems
he should tell the inquirer to get in touch
with a Col Jacobs in Pretoria.

CP spokesman Jacobs said it appeared
the following charges could be relevant:

□ Transporting meat without written au-
thority;

□ Falsification of a number plate;

□ Fraud in connection with the identity of
the vehicle or alternatively theft in con-
nection with a petrol fill-up at a police
station;

□ Making use of a government vehicle for
private purposes;

□ The transport of meat into a slaughter-
carrier vehicle without permission; and,

□ Defeating the ends of justice.

The President’s spokesman said Botha
had gone hunting on Pieter Jacobs’s farm
on July 20.

"The State President was not accompa-
nied by any member of the Cabinet. The
State President shot a number of game at
the invitation of Mr Jacobs. This together
with venison presented to him and other
personal effects of the State President
were transported with State transport in
accordance with the rules."

The spokesman said the police were re-
sponsible for the protection of Botha and
his effects. If there were any irregularities
in the transport of his effects it was up to
the police to investigate.

Acting Police Commissioner General
Johan van der Merwe said any allegations
of irregularities involving the SAP would
be thoroughly investigated.

Advocate-General Mr Justice Piet van
der Walt said last night he knew nothing
about the matter. "This is the first I hear of
it," he said.

Report by Gerald Reilly 216 Vernon St, Pretoria, and Mike
Robertson 11 Dagmar St, Johannesburg.
Battle lines drawn for election tussle

THE battle lines were drawn yesterday for the fight for power in 166 seats in the House of Assembly as 428 candidates were nominated in what is seen as the most unpredictable election in SA history.

Just two candidates, veteran DP MPs Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) and Dave Dolling (Sandton), were elected unopposed.

In all, about 700 candidates were nominated for elections in the white, coloured and Indian Houses.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse was elected unopposed in his Swartkop constituency.

The DP is taking legal advice on whether the NP candidate in Berea, Natal MEC Val Volker, can be prevented from standing.

Volker was nominated at the last moment to oppose DP leader Denis Worrall.

The party had taken advice from counsel on whether Volker could be prevented from standing in terms of the Constitution Act, which states that people who have been appointed to offices of profit may not contest elections.

A total of 57 candidates will fight for the 20 Natal seats. While the NP and DP will contest all 20, the CP plans to contest an unprecedented 15, the HNP one, and an independent will fight in Pinetown.

The HNP’s candidate in Vryheid will make it the only four-way contest in the province.

Four of the seats will be straight fights between the NP and DP.

A total of 197 candidates will fight for the 78 Transvaal seats. The NP will contest 74, the CP 67, the DP 40 and the HNP 12.

A total of 56 candidates will contest the 14 Free State seats.

The CP has put up 14 candidates against the NP’s 14, while the DP will contest six and the HNP three.

Three four-way contests will take place between the NP, CP, DP and HNP in Bethlehm, Welkom and Virginia.

A total of 127 candidates will contest the 56 Cape seats. The NP is putting up 56 candidates while the CP has 33, the DP 33 and the HNP five.

In all, the NP is putting up 164 candidates, the CP 155, the DP 99, the HNP 21 and independents five in the Assembly elections.

Two other coloured Ministers, Chris April and Andrew Jules, were elected unopposed.

The NP sprang a surprise on the DP by putting up two women President’s Councilors in the western Cape seats of Constantia and Groote Schuur. Martha Ockers will contest Constantia and Elsabe Kemp Groote Schuur.

The CP also surprised by putting up Wilmot Grobler in Randburg, where DP leader Wysand Malan is facing a tough challenge from former Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Glenn Babb.
"There's an image in SA that your country is cruel"

South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, is interviewed by New Times correspondent, Nikolai Reshetnyak.

Some years ago it would have been hard to imagine a Soviet magazine interviewing South Africa's Foreign Minister - a country which the Soviet Union has no diplomatic relations with because of its policy of apartheid, unanimously condemned by the world community.

Soviet journalists are rare guests in South Africa. But frankly, I was really excited at the prospect of visiting it.

Working in Lusaka, Zambia, I had often observed the problems that arose in South Africa's relations with its neighbors.

The interest in the Soviet Union was also apparent in the fact that it didn't take long to get the go-ahead for my interview with the Foreign Minister. Clearly the Minister himself appreciated this unique opportunity to speak with a representative of the Soviet press.

Mr. Botha spoke on many subjects. With seeming satisfaction, he dwelt at length on the global problems of the modern world.

He voiced straightforward, and perhaps debatable, opinions on the situation in the country and the struggle waged by the African National Congress.

As others demand, I didn't interrupt.

Positive attitude

New Times: Mr. Botha, what do you feel on meeting a Soviet correspondent after so many years of tension in the relations between our two countries?

Mr. Botha: In my opinion such meetings are certainly useful since nothing can be as good as direct contacts.

My many years of experience tell me that people who visit South Africa without knowing what the country is really like, leave it with a more positive attitude.

The reason is simple. For many years information about South Africa has been one-sided and it was impossible to convince a foreigner who had never been to the country before that in our society there are positive and constructive things, too.

I believe the same can be said of Soviet journalists. I suspect you too arrived here biased. Now you will have formed your own personal impressions.

Now let's look at this from another angle. What do I know about the Soviet Union? My knowledge has also been formed on the basis of reports in the Western media, books by dissidents who have emigrated to the West, and material made available to me by African leaders and diplomats who have worked in Moscow.

I have been to the Soviet Union. But I am trying to do what little I can to get more accurate information about your country. However, very often I have to be a prisoner of somebody else's vision.

Hence the danger that I, too, may be biased with regard to the Soviet Union, the obsession with your government, and the everyday concerns of your people, although I do want to know what makes your people happy or bitter.

Perhaps I am saying too much? Perhaps I should refrain from passing judgments on another country and its people until I have some personal experience.

New Times: The South African press has given wide coverage to the elections in the USSR and the development under way in our country. What is the reason for this interest?

Mr. Botha: Your country has been closed to us for far too long, hence our curiosity and keenness to know what's going on in the USSR.

For many years we've tended to think you are cruel. Your labour camps in Siberia are packed with people who die like flies. Your legal system is far from perfect.

This image of your country, unfortunately, is widespread here. Similarly, I believe, you imagine South Africa as a country where the whites oppress and murder blacks. Have you seen anything of the sort here?

I have just received a delegation of Africans and, frankly, for me it's easier to negotiate with them than to be aggressive.


Mr. Botha: I've read the Gorbachev book almost in full. Many ideas in it are explained clearly and sincerely. It's a useful, intelligent and realistic book.

New Times: The implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 452 on apartheid and for Namibia has already started. What is your idea of Namibian future relations with those neighbouring countries that call themselves Frontline states?

Mr. Botha: I believe the region is definitely an integral part of the world. It is not enough for any country in South Africa's role in its relations with the necessary conditions for developing their economies, better living standards and better health care, new jobs, and prosperity for the region as a whole.

New Times: What will be the main priorities in South Africa's foreign policy in the event of the country abolishing apartheid and emerging from international isolation?

Mr. Botha: In South Africa is my home. So, my main goal is the development, development and further development of my country.

Better education

I want to have modern roads, and clinics and hospitals. I want a better education system.

We have much work to do here in South Africa so that our children and grandchildren don't accuse us of neglecting our problems.

What is the main threat to our survival, given our isolation? The US congress. It is slowly strangling us economically. Our Union? If the USSR lifts its sanctions against this country it will not mean you are on the side of the whites, but the South African government, and for apartheid.

If it will mean you are looking forward that you see that the whole of Africa is fighting for its future. Who will build the Africa of the future? Who will give jobs to the blacks? Who will give them food? Who will give them medicines?

We have a stake in just trade relations with all countries of the world, the USSR included. This will not mean that you approve of my policy, and equally, it will not mean that I fully approve of Gorbachev's policy. It will mean simply that we are looking for ways to peace and trade for the benefit of our peoples.

New Times: What is your assessment of the current situation in the country from the standpoint of the economic and democratic movements, beginning with the African National Congress, and beginning with direct and sincere dialogue with the other democratic movements?

Mr. Botha: The African National Congress can legalise itself by putting an end to violence and extorting terror.

The ANC can't force us to collaborate by exploding bombs.

The time has come to state that the time for violence is over, as it is apartheid.
DE ETHER...and

SIMON BARBER in Washington
Shamed in his face
White House door
30th
Why De Kierck had

OK at this way that
NP made us all the poorer

DP's Malan

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Government's economic and security records were attacked by Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Mr Wynand Malan at the official launch of the DP election campaign in Randburg last night.

He said the Government's mismanagement of the economy had "made us all steadily poorer".

The NP remained "deadly silent" on the state of the economy and on internal politics.

Mr Malan believed a hung Parliament after the September 6 election was now "a real possibility" and he foresaw a situation where Mr F W de Klerk would look up to the DP for support "in order to form a government of some kind".

Three former NP members, Mr Andre Stapelberg, Mr Thys Sutherland and Mr Piet Pletser, pledged their support for Mr Malan, and said they deserted the NP because of its failure to act boldly in the interests of all South Africans.

Mr Sutherland said breaking away from the NP, which he had supported all his life, had been "a traumatic decision".

(Report by K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
NP under heavy fire at launch of DP’s campaign

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The National Party's reform rhetoric, economic track record and 'own affairs' policy came under heavy fire from the Democratic Party last night at the launch of the DP's election campaign in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

More than 800 enthusiastic DP supporters packed the Saxonwold Primary School Hall to listen to DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer, standing in Parktown, Johannesburg North MP Mr Peter Saal and the party's candidate in the opposition's Houghton, Mr Tony Leon.

In a scathing attack on National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk's efforts to separate Mr Nelson Mandela from the African National Congress was "a ludicrous thing to do".

Describing Mr Mandela as the ANC's spiritual leader for more than 25 years, Dr de Beer said Mr de Klerk's recent "yes to Mandela, no to the ANC" statement demonstrated the NP's "lack of guts".

Elaborating on the NP government's economic mismanagement, Dr de Beer said: the solution to the ailing economy was political reform.

"And the only remedy is to put the DP in power — if not in this election, most definitely in the next," he said.

Mr Saal said the DP offered specific alternatives to the NP's vague generalities expressed in its recently-publicised five-year action plan.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
We would end up a socialist state — Vlok

DP path ‘leads to Freedom Charter’

EAST LONDON — If South Africans took the route the Democratic Party had chosen, they would end up with a constitution based on the Freedom Charter, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said last night.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Cambridge, attended by about 100 people, Mr Vlok said the DP associated with extra-parliamentary groups that were seen as the internal arms of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

National Congress.

“We would end up with a socialist state,” he said.

DP policy did not take realities into account. Mr Vlok described their election manifesto as “hollow promises which they would not be able to fulfil”.

One reality the DP had not confronted was that there were different groups whose rights had not yet been protected.

Another reality was that the country’s financial resources were limited. “We would like to pay the police and civil servants more, but where do we get the money from?”

He also attacked Conservative Party policies, saying they would only lead to tensions and confrontation.

“If South Africa gets a CP government on September 6 then not only Boksburg will suffer, but East London as well.”

He said the NP was a winning party because it was capable of change and a new vision.

“We have made mistakes and admitted our mistakes, but we have also changed and chosen the road ahead.”

He said a constitution had to be found which would be acceptable to the majority of South Africans, but not based on the Freedom Charter or partition.

“We ask you to trust us and give us a mandate to go ahead with our five-year plan so that there can be security, peace and freedom for our people.” — Sapa.

Babb hits out at DP’s stance

National Party candidate for Randburg and former Ambassador to Canada, Mr Glen Babb, came out strongly today against the Democratic Party for fielding candidates in marginal seats.

“I wish to slam the DP for putting up candidates in constituencies which are marginal between the NP and the Conservative Party.

“A good showing by the CP in this election will do immense damage to our foreign relations, yet the DP prefers to go for the glamour of putting up candidates where they have no hope of winning.”

The former ambassador is contesting the Randburg seat against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. — Sapa.

(Report by P Malherbe, DI Caxton St, East London)
Stage set for fierce elections

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The three main parties in the House of Assembly will join battle in 77 three-cornered election contests, setting the stage for unpredictable results on September 6.

This emerged when nearly 700 candidates in all three Houses of Parliament were confirmed by nomination courts in 266 constituencies yesterday, 415 of them in the House of Assembly.

Polls and political analysts have all predicted one of the fiercest contests since 1948, with the NP losing support to left and right.

The large number of three-cornered contests is likely to magnify NP losses to the DP and the CP.

The National Party has put up 164 candidates for the 166 Assembly seats, the Conservative Party 129, the Democratic Party 98, the Herstigte Nasionale Party 19 and there are five independents.

Yesterday's nominations confirmed the tactics of the DP and CP of putting up candidates in seats where they cannot win but where the entry of a third candidate will split the vote and could result in the NP losing.

The NP conceded last night that the DP entry into contests between the NP and CP could hurt the NP in 18 constituencies in the Transvaal, such as Bethal, Lydenburg, Springs and Rosettenville.

The DP retained its first parliamentary seats yesterday when veteran Johannesburg MPs Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Dave Dalling were returned unopposed in Yeoville and Sandton respectively.
Bloomberg to take on four contenders

**Third dimension in Randburg fight**

**Quiz for ‘reformers’**

**Ex-minister convicted on car charge**

**Record company loses R7 000 in hold-up**

**FIVE candidates, including two independ- ents, were yesterday nominated to contest the Randburg constituency where the NP won from the FP in the 1970 election.**

Nigel Plaw, a rising business executive, is one of the two independ- ents, and he said at an interview: "I fully support the sentiments of the people of Randburg, but I am not qualified to be a parliamentarian."

However, he said there seemed to be no reason why the voters should not have a choice.

Bloomberg said he decided to contest the four candidates would vote for an independent but any support they get would reduce both DP and NP votes. He did not see the NP candidate as a threat.

**He said his party’s support would not make much difference in the constituency. He was not interested in contesting the seat.**

**Angie Bailey of the BP in Randburg, was named for the NP in the constituency, and he said he would be able to make a difference.**

**He said his party’s support would not make much difference in the constituency. He was not interested in contesting the seat.**

**NATIONAL RUSSELL**

**We believe that a choice should be made between two parties prepared to negotiate with the ANC and one party which will negotiate with everyone else.**

**He said his party’s support would not make much difference in the constituency. He was not interested in contesting the seat.**

**SA’s recent history was littered with the political careers of so-called re- formers who had been successful in steering the country towards freedom.**

**He said his party’s support would not make much difference in the constituency. He was not interested in contesting the seat.**

**The police have announced that they have arrested 400 people in connection with the rioting in the township.**

**He said his party’s support would not make much difference in the constituency. He was not interested in contesting the seat.**

**The company has been informed that it has been found guilty of contempt of court and has been ordered to pay costs.**

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**The company has been informed that it has been found guilty of contempt of court and has been ordered to pay costs.**

**He said his party’s support would not make much difference in the constituency. He was not interested in contesting the seat.**
Remark not racist – Derby-Lewis

By Glen Elsas
West Rand Bureau

The Conservative Party spokesman on economic affairs said in the Krugersdorp Civil Court yesterday that he would leave the country, if a black government were to come into power.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was being questioned by the advocate for Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels and the National Party during a defamation of character case following a National Party advertisement in which Mr Derby-Lewis allegedly advocated compulsory sterilisation for blacks in order to bring down the numbers of the black population.

Mr Derby-Lewis is claiming R5 000 in damages.

The statement was allegedly made during an interview Mr Derby-Lewis had with Mr Jaap Booysen of the Sunday Star. Mr Derby-Lewis took the matter to the Media Council and the Sunday Star was told to print a retraction.

Advocate Mr Lappe

Laubscher, for Mr Wessels, put it to Mr Derby-Lewis that he was a racist. He referred Mr Derby-Lewis to an article of Gus Silber in Frontline in August 1986 in which he was apparently quoted as saying: “Black people are being paid more than they need. This encourages them to frequent social facilities which should be out of their bracket.”

Mr Derby-Lewis denied the remark was racist, saying racism was a relative concept.

The hearing continues tomorrow.
The Transvaal Indian Congress has condemned the Democratic Party for fielding nine candidates for the House of Delegates.

The TIC said the DP's decision was an insult to the Indian community, "the large majority of which rejects any participation in the House of Delegates".

The TIC believed the DP was playing a divisive role in Indian areas and was "doing the dirty work of the National Party".

"This makes the DP no different from the other collaborationist parties, like the National People's Party and Solidarity."

The TIC further called for a boycott of the election, saying the tricameral Parliament was irrelevant to change. — Sapa.

(Report by N Oelofse, 41 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)
CP claims illegal use of PW in row over

By Peter Fabreins
Political Correspondent

President Botha was challenged today to say what rule allowed him to use a police vehicle to carry game carcasses.

The row was triggered yesterday when the Conservative Party charged that after he had hunted in the Free State last week, several carcasses were transported for him in a police vehicle showing false civilian number plates.

Mr Botha did not respond to the charges about the false registration, but a spokesmen for his office confirmed that "state transport" had been used to carry the buck and other personal effects of the State President.

He confirmed that Mr Botha had hunted on the farm of his friend, Mr Pieter Jacobs, near Fourmister on July 26.

He had shot some buck and deer, together with other venison given to him, had been transported in state transport.

This was done "reigns rei", he said, "(according to the regulations) or according to custom".

Today, Mr Frank de Rust, the CP's chief whip, demanded to know what rule entitled the State President to use state transport for a pleasure trip.

"If there is a state regulation or accepted practice granting him to do this, then be most precise", said Mr de Rust.

"Our evidence was that the vehicle was carrying false number plates. Why was that done if he was using the transport according to the rules?"

'Change the custom'

Mr Rupert Lortimer, the Democratic Party environment spokesman, said today he would be looking into the matter to see if Mr Botha had introduced any conservation laws.

If this was done according to custom as Mr Botha says, then, it is about time the custom was changed. If he wants to go hunting he should do so at his own expense.

A big question mark still hangs over the CP allegations that the police vehicle was showing false civilian registration.

The acting Commissioner of Police, General Johnstone, was in New York, and last night the allegations would be "thoroughly investigated".

The CP's Losberg MP, Mr Francis Jacobs, revealed details of the hunting controversy at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

He said that a 3-litre Nissan vehicle was staked out as a police roadblock near Krugersdorp at 10.30 pm on July 21 this year.

The vehicle was carrying carcasses of two kudu, two wildboar, one reedbuck, and one each, all labelled "State President PW Botha".

The vehicle's registration number was BSW 561 T, which later proved to be false.

The correct number plate - BSA 725 B - was later found concealed behind the seat of the vehicle.

"It was a police vehicle with the official SAP sign on the side", said Mr Jacobs.

Red label

Mr Jacobs said the police sign on the vehicle was covered by a red label, "apparently to conceal the fact that it was a police vehicle".

The vehicle was driven by one of the senior members of the SAP, who admitted he had no written permission to transport venison as required by wildlife ordinances.

He said he had been carrying venison for the State President for three years in a police vehicle.

Toll road users will re

By Paula Fray

Frequent users of the Govan Mbeki toll plaza on the N1 in the East Rand will be granted concessions once the charges are lowered from August 5.

The plazas in the toll road were detailed during a meeting convened by the concession holder, Expressways, at an East Rand hotel yesterday.

The fully completed Springs Krugersdorp expressway will be South Africa's first privatized metropolitan toll road.

The concessions are only applicable to those drivers using credit or flat management cards who will then be given a final account — with concessions calculated according to the number of times the road was used — at the end of the month.

From 2 pm on August 5, cars, busses and trucks will get a toll fee of 75c for the 1.5-km journey using the road more than 40 times will be charged 50c per trip.
Big splurge on election

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

MILLIONS of rands will be spent by political parties on fierce campaigning in South Africa's biggest general election so far.

The National Party especially will be the big spender. The party is contesting 164 seats in the Assembly and, according to party sources, it will spend up to R100,000 a constituency.

Apart from pamphlets and other direct-mailing approaches to voters, the party is planning a series of glossy newspaper advertisements. A video in which a number of ministers appear, and which will be used mainly at house meetings, is being prepared.

The party has, through the years, built up big campaign funds in all the provinces. It has hired a public relations and advertising company in Johannesburg to assist it.

The Democratic Party has launched a multi-million fund-raising campaign over the next few years, but it maintains that it does not have the huge amounts the National Party has at its disposal. It will nevertheless, spend several hundred thousand rand on the campaign.

So will the Conservative Party, which today rejected suggestions that it was in financial difficulties following the large sum it had to spend in last year's municipal elections.

A party spokesman in Pretoria said the party had enough money, and that it would spend between R40,000 and R75,000 per constituency in the 150 seats it is contesting.

A Labour Party spokesman said between R20,000 and R40,000 would be spent on the 66 seats the party is contesting in the House of Representatives.

Foot the bill

In the case of this party, candidates are expected to foot the bill for their own campaigns, but the party will have to help pay for some of the pamphlets to be distributed.

The National Party is being challenged in every seat it held in the old Parliament, often in three-cornered crunch contests with the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.

This has Nationalist organisers worried that their support in many seats will be split in a way that will let one of their opponents in.

There were indications today that a "don't split the vote" campaign will be a feature of the NP's efforts. The party will go all-out to warn voters in some areas not to vote for the Democratic Party because it could let in the Conservative Party.

In addition, the party will, in the face of DP and CP attacks on its economic and reform policies, try to build up the image of its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, as a true reformist who deserves a chance.

Instead of spelling out its re-
Open facilities ‘helping to build good relationships’

Political Staff

OPENING beaches, hotels and other facilities to all was helping to “build good relationships” but the Separate Amenities Act would not be scrapped, Mr Myburgh Streicher, Deputy-Minister of Transport and MP for De Kuijlen, said at a meeting in Kommetjie in support of Simon’s Town MP Mr Harry Dilley.

- Mr Wynand Malan, Democratic Party co-leader and MP for Randburg, said at a meeting in his constituency that the government’s mismanagement of the economy had made South Africans 15 percent poorer than they were in 1974.

- Mrs Esme Chait, National Party candidate for Green Point, has written to voters to tell them the NP is committed to reform, but also to preserving all that is “good and fine” in the country.

- Mr Kent Durr, Minister of the Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, arrived at the nomination court to be confronted by a challenge to a public debate by his Democratic Party opponent, Dr Esther Lategan. Mr Durr was not available for comment last night.

- Dr Andries Treurnicht Conservative Party leader, was greeted in Nylstroom by cheers when he arrived at the Waterberg nomination court.

His opponents, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais and Mr Francois van der Merwe, a farmer nominated for the NP, received more subdued ovations.

- In Pietersburg NP agents apparently arrived unprepared for the payment of their candidate’s R500 deposit.

NP chairman Mr Schalk Schalkwyk came to the rescue with his cheque book, causing the CP’s Dr Willie Snyman to refer later in a short speech to the NP’s “cash-flow problems”.

- Dr Denis Worrall, Democratic Party co-leader, said in Umfolozi that the DP viewed the election as a referendum — “on the NP’s record and the country’s future, on apartheid, economic decline and international isolation on one hand and on a non-racial, democratic and prosperous future on the other”.

- Mr Jan van Eck, DP MP for Claremont, said the National Party had misused Nelson Mandela’s commitment to peaceful change to sow division between the black leader and the African National Congress.

(Reports by M Morris, 12 St George’s Street, Cape Town, K Nyatsumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg)
OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has called on President P W Botha, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the rest of the cabinet to resign because of alleged involvement in illegal transportation of game carcasses.

At a press conference here yesterday, Losberg CP MP Mr Fanie Jacobs claimed that a three-ton truck with false number plates had been stopped by a traffic inspector and a police official on July 21 outside Jagersfontein.

In the back they found the carcasses of two kudu, two wildebeest, about eight blesbok and an ox, Mr Jacobs said. Each had been labelled "State President P W Botha".

The correct number plate of the vehicle had been found behind the truck's seat. It was BSN 719 B — an official police vehicle, Mr Jacobs said.

The driver, Sergeant Vernon Day, had admitted not having written authority to transport game.

Mr Jacobs said it had been established that the official police badge on the vehicle had been covered.

A spokesman for the President dismissed the allegation as a petty attempt to discredit Mr Botha. The game, he said, had been transported in accordance with the rules.
Opinion polls point to a ‘hung’ parliament

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THERE is increasing speculation in political circles about the possibility of a “hung” parliament.

Opinion polls show a considerable draining away of support from the National Party to the right as well as the left. A “hung” parliament means that there will be no party in the Assembly with an overall majority.

According to the polls the National Party may still have the highest number of seats but not an overall majority.

In such a case the party would have to seek the co-operation of one of its opponents, the Democratic Party or the Conservative Party, if it wanted to form a government. It would have to pay the price for this because any other party could demand seats in the Cabinet and the acceptance of some of its own policies by a new government.

One of the most important effects of a “hung” parliament would be on the election of the new President. At present the party with an overall majority in the Assembly can elect the President.

Electoral college
In terms of the constitution can elect 50 members of an electoral college to choose the President while the House of Representatives has 25 members and the House of Delegates 13.

Again the National Party would need the help of another party. Alternatively, the party would try to woo individual members of other parties in an agreement with another would cause serious tension in its own ranks and start a disintegration. It is unlikely that all remaining supporters would co-operate with a CP or the DP.

*Photo: Full House: It was standing room only at the Democratic Party meeting in the Pinelands Civic Hall last night.

*Photo: Political joke: Democratic Party candidates Mr Jannie Mombarg, left, and Mr Jasper Walsh share a joke at Pinelands.

*Photo: Candidate: The DP candidate in Tygervallei Ms Michelle Gutler speaking at the party’s launch in Pinelands.
What the Contending Parties Stand For

By P. F. De Keer G. N. Prentiss

[Excerpts from a recent N. P. NR. P. FRANK E. ROY.

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THE CONTENDING FRONTS.
NP faces losses to left and right

The Professor of Political Science at the University of the Western Cape,

The Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Cape,

The Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Cape,
Race is on

/00 stand in biggest election ever

The biggest election race in South Africa's history formally got under way yesterday.

A record number of more than 700 aspirant MPs registered at nomination courts across the country in the 206 constituencies for the three Houses of Parliament.

There were many surprises among the candidates for the tough September 8 contest — now little more than six weeks away.

Among them was the Conservative Party nomination of a candidate in Randburg, where Democratic Party colleague Nynand Malan faces a hard battle against the National Party's candidate and former diplomat, Mr. Gideon Bakh.

There are 65 three-cornered fights for the House of Assembly. Nine of these are in the Western Cape, all NPF-held. They are Bellville, De Kuilen, False Bay, Maitland, Paarl, Piketberg, Swellendam, Wellington and Worcester.

The NP nominated the largest number of candidates in contest 166 seats of which 67 are in the Transvaal, 33 in the Cape, 15 in Natal and 14 in the CPS.

The Democratic Party is also fighting on a broad front, substantially surpassing the number of seats contested by its PF/FP/NNDM predecessors in 1981. The party has undertaken to field nearly 100 candidates of which 40 will fight Transvaal seats, 33 Cape, 20 Natal and 6 CPS seats.

The NPF is contesting 21 seats, three in the Cape.

At least 17 sitting MPs were unopposed. Among these are Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendricks (Swarthope), the current Chairman of the House of Representatives Mr. Ntaba Sucha (Eastern Free State), and two senior Democratic Party MPs — Mr. Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) and Mr. Dave Dallas (Sands). In the House of Assembly.

In the House of Delegates, constituency, the ruling Solidarity Party fielded candidates in virtually every constituency, and had at least five candidates returned unopposed.

Both Solidarity leader Dr. N Reddy and NNP leader Mr. Amieh Naidoo are opposed. At least nine political parties are fighting the elections, a fact seen as a reflection of the political confusion that has reigned in the House.

Surprises were the nomination of two women members of the President's Council for the National Party in Groote Schuur and Constantia, two Democratic Party candidates in Bellville and Wellington and NNP candidates in Maitland and Malmsbury.

Against the wishes of many anti-apartheid or organisations, the DP has nominated ten candidates in the House of Delegates — including one against Dr. Reddy. NNP leader Mr. Pat Poovalingham is standing as an independent democrat in his Reservoir Hills constituency.

In Constantia, the deputy mayor of Grahamstown, Mrs. Margette Bicker, is challenging the sitting DP MP, Mr. John Smith.

IN FINE METTLE... DP candidate for Groote Schuur, Ms. Dene Smuts, looks forward to a clean victory over Nationalist Mrs. Elizebeth Krop. While DP colleagues Mr. Colin Eglin (left) and Mr. Jan van Eck look on.

To page 2
CP ready to talk to ‘other groups’

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Over 2,000 people jammed the Pretoria City Hall last night to hear Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht present the party’s manifesto for the September 6 general elections.

They roared approval when he spelled out the CP’s uncompromising vision of partition with complete self-determination for whites in their own homeland.

They were a little less sure when Dr Treurnicht — showing that even the CP was susceptible to the current vogue of negotiation — said the CP was prepared to negotiate with other groups about the constitutional future of the country.

Non-negotiable

But they were reassured again when he insisted that in any such negotiations the “right of whites to complete self-determination would be non-negotiable”.

Dr Treurnicht even forecast that through negotiation, the CP could implement its policy of separate homelands for different races.

But, he said that the CP was not prepared to negotiate with the ANC “or any other terrorism organisation that practices violence and communism”.

He said nothing illustrated the difference between the CP and the National Party better than President Botha receiving a goodwill visit from Mr Nelson Mandela.

The NP was prepared to talk to him and consider releasing him because he had supported peace.

Yet, at no stage had he said he no longer stood for communism.

The NP insisted that as long as the ANC was committed to violent methods it had no place in a South Africa governed by the NP.

This meant if the ANC forswore violence, it would be accepted around the conference table.

However, the CP believed the ANC could never be part of a white South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht joined the NP and the DP in promising to review the system of 24-month-long national service.

He said the CP did not believe in making “cheap promises”. It accepted that South Africa needed a well-equipped and well-trained army.

The CP would not gamble with the country’s security and would not gamble with the highly valued lives of its young men.

But if it came to power it would take another look at whether it was necessary for national service to last two years.

“If we can get by with less, we will,” he said.

(Report by P Fabricius, 206 Veronica Street, Pretoria)
PARTICIPATION is arguably the crucial issue in our politics today. How to reach an apartheid-free society is, after all, logically prior to issues concerning the political and economic nature of such a society.

The how will also largely determine the nature of the what. A liberal democratic society is unlikely to emerge from a prolonged, destructive battle in which the "struggle" and the "State" — an overused and simplistic dichotomy — eventually collapse around a "negotiation" table.

Democracies — in the Western, liberal sense of the term — are fragile and unlikely to emerge from the ashes of an African Lebanon. That’s the stuff revolutionary socialist regimes are made of. Process and product are inextricably related to one another.

The participation issue in SA — i.e. whether or not and to what degree anti-apartheid forces should work in the "system" — is thus not (as certain politicians have rather carelessly put it) a question of principle. It is the strategic issue par excellence.

And the question that specifically requires attention from South African liberals is whether a liberal democratic society can possibly arise from a non-participative or boycott stance along the lines propagated by the supposedly "mass democratic movement".

This crucial aspect of the participation debate has not received the attention it deserves. The debate surrounding Poulakkagem and participation in the DP has been limited to less fundamental concerns.

Real issue

Attempting to reconcile the party’s commitment to the "development of strong power bases in Parliament ... with the objective of gaining control" and its decision, in effect, not to participate in the "coloured" and Indian houses of Parliament, and debating Lasko’s possible role in that decision are peripheral — albeit interesting — problems.

The real issue, which South African liberals have yet to face squarely and which Van Zyl Slabbert refuses to acknowledge, is whether participation in the "system" will destroy — as it undoubtedly will — cordial relationships with the extra-parliamentary left.

The issue surely is whether participation or boycott of the "system" is the most effective way of opposing apartheid and facilitating a liberal democratic outcome. The left’s broad commitment to non-racial, democratic society should not prevent liberals from critically questioning the suitability of "anti-apartheid" strategies that emanate from that source.

South African "liberals" who propagate "soft options" and the like — i.e. an unqualified acceptance of all strategies from the MDM — are either unaware that liberals must by definition be orientated to means and not ends (the end can never justify the means) or willing agents of undermining a liberal democratic society.

The lack of a liberal consensus concerning participation is intimately related to a pervasive uncertainty amongst South African liberals as to their short- to medium-term political role. This is in turn related to what certain commentators have labelled the anti-power or apolitical approach of South African liberals to politics.

Collaboration

To generalise greatly, but necessarily, one can distinguish pseudo-liberals who see their political role as simply facilitating negotiations between the "system" and the "struggle" — the NP and the ANC — and liberals who envisage a more substantive, lesser broker-oriented role for liberal democratic forces.

The former oppose participation in the "system" because they equate it with collaboration and see it as postponing the "big bang" which leads to negotiations between Afrikaner and African nationalists. Big bang liberals deny the existence of a South African middle ground and see themselves as honest brokers in facilitating negotiations between the "system" and the "struggle".

Liberals support participation because they envisage themselves as a major power player — and not simply the good guy in the middle — in a process of accommodating the fears and aspirations of all South Africans.

In their view, liberalism in a future SA will be best served by a strong contingent of participatory forces committed to liberal democratic values and more.

These two views on the future role of liberals and the nature of accommodation/negotiation in SA cannot co-exist. That they have done so to date in liberal party politics is a sad commentary, and not unrelated to the pitifully undermobilised middle ground in our politics.

O’Malley lectures in politics at Unisa. Booysen is a political consultant based in Pretoria.
Transition to post-apartheid era discussed

Top economists in secret ANC talks

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Two of the Government's top economic experts have had secret discussions on the country's economy in a post-apartheid era with ANC economists and Russian and East German experts on Africa.

Professor Jan Lombard, deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, and Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, were among 28 South African economists, financiers and academics who attended the six-day conference in Lausanne earlier this month.

It is believed to be the first time officials at such a high Government level have held discussions about the economy with the ANC.

The Star understands that other members of the group were the acting chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Frans Bark er, and Mr Estian Calitz of the Department of Finance's Central Economic Advisory Service.

Private sector

The private sector was represented by Dr Conrad Strauss, managing director of Standard Bank, Mr Rudolf Geuws of the Rand Merchant Bank, and Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of The Perm Building Society.

Experts from the major South African universities also attended, as did representatives of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Dr Brand, who confirmed he and Professor Lombard were at the talks, said the presence of the ANC and others at the meeting did not mean it was "cloak and dagger stuff".

He said in a statement: "There was a conference on the economic policy of South Africa. It was, although it was not stated as such, on the post-apartheid period. We did not use that term."

The conference was arranged by a Swiss public administration institute (Institut des Hautes Etudes en Administration Publique).

"They invited a number of people from South Africa and academics from the United Kingdom and Europe who specialise in southern Africa. There were some ANC people."

Details of the talks, held from July 9 to 13, are disclosed in the "Southern Africa Report", edited by former newspaper editor, Mr Raymond Louw.

It says Professor Lombard read a paper on monetary and fiscal policy and Dr Brand delivered a paper on economic co-operation.

Issues such as agriculture, economic growth and the growth crisis in South Africa, the role of the private financial sector in a future South Africa, unemployment, and economic growth "in a transitional economy" were discussed.

"Southern Africa Report" says the aim of the gathering was for South African economists to discuss issues with ANC economists.

The focal point was the transition from an apartheid society to a post-apartheid South Africa "and on the economic methods which would be employed to achieve a smooth transition".

Delegates were said to have agreed the economy was in crisis because of apartheid.
Campaigns will cost millions

Political Staff

Millions of rands will be spent by political parties in fierce campaigning for the general election.

The National Party, especially, will be the big spender. It is contesting 164 seats in the House of Assembly, and party sources say it will spend up to R100,000 in each constituency.

Apart from pamphlets and other direct-mailing approaches to voters, the party is planning a series of glossy newspaper advertisements.

A video is being prepared in which Ministers appear. It will be used mainly at house meetings.

It has hired a public relations and advertising company to assist it.

The Democratic Party has launched a multimillion-rand fund-raising campaign to extend over the next few years, but says that now it does not have the huge amounts the NP has at its disposal. But it will nevertheless spend several hundred thousand rands.

So will the Conservative Party. It has rejected suggestions that it was in financial difficulties because of the money spent in the municipal elections last year.

A Labour Party spokesman said R20,000 to R40,000 would be spent on the 66 seats it is contesting in the House of Representatives.

Report by T. W. van Zyl, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.
CP promises to keep policy on homelands

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party is determined to enforce separate homelands for blacks, Indians and coloureds, but will negotiate with them about this "to make removals unnecessary".

The CP promises this in its election manifesto, which was published in Pretoria yesterday.

In new developments, the CP also comes out in favour of limited privatisation and promises to reduce Cabinet Ministers' salaries if elected.

The manifesto spells out some details of the CP's partition policy, but avoids the tricky question of the exact boundaries of the white homeland.

Partition

It promises to implement partition by:

- Allowing only whites to exercise political rights in South Africa.
- Introducing labour preference areas — that is, for Zulus in Natal and Xhosas in the Eastern Cape and coloured people in the Western Cape.
- "Coupling" blacks, coloureds and Indians who find themselves in South Africa with their own states.

This will be done in several ways, the most impor-
tant being voting rights. Also the government of a national state will be enabled to provide certain services to its citizens in white South Africa.

- The Budget will be systematically used to promote black development inside their own national states rather than in South Africa.
- Influx control will be re-introduced.
- Only white trade unions will be allowed in South Africa and all other trade unions will be disbanded. Other machinery for the settlement of labour disputes will be established.
- Non-white urbanisation will be restricted to a minimum in white South Africa.
- Black local authorities will communicate with black states to promote homogeneity in black towns in South Africa and to enable black states to deliver services to their "own" people in white SA.

The CP says it is prepared to negotiate with the democratically elected leaders of other communities on these matters, "but regards the white community's right to self-determination as non-negotiable.

"It will not negotiate with the ANC or any other terrorist organisation which practises or promotes violence or communism, nor will the party allow any such negotiation to take place.

"The CP is not prepared to share power with the urban black. "The CP will point out to them the success of partition."

"It says it will "make removals unnecessary" by negotiation, decentralisation, job creation and other measures to regulate settlement patterns.

The CP rejects the "dogma that a people can be protected as a so-called minority in a unitary state."

The main points of the CP's economic policy are:

- Individual enterprise;
- The rooting out of corruption;
- The promotion of productivity;
- Fiscal and monetary discipline, and therefore the curtailing of government spending;
- The principle that each people is responsible for its own economic development.

Taxation will be reduced to a more acceptable level, the use of loans by the state to cover current expenditure will be avoided, the income from privatisation of state enterprises — where the party deems it advisable — will be used for the payment of state debt or economic infrastructure.

Subsidies will be reduced to the absolute minimum and excessive subsidies will be removed.

(Report by P Fabricius, 114 Vermoeun Street, Pretoria).

See Page 4m.
NP policies to blame for economic ills

By Malusi Nkomo

The National Party is responsible for the country's economic ills, National Party leader Mr. Malusi Nkomo said last night. The party has failed to make substantial progress in its economic policies, he said.

"We have been in power for several years now, but we have not been able to turn around the economic situation," Nkomo said. "The country is still struggling with high unemployment, poverty, and inequality."

Nkomo argued that the National Party's policies have failed to address the needs of the majority of South Africans. "We have been focusing on the needs of a small elite, while the majority of the population remains left behind," he said.

The opposition Democratic Party has accused the National Party of being a "party of the rich," and has called for radical economic policies to address the country's economic challenges.

"Our country is facing a crisis, and the National Party has failed to address it," said Democratic Party leader Mr. Thamsanqa Mastile. "We need radical economic policies that will benefit all South Africans, not just a few."
No call for boycott of white poll

By NP

Political Reporter

The Democratic Party's decision to field candidates for the House of Delegates would make it "very difficult" for the Mass Democratic Movement to support the DP in the white elections, according to leading anti-apartheid organisations.

However, that did not necessarily imply that these organisations would call for a boycott of the white elections.

Elections for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives would be boycotted as they were regarded as unrepresentative and powerless.

Transvaal Indian Congress spokesman Mr Ismail Momoniou said the organisation would call for a boycott of the Indian and coloured elections because "the tricameral system perpetuates apartheid and serves to undermine the struggle for a non-racial democratic SA".

Mr Wilhelm Liebenberg, spokesman for the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), also condemned the DP's decision to contest some seats in the Indian House.

Nusas president Mr Lindsay Falkov said the DP presented a more inspiring face than the old PFP, but students were concerned about the DP's capacity to make a difference.

(The)
Vlok objects to use of term 'kaffir'

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had a run-in with an AWB supporter over the use of the word "kaffir" at his meeting in Fochville last night.

A member of the audience asked him why 16 "kaffirs" had been acquitted for murdering two white policemen in Carletonville. Members of the audience said the man belonged to the AWB.

Mr Vlok said: "I appeal to you to leave that attitude behind. There might have been a time when that word was acceptable but we cannot go into the future if we continue to insult people."

In reply to the question, he said the courts were independent. — Sapa.

(News by R. Danke, Cape Commissioned Officer, Johannesburg)
Coloured, Indian nominations

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TRANSVAAL ALFA PARK
A J Hooper (LP)
T R George (LP)
T R Kruger (LP)
R S Tingley (LP)
J D Kruger (LP)
W C Kruger (LP)
D C Feenstra (LP)
J A L De Jager (LP)
K De Jager (LP)
A E De Jager (LP)
G J de Jager (LP)
H H van der Ross (LP)
B de Jager (LP)

CAPETOWN
P A Hendriksen (LP)
T C le Roux (LP)
S H Van Zyl (LP)
P J Potgieter (LP)
W J Van der Merwe (LP)
D de Jager (LP)
E P J Mossop (LP)
N J Dore (LP)
M J A van den Biggelaar (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)

TURKSTERWALD
L S Joiner (LP)

SHWEWEEEN
J D Kruger (LP)
J D de Jager (LP)
E J de Jager (LP)
D C Kruger (LP)

NORTH WEST
B R Schoeman (LP)
D P Pienaar (LP)
N A Rampele (LP)

NATAL
D W Hoad (LP)
C J Hutton (LP)

WESTERN CAPE
P A Jansen (LP)
G J le Roux (LP)
V J van der Merwe (LP)
D P Nortje (LP)
W P Nel (LP)
J A van der Westhuizen (LP)

Free State
P J van der Merwe (LP)
G R Le Roux (LP)
D J le Roux (LP)

SOUTH AFRICA
A E de Jager (LP)
D de Jager (LP)
D de Jager (LP)

AFRICA
S J Dreyer (LP)
D J le Roux (LP)
D P Nortje (LP)

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

TRANSVAAL
J S Schoeman (LP)
M D van der Spuy (LP)
J J de Jager (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)
C A van der Merwe (LP)
D P Nortje (LP)

NORTH WEST
J A van der Westhuizen (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)

NATAL
A C van den Berg (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)

WESTERN CAPE
D J de Jager (LP)

Free State
P J van der Merwe (LP)

SOUTH AFRICA
D P Nortje (LP)

AFRICA
D J de Jager (LP)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TRANSVAAL
J H Lategan (LP)
J W Corder (LP)
C R Rietveld (LP)
D J Kruger (LP)
J C J de Bruyn (LP)
A J Schur (LP)

NORTHEASTERN TRANSVAAL
M H Mclaren (LP)
G M de Beer (LP)

NORTH EASTERN CAPE
J H Lategan (LP)
A C van den Berg (LP)

NORTH WEST
D T Dent (LP)
B J du Toit (LP)
A B Rietveld (LP)
J H Lategan (LP)
B J du Toit (LP)

FREE STATE
A C van den Berg (LP)
B J du Toit (LP)
J H Lategan (LP)

SOUTH WESTERN CAPE
J H Lategan (LP)
A C van den Berg (LP)

AFRICA
J H Lategan (LP)

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

TRANSVAAL
J S Schoeman (LP)
M D van der Spuy (LP)
J J de Jager (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)
C A van den Berg (LP)
D P Nortje (LP)

NORTH WEST
J A van der Westhuizen (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)

NATAL
A C van den Berg (LP)
D J de Jager (LP)

WESTERN CAPE
D J de Jager (LP)

Free State
P J van der Merwe (LP)

SOUTH AFRICA
D P Nortje (LP)

AFRICA
D J de Jager (LP)
Clamour over

PW’s hunting trip mounts

VEREENIGING — The future surrounding the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, and the transport of game under alleged false pretences, continued to grow with added calls for a public explanation of the incident.

At a meeting in Vereeniging last night, the Democratic Party co-leader, Mr. Wynand Malan, said the lack of a plausible explanation was indicative of the National Party’s “poverty at many levels.”

The real question, he said, was how many “cozy little arrangements” had been made over the years where taxpayers’ money was used to assist senior NP members in their private capacities.

WHISTLE

The whistle on the saga was blown yesterday when a Conservative Party MP, Mr. Fanie Jacobs, charged that several carcasses of wild game had been transported in a police vehicle with false registration number plates after Mr. Botha had ended a hunting trip on a friend’s farm last week.

Mr. Jacobs alleged the SAP sign on the vehicle was covered by a red label “apparently to conceal the fact that it was a police vehicle.”

President Botha did not respond to the allegations of a false registration plate, but a spokesman from his office confirmed that state transport was used for the hunt.

(Report by Bette Zyl of First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria, and N Lewis, 11 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)
Some Nats kept sons off border - claim

DURBAN: A number of Cabinet Ministers and Nationalist MPs had arranged soft jobs away from the border for their sons, former top Nat, Mr Kobus Jordaan, has claimed.

At a political meeting last night, he challenged all Ministers and MPs to say where their sons had done their military service.

Mr Jordaan, DP candidate in Umhlanga, was asked whether he was "soft" on security. He lost his security clearance which prevented him carrying on his job as one of the Government's top negotiators in the Department of Constitutional Development last year.

He told the audience his two sons had both done active border duty.

[Report by B. Gunaratna, 15 Fleet Street, Durban]
Security watch on 'plotters of violence'  
GERALD REILLY  
PRETORIA — Government has moved to counter what it calls a well-planned wave of violence calculated to disrupt the September elections. 

Security sources said police had identified more than 50 individuals — who were described as the generals behind the effort to disrupt the election — for special surveillance. 

The sources declined to disclose the individuals’ names or the organisations they represented. They did say, however, that some were former detainees. 

Speaking in Fochville last night, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen warned the “ringleaders” who were planning undermining actions to drop their plans. 

“If you continue, government will be obliged in the public interest to act against you.” 

An investigation was also being made into those restricted individuals who breached their restriction orders. 

Viljoen said SA could not afford another storm of violence. 

He had disturbing information about new “violent plans”, which could be coupled to the SA Communist Party’s 1989 congress when a programme of action, which involved an extension of terror, was drafted. 

From the unrest of the past three months it was clear revolutionaries and radicals were carrying this out, he said. 

There were 514 unrest incidents in this period compared with 785 in the previous three months. 

In the past three months there had been 61 terror incidents compared with 29 between January and March. 

Viljoen said on June 5 and 6, 20 activists of the so-called Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) had had discussions with the ANC/SACP Alliance in Lusaka. 

They claimed they had discussed the future political dispensation, but discussions centred on reorganising the revolutionary structure by mobilising the MDM. 

It was planned to extend school and rent boycotts and to organise resistance which would lead to unrest, strikes and stayaways during the election, he said. 

In June and July the UDP held a number of meetings to plan the resistance action. 

At Cosatu’s third annual congress earlier this month a document was circulated where various actions were detailed. 

Report by Gerald Reilly, 7th Vomacold DC, Pretoria.
Spaniard now European boss

STRASBOURG — Spanish Socialist Enrique Baron, elected president of the European Parliament yesterday, promised to make the assembly a democratic watchdog of the EC.

With the support of his socialists and the Christian Democrats, the two largest parliamentary groups, Baron, 45, triumphed in the first ballot, capturing the votes of 301 of the 518 deputies.

A lawyer who speaks six of the EC's nine official languages, Baron is the first Spaniard to head an EC institution since his country joined the bloc in 1986.

He pledged to use the limited powers of the parliament to exert democratic control over a drive to turn the 12-nation bloc into a giant single market by the end of 1992.

"It is logical that we should try to make our common home like our own homes," Baron said. — Sapa-Reuter.
HNP presence reduces CP chances in several seats

THE HNP's presence in 20 constituencies threatens the CP's tenuous hold on two of its Transvaal seats, and jeopardises its challenge to the NP in five others.

The HNP is fighting 32 seats in the election and the CP is contesting 20 of them.

In Middelburg and Nigel the CP faces a threat from the HNP's presence. The CP won both these seats from the NP at the last election and its majority in both seats is less than 650. The HNP gained 1,010 votes in Middelburg and 641 in Nigel in 1987.

The CP chances of picking up four Transvaal seats, which the NP won in 1987 because the extreme right-wing vote was split, have weakened as a result of the HNP's decision to put up candidates. They are Rustenburg, Hercules, Lydenburg and Wonderboom. In Hercules, where the NP held its seat by 861 votes over the CP, the HNP received 4,123 votes.

In Wonderboom, the NP retained its seat by 559 votes over the CP while the HNP polled 641 votes.

The CP's chances of winning Moraisburg have also been harmed by the HNP's decision to put up a candidate.

The NP is expected to retain nine seats being contested by the two right-wing parties: Bethlehemo, Pretoria Central, Virginia, Welkom, Vryheid, Kimberley South, Maitland, Malmer- bury and Port Elizabeth North.

Report by Edyth Bulbring. 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

SA's resilience gives it credibility, says Glenn Babb

NELSPRUIT — SA had gained credibility in Africa by being resilient, NP candidate for Randburg Glenn Babb said in a speech to the Nelspruit Chamber of Commerce yesterday.

He said credibility had also been gained by pursuing African solutions to African problems and by putting the Namibia case on firm rails.

One of the three DP co-leaders was alleged to have credibility with extra-parliamentary groups and "as he puts it, the DP is 'coming closer' to the mass democratic movement," said Babb.

"The grave error in this claim lies in the belief that spokesman for the extra-parliamentary groups reflect the true feelings of the black man in the street," Babb said.

It was in African towns where the DP had been most successful, he said.

"The SA government is today regarded not only as the leader of SA but the leader in the region," he said. — Sapa.

Photo by W. Levinson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.
Business involved in political support

CAPE TOWN — SA's business community appears to be giving increasing support to the DP but, as the PFP learnt during the 1983 referendum, it is also likely to be hedging its bets.

National chairman of the DP's fundraising campaign and Cape Town businessman Justin Shaffer says a "significant majority" of businessmen approached by the party had offered their support, either financially, with a commitment to vote or by persuading others in the community to follow suit.

Hedge

"The offers of support by English and Afrikaans businessmen, nationally, appear to have far outweighed the responses of the 'give De Klerk a chance' camp and those who are concerned that a split in the NP vote will give the CP more of a chance," Shaffer said yesterday.

But he said it was likely many would hedge their bets by giving support to both the DP and the NP.

The NP remains the major beneficiary of funds and is expected to spend at least twice as much as the CP and the DP, but the sources of funds have not been disclosed and any increase in corporate backing cannot be determined.

NP information chief and Umzazi MP Con Botha said the business community's support for the NP appeared to be "keeping pace with inflation", but he added that while he could not determine whether there had been an increase in the party's traditional support it did not appear to have dropped.

Inevitably, most businessmen approached by Business Day were adamant that corporations did not take political stands by making donations to or declaring support for political parties.

As UCT political studies professor David Welsh pointed out: "It's one of those secret big business clutches most closely to its corporate bosom. The dangers of being seen to be taking a stance, when a company has a broad client base, are considerable."

It was fear of alienating sectors of their client base that major financial institutions approached cited as their reasons for not taking political sides.

Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman said the retail giant had never put its money or its muscle behind any political party and did not intend doing it for this election.

"We invest money in areas like housing development, which could be interpreted as a political statement, but we do not support one political party," he said.

Academics researching the degree and effect of corporate backing in SA politics believe that many of the financial donations are "launched" through individual businessmen.
Partition only way to a secure future — CP manifesto

THE CP manifesto unveiled yesterday argues that partition is the only way to achieve a secure future for SA.

However, it is devoid of any detail of the boundaries of the states into which a CP government would divide SA.

The manifesto pledged a CP government would:
- Allow only whites to be citizens of SA;
- Reintroduce influx control;
- Introduce Zulu labour preference areas in Natal, Xhosa labour preference areas in the Eastern Cape and coloured labour preference areas in the western Cape.
- Disband all trade unions other than white ones in SA.

The manifesto added that each group would only be allowed to exercise political rights in their own state. Only whites would exercise political rights in SA.

Linking of blacks, coloureds and Indians who found themselves in white SA to their “homelands” would be promoted by various means, of which voting rights were the most important.

Governments of national states would be put in a position to provide services like education to their citizens in the black, coloured and Indian suburbs of SA.

The CP said it was not prepared to share power with the “so-called urban black” and in any negotiations on the exercising of “non-white political rights” the white community’s right to self-determination would be non-negotiable.

Report by Mike Robertson, 11 Douglas St, Job
'Rural and urban apartheid' growing

By Kaiser Ntyatumba

Some foreign governments and even liberal South African newspapers were helping create a new form of rural/urban apartheid, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said.

Addressing the conference of the Council of Rectors and Deans of Teacher Education in Kwazulu-Natal in Maritzburg, Mr Kane-Berman said people in the 10 homelands were far worse off than those in urban areas.

He took the "supposedly liberal opposition" to task for demanding that the homelands' criteria be cut.

Some liberal newspapers, he said, were vocal advocates of this view and complained that the independent homelands and their leaders were heavily subsidised by the South African taxpayer.

So they should be. The homeland system was introduced - not because black people resident in those areas demanded it, but because the white electorate voted for it.

He lambasted foreign governments and donor organisations which, because they did not recognise homelands, "sought to exclude them from their munificence".

These governments and donors conveniently forgot that South Africa's 10 homelands had about 1.3 million people living in them, and by blacklisting these homelands they were helping create "a new form of apartheid - between urban and rural people."
DP's choice started at 21

By SUE OLSWANG

Johannesburg stockbroker Mr Ido Davidson, city councillor for Parkview and the DP's leader-designate in the Johannesburg City Council made his entry into politics soon after his 21st birthday.

In 1973, the 22-year-old law student became the chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's (PFP) youth wing in the southern Transvaal.

Mr Davidson, a BA graduate, was in his first year of study towards an LLB degree at the University of the Witwatersrand when he was elected.

He had already served as chairman of the Wits Rag Committee, been a member of the Academic Freedom Committee, and was treasurer of the Law Students' Council.

First-class pass

In 1982, Mr Davidson entered the municipal arena when he stood as PFP candidate in Ward 15 (Houghton-Killarney).

Born in Johannesburg in 1951, Mr Davidson matriculated at Parktown Boys' High School with a first-class pass.

After completing his studies at Wits University, he worked as a legal assistant with the National Coal Board in London.

Mr Ido Davidson ... DP leader-designate in Jo'burg council.

A year before returning to South Africa where he completed his articles with a leading firm of attorneys.

He then moved into the world of merchant banking, and made plans to obtain his MBA at the Wits Business School.

Mr Davidson, a bachelor, is a keen golfer and all-round sportsman.

"The DP's leader-designate in the city council is a man who firmly believes the DP is no longer 'just an opposition party'.

"We are a government-in-waiting and we are growing impatient," he insists.
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in South Africa's constitution would have large-scale positive economic spin-offs, Mr Justice PJJ Olivier said in Grahamstown this week.

Mr Justice Olivier, who heads the commission which recently produced draft proposals for a Bill of Rights, spoke at Rhodes University at the start of Aiesec (an international organisation of commerce students) Week.

He said the prime objective of a Bill of Rights was to unlock the full potential of the country's citizens, including their political and economic potential. A Bill of Rights was essential in terms of constitutional and legal principles and made sound economic sense. He said individual rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and political and civil rights would be enshrined within a Bill of Rights in a future constitution.

Recognition of the role of the informal economy would also have to be incorporated.

Mr Justice Olivier said a Bill of Rights protecting these principles would lead to limited state interference in the economy.

He said that by outlawing all discrimination based on race, colour and sex and throwing open all access to land ownership, an "enormous" amount of new capital would be injected "with favourable results".

The elimination of discriminatory labour and other colour-based restraints would also boost the economy.

The economy would benefit further from improved qualifications of blacks through state spending on education on a non-discriminatory basis.

(Report by Raymond Hartle, 117 High Street, Grahamstown.)
statement by a presidential spokesman that police vehicles may be used when it comes to the president's safety or the safety of his property as "laughable.

Meanwhile, General Johan van der Merwe, acting commissioner of police, has announced an investigation into allegations that the game was illegally transported in a police vehicle.

Neither the State President's office nor constitutional experts could identify any law yesterday which authorised the state transport of game for the president after a hunting party, writes the Cape Times correspondent.

Some official sources said the police transport would be paid for out of the State President's budget as the vehicle and the police driver were both part of his security contingent.

The use of false number plates was in terms of security practice and Mr Botha had not broken any regulations, the sources said.

The DP's spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Seward, said there were no grounds for covering the perks of office to which the State President was entitled.

"If it had been me I would have done it at my own expense. But what he has done is theoretically legal because he has that kind of power, provided it falls within some head of budget.

The presidential couple was involved in another storm recently over a R100 000 tea party for Mrs Elize Botha. After an official inquiry the bill was eventually picked up by the Defence Force Ladies' Association.

"Mr Jacobs, a lone breeder, was last night told the Cape Times the whole thing was a storm in a teapot, but the truth is he is not a private matter," he said.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Fanie Jacobs described a 'nothing illegal took place,' he said from his farm Zonnebloem. "It had got hold of the wrong facts, but would not elaborate."

"It was not long ago that President Botha, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and others used 'bush boxes'." The issue of Mr Botha's hunting trip blew up when several photographers were run off the farm by a security detail.

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Govt moves to counter violent poll

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The government has moved to counter what it calls a well-planned wave of violence calculated to disrupt the September elections.

Security sources here said police had identified more than 30 individuals — who were described as the generals behind the effort to disrupt the election — for special surveillance.

The sources declined to disclose the individuals’ names or the organizations they represented. They did say, however, that some were former detainees.

And speaking at Fochville last night, Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok warned the “ring leaders” who were “planning undermining actions” to drop their plans.

“If you continue, government will be obliged in the public interest to act against you.”

In addition, an investigation was being made into those restricted individuals who breached their restriction orders.

Import of labour criminal

Staff Reporter

It was criminal, the government to spend millions of rand’s “importing” trained people at the expense of the development and training of black South Africans, the Black Management Forum (BMF) said.

It was reacting yesterday to comments by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who said on television on July 17 that his department spent money to encourage the immigration of skilled people to South Africa.

“If we don’t start investing in our own people the time bomb of millions of blacks living in abject poverty will explode in our faces,” said the BMF.

Durr’s promise

Staff Reporter

MAITLAND. National Party candidate Mr Kent Durr has undertaken to throw his full weight as Minister of the Budget and Works behind the proposed low-income housing development off Royal and Station roads, Maitland.

Staff by C. de Villiers, 122 St George’s Street, Cape Town.
Bill of Rights would have economic benefits, judge

GRAHAMSTOWN — The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in SA's constitution would have large-scale positive economic spin-offs, Mr Justice Olivier said here this week.

Mr Justice Olivier, who heads the commission which recently produced draft proposals for a Bill of Rights, spoke at Rhodes University at the start of Aesec Week on Monday. He said the prime objective of a Bill of Rights was to unlock the full potential of the country's citizens, including their political and economic potential.

A Bill of Rights was essential in terms of constitutional and legal principles and made sound economic sense, Mr Justice Olivier said. He said individual rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and political and civil rights would be enshrined within a Bill of Rights in a future constitution.

Recognition of the role of the informal economy would also have to be incorporated.

Mr Justice Olivier said a Bill of Rights protecting these principles would lead to limited state interference in the economy.

By outlawing all discrimination based on race, colour and sex and throwing open all access to land ownership, an "enormous" amount of new capital would be injected "with favourable results".

The elimination of discriminatory labour and other colour-based restraints would also boost the economy.

The economy would benefit further from improved qualifications of blacks through state spending on education on a non-discriminatory basis, he said. A Bill of Rights would lead to "untold beneficial consequences" for SA's image.
Treurnicht spells out CP poll manifesto

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff
PRETORIA. — More than 2,000 people jammed the City Hall here last night to hear Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht present the party’s manifesto.

They roared approval when he spelled out the CP’s uncompromising vision of partition with complete self-determination for whites in their on homeland.

They were a little less sure when Dr Treurnicht — showing that even the CP was susceptible to the current in vogue for negotiation — said the CP was prepared to negotiate with other groups about the constitutional future of the country.

**Forced removals**

But they were reassured when he insisted that in any such negotiations the “right of whites to complete self-determination would be non-negotiable”.

Dr Treurnicht even forecast that through negotiation the CP could implement its policy of separate homelands for different races “without forced removals”.

But he said the CP was not prepared to negotiate with the ANC “for any other terrorist organisation that practised violence and communism”.

He said nothing illustrated the difference between the CP and the National Party better than President Botha receiving a goodwill visit from Nelson Mandela.

The NP was prepared to talk to him and consider releasing him because he had supported peace. Yet at no stage had he said he longer stood for communism and had said nothing in conflict with communism.

The NP insisted that as long as the ANC was committed to violent methods it had no place in a South Africa governed by the NP.

This meant if the ANC foreswore violence, it would be accepted around the conference table as a fellow-negotiator of a new, single, undivided South Africa — even if it remained a communist organisation.

The CP said, on the other hand, that the ANC could never be part of a white South Africa. Its infiltration by communism made it completely unacceptable.

Dr Treurnicht joined the NP and the DP in promising to review the system of 24-month national service.

The CP did not believe in making “cheap promises”. It accepted that South Africa was a threatened country and needed a well-equipped and well-trained army.

The CP would not gamble with the country’s security and would not gamble with the highly valued lives of its young men.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Partition plan

In its election manifesto, the Conservative Party says partition is the only solution for South Africa's constitutional problems.

The party believes the only way in which a people can be protected against domination and can exercise their rights to self-determination unhindered is in their own states under their own governments.

"Partition brings to an end the domination of one people by another."

The CP says partition has been successfully applied throughout the world.

"Europe was divided into different countries by partitions - South America and Africa are other examples."

In Africa alone, 50 different states have been created by partition.

In Southern Africa, examples were Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

"Partition is a system which has been applied world-wide with success to bring an end to strife and conflict."

The CP says the concept is also recognised in international law.
The Black Irony of the Election

By Alex Borinie

Economic

The economy positions a challenge on the New Democratic Party. The challenge is to restructure the economy to be more dynamic and efficient, as well as to address the needs of the community, especially in the areas of education, healthcare, and infrastructure. The New Democratic Party has been criticized for its past policies, which are seen as contributing to the economic problems of the country. The party needs to address these issues to win back the confidence of the voters.

Political Problems

The New Democratic Party is facing several political problems. One of them is the lack of a strong leader. The party needs a leader who can inspire the base and lead the party to victory. Another problem is the party's inability to attract new members. The party needs to revitalize its base and attract new members to ensure its long-term survival.

Comment

The New Democratic Party needs to focus on its strengths and address its weaknesses. It needs to restructure the economy, attract new members, and find a strong leader. The party can achieve this by working together, listening to the needs of the community, and making policies that benefit all Canadians.
Parties to spend millions

MILLIONS of rands will be spent by political parties on fierce campaigning in South Africa's biggest general election so far. The National Party especially will be the big spender of well over a million rand. The party is contesting 164 seats in the Assembly and according to party sources it will spend up to R100 000 per constituency.
NP man ordered to move posters

The National Party candidate for Boksburg, Mr Sakkie Blanche, was ordered to take down 270 election posters because the Conservative Party-controlled Town Council in Boksburg said they were dangerous and hazardous to the public and traffic.

Mr Blanche said he also received a letter from the Democratic Party on Monday saying his posters, which had been put up under advertising billboards, were in a hazardous position.

Mr Blanche had put up some of his posters on railings and the municipal bus terminus.

He said the chairman of the CP-controlled management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, had instructed the town engineer to tell Mr Blanche to remove his posters from the railings as it was illegal to put up election posters on council property.

Mr Blanche was told by the council that he could put up posters only on electrical poles, which is in accordance with the new ordinance.

The existing ordinance states that electrical poles may not be used for election posters.

A spokesman for the Town Engineer's Department yesterday confirmed that Mr Blanche had been instructed to remove his posters because they were in the wrong position.
Democratic Party co-leader Mr Zach de Beer's meeting in Witbank tonight has had to be switched from a government school hall to a hotel because of the expected multiracial audience.

Witbank DP candidate Mr Koos Venter said it appeared Transvaal Education Board policy was that halls could be booked only for all-races political meetings if the school's management committee had approved this.

In the case of the De Beer meeting, the school principal became aware of the meeting's possible multiracial nature only during the school holidays. It was impossible to call the school's management committee together at such short notice.

A new venue was found at the Boulevard Hotel.

(Report by T Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)
NP faces biggest election reversal in history, poll shows
Furore over PW’s hunting won’t lie down

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The furore over President Botha’s controversial Free State hunt raged on yesterday as the Conservative Party claimed police were intimidating the traffic policeman who intercepted the disguised SAP vehicle carrying the buck Mr Botha had shot.

Police last night confirmed that the traffic policeman had been questioned by an SAP colonel, but denied that the officer had “done anything untoward”.

In other developments:
● It became clear that a CP-supporting traffic policeman leaked the story to the CP.

‘Security reasons’
● The CP announced that apart from laying charges, it was referring the incident to the Advocate-General.
● It appeared that the police truck carrying the carcasses was showing false number plates “for security reasons” because it had taken security equipment to the farm where Mr Botha shot the buck.
● The CP called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the incident. Mr Fanis Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg, last night said a police colonel from Bloemfontein had told the person who stopped the truck that “action would be taken against him” if he gave information to political parties.

Intimidating manner
Mr Jacobs said the colonel had acted in an intimidating manner and placed the traffic policeman under great pressure.

Brigadier Leon Meillet, Mr Vlok’s spokesman, last night denied there was “anything untoward about the questioning by the colonel of the person”.

He would not comment further but it is understood the colonel questioned the traffic policeman because he allegedly breached regulations by examining an SAP incident book.

The book contained a police report of the incident on Friday night when the three-ton SAP truck carrying about 11 carcasses was stopped at a roadblock near Jagersfontein.

Although police have offered no official explanation for the truck showing false plates, it is suggested this was done with official approval because the truck had taken security equipment to the game farm to protect President Botha.

On the return journey, there was space in the lorry so the police driver loaded the carcasses.

(Report by P Fabricius, 19 Victoria St, Pretoria)
‘Insane atrocities in SA’ – Kaufman

By Kevin Udems

British Labour Party MP and shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, claimed yesterday some of the “atrocities” he had seen during his visit to South Africa were “not only wicked but insane.”

Addressing a meeting of the Witwatersrand branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Kaufman said people who invented the rules, which caused such atrocities, were not only wicked but needed psychological treatment.

He said he had decided to come to South Africa after being told he could not judge South Africa without seeing the country for himself.

When he visited Port Elizabeth, he had walked down the promenade in Summerstrand and seen the wonderful beaches on which whites relaxed and the houses in which they lived.

“\"I was also taken to see a shanty town known as Soweto-by-the-Sea, where I saw living conditions which would be unacceptable in most Third World countries,\" he said.

Mr Kaufman repeated the Labour Party’s stand regarding Mrs Margaret Thatcher’s opposition to sanctions and promotion of dialogue.

“\"Pressure must be exerted by imposing sanctions on South Africa because it is the power of foreign investment which keeps the country going. \"Apartheid would not be able to survive in its present form without investment from developed countries in the rest of the world,\" he said.

\"
Reject Vlok's poll bogy – De Beer

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

A violent disruption of the general election should be condemned. But if Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's disclosure of such plans was "nothing but the Government's swart gevaar bogy", voters should reject that on September 6.

This was said last night by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer at the party's first public meeting in the North Rand constituency, a seat the DP believes it can gain in the general election.

Dr de Beer and the DP's candidate in the constituency, Mr. Louis de Waal, addressed about 160 people in the Halfway House Primary School.

In another scathing attack on the National Party's economic and political track record, Dr de Beer said the country's economic misery was the result of state overspending, international isolation and poor productivity.

"The Nats' record of economic mismanagement is abysmal. Their election manifesto is a hotch-potch of generalities and evasions. Their candidates are mostly invisible and inaudible. And hanging over all is the whiff of corruption."

He said some senior Ministers and other NP leaders had over the years acted like mediaeval monarchs.

"It is time that people in power realise they are there to serve us, not us them. I trust this message will be conveyed clearly at the polls on September 6," he said to loud applause.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 67 Silver Street, Johannesburg)

763 people fight for 286 seats

Political Reporter

Final figures on the number of candidates contesting seats in the September 6 election were announced by the Chief Electoral Officer yesterday.

For the House of Assembly's 166 elected seats, the National Party has put up the most candidates (164), followed by the Conservative Party (151), the Democratic Party (104) and the Hervigie Nasionale Party (22), with five independents.

A total of 179 candidates have been nominated for 90 seats in the House of Representatives.

The ruling Labour Party has nominated candidates for all 80 seats, followed by the Democratic Reform Party (46), United Democratic Party (17), Freedom Party (7) and New Convention Peoples' Party (1). There are 26 independents.

Ten parties have put up 129 candidates for 40 seats in the House of Delegates and there are 29 independents. Solidarity will contest all seats, followed by the National Peoples' Party (29), National Federal Party (21), Peoples' Party (11), Democratic Party (9), Progressive Independent Party (8), United Party (4), Republican Party (3), Merits People's Party (3) and Freedom Party (3).

(Report by E van der Merwe, 67 Silver Street, Johannesburg)
Nats abuse their power
- Worrall

DURBAN — Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall launched a doubled-barrelled attack on Tuesday night on the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mr Tino Volker, his opponent in the Berea constituency.

What did President Botha's use of state transport to convey the buck he shot and Mr Volker's decision to stand in Berea while holding an appointed publicly-neutral office have in common, asked Dr Worrall.

They both involved abuses of power, and reflected the Nationalists' disdain for democratic principles and procedures.

They both reflected the arrogance that flowed from 41 years of continuous rule and the confusion between what was party political and private on the one hand and what was public and non-political on the other.

Dr Worrall told a meeting in Umhlanga that NP leaders regarded the State as party property.

It was not long ago that President Botha, Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan and others used army refrigeration trucks to take their venison from a farm in the Free State to Pretoria, he said. — Sapa.

(Report by O Pelto, 12 Devlinshire Place, Dur-
banc)
‘Spoiling tactics’ claim rejected

DP leaders laugh at Nat accusations

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

National Party accusations that the Democratic Party is playing into the hands of the CP by putting up candidates in marginal seats were rejected yesterday by two DP co-leaders.

Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan said the DP’s decision to field 104 candidates for the House of Assembly had been made to give its supporters the chance to vote for the candidates of their choice.

They described NP claims that the Conservative Party would gain seats as a direct result of the DP’s “spoiling tactics” as nonsense.

Dr de Beer said recent opinion polls had indicated that voters generally supported the party of their choice only.

For example, if Democrats did not have a DP candidate, most of them would not go to the polls.

What this proves is that, despite pathetic yearnings of the Nats to have the DP help them against the CP, the people actually aren’t interested. Voters are more sensible than the Nat propagandists give them credit for. They want to vote for policies they believe in.”

Mr Malan said recent studies had indicated that the NP could win about seven seats against the CP if the DP did not participate.

“In those seven seats, the DP can already get 3,000 to 4,000 votes. And in some it even has a chance of winning.”

**Exorbitant taxes**

“The choice the voter has is simple: apartheid or no apartheid. If it is the latter, he votes DP. If the former, he votes either NP or CP. The DP is, in fact, giving the voter a real choice this time.”

“In any event, one builds your party in election time. You don’t leave supporters out in the cold without a candidate.”

Mr Malan said it was arrogant of the NP to expect other parties’ supporters, and even its own, to support “a party with a track record of economic decay, corruption, high inflation and exorbitant taxes”.

In 1987, the Herstigte Nasionale Party cost the CP nine seats. This year the HNP is fielding 22 candidates.

“No-one complains about that. The NP doesn’t make a song and dance about it, and the CP is not protesting either. Voters should not believe the NP’s scare tactics when it says the DP is letting the CP in through the backdoor.”

The NP’s director of information in the Transvaal, Mr Piet Coetzer, has identified 17 seats where the DP’s participation could be to the NP’s disadvantage.

Fifteen of those are held by the NP. They are Alberton, Brentwood, Geduld, Germiston, Germiston District, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Lydenburg, Meyerton, Pretoria Central, Rosettenville, Springs, Turffontein, Vereeniging and Westdene.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 48 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
De Beer says NP will not regain ground

SUN PACKAGING INVESTMENTS LIMITED
(Company registration number 541012195)
(Sunpac)

SUN PACKAGING HOLDINGS LIMITED
(Company registration number 650012195)
(Sunpac)

Last day to register for interim dividend

Introduction
Further to the announcement dated 21 June 1989 that Sunpak and Sunvest intended to make rights offers to their shareholders to raise approximately R17 million in Sunpak, Standard Merchant Bank Limited is authorised to announce that the terms of the rights offers are expected to be announced on Monday, 31 July 1989.

It is intended to announce the dividend in respect of the year ending 31 August 1989 in October 1989, and shareholders will be given an opportunity to elect between a cash dividend or receiving a capitalisation issue of shares.

The new ordinary shares to be issued in terms of the rights offer will rank pari passu with the existing ordinary shares, save that they will not qualify the holders for the dividend or capitalisation issue referred to above, the last day to register for which will be the close of business on 4 August 1989.

Notice of closing of share registers
The registers of shareholders of Sunpak and Sunvest will be closed from the close of business on Friday, 4 August 1989 to the close of business on Friday, 11 August 1989 for the purpose of determining the shareholders entitled to participate in the dividend or capitalisation election to be declared in October 1989 and in the rights offer. The last date to register to participate in such dividend or capitalisation election and rights offer will be Friday, 4 August 1989.

Atlantic, Cape
27 July 1989

Sponsoring broker
Martin & Co Inc
Registration number 70/081100
Member of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange

SMIB
The Merchant Bankers
Registered Office: 138 Beaufort Street, Cape Town 8001
Registration number 452089/07
Academics accuse govt of legislative cynicism

Two legal academics have claimed the recently published Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill was intended to interfere directly with the judicial process.

UCT's H Corder and C Murray added the Bill also reflected government cynicism towards the courts.

In this month's issue of the de Rebus law journal they said the Bill provided further proof of government's determination to push ahead with grand apartheid.

The Bill empowers the State President to include or exclude any homeland area "if he deems it expedient and after consultation by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning with the Cabinet of a self-governing territory".

The authors said the Bill sought to validate incorporation of Botshabelo township into QwaQwa.

Botshabelo was proclaimed part of QwaQwa in December 1987, but last August the proclamation was declared invalid by the Provincial Division of the OPS Supreme Court.

An appeal by government against the court's finding has been lodged.

"The Bill indicates this action (the appeal), and its possible outcome, is not taken very seriously," said Corder and Murray.

Susan Russell

They added in the Botshabelo case the Supreme Court had examined the core of homelands policy.

A full bench found the enabling Act, which empowered incorporation, was to be read in conjunction with other statutes implementing homeland policy and, in this context, Parliament intended to advance the political development of ethnic groups.

Murray and Corder said the Bill also sought to legalise any previous illegal action which the State President may have under the National States Constitution Act.

"If enacted this Bill would mark another highpoint in legislative and executive disregard for judicial processes both in its attack on a particular case and in its attempt, under section 3 (of the Bill), to oust the jurisdiction of the courts," said Corder and Murray.

They pointed out proposed legislation like this Bill belied government's ostensible commitment to an independent judiciary.

"The judiciary is reduced to a tool, useful on occasion, dispensable on others," they said.
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"The judiciary is reduced to a tool, useful on occasion, dispensable on others," they said.
We've made mistakes — Barend

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis admitted in a television debate last night that the Government had made mistakes in running the country’s economy and said if they had a chance to start over they would do it better.

"But if one takes into account what exceptionally difficult parameters within which we had to work... foreign investors, economists and bankers have said it is a miracle that we have continued to exist under these pressures," Mr du Plessis said.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Business Day editor Mr Ken Owen and Die Patriot editor Mr ZB du Toit questioned Mr du Plessis on "Netwerk".

Mr du Plessis said the economy was not growing as it was equipped to do.

"Someone has cut off our oxygen supply and we are not getting the space to do what we want to do.

"But without a substantial influx of foreign investment the economy cannot develop properly."

He said this was a temporary international situation.

"We must work on our politics so we can open the doors again. But in the meantime we must make essential adjustments to our economy."

Responding to a question by Mr Owen on high inflation, Mr Du Plessis said anyone could halt inflation instantaneously but the economy would be killed at the same time.

"Therefore, we have given ourselves a four or five-year adjustment period during which we will gradually reduce State expenditure, but during that process it is unfortunately necessary to use capital for current expenditure," he said.

(Report by X Udman, 47 Spear Street, Johannesburg)
A Conservative Party government would lead to economic disaster, Mr Harry Schwarz, the Democratic Party's finance spokesman and Yeoville MP, said yesterday in reaction to the CP's economic policy as spelled out in its general election manifesto.

"Under a Conservative government South Africa would be plunged into poverty and despair. The cost of implementing its archaic apartheid policies is beyond the capability of the economy," Mr Schwarz said.

He added that the CP's economic policy was vague and termed mainly in generalities.

However, speeches by CP MPs revealed that the party was seeking economic benefits for whites only.

The reality was that the South African economy was an indivisible entity and that the deprivation and poverty of one section affected all South Africans, Mr Schwarz said.

(Report by E van der Merwe, City Press, Johannesburg)
Soal takes the SABC to task over final say

Political Correspondent

Political parties are vying for the so-called Goldilocks slot — the opportunity to speak last on SABC-TV's nightly election discussions on "Network".

The "Goldilocks slot" was a term coined during the 1987 election campaign by Rhodes University media researchers who discovered a "Goldilocks effect" in the way the SABC dealt with party spokesmen.

Invariably, they said, "Network" would present opposition party spokesmen first — to give the "extreme" points of view — followed by the NP giving the "moderate" in-between view.

This was like Goldilocks finding Papa Bear's porridge too hot, Mama Bear's too cold and Baby Bear's "just right".

DP Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal said yesterday that after Monday night's election insert on "Network" he had complained to the SABC that it looked as though the Goldilocks effect was again going to be applied in the current campaign.

The topic was the ANC, and DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan spoke first, followed by CP MP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and lastly NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

"Mr de Klerk was able to reply to our arguments while we had no opportunity to reply to his," Mr Soal said.

He did not object to this provided the DP was sometimes given the final say. He had spoken to the SABC political editor who assured him this would happen.

(Report: F Fabreius, 67 Suur St, Johannesburg)
PLANS by the Mass Democratic Movement for peaceful action to end apartheid strike remain in the air.

Echoing responses reverberating through the corridors of South African history.

The current generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have done before, writes PATRICK LAURENCE. It's a tried and tested method in the history of South Africa. The call for action is based on the principles of non-violence and the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has launched a strike in response to the Government's new apartheid laws, which it considers unfair and unjust. The movement has called on workers to go on strike in protest against the new laws, which it believes are designed to maintain and strengthen the system of apartheid.

The strike is expected to cause significant disruption to the country's economy, with many businesses expected to close and workers refusing to go to work. The MDM has warned that the strike will continue until its demands are met, which include the withdrawal of the new apartheid laws and the restoration of democratic rights.

The strike has sparked aresponse from the South African government, which has described the MDM's demands as illegal and unnecessary. The government has threatened to use force if necessary to restore order and maintain its authority.

The strike has also sparked a response from the international community, with many countries expressing concern about the situation in South Africa. The United Nations has called on both sides to engage in dialogue to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

Despite the challenges, the MDM remains committed to its goal of ending apartheid and achieving democracy. The movement has a strong history of struggle and has played a key role in the country's fight for freedom.

The current generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have done before. The MDM strike is a manifestation of the ongoing struggle for justice and equality in South Africa. The movement continues to inspire and inspire others to stand up for their rights and fight for a better future.
a generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have gone before. PATRICK LAURENCE. It's a tried and tested method in the history of South Africa.

mean that activists have more "legal legs to stand on" than their predecessors from the 1950s.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act has been reported to have failed most of its clauses have been inapposite to the local situation. The flogging clause disappeared as the government was pressured to enforce it, but the heavy fines, raised to R1,000 and R6,000, and the long prison sentences remain as clauses of the Internal Security Act.

Indeed, in its new guise, it continues to be a draconian measure. If volunteers choose to go to jail rather than pay fines, in the belief that some mass jailing of protesters will embarrass the authorities or cause a breakdown in prison administration, the authorities can attack their property, sell it and use the money to pay for their legal expenses.

These legal weapons may not be as effective as they were in the past. They have been strengthened by the enactment of the Promotion of States of Emergency Act, and the police, wary of losing control, have been given new powers to arrest and detain people. The police have also been given new powers to suppress demonstrations.

The anti-apartheid movement is now更加 determined than ever before. The South African government has been forced to recognize the strength of the movement and to take steps to suppress it.

The new anti-apartheid movement has grown out of the tradition of struggle in South Africa. The seeds of the movement were sown in the 1950s, when the African National Congress (ANC) and other organizations began to organize mass protests against the apartheid system.

In 1952, the ANC launched a campaign of civil disobedience, which was later known as the "pass laws" campaign. The campaign was organized to protest against the pass laws, which required all black South Africans to carry identity cards at all times and to obtainpasses before entering certain areas.

The pass laws were a major cause of anger among black South Africans. The campaign was a major factor in the growth of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.

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PW's buck carcasses: Top probe

Police Quartermaster-General Le Roux Stemmet said as "it was a normal police duty", the costs would be paid for out of the maintenance of vehicle fuel votes in the police budget. "But the conveying of meat is something else," he added. Police are investigating the matter but have not yet released a statement.

But official sources said there was nothing illegal in the use of the vehicle, which had been authorised by the head of the presidential guard unit. The vehicle was already in the area as part of the president's guard that travels wherever he goes. It was equipped with equipment necessary for the president's protection, sources said. The driver, Sergeant Vernon Day, a member of the presidential guard, had the necessary permits to transport the carcasses, the sources said. A traffic officer, who allegedly reported the matter to CP sources, was in the police station when Sergeant Day stopped to ask directions which the traffic officer gave. The duty police officer made an en-try into the charge office's record book.

The traffic officer, who gave the directions, was later refused permission to see the book. He waited until a black constable was on duty and then tipped the book and read the entries, an illegal act, the sources said.

Later, in the company of an off-duty police officer, he stopped Sergeant Day en route from the farm Zuurfontein, belonging to Mr Pieter Jacobs. He questioned the sergeant, who, in good faith, told him he was a police officer on duty on an errand for the president. He told the traffic officer the false number plates had been fitted in terms of the unit's security practice. The sources said this was not illegal and the plates had been issued within the strict regulations set down by the quartermaster.

The CP claimed in a statement yesterday the traffic officer was being "placed under great pressure. "An SAP colonel approached him and asked him to make a statement. He allegedly told him in an intimidatory manner that if he gives out any information to any political party, action would be taken against him. "The colonel also said the CP's information was too precise and the matter would be taken up with his superiors."

Official sources said a colonel was involved in the investigation because of the high-level of government involvement. Other sources said the traffic officer was being investigated because he had gained illegal access to police records. It is understood the dossier compiled by the police following their investigation into the matter was submitted to the Free State attorney-general Mr T P McNally yesterday. He is expected to make a decision soon.

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Don't be silly, Dilley, say Weil and Ackerman

LEADING retailers this week rebutted claims by Nationalist candidate for Simon's Town Mr Harry Dilley that supermarket "monopolies" were responsible for profiteering at the expense of consumers.

Mr Dilley, the NP MP for Simon's Town, said earlier this week at a meeting in Kommetjie that petrol price rises did not push up the price of food. He added: "Ask Mr Raymond Ackerman who is a super-retailer."

"Consumers were being hammered because of the monopoly among food suppliers and the big companies were making astronomical profits - but the government was being blamed," he said.

"That is nonsense because the government has not got a lot to do with the price of food," Mr Dilley said.

Approached for comment, Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman said he agreed with Mr Dilley that the price of food was rising. A recent survey found staple food prices had risen 12%-13% from last year.

"But examples of where the government is at fault include the allocation of licences to sell wine, bake bread and sell petrol," he said.

Illustrating this, he said Pick 'n Pay had only 36 wine licences for its 108 stores, would "love to bake bread" and could "immediately" sell petrol between four and five cents cheaper than the fixed price.

"I urge the government to take the lead in implementing privatisation and deregulation, and to be much stricter towards monopolies," he said.

And chairman of the Checkers chainstore group Mr Clive Weil said yesterday while it "did not help to point fingers at any one person" the government could not claim to be blameless in its contribution to inflation, price rises and concentration of economic activity.

"We are all responsible for inflation, but it's not fair to say supermarkets are making excessive profits. Checkers, for example, is making slightly less than 1% on pre-tax turnover. It does not help to be simplistic," he said.

Inflation was a reflection of the country's poor political image which, in turn, influenced the value of the rand and the gold price.

Likewise, low productivity was a function of inferior education.

Referring to Mr Dilley's remarks about the influence that petrol price increases had on the cost of food, Mr Ackerman said:

"The man in the street is being hammered by the petrol price, which does marginally bring up the price of food."
SHUT UP!

Teachers warned

By HENRY LUDSKI

TEACHERS have been warned by the Labour Party to stay out of the elections — or face charges of misconduct.

The threat is contained in a circular sent to schools and colleges throughout the country by the Labour Party-controlled Department of Education and Culture, House of Representatives.

Included in the circular is a copy of the Education Act of 1983 which reminds teachers that they could face charges of misconduct if they use their positions as teachers to "promote or prejudice the interests of any political party".

The circular from the executive director Awie Muller, a management committee chairman, has been sent to principals, inspectors, regional representatives, and "recognised" teacher organisations.

The Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) has interpreted the threat as a ploy to "facilitate teacher participation in House of Representatives politics".

Describing the circular as an "infringement of teachers' political rights", CTPA deputy president Randall van den Heever said it also "militated against teacher involvement in anti-apartheid organisations".

"It is yet another glaring example of how our education department has become a handmaiden of the ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives," he said.

Franklin Sonn

Mr Thinus Dempsey, liaison officer for the House of Representatives, denied there was an ulterior motive to the circular.

He said it was "normal procedure" to advise teachers on their position regarding the election.

"It was not meant as a warning," he said.

The circular follows a recent election platform attack by Labour Party leader and Minister of Education, Mr Allan Hendrickse, on Mr Franklin Sonn, CTPA leader and president of the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa.

Hendrickse accused Sonn of "hypocrisy" for allegedly enjoying the benefits of capitalism while simultaneously embracing the "socialist" Freedom Charter.

He has refused to retract his statements and Sonn is proceeding with a R100 000 defamation suit against him.

(Report by H Ludski, of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.)
Activists stage anti-election blitz

high-powered rallies in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, regular door-to-door visits in the various constituencies stretching from Port Shepstone on the Natal south coast to Pietermaritzburg in the Natal Midlands, as well as a pamphlet blitz.

The NIC is to produce an "election manifesto" of its vision of a future South Africa next week. Meer admitted that his movement is the weakest in Ladysmith and Newcastle: "We are relying on our Pietermaritzburg branch to muster no-vote support in the outlying country districts. It is difficult to have an organisational base in the northern Natal towns."

So far, NIC members have wrecked two meetings during their 10-day blitz on supporters of the tri-cameral parliament, including a meeting organised and addressed by the NPF's Amichand Rajbansi in Umkomaas on the Natal south coast last week.

The meeting grounded to a halt after local residents and about 40 NIC activists joined forces and took the sacked Cabinet Minister to task. Meer said, Wrecked meeting

"Give me 60 minutes," Rajbansi pleaded to a hostile crowd before someone allegedly sabotaged the sound system and cut him off. A bitter Rajbansi later accused the NIC of "gatecrashing" the meeting.

Last weekend the activists were on the march again and this time they wrecked the meeting of the newly-formed Natal Federal Party in Chatsworth.

Speakers and delegates were heckled and jeered as they attempted to put a strong case for participation in the September 6 elections.

The police were called to restore order. The public meeting was abandoned, but the party continued with a closed session at which it was decided to contest 20 seats.

The director of the Gaysands Restaurant, Selvan Naicker, said he had laid a charge against an "unruly and unrivined group of people who gatecrashed" the NPF meeting.

In Durban, Major Charli du Toit, police spokesperson for the Port Natal Division, confirmed that police were investigating claims of an alleged violation of the Liquor Act. Responding to Rajbansi's attack on his organisation, Meer said there was "already an anti-Rajbansi tirade" when the NIC supporters arrived at the Umkomaas meeting.

"We merely gave the local protest guidance and direction and the opposition against Amichand Rajbansi grew and became uncontrollable. He was ordered off the stage by the police."

Of the NPF meeting, Meer said: "We did not gatecrash it. We registered and were given party badges, plus tea and a promise of biryani lunch if we stayed on. The meeting refused to vote on the issue of participation and we left after the police were called in."

Polling stations

Meanwhile, the 10 000 strong Indian teachers union, the Teachers Association of South Africa, has received a spate of complaints from parents and teachers about the use of Indian schools as polling booths in Chatsworth and Phoenix, the city's largest Indian townships.

Said newly-elected president Poo- ble Naicker: "Education and politics do not mix and the use of schools as polling stations is not conducive to sound education."

"This situation is unacceptable because it is not healthy for schoolchildren to become pawns in a political game which is sensitive and one that has been rejected by the majority of the people."

A spokesperson for the Home Affairs said other government-owned properties, including some schools, would be used as polling booths. He refused to comment on the complaints from parents and teachers.
A PROPOSAL to exempt Sandton from the Group Areas Act has been defeated with the aid of DP councillors. An amendment — to set up a committee — was backed by all but one DP member of the town council.

It was supported by the DP's deputy chairman of the Bryanston constituency committee, Perry Oertel, and seconded by the DP's Sandton constituency chairman, Peter Jardine. The amendment was also supported by DP Johannesburg West candidate Willem Hefer.

The original motion, by former FPF member and now independent councillor Ltt Cogg, also proposed the council should not support any application to the Free Settlement Board for establishment of free settlement areas in Sandton.

Cogg said DP councillors attempted to press her not to put the motion on Monday night. Last month she agreed to postpone it for a month on condition a full report on the Free Settlement Act would be presented to the council this week.

Cogg said no report came. Instead an amendment aimed at defeating her motion was proposed.

The amendment called for a committee to investigate and report on possible amendments to the Free Settlement Areas Act which, if implemented, would enable the council to make application for Sandton to be declared a free settlement area. The amendment was passed with the support of all DP councillors except Meyer van Nierkerk.

Cogg said appointment of a committee was an evasion of the issue. In the interim, township developers could apply to the Free Settlement Board for free settlement areas in Sandton.

"The Free Settlement Areas Act is an extension of the Group Areas Act and tri-commerial system, both of which are rejected by DP policy. I am shocked by their actions," Cogg said.

Management committee chairman Peter Gardiner said what Cogg's motion proposed was totally negative.

"The fact that the second Act, the Local Government Affairs and Free Settlement Areas Act has not been promulgated shows government is still flexible in relation to its contents," Gardiner added.

He said there were numerous defects in the legislation.

26 parties on the register

There are, believe it or not, 26 political parties registered for participation in the elections for the three Houses of Parliament. Only the Democratic Party is registered for all three Houses — but four parties, including the DP in the House of Representatives, have not fielded any candidates.

This was disclosed yesterday by the chief electoral officer.

In the House of Assembly, the Blanke Volkstaat Party and the New Republic Party have not nominated candidates, but the NP has put up 164, the CP 131, the DP 164, the HNP 22 and there are five independents.

In the House of Representatives, the Labour Party has nominated 80 candidates, the Democratic Reform Party 46, the Freedom Party seven, the New Conventions Peoples Party one, the United Democratic Party 17 and there are 28 independents.

In the House of Delegates, the DP has fielded nine, the Freedom Party three, the Merit Peoples Party three, the National Federal Party 21, the National Peoples Party 29, the Peoples Party 11, the Progressive Independent Party six, the Republican Party three, Solidarity 40, the United Party four and none for the National Democratic Party. There are 29 independents.

There are two six-way contests in the House of Delegates, five five-way, six four-way, eight three-way and 14 two-way fights. Five MPs have been elected unopposed.

Predicting the results in this House won't be easy, but it seems Solidarity, the NNP and the DP are the main contenders.

Tonight's Meetings:

Durbanville: The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Preez, will speak in support of the NP candidate in Durbanville, Mr Willem van den Heever, in the Welgene Primary School Hall at 8 pm.

Stellenbosch: The DP candidate in Groote Schuur, Mr Deon Smuts, the DP candidate in Helberg, Mr David Gant, and the SP candidate in Stellenbosch, Mr Ronnie Mostert, will speak at the Stellenbosch Town Hall at 8 pm.

Bellville: The CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, will speak in support of the CP candidate in Bellville, Mr Ferdi van Heerden, at the Tygerberg Commercial High School at 8 pm.

Report by S Swart, 102 St George's St, Cape Town.
CP farmer sends three workers to NP meeting

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A NORTHERN Cape farmer, who supports the Conservative Party, this week sent three of his black farm workers to a National Party meeting in Hopetown.

Mr Albus Viljoen of Orania, between Hopetown and Petersville, said today he had done this to prove that the National Party was applying double standards.

The three black men sat in the front row and listened to Mr Myburgh Streicher, Deputy Minister of Transport Affairs. No one in the audience remarked on their presence.

Mr Streicher said today that it had been found that they could hardly understand Afrikaans or English.

Racial incidents

Nationalists present had realised it was a CP gimmick. The blacks had been embarrassed and the CP was made to look foolish.

As a result people in the area who had threatened not to vote this time had told the National Party today that they would support the party. They could not trust the CP as it wanted to create racial incidents.

Mrs Viljoen said today the farm workers had not been forced to go to the meeting. He had only asked his foreman to arrange that they should attend. He denied that they had been told that Mr Streicher would talk about their pensions.

(Report by T Wenzel, 122 St George’s Street, Cape Town)
Vlok tells AWB man

THE word "kaffir" was insulting, no longer acceptable and should be erased from the South African vocabulary, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, told an AWB supporter at a public meeting in Fochville.

During question time after the meeting in Fochville, a member of the audience asked why "16 kaffirs" had been acquitted for murdering two white policemen in Carletonville.

Other members of the audience referred to the man as the local member of the AWB.

Vlok began his reply by saying that the use of the word "kaffir" displayed an attitude which was no longer acceptable. The word was insulting and should not be used to refer to people of another colour.

"I appeal to you to leave that attitude behind. There might have been a time when that word was acceptable but we cannot go in to the future if we continue to insult people in this way."

Vlok asked whether he had agreement on that issue and the man acknowledged by nodding his head.

Replying to the man's question, he said the courts were independent and the State could not interfere with a decision taken by a court on the evidence before it.
AN ELECTION candidate has quit after it was revealed that his nomination form included several forged signatures.

The false signatures were spotted by an Athlone security policeman who recognised several of the names on the list as those of activists he had previously detained.

It was confirmed late on Wednesday night that independent candidate for Rylands, Cape Town, Mr Gangian "Gang" Naidoo, had withdrawn.

But perhaps the biggest shock was for 25-year-old Rylands student, Feizul Jeenah, who was in Britain on the day he was alleged to have added his name to a list of 300 signatures needed by the candidate to have his nomination accepted.

"How could I have endorsed his nomination when I was in Edinburgh at the time?" asked Jeenah, who said he found tricameralism "abhorrent".

His mother, Mrs Sabera Jeenah, and his 19-year-old brother Mohamed were equally upset that their names were included in the candidate's nomination.

Surprised

A SOUTH investigation has revealed that Feizul Jeenah allegedly endorsed the candidate on June 17 — a week before he arrived back in South Africa from England where he is studying.

"When I saw the policeman I immediately thought he was coming to detain me again," said Mrs Jeenah.

"He told us he was surprised to spot our family's name on the candidate's nomination list and had come to investigate.

"Our signatures were obviously forged," she said.

The returning officer for Rylands, Mr D Vosloo, said late on Wednesday night that Naidoo had resigned "for personal reasons".

Vosloo said he was not aware of any nomination irregularities but if there were any, it would be a matter for the police.

A Western Cape police spokesman Captain Hendrik Opperman confirmed on Wednesday that police were investigating a case of fraud in connection with the election, but would not disclose any details.

Exhaustive efforts by SOUTH to contact Naidoo for comment, both at his home and at work, have proved unsuccessful.
'Betrayed by false promises of reform'

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The National Party lacked the sincerity of deed and action to be the credible promoter of the transcending change which South Africa required, Mr Tony Leon, Democratic Party candidate in Houghton, said in Walmer last night.

He was sharing a platform with General Bob Rogers, former chief of the SA Air Force, the DP's Walmer candidate.

Mr Leon, a member of the DP's National Board, said voters had been betrayed by the 'false promises' of Nationalist reform since the referendum on the tricameral constitution.

"All that tricameralism has achieved is to increase and raise the revolutionary climate in South Africa to such a level that we are only capable of governing this country by means of emergency powers and decrees," he said.

Concerning the country's economic decline, Mr Leon said: "We can be great again. Renewal and reconstruction are within our grasp, but to achieve these ends we must embrace the future and discard the discredited past."

(Report by E van der Merwe, 45 Stander Stree, Johannesburg)
ANC leader 'went further than Govt required'

Viljoen questioned on Mandela release

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Mr Nelson Mandela had gone further than was required of him by saying he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid said last night.

He was replying to a member of the audience at a National Party meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, who asked why Mr Mandela had not been released, since he had committed himself to peace.

Dr Viljoen told the audience of about 60 that the Government would have to look carefully at the implications of what Mr Mandela had said.

Clashes with ANC

The importance of what he, as a leader of the ANC, had said was that it clashed with the standpoint of the ANC.

The ANC said the only way to effect change was through violence and revolution and that it was only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power.

"In my opinion Mr Mandela said a very important thing, that he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions."

This went further than had always been required of him - to renounce violence.

By implication he had renounced violence and that was something the Government would have to look at very carefully, Dr Viljoen said.

It would also have to look at the reaction from the ANC. In the ANC were those who were committed to violence and revolution and those who believed in negotiation.

Dr Viljoen said the Conservative Party's policy of partition as described in its election manifesto would lead to "coercion, violence and possibly even a bloodbath".

The policy would require millions to be resettled as the CP philosophy was that each group had to be in the majority in its own homeland.

The CP had proposed a series of economic measures to influence people to move voluntarily.

But it was an illusion to think people would move voluntarily in such large numbers. It would only take place with "unthinkable violence."

Dr Viljoen said the Democratic Party was in danger of losing credibility over the "world of promises" in its economic manifesto.

It promised to double the size of the police force, link pensions to the inflation rate, give large increases of aid to the aged, introduce a poverty relief programme, reduce GST and petrol tax and scrap metering of local telephone calls - and at the same time reduce State spending.

(Report by P Fabricius, 228 Vermeers Street, Pretoria).
Botha's hunt: Auditor-General launches probe

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Auditor-General has launched an investigation into the alleged mis-allocation of funds by President Botha on a hunting trip.

This follows Mr Botha's use of a police lorry — allegedly showing false number plates — to transport several carcasses of buck shot by him on a Free State farm last week.

The Auditor-General's investigation appears to hinge on the question of whether the police lorry was used for proper police duty.

**CP SURPRISED**

Officials sources have suggested that the lorry was used properly and officially as it was carrying equipment to protect Mr Botha.

The venison carcasses were loaded on the return journey as there was space on the lorry.

Mr Fafilo Jacobs, the Conservative Party MP for Losberg who first broke the story, yesterday expressed surprise that the Auditor-General had decided to investigate the incident.

He said he had not asked him to do so. "This is getting really serious," he said.

"When the Auditor-General decides to investigate, that points to the seriousness of the situation.

"The reason for this is that he is looking into the question of whether Parliament approved the use of the funds of the Minister of Law and Order by using police transport and taking on police fuel.

"This doesn't look at all good for the State President's office."

The CP said it was considering asking the Advocate-General to investigate the incident.

Mr F W de Klerk, National Party leader, yesterday asked for a judicial commission of inquiry into it.

Mr Jacobs said yesterday the CP had not yet submitted the request to the Advocate-General.

(Report by P Fabricius, 296 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)
All the drama of a hung parliament

A hung parliament after the September 6 general election, identified by The Star in mid-May as a hazy outline on the horizon, has moved more sharply into focus as a possible Eleven-day result.

But, as Ms Jocelyn Kuper, managing director of Marketing and Media Research (MMR), cautions, the final outcome depends on the impact of several factors between now and polling day.

One, as polls conducted in July by MMR for The Star show, is the huge floating vote. The undecided voters can tip the balance one way or another. In the six polls conducted by MMR, the floating vote varies from a low 16 percent to a high 24 percent.

Another potentially decisive factor is the six weeks of campaigning which lie ahead between now and polling day. Two separate MMR polls in Randburg show that voters are swayed by electioneering, that party political loyalties are more fluid than they have been in decades and predictions, therefore, more difficult.

The former British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Wilson, has remarked that a week is a long time in politics. His caveat is applicable to South Africa today. Even the Centre for Policy Studies, which predicts the governing National Party will lose its majority in the white chamber, qualifies its forecast with warnings.

**Dramatic implications**

One is that the NP has proved to be highly resilient in the past, confounding pollsters and opponents alike who, often extrapolating from incomplete or imperfect data, have anticipated its decline.

But, at the end of the day, a hung parliament is an outcome which cannot be excluded. Its implications are so dramatic that they are worth exploring.

To lose its absolute majority in the white chamber, the NP will have to shed 40 seats or nearly one-third of its present total of 123 out of 166 elected seats.

If that happens, the NP, having enjoyed more than 40 years in power, will return to Parliament battered and blooded; its confidence — one can safely assume — will be shattered.

It will then have to embark on the hazardous and nerve-racking task of choosing a coalition partner.

Several factors can still influence the outcome of September’s general election. But if the National Party does lose its outright majority in the House of Assembly, the results could be dramatic. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

Whether it chooses the newly formed Democratic Party (DP) or the staunchly segregationist Conservative Party (CP), will depend on a number of factors.

One, obviously, will be the relative strength of the two opposition parties. Their attraction as prospective coalition partners will, in some measure, be in direct proportion to the number of seats they hold.

Ominously for those who believe an NP-CP alliance will be fatal for the country, the CP will be the stronger party in the two scenarios projected by the Centre for Policy Studies.

S Fifty-two seats against 36 for the DP in the first scenario based on an 80 percent poll (a not unreasonable assumption, given the high interest and crucial issues, says Mr Richard Humphries of the Centre for Policy Studies)

Sixty-four against 37 in the second, based on a repetition of the 70 percent poll recorded in 1987.

Another key factor in determining whether the NP will look at Left or Right for a coalition partner is whether its schizophrenic political soul is more heavily biased in the direction of reform or reaction.

Weighty, momentous and — let it be added — exciting days and decisions lie ahead if a hung parliament materialises after September 6.

One further possible future, if remote, development is to be considered: the splitting of the NP. Its reform-minded leaders may opt for a coalition with the DP, only to trigger a massive walk-over to the CP by its more conservative rank-and-file MPs.

Mr F W de Klerk, who has been prematurely dubbed president-elect by some observers, will be a likely casualty.

In an NP-CP coalition, the DP is likely to press for a more committed reformist as President in preference to Mr de Klerk, whose reputation is that of a pragmatist rather than a reformist.

So much for the implications of a hung parliament: what lies behind the decline of the NP, as reflected in a range of polls, including a confidential appraisal conducted for the NP and polls by Market and Opinion Surveys? Its diminishing support seems to have accelerated with Mr de Klerk’s take-over as NP leader. Taking the Market and Opinion as a guide, NP support has ebbed steadily from 48.7 percent in April to 40.6 percent in July.

**Prudence reinforced**

The power struggle between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha after Mr Botha’s resignation as party leader cannot have helped. Quarrels in the upper echelons of a party, however discreet, affect party morale adversely.

According to well-placed observers, Mr de Klerk’s political prudence — he describes himself as a “cautious man” — has been unhealthily reinforced by the presence of the brooding Mr Botha in the background.

Mr de Klerk, they say, is loath to take a clear, bold line because he fears contradiction by an unpredictable Mr Botha.

But the difficulties of the NP may be deeper than that.

Writing long before the most recent opinion polls, Dr Rupert Taylor, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said of the NP after its apparent triumph in the 1987 election: “It is going nowhere. Its winning formula is built on myth ... The National Party cannot solve the political crisis through either limited reforms or repression.”

Dr Taylor predicted that voters from which the NP draws its support, the growing white middle class, would inevitably discover that it is bankrupt. Perhaps that is what they have started to do.

(Report by P Laurence, O Stand Street, Johannesburg)

**Section 1 Labourers’ Wage Rates in Selected Regional Centres**
The Star Friday July 28, 1989

The issue of protection and the optics of the party's approach is an issue that has been raised in recent discussions. The party has been accused of being too focused on short-term gains and not enough on long-term planning.

The party's recent actions have been seen as a reaction to the pressure from the union leaders. However, some analysts believe that the party is actually trying to move away from its traditional base and appeal to a wider audience.

The party's leadership has also been criticized for not doing enough to ensure that the party's policies are implemented. There have been reports of corruption and nepotism within the party, which has led to a loss of credibility among the general public.

The party's recent performance in the polls has been mixed. While some districts have seen a increase in the party's support, others have seen a decline.

The party's leaders have been forced to respond to these challenges, and are currently working on a new strategy to ensure the party's success in the upcoming elections.

The party's future will depend on its ability to address these issues and come up with a cohesive strategy. If the party cannot do this, it may face further losses in the polls and may struggle to maintain its position as a major player in national politics.
De Klerk not wanted
ECONOMIC POLICY

Why the DP isn’t convincing

There is a remarkable similarity nowadays when progressive politicians explain their economic policies. It doesn’t much matter where they be — in Sydney, Gdansk, Pietersburg or Harare — they all sound much like Harry Schwarz explaining the Democratic Party (DP)’s economic plan in Cape Town at the weekend. In short — hopeful but finally unconvincing.

There is in essence not much difference between the DP plan and what the Nats have been saying for some years. But the Nats haven’t implemented even half of what they planned. The question is: If elected, will the DP stick to its election promises or build up at the enormity of the challenge?

Lower inflation, lower taxes, less government and the removal of apartheid as an economic growth constraint. It would be very difficult to fault all that. The country will pay a heavy price if it is not done.

Why, therefore, should there be any doubt cast at the DP’s economic veracity? The answer comes from Schwarz himself: the DP would ensure the ruthless elimination of abuses of the finrand system which led to enormous forex losses.

This country has the potential to grow rapidly. But it requires a government that is bold and committed to free enterprise and free markets. That means the abolition of exchange controls and the finrand system which together facilitated the massive forex loss by their very artificiality.

The exchange rate is the most important price in this economy. If it is not determined by supply and demand, the credibility of every other commitment to free markets that the DP may care to make must be viewed with scepticism.

To be sure, it is possible to implement the additional controls that will be necessary to plug more of the gaps in the finrand system. And they will be effective for a while. But the cost will be high.

Schwarz has only to cross the Limpopo to find out just how high. The Zimbabwe Central Bank runs as watertight a set of forex controls as is humanly possible — helped, of course, by its market being very small. But the outcome, according to businessmen in Harare, is that decisions from the authorities take anything from five weeks to three months.

Even if our central bankers are more efficient — and their inability to control the money supply does not suggest they are — this economy is so much larger and complex and the need for speed in foreign trade so much greater, that the competitiveness of our exports in world markets would be seriously prejudiced.

If the DP compromises on a price as central as the exchange rate, what else will it do for the sake of political expediency?
ELECTION — 2

Calling the roll

Apart from the CP's 22 seats, all in the Transvaal, there are another 39 Transvaal seats which could move from the NP to the CP — if there was a 15% general swing to the Right since 1987. The Randfontein by-election last year showed a 7% swing to the CP; some analysts believe the CP is still growing. But others reckon CP support has peaked.

Be that as it may, the final nominations for the House of Assembly election have already made a difference — even if we assume that voting patterns have not changed since 1987. Starting with the Transvaal: certain seats were won by the NP in 1987 on a split rightwing vote. (All percentages in brackets below indicate the required swing to the Right for the CP to gain a seat from the NP.) Assuming no further swing to the Right, the CP will automatically gain two seats where the HNP is not standing this time — Stilfontein and Pretoria West, where the combined rightwing vote exceeded the NP's in 1987.

In addition, the DP's decision to fight seats it didn't in 1987 is likely — without any further swing — to reduce the Nat vote in the following seats, thus giving them to the CP: Lydenburg (1%), Wonderboom (2%); possibly Alberton (7%), Gudu (7%) and Klerksdorp (7%); and even Roodepoort (8%), Germiston District (9%) and Kempton Park (9%).

But the DP is not fighting Maraisburg, which will leave the NP breathing a little easier; the Nat majority last time was only 837 and the Progs totalled 617. As in 1987, there will be three-way contests (NP, CP, DP) in 14 other Transvaal seats, but there would have to be a substantial swing to the Right for the CP to win most of them.

The HNP are absent this time from Roodeplaat and Gezina. This favours the CP's chances in these seats if there is a tiny swing to the Right; the same applies to a much lesser extent in Nelspruit, Primrose and Germiston. One seat that is virtually certain to go to the CP is Hercules, where the combined rightwing vote last time was 60% — but Jaap Marais polled 26% of that vote. The HNP will not achieve anything like that now, thus leaving the way clear for the CP. Rustenburg is another seat that is difficult to call because the HNP candidate was unusually strong in 1987, but it could easily go CP without a swing: the DP is standing again.

Three seats will be excellent barometers of swings between the NP and the CP. As in 1987, there are straight fights between these two parties in Krugersdorp (1%), Potchefstroom (2%) and Vanderbijlpark (8%). As it happens, each is largely Afrikaans and each represents a different source of CP strength: middle-class Reef town, rural Transvaal and the Vaal Triangle. If the Nats retain Krugersdorp and Potchefstroom, the tide will have turned against the CP; if the Nats lose Vanderbijlpark, they're in big trouble.

What about the other provinces? In the Free State the NP is defending all 14 seats. On the 1987 showing, both Sasolburg and Parys would fall to the CP — both are held on a split vote and are now straight NP-CP contests.

The DP is contesting five Free State seats, but will undermine the NP's chances in only two: Bethlehem and Ladybrand. Other CP gains would require swings of between 6% and 19%.

In Natal, DP involvement might just give Umfolozi to the CP, based on 1987 voting; but a swing of 4% would be needed for Newcastle to go CP. No other Natal seat is vulnerable to the CP.

In the Cape, the seats most vulnerable to a swing to the Right are Kuruman (2%), Oudtshoorn (7%), De Aar and Uitenhage (9%) and Graaff-Reinet (12%). The DP is not contesting any of these; nor is it likely to spoil the Nats' chances against the CP in any Cape seat.

Has CP participation given the DP a chance of winning Nat seats without any swing to the Left? There are very few such seats: Beauford, East London North and Umhlanga, possibly the two Maritzburg constituencies. In all the other vulnerable Nat seats, the CP took part last time — so a swing is required for DP gains.

Everyone assumes that the CP will automatically retain all its 22 seats. But this is not necessarily the case. The PFP split the vote in certain seats in 1987, where the DP is not standing this time. With no swing, Delmas and Roodepoort could easily revert to the NP. Though many of the other CP seats were highly marginal, the HNP has pulled out of some of them and the DP has entered others (like Middelburg), favouring the CP.

So what would the score be, if voting support were to remain true to the 1987 division? With a bit of luck, the CP would gain 12 seats and the DP five — all from the Nats. The NP might win back one or two from the CP and none from the DP.

That, perhaps, is the measure of the "co-operation" between the CP and the DP against the NP, before any swings to Left or Right and the HNP's decline are taken into account.
A state of plenty

A DP government will base SA’s economy — “as far as possible” — on the principles of private ownership and free enterprise and will keep State involvement to a minimum.

The party’s long-awaited economic policy was unveiled at a weekend election campaign launch in Cape Town. It sets out not only a broad policy framework, but also the imme-

icient steps a DP government would take in an attempt to put the economy back on its feet.

The DP campaign manifesto details a bold “four-stage strategy to fix the economy” based on reducing inflation, encouraging economic growth, developing and uplifting all South Africans and turning SA into a “winning nation.”

Immediate steps would include:
- Reducing inflation to below 10% within three years by containing government spending, stopping uncontrolled increases in the money supply and eliminating wasteful “apartheid extravagance;”
- Freeing the Reserve Bank from government interference;
- Reviewing the role of the agricultural control boards and the setting of food prices with a view to achieving free markets;
- Easing “punitive” tax rates which discourage hard work and free enterprises; separate taxation of married couples; reducing GST to below 10%; the removal of GST on medicines; and the removal of “exorbitant and unnecessary” taxes on petrol;
- The introduction of VAT at a graduated rate, lowest on essentials and highest on luxury items;
- The abolition of “golden handshakes” for retiring politicians;
- A streamlined and efficient civil service in which “deserving” workers are well paid;
- Encouraging economic growth by restoring confidence in SA’s future through policies based on democracy and a free-market economy, eliminating red-tape and creating a climate for free enterprise;
- Eliminating “demoralising corruption and derailing the gravy train” and
- Appointing a minister of consumer affairs to “protect consumers and prevent price rigging,” giving more muscle to the Consumer Council and appointing an official ombudsman.

The key to all this, barring the last point, is that the DP has grasped that it will be possible to reduce taxes as the economy grows.

Foreign investors will be attracted back to SA by the scrapping of apartheid; and the improved economic climate and international tourism would flourish. “Confidence in our economy and in ourselves as a nation will be restored.”

The more formal policy framework steers clear of the manifesto’s campaign promises and concentrates on a conservative and broadly defined direction in which the DP believes the economy should move.

It says the State’s role will be limited to:
- The efficient administration of the country and the maintenance of security through a “streamlined bureaucracy;”
- The equitable upliftment and development of all South Africans based on the economy’s taxation capacity and the needs of deprived communities;
- The provision of physical and institutional infrastructure to support private initiative and to train manpower. All South Africans will be encouraged to participate in the “mainstream” of economic activity; and
- A role in the establishment of an orderly system of collective bargaining between employers and employees and between employers themselves.

The policy recognises SA’s interdependence with the rest of the world. As part of the transition to a “true South African democracy,” steps will be taken to normalise the country’s trade and financial relations with the international community, as part of the effort to attain a high economic growth rate and counter the effects of sanctions.

In the drive for a sustained, high and stable growth rate, priority will be given to the creation of jobs.

DP Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz says that, unlike government, his party will not “regret” the high inflation rate, but will act to bring it down by telling people what needs to be done and asking for their cooperation. “We will not be afraid to administer tough medicine if in the long term it is in the interest of the country, irrespective of the political considerations.

Inflation can be beaten, but it needs a will and determination to act and to administer the right medicine at the right time, not delaying action for political motives or actions which themselves have party political and not economic motives.”

What can this mean? Schwarz tells the FM, keeping the increase in money supply under proper control; a “completely independent” Reserve Bank administering monetary policy and co-ordinating it with fiscal policy; the elimination of “monopolistic and price maintenance conditions” to ensure competition and equality of bargaining power; the elimination of consumer exploitation; productivity incentives; and the elimination of financial fraud abuses (see Leaders).
Voters have put focus on the economy

It was not the National Party or the Democratic Party that was putting the focus of the election on the management of the economy, it was the electorate themselves, DP candidate for Helderberg, Mr D Gant, said last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Stellenbosch, he said white voters had already accepted the fact that blacks would have a major role in the country’s political, social and economic developments.

The electorate, he added, concerned themselves far more with “their future standards of living and general well-being than the retention of any racially based special political privilege”.

“They want to know whether there will be a viable economy, better housing opportunities, improved levels of education for the children and less unemployment, less inflation, less taxation.

“They are asking themselves who best can manage the economy in the transition period and thereafter.

“And it is in this respect that the Nationalist Government, on the basis of its past record of lack of fiscal discipline, reckless spending and largesse, has no right to ask to be returned to power on September 6.”

Mr Gant said the NP’s manifesto, far from providing the real medicine required to cure the economy, simply served to highlight its self-confessed incompetence and the economic ills that had flown from it.

― Sapa, 30th April 1994

(News by V Levens. 41 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
NEW YORK — With the new General Assembly session scheduled to begin in little more than 59 days time, the group of African states have already fired their opening shot aimed at ensuring that “the question of apartheid” remains a hot agenda item.

As if regular debate on the subject — the UN’s hardest perennial except for disarmament — were not enough, the group also obtained agreement to hold a special session on apartheid on December 12, 13 and 14.

Still hard up because of the failure of many states to pay their UN dues — the United States alone owes about $500 million (about R1 350 million) — the world body hardly needs this reaction when members will be struggling to complete the business of the regular assembly for a December 19 adjournment.

In private consultations, they agreed also that “normal” debate on apartheid would take place three weeks before the special session.

BY SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Namibian moves, and hints of substantial policy changes in the event of Mr F W de Klerk being elected president, have not dented the stubborn hostility of the UN majority towards South Africa.

If delegates thought this was a clear case of political overkill, none wanted to say so publicly.

Short of a dramatic policy shift, South Africa will be unable to defend itself in either debate, having been denied representation in the General Assembly since 1974, when, as president, the then Algerian Foreign Minister Mr Abdelaziz Bouteflika, engineered the ouster of the Republic’s delegation on a credentials technicality.

No olive branch

Major-General Joseph Garba, former Foreign Minister and for several years chief delegate of Nigeria, will preside over this year’s assembly, the 44th, and is unlikely to want to change what was started by his Algerian predecessor.

General Garba is a famous and vocal critic of the Republic in his year-round capacity as chairman of the assembly’s special committee on apartheid.

So South Africa’s chief delegate, Mr Jeremy S疤痕ar, can hardly look to him for an olive branch.

On the secretariat side, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has been far more restrained in his remarks about the Republic’s policies than was his predecessor as Secretary-General, Mr Kurt Waldheim, now the president of Austria.

Dr Perez de Cuellar may be unhappy with some aspects of the situation in Namibia.

However, he has often emphasised his view that it is not the duty of a secretary-general to lambast a member state when, along with General Garba, he will be sharing the podium with a new under-secretary-general for political and general assembly affairs.

Mr Ronald Spiers (64), a career member of the United States foreign service, will be succeeding in that important post Mr Joseph Reed, who has become the White House chief of protocol.

Bush nominee

Mr Spiers’s field of expertise is disarmament and his biographical details make no mention of any significant Africa connection.

He was nominated for the high UN post by President Bush and received two distinguished service awards from former President Reagan, who also appointed him to the personal rank of career ambassador — a distinction he shares with fewer than half a dozen State Department colleagues.

Ideologically, he may be considered as conservative as is Mr Reed, who sometimes flouted his Republican credentials by wearing a tie on which the name “Reagan” was repeated in stripes.
Big business has faith in NP, claims Babb

The National Party's goal of an economy based on free market principles would stimulate growth, create jobs, maintain job stability and contain inflation, the NP candidate for Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb, said yesterday.

Speaking at a house meeting, he said these policies carried the country through several years of drought, two years of unrest and unavailability of capital, "and still achieved a growth rate of close on 3 percent".

"Even now, Anglo American and Gencor are investing billions of rands, while Sappi and Mondi are planting thousands of trees which will only provide a return in eight years' time. It certainly shows big business' confidence in a future under National Party government.

"At the same time, the creation of regional services councils served as a channel for development in black cities and towns. Basic infrastructure is being provided, changing the face of places like Soweto and Alexandra."

Referring to the Democratic Party, he said the party's economic policy was "schizophrenic".

"While the one co-leader espouses economic motherhood, one of his co-leaders is dreaming of a welfare state and a redistribution of wealth on behalf of the Mass Democratic Movement."

Mr Babb called DP members "dreamers", saying they "dream of dishing out bananas when they haven't even planted a tree".

"The electorate are not monkeys; the DP should remember it." — Sapa.

(News by G van Oudtshoorn, 14 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
Black 'humour' from CP man

CAPE TOWN — A Northern Cape farmer who supports the Conservative Party this week sent three of his black farm workers to a National Party meeting in Hopetown — "as a joke".

Mr Altus Viljoen of Orania, between Hopetown and Petrusville, said yesterday he had done this in order to prove that the National Party was applying double standards.

The three black men sat in the front row and listened to Mr Myburgh Streicher, deputy Minister of Transport Affairs. No-one in the audience remarked on their presence.

Mr Streicher said yesterday it had been found that they could hardly understand Afrikaans or English.

Nationalists present had realised that it was a CP gimmick. The blacks had been embarrassed and the CP was made to look foolish.

Mr Viljoen said yesterday he viewed the incident as a joke.

The farm workers had not been forced to go to the meeting.

He had also won a R200 bet with a Nationalist that the National Party would allow people of colour to come to its meetings and that they would not be asked to leave the hall.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)
Minister criticises Charter

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Leon Wessels lashed out in Soweto yesterday at the ANC’s Freedom Charter, claiming the “burning of schools and homes by the outlawed organisation” was based on the document.

Speaking at the opening of the new Kliptown Police Station, he said the document had nothing to do with the visualisation of a future South Africa.

“It is simply a document by which the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance attempts to involve South Africans in their revolutionary offensive,” he said.

“By misleading our people with these transparent promises, the revolutionaries try to incite our people to violence and to misuse them for revolutionary purposes.”

Identifying housing and education as the most urgent needs in South Africa today, Mr Wessels said: “Terrorist organisations which intend bringing this country to its knees have been using these aspects as the main thrusts of their campaigns to create violent disorder.”

(Report by C Kotze, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)
Derby-Lewis's defamation suit dismissed

By Glen Elsas, West Rand Bureau

A Krugersdorp magistrate yesterday dismissed with costs a defamation suit brought by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis against deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels, the National Party and Mr Linus van Rooyen, a 1987 NP campaign helper.

Mr SW van Niekerk said in his judgment the advertisement in the Krugersdorp News, which led to the court case, should be read as a "whole unit." He held the advertisement consisted of fair comment and the publishing thereof was in the interests of the voting public.

He said the plaintiff was evasive concerning the issue of racism.

However, it was the court's opinion that Mr Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs, qualified as a racist following his testimony in court and the dictionary definition of a racist.

The R5 000 damages suit centred on a paragraph in the advertisement concerning compulsory sterilization of other races.

Mr Derby-Lewis had claimed this statement cast doubt on his character, labelled him as a racist and portrayed him as a cruel and inhuman person.
Boksburg Nats oppose honour for Treurnicht

By Kevin Udemans

The National Party caucus in the Boksburg Town Council announced last night it would boycott a council meeting and festivities on August 26 when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will receive the Freedom of Boksburg.

The leader of the NP in the council, Councillor Chris Smith, said the party wanted to distance itself from the presentation of such a high honour to a political figure.

He said it was felt the honour should only be given to a State President — as in the past — in a non-political capacity.

Dr Treurnicht will join State Presidents Mr Jim Fouche, Mr Marais Viljoen and Mr P W Botha and former world heavyweight boxing champion Gerrie Coetzee as honorary citizens of the town.

Mr T J Ferreira, chief whip of the CP, told a town council meeting last night that NP Members of Parliament seemed to think they were above the law.

He was responding to allegations that NP workers removed CP election posters from lamp posts.

Mr Ferreira said that Councillor Pieter Strydom had found one NP worker removing CP posters from lamp posts this week, but that the CP would not press charges.

Alderman Issy Kramer pointed out that because tampering with and removing political posters were criminal offences the allegations could not be debated by the council. It was for the State to decide whether to prosecute.
Nat panic and the PW factor

An element of panic has crept into the NP’s election campaign as leaders face the thought of the worst possible scenario when the party came to power in 1948.

There is even a suggestion that if things go too badly P W Botha may attempt a comeback. He told delegates to party’s Cape Town congress in Somerset West at the weekend that he had “fully recovered” from his stroke. He looked strong and healthy.

While still convalescing earlier this year, Botha made it quite clear that he intended seeking nomination for another term as president. But he was subsequently outmanoeuvred by F W de Klerk and effectively forced into retirement.

If the NP is hammered on September 6 to such an extent that De Klerk’s power base is shattered, he may be considered too discredited to be nominated as State President. In that case it is conceivable that a rescue effort will be launched with Botha at the helm. The lack of leadership in the party may leave the caucus no other option.

Meanwhile, scapegoats are being sought to rally supporters in an attempt to stave off the unprecedented onslaught from the Left. The NP has virtually written off the right-wing as irreversibly lost — although Nat inertia on some apartheid laws suggests otherwise — which leaves the DP as its greatest threat.

The DP are now being portrayed as “spoilers” set to hand seats to the CP by fielding candidates in constituencies where they have no hope of winning. It is argued by Nat media, including the SABC, that this is a “strategy” for ensuring a hung parliament in which the DP will hold sway.

But research for the Sunday Times indicates that only nine seats could fall to the CP under such circumstances.

A survey commissioned by the NP itself identified 11 such constituencies — but the DP has nominated candidates in only three of them. The NP, on the other hand, has nominated candidates in 10 DP strongholds where it has virtually no chance of victory (see “Election — 2”).

Added cause for NP concern came at the weekend when the last polls that may be published before the election suggested that the party is still losing support to the DP.

Analysts disagree on how the statistics will translate into seats on election day, and they acknowledge that much can happen in the next month to change perceptions. But for the first time in many years, it is conceivable that the NP can lose its overall majority in parliament — not likely, perhaps, but conceivable.

The DP rejects efforts to smear its candidates as spoilers. Acting chairman of its national board Tiaan van der Merwe says it is not the DP’s duty to keep the Nats in power. “On the contrary, we are in business to get rid of the Nats. Any move to save an NP seat would therefore be inconsistent with our very purpose in politics.”

He says the DP sees little difference between the consequences of NP rule and CP policies, and adds that if some commentators are “hoodwinked by the sugar-coating of Nationalist apartheid,” they should re-examine the NP.

“The DP is serious about power, hopeful even at this election by means of a hung parliament. We will not allow ourselves to be treated as a ‘third team’ political movement that must stay out from under the feet of the big contestants.”

Van der Merwe argues that it is not necessary correct that DP supporters will automatically vote Nat in the absence of a DP candidate, and may in fact even vote CP out of protest against government.

The DP is undeniably on a roll. The enthusiasm of delegates to its campaign launch in Cape Town at the weekend contrasted with the sedate, almost nervous air that hung over the NP’s congress in Somerset West.

The DP seems to have distilled the essence of campaign politics in a manner that often eluded the PFP. It is beating the drum of economics and security. Speakers promised lower taxes, lower inflation, a clean administration, in short to “apartheid spending,” the re-establishment of international trade ties, a bigger and better-paid police force to protect ordinary citizens, reduced defence spending and a cut in national service.

The DP is successfully avoiding the “pinko liberal” tag of the PFP and can hardly be accused of being “soft on security” when such eminent former securerocrats as General Bob Rogers (former SAAF chief) and General Wally Black (former director-general of operations at SAPD HQ), stand up to explain that it is the NP’s political policies that threaten SA’s security.

The DP is also managing to match the NP blow for blow on the issue of dealing with the ANC. Co-leader Wynand Malan has managed skillfully to place contact with the organisation in a perspective that leaves the NP looking like the villain for refusing to talk. In addition, P W Botha’s meeting with Nelson Mandela has created a crisis for De Klerk. The organisation can no longer simply be written off as unacceptable at the negotiating table.

Economic high ground

The NP is also being forced on to the defensive in the face of the DP’s onslaught against its economic policies. In the latest reaction Own Affairs Budget Minister Kent Durr popped his head out of the trenches to reject the DP’s newly published economic policy as “too costly.” But with inflation at an 18-month high and the economic slowdown beginning to bite, it is no surprise that economic issues took a back seat at the Nat Cape congress.

By contrast, the DP campaign launch was dominated by economics. Co-leader Zach de Beer said that, in any of the world’s democracies, an economic performance half as bad as the NP’s would have ensured defeat.

The old cliché of a “watershed election” has been so abused since 1948 that few commentators have dared to try it this time around. But veteran DP MP Colin Eglin did in a pep talk to party candidates in Cape Town: “The next few months, perhaps the next two years, are going to be the most exciting, the most challenging and potentially the most creative in the political history of our country. The future belongs not to the floundering, fearful politicians; it belongs to the millions of ordinary people who form the backbone of our nation.”

It is those ordinary people who are being wooed so fervently — and skillfully — by the two opposition parties. But we should remember that no one under the age of 45 can remember any government other than a Nationalist one. When it comes to making a cross, white conservatism — in the sense of keeping things pretty much as they are — will not be easily uprooted.
What the Nats need now is money and time. Neither is available.

ALL around the country, National Party activists are grappling with a bleak scenario — and they are approaching it in a distinctly political way. It is the specter of having 83 years or less before the voters are counted. On December 6 — what pollster Lawrence Schlemmer has called the "overvalued" syndrome. The complacency of having too much time, the lack of urgency, has caught up with the party which controls all but 10 MPs in parliament only 10 years ago. Studies show public support is at a dangerous level. But the NP, confusions and denials about policy, its incoherent, tawdry, yet seemingly invincible strategy to wipe out non-racial opposition, has increased support for white politicians and thus shrunk white vote, has achieved limited success. To date, there is only a chance of fundamentally changing national politics, the strategy remains to be crafted. (Perhaps a general election money at last some foreign investment) is in the offing.

Despite thousands of denunciations and millions of words, last year's municipal election campaign failed to gain new support for the local authority.

And the "Great Judica" concept — a policy for constitutional reform has — has never become more than a rhetorical declaration. The government's record has failed to win acceptance as a substitute for political change. Political "counter-organisations".

The Nats have never seemed so rudderless at election time. One initiative after another to gain support and resolve the national crisis has failed. The only thing that this time round, the voters seem to have realised this...

By MARK PHILLIPS

University of the Witwatersrand

The brief DFP honeymoon with the left seems over.

By GAVIN EVANS

The Democratic Party's white electoral support appears to be growing rapidly.

The final pre-election opinion polls predict a likely swing of up to 15 points from the National Party (NP) and an outside chance of an overall majority for the official opposition. Alternatively, if the NP gets a majority vote to the above, a hung parliament could enable the DFP to form the NP government into an onerous compromise.

According to last week's "Markin Report", published in Rapport, the DFP's white support has grown from 16% in the last election to 29% and the NP's support has dropped from 41% to 27%. Although the NP's support is still 17% higher than the DFP's, the NP's share of the vote is from 23.9 to 23.1%.

This translates into 32 seats for the DFP (up from 16 at the last election), with 10 for the NP, 29 for the CP and one for the IFP — a scenario which would require a new election or a position of official opposition by both the IFP and the DFP. A poll conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, published in the Sunday Times, predicted that DFP would have 18% of the vote, with the DFP's support showing a gain of 10%, and the NP's support dropping 10%.

The "time bomb" of the DFP is its continuing support for the DCP. The DCP's white support has dropped from 22% to 18%, while the DFP's support has dropped from 36% to 32%.

Our support base is spread over the country more evenly than the CP. The DFP's support is more geographically concentrated, and the DFP's support is more concentrated in the urban areas.

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NP battling to survive – DP

The National Party was fighting to survive in the coming election, Dr Zach de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party (DP), said in Witbank last night.

"For years, the Nats have simply said: vote for us, or otherwise unpleasant things will happen to you. But now the voters are saying: unpleasant things are happening already. Our taxes are too high; prices are too high; the value of our money is too low."

Dr de Beer said that in the past white South Africans had a very good life.

"We had the best schools, we lived in the best group areas, we had the best separate amenities, and all this cost us nothing. We were also prosperous.

"No wonder the Government found it easy to win elections. No wonder those of us who were campaigning for political and other rights for the black people had a hard time."

Dr Zach de Beer ... "voters are fed up."

(News by V Lebessa, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Power sharing at ‘leadership level’

Political Correspondent

The National Party believed that a political solution lay in power sharing at leadership level and not at the ballot box level, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, told an election meeting last night.

About 150 attended the meeting in a school hall in Durbanville.

Mr du Plessis said South Africa’s readmittance to the outside world could only come about when blacks, along with whites, could say that they were involved in efforts to find solutions to the country’s political problems.

The tripartite system had matured and should now at some stage reform itself in order to accommodate the political aspirations of other groups.

The National Party had come to realise that the political aspirations of all groups could not be accommodated on the “home-land” basis.

Rapid black urbanisation was inevitable and housing and services that had to be provided for this as well as the expansion of the informal sector were factors which could stimulate economic development.

At question time Mr du Plessis said he was sure that the Government could keep its promise to bring down taxes because this could be planned over a five-year period.

Inflation could be brought down to 10 percent, as the Democratic Party was promising, but this would bring the economy to a standstill and cut down productivity completely.

Mr du Plessis told one questioner that 70 officials who had been appointed to deal with group areas problems were not inspectors but advisers.

He said many whites did not want members of other groups in their residential areas and many people of colour wanted their own areas.

(Report by V Wentzel, 132 St George’s Street, Cape Town)
Bishops suggest list of questions

DURBAN — The Catholic bishops of South Africa have told church members to follow their own consciences in deciding whether to vote in the election.

For those who intend to vote, the bishops suggested a list of questions to put to candidates on issues such as the repeal of racial laws and negotiations.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference said in a pastoral letter that because of great defects in the election system and blatant injustice, many viewed the election as a farce and considered that no one concerned with justice should participate.

"One can appreciate their point of view. Others, however, who have the vote think they can do some good by voting. They see candidates standing for election who propose meaningful negotiations to bring true justice and peace to South Africa. Many will choose to vote to encourage and support such candidates and to help build up a strong body of opinion in favour of true negotiation."

(Report by T McIligott, 19 Field Street, Durban.)
Ms Michelle Guttler
20/11/81

At 25, DP candidate says youth no handicap

Political Staff
MS Michelle Guttler is probably the youngest aspirant parliamentarian in South Africa.

But it is no handicap, the twenty-five-year-old Democratic Party candidate for Tygervallei insists.

The precedent, she says, is her co-leader Dr Zac de Beer, who launched his parliamentary career in Maitland at 24.

A teacher of senior school English at a private college in Cape Town, Ms Guttler is also national president of the DP youth. And it was South Africa's loss of young talent through an apartheid-charged brain-drain that inspired her to enter politics.

GET INVOLVED

"I became involved in the 1986 by-election in Pinelands, shortly after yet another friend emigrated and I was becoming increasingly concerned.

"I decided I'd either become one of the statistics of those who had left, or I'd stay. If I stayed, I could either sit back and be critical of the government without really doing anything, or get involved."

She became the PFP regional youth chair, then national vice-chair.

Ms Guttler, brought up in Pinelands, went into teaching after obtaining an MA in religious studies at UCT.

"The problems of young South Africans need to be addressed by young people," she says.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

CP meeting tonight

ELECTION meetings tonight:

- Conservative Party — Mr Carel Schoeman, MP, at Voorbereiding School hall in De Doorns at 7.30pm. — Political Staff.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)
Boksburg ponders cost of apartheid

PAT DEVEREAUX

"WELCOME to our beautiful Boksburg," says the sign at the entrance to the East Rand town — but how long will it last if you are white?"

On September 6 Boksburg’s whites will go to the polls and deliver their judgment on the changes made in their town in the past 10 months which, according to many bitter residents, “have made Boksburg an international laughing stock." In October last year the Boksburg Town Council was captured by the Conservative Party in the October municipal elections — when it gained 12 of the town’s 20 wards.

Boksburg’s businesses have since been under siege by the black and coloured consumers after the council began implementing apartheid laws.

On Wednesday this week the Reiger Park coloured community at a packed Save Boksburg Committee meeting vowed to continue the consumer boycott in protest against old style apartheid laws in the town.

However, according to local shopkeepers and furniture traders, black consumers from nearby Vosloorus township are now trickling back.

The impact of the boycott may have frayed somewhat, but midday rush hour this week was still subdued.

Closing-down signs were plastered all over stores along the main streets. These were interspersed with brightcoloured election posters of the town’s smiling councilors.

“I think we have lost an estimated 62 percent of business through the boycott, and like many others, will have to close my shop here,” said clothing trader Mr Solly Angama.

Denial

The boycott has been very effective, according to residents who believe it has even forced the CP mayor Mr Beyers de Klerk to sell his estate agency because he had suffered a financial loss after being boycotted.

But Mr de Klerk denied that he had been financially ruined by the boycott, adding that he still had other businesses in the town.

The Nats have used Boksburg as a whipping horse and found large companies to support the boycott. This time they are going to be the lesson of their lives.

What the CP did was simply implement the law which is what 12 out of 20 wards wanted.

We never told Reiger Park or Vosloorus residents we didn’t want them here in our town. We told all groups we are prepared to cut the cake and give each group a fair share."

Nationalist Party candidate for the town, Mr Sakkie Blancke said: “The majority of voters deplore the bad publicity this town has got and are going to protest against the CP council in these elections.”

He dismissed the view that the CP was simply implementing the law.

“That is nonsense. We have always said when a facility could not be duplicated it would be shared. We opened up the swimming pool, the lake and the town hall. But they have closed these facilities,” he said.

According to a recent Marketing and Media Research opinion poll of Boksburg voters indicates a close fight between the CP and the NP. Thirty percent of voters, according to the poll, had pledged support for the NP and 22 percent for the CP.

Democratic Party candidate Mr Such van Wy said: “The Nationalists should carry the can for a CP-run Boksburg. I believe when people voted for the CP it was an anti-Nat vote rather than an anti-DP vote.

“The only respectable way to get out of this quagmire is to vote for the Democratic Party.”

Even the RNP candidate for the town, Mr Allie Treurnicht, was sceptical about CP support. He said: “Look at the mess the CP have made of this town.

“They should never have implemented apartheid laws so fast. It should have been done more slowly. They upset the applecart. They should have realised they don’t run the Government yet.

“We will get our share of the vote because we are not afraid of using that harsh word apartheid which is clearly understandable. What people forget is that politics is harsh,” reasoned Mr Treurnicht.

(Report by P Devereaux, 6 January 1989)
SA women have long struggle ahead to make their voices heard.

NEWS

Sunday Mail, July 19/99
DPs' new city boss has the heart of a lion
PW hunting party: CP is sticking to its guns

Mr Fanie Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg who aired the accusations on Monday, said a police statement on the matter was totally unsatisfactory and created more questions than the answers it gave.

He repeated his urgent call to National Party's leader Mr FW de Klerk to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry.

Mr Jacobs said the CP wanted to know what security equipment had been carried by the police truck to the farm near Vaalwater and where it had come from.

It also still intends raising the matter with the Advocate-General, despite a decision yesterday by Free State Attorney-General Mr TP McNally not to prosecute.
PW hunt:
CP wants
new probe

Nobody is to be prosecuted as a result of the President P W Botha "biltong saga" — and the CP says it is still not satisfied and has called for an independent judicial inquiry.

After days of accusations by opposition politicians, the Attorney-General of the Free State yesterday declined to institute proceedings against the police for transporting venison in a disguised police truck for Mr Botha.

But the CP yesterday said the SAP's explanation for transporting the game meat was not satisfactory.

Its information was that the SAP vehicle had been sent for to transport the game and that this practice had been going on for three years.

It also called on NP leader Mr F W de Klerk to appoint an independent judicial inquiry to investigate the matter.

The acting commissioner of the SAP, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, yesterday said all allegations levelled at the SAP had been thoroughly investigated.

He said that, in accordance with existing regulations, "all baggage of the State President and his travelling companions as well as any articles supplied or given to the group, are at all times transported under police accompaniment".

The CP replied that Mr Botha's security could not come into play in the matter "because he was not a traveller in the police vehicle".

It said that although Gen Van der Merwe said the hunting junket was "an official trip", the party wanted to know whether the game was shot "on a private expedition" and thereafter transported for Mr Botha.

Gen Van der Merwe also said: "The security of the State President is usually done as unobtrusively as possible. Number plates kept in stock by the quartermaster of the SAP for such purposes were therefore used."

These number plates had been properly registered by the quartermaster and responsibility for using them was determinable.

In apparent reference to the explanation for the different — allegedly false — number plates, the CP asked why it took the SAP almost a week to provide "this simple explanation". — Political Correspondent and Sapa

(Signed by Anthony Johnson, 121a George Street, Cape Town, and N Oliphant, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
Chris Barnard backs the Democrats

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

PROFESSOR Chris Barnard backs the "sane" Democratic Party because, unlike the National Party, it can face reality.

"In medicine the first sign of insanity is when you do not want to face reality; the DP is sane," Prof Barnard yesterday said when announcing his support for the party and its Durbanville candidate, Mr Pieter Schoeman.

"I would like to persuade people to have the courage to give another party a chance because the NP had enough time and it failed. The Conservative Party is a total disaster," he said.

The DP was much stronger on security than the NP because, like the medical profession, it focused on prevention instead of cure.

"It is the NP which is soft on security because it created the circumstances which made the country insecure and security necessary," Prof Barnard said he supported the DP because it stood for the total abolition of apartheid and was willing to speak to all groups within the black community.

Patient care suffered under NP policies because the NP had weakened the rand to such an extent that the country's teaching hospitals could not afford importing advanced medical technology.

The medical profession was ostracised by the outside world and even wanted to kick the SA Medical Association out of its ranks and talented young doctors were leaving the country.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)
The Balance
See Power
Yes, we Max

After 40 years of public service, Max

(Alien) 2004
inherited

In the 1949 election, the CP and the DP won by a small margin at the time. The election was a significant event for the country in the last 20 years. The parties had campaigned hard, and the result was highly anticipated.

The pattern of votes was different from the previous election, with the CP gaining some ground and the DP losing some. The election was held in 1949, and it was a turning point in the political landscape of the country.

In summary, the 1949 election was a pivotal moment in the history of the country, and it marked a new era in the political landscape.

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Increase

The increase in the number of votes for the CP was significant. The party had campaigned hard on the issue of economic development and promised to bring about positive change. The results showed that the voters had responded positively to the party's manifesto.

In conclusion, the 1949 election was a landmark event in the history of the country, and it set the stage for future political developments.

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In the end, the CP emerged as the biggest winner, with a clear majority in both houses of parliament. The DP was forced to accept defeat and redouble its efforts for the next election.
Give grassroots democracy a chance to grow over our old fields

John Katz

advocated by the National Party, or be closed as a recourse on white lands by the Conservatives.

Democracy seems to work best when there are grassroots issues, and Transvaal became the only town in the country to return a 100 percent Nationalist (pro Little Eden) ticket. Little Eden pros pers. The people of Transvaal have reason to be proud.

I call the "hearts and minds" syndrome the national psyche and firmly believe it directs the destiny of nations. Sporting boycotts have dealt South Africans many a punishing blow by depriving yesterday's Transvaalists and potential Pestes and Daley Thompson's of their basic human rights to compete and fulfill themselves.

But, the "umbilical cut of all" was to deprive the South African national psyche of "black sporting heroes." With his triple victory, Sam Tshabalala neutralized the venom of the boycott lobby.

Right

Hard on the heels of his victory, Miss Zola Budd decided to run the tortured memories of her mis-directed flaisco into the ground at home. She could do this now with the knowledge that after Transvaal's victory, South Africa is now a democratic sporting arena.

Also, after breaking the finishing line in Durban, Sam could not swim on Durban beaches recently re-designated for "whites only."

Nash was invited to celebrate at the prestigious WASP Durban Club, whose members may well have influenced his forward actions of the corporation. Mr. Tshabalala should not be concerned.

The past may be theirs but the future is his. Some of my best friends are WASPS and I have visited their club. The facilities are comfortable, but the mood colonial. The fare ample but uninspiring. And the waters further along the coast are fresher and just as inviting.

Democracy includes the right for bigoted people to remain bigoted. Bigotry has old, deep-rooted origins and cannot be legislated out of the system. Grassroots success is young and vigorous and may eventually grow over the old fields.

Indelible

The cathartic moment when Sam Tshabalala crossed the line to win the premier national sporting event is now part of South Africa's national psyche. He has an indelible place under the section headed "Our Heroes".

Hundreds of thousands of people cheered his every step along the route. Millions sat with eyes glued to the TV screen and spontaneous excitement erupted when the tireless black athlete took his small but giant step across the winning post. It was one of those unique moments which make yesterday yesterday.

South Africa's political future will never be changed at one stroke, and President Botha's successor will inherit a patient in a state of emergency. The critical condition will only be cured by political reform.

Economic health will continue to be menaced by an ailing economy and resources drained by a profligate population explosion.

There are marathons to be run which will make the Comrades look like a warm-up session. South Africa's destiny now depends on whether the grass roots fields are "storned" out of existence or nurtured as the fertile land of the future. Time is a vintage which cannot be repla nt ed even in South Africa's fertile valleys. Is there a Comrade Mik hail Botha to hand?
It’s official: The general election begins in four days’ time

BY DRIES VAN HEERDEN

After voting in secret the voter returns the ballot paper to the electoral officer whose duty it is to forward all ballots to the relevant constituencies.

At local level, the electoral officer checks the voter’s number against his voting list, crosses the voter’s name off and places the ballot in a sealed ballot box which will be opened on election night, together with the votes polled on the day.

What prevents a voter from voting more than once at different election offices?

Nothing. But only the first vote received in his constituency will count and, if there are subsequent votes, the voter will stand a real chance of being prosecuted for electoral fraud.

Change

The new electoral system was first introduced before the municipal elections in September 1986 and proved a big success.

It is expected to have a definite influence in voting patterns for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives where it is feared people may be intimidated to stay away from the polls on election day.

The new system will also change voting patterns among whites.

No longer can a party coast along during the early part of a campaign and try to peak in the days just before polling day.

Benefit

From Thursday, every day is election day, and a vote picked up by your opponents is a vote lost. There is no possibility of swaying a man at the last moment if he has already cast his ballot.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North Peter Scoil said this week the DP would be going flat out to have as many people as possible voting before September 6.

He made a special appeal to elderly people to vote early to avoid the rush on election day.

He said the main benefit of the new system for political parties was that they could have their strong supporters voting “and out of the way” early in the campaign, allowing them to concentrate on the waverters and possible converts from other parties.

The chief secretary of the NP in the Transvaal, Dr Lukas Nel, said he expected much higher poll percentages because of the new system. His party would also concentrate its efforts on urging voters to get in early.

Abuse

Mr Andries Beyers, chief secretary of the Conservative Party, said his party was geared up to get as many people as possible to the polls before September 6.

“We are concentrating heavily on special votes and believe our good organisation will help us get early leads in most of our targeted constituencies,” he said.

Another result of the new system is that it is eventually expected to phase out the cumbersome system of postal votes.

Parties have often said the system was open to abuse and have accused their political opponents of “mysteriously mislaying” postal votes where there were suspicions of voters making their crosses in opposition candidates.

Direct

Now, only seriously ill or bedridden people need to apply for postal votes, and these will be sent directly to the addresses of the voters rather than to party offices.

Special voting booths for voters wishing to cast their ballots outside their constituencies will close at 5pm on September 1.

If a voter wants to cast a special vote within the boundaries of his own constituency, he can do so until 9pm on September 5.
There is a striking line in one of Stephanie Mallarine’s poems: “The flesh, alas, is weary; and I have read all the books there are.”

In South Africa, with its recurrent false political starts and dashed hopes, there is more than enough reason to identify with the first part of the statement. But having read all the books? Even if it is meant to mean all the worthwhile books, the mind still boggles.

As a judge in the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize competition, I had reason once again to be astounded at the veritable flood of political writing that is produced every year in South Africa. Forty-or odd titles were submitted by 123 entering the relevant period (June 1967 to the end of December 1968).

Although the quality of the crop was uneven, there were more than enough new insights and perspectives on our present and past to exercise even the wariest of minds. One cannot suppress the thought that, if all these books are really read and that the people who write them are sufficiently accessible to interest both the academic and the prosaic person in the street.

Since the prize was being awarded for the first time, the judges had to be historical yardstick against which to view this year’s entries.

Reading my way through the short list of six books, I became fascinated by this question: Given the list of the criteria established for the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize, which books would have won the competition over the past 25 years had the prize existed before 1956?

My list is given below, but I emphasis that this is only an intellectual game, for one can be able to read all the books produced over the past 25 years and single out the best book for each year. The problem is also proleptic for another reason: While in the last twenty-five years is perhaps enough of a national culture to make the idea of a national prize possible, the situation was dramatically different. In the mid-1960s when the white government did everything to destroy the very cement holding the people of South Africa together.

Moving

If one goes back 25 years, the award of a fictional Alan Paton Prize paves another problem. The first winner, without a doubt, would have been Alan Paton himself for his masterful biography Of a Long, Dark Night (1961). I realize my award would have been a mere trifle but, if the PARC could award its first Ver-\n\nIn all seriousness, Paton’s biography — which is also a moving record of all the hopes and despair of South African liberalism — is unforgettable.

If my 1964 prize goes to a controlling biographical study, the 1965 prize goes to the same genre. In the year in which the astute biographer Keith Hancock published the second volume of his Smuts biography, Fields of Force (1958-1959), the Nobel laureate gave us a J. J. Merriman with which all South Africans can identify. A fourth biography, Henry Kronen’s Ver-\n\nHermann Gilmore

of UCT draws up a checklist of all the books that should have been awarded the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize in the last 25 years.

not make my list. My 1967, 1968 and 1981 prizes go to books that are roughly similar in their attempt to capture and reflect the kaleidoscope of our society. Against the World: A Study of White South African Attitudes (1968) is impressively journalistic at its best.

Written by a foreign journalist, Douglas Brown, the study teems with provocative questions, on which one will have to suffer: "The average white South African is an absentee, landless, in body but not in spirit: the very basis of his wealth and privilege is a closed book," he wrote.

Using a different technique, namely going to the Press and Reports press, the novelist Alan Burry, in 1968, sketched a panorama of South African Attitudes (1968) as impressionistic journalism among its best.

Difficult

Then, in 1969, the German sociologist Theodor Hanf, using attitude surveys, wrote a two-part study of a book called The African: The Prospect of Social Change.

To depict national character (in L. Burt’s terms), one of his book "In the African: The Prospect of Social Change," the study of the divided state of white South Africa in the 1970s, is analyzed in two of the "lagers" and the "club." The 1973 and 1977 prizes I would award to two general studies. The Oxford History of South Africa (1969) changed the entire focus of the study of our history by taking into account all its people and streamlining their interaction, rather than their separation.

In 1977, Rodney Davonport’s honest and committed history appeared. But would I have him share the prize with W. V. Johnson’s How Long for South Africa? Survival — which is both a compelling study of the dramatic events of the mid-1970s and for the best "future" book to date.

Black history is the theme of several winners.

Chilling


Despite the party of South Africa’s city have appeared so far. Charles van der Merwe’s second-volume study of the first 25 years of Johannesburg’s history win my prize for 1980, I give it to John Western’s detailed analysis, Outcast Cape Town, which destroys the box of the mother city’s soul through the imposition of group areas.

My 1973 prize would have gone to Nobuhle Mqakala’s The Autobiography of an Unknown South African, which is perhaps the best account of what it meant to be a black man in South Africa during the first half of this century. In 1979 Neville Alexander published his radi-

Passionate

In 1965 Van der Slabbert published The Law of the White Parliament, a rich blend of disp-
South Africa — getting ever closer to its midnight!

**Political Correspondent**

There were elements that blunted their final impact and would leave SA poised on the precipice of a giddy descent into revolution.

Johnson introduced an important proviso. His thesis would hold, he said, so long as SA avoided an external war.

Well, SA has been through such a war. And it has survived largely intact.

Or has it?

The factors that led Pretoria to negotiate an end to the Angolan war have not yet been fully revealed or understood. And the consequences of abandoning overt military support for UNITA and conceding on Namibian independence are far from measured.

Johnson did not foresee the levels to which sanctions and disinvestment would escalate — or the consequences this would have for the economy.

**Trend**

Like all other analysts and commentators at that time, Johnson did not foresee the rise of a white rightwing with an independent identity.

He felt the trend among whites would be towards greater political unity.

But he understood that there would be a concerted policy of co-option of the black middle classes and a bid to eradicate "social apartheid".

So, just as the main interest of Johnson's work lay in the manner in which he dealt with his topics, the value of the new book lies in the fine essays that deal with pertinent topics.

**Strain**

In 1977, Johnson published a widely acclaimed book, "How Long Will South Africa Survive?" In it, he developed the notion that the South African system of white political supremacy was under considerable strain, even permanently poised on the brink of crisis — but that it would survive in the short and medium term.

As with all complex ideas that become memorable, Johnson devised an original, convenient way of illustrating it.

Johnson's illustration was that of a clock stuck at five minutes to midnight.

That image formed the subtitle of a new book by a range of South African and overseas academics who have sat down, more or less a decade afterwards, to test Johnson's insights and predictions against recent developments.

They find that Johnson was right, by and large, but there have been enough significant divergences for the volume's editor to state the issue more pertinently: "Can South Africa Survive?" which is edited by John Brewer and published by Southern Books.

According to Johnson, there were four principal factors at play — international pressure, internal political dynamics, the domestic economy, and hostility from neighbouring black states.

Each of these was contributing to a looming crisis, Johnson said, but within each
What will happen if voters force a hung parliament?

**Scenarios**

- A hung Parliament could bring about fresh elections. The President would then need to appoint a new MP who would then be called by the Speaker to form the government. This process could be lengthy and complex.
- The Constitution allows for a formal or informal pact between the opposition parties to form a government. This could involve the Freedom Front, the Democratic Party, or the African National Congress. A coalition government is possible if a majority can be formed.
- If no coalition government can be formed, fresh elections may be the only option.

**Pact**

Coalition government is not all that new to South Africa. The National Party was in power with the IFP and the Progressive Party in the 1990s. In the 2009 elections, the Democratic Party, the National Party, and the Freedom Front formed a coalition with the aim of keeping the ANC from forming a majority.

**Foregone Conclusion**

If the NP gains an outright majority, it is a foregone conclusion that its candidate — almost certainly Mr F W de Klerk — will succeed Mr F W Botha. The majority in the House of Assembly appoints 50 members to the electoral college, the House of Representatives 25 and the House of Delegates 15.

In the case of a hung parliament, however, the combined support of the CP and the DP could prevent the NP from securing its representatives to the electoral college.

One possibility may be that the 25 votes that the CP is lodging with the Labour Party or the Alliance, the latter which is controlled by the IFP, may be available for the support or the opposition.

This would result in an electoral college comprised of 45 CP members, 25 DP, 15 Labour Party and 15 from whichever party gains the majority in the House of Delegates.

In this unlikely scenario a member of either the DP or even the Labour Party could become the president, if those two parties pooled their support in the Electoral College.

A much more likely scenario would be that the NP would seek some sort of agreement with either the DP or the CP to secure its majority in the college for con-

cessions on policy matters.

On one point Prof Breitenbach is adamant: There is very little chance left for President Botha to continue in that office after the election.

The constitution leaves him no option but to retire unless he can convince his old party to nominate him again.

Even in the case of a hung Parliament there is no way he can suspend Parliament and call for new elections while continuing to govern on his own.

In terms of the Constitution, the Parliament elected on September 6 should convene in Cape Town within 30 days of the election.

Once in session the Chief Justice is obliged to call the electoral college within a week of the opening of Parliament.

According to Prof Breitenbach, President Botha will have, at the utmost, 37 days to continue, after the election which means that a new president will be in power not later than Friday, October 13.

Repted by J von Heerden, 11 Dis-

cord Street, Johannesburg.
By Harald Pakendorf

Deadlines loom for SA — and FW faces a squeeze

while the American view is that it is not a viable course of action. Should the De Klerk government not have begun to move clearly and rapidly by early next year, it is going to become increasingly difficult to continue to hold the line against the pressures for not re-scheduling the debt.

The third time limit is the American one.

US Assistant-Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. John B. Dobbs, said in a TV interview in June that the De Klerk government would be given time to settle in. But then progress towards a negotiated settlement will have to begin. If there is not clear and visible movement within two years, said Mr. Dobbs, “it would be very difficult for the US pressure. I think this would be true not only in the United States, but in Western Europe and Japan as well.”

Three deadlines — and all just around the corner.

None of those holding the line against more pressure will be satisfied with anything less than open-ended negotiations between the South African government and the ANC, plus other relevant political groups, of course. Should the De Klerk government fail, the Rubicon will look like just another spruit.
Old Mutual prepares for post-apartheid SA

By David Carre and Robyn Chalmers

OLD Mutual this week fielded thorny questions facing the life-insurance and pensions industry.

At a conference attended by representatives of most newspapers, magazines, radio and television, Old Mutual managers engaged in public soul-searching, confronting such questions as:

• Should it take sides in the liberation struggle?
• How should it react to the possibility of nationalisation in Namibia, and what would it mean, one day in South Africa?
• Is it a rip-off that an employee leaving a pension fund receives only his or her contributions plus a small bonus?
• Are the life companies too powerful and would not privatisation make them even more powerful?

Apartheid

Although Muthu raises these questions, which he believes boil down to public, the replies from pensions chief Gerhard van Niekerk and the Investment Committee are unapologetic and unpatronising.

Like Anglo American, but unlike its rival Sable, which keeps its head well down on socio-political questions, Old Mutual has been applying its mind to the implications of the rise of black trade unions and to the question of a post-apartheid SA.

As a mutual, it is conscious that it belongs to its policyholders right across society. As such, it cannot afford to ignore the issue of black empowerment, and so it has been planning its response carefully. It is a strategy that it can pursue in tandem with its existing portfolio and with the development of new products. It has been planning its response carefully. It is a strategy that it can pursue in tandem with its existing portfolio and with the development of new products.

Risk

Old Mutual assistant general manager, Bill Muthu, who says that the debate on pension and provident fund reforms is inevitable, and that the industry must be ready to face the challenge.

Mrs. van Niekerk acknowledges that Old Mutual has been applying its mind to the implications of the rise of black trade unions and to the question of a post-apartheid SA.

As a mutual, it is conscious of its duty to its policyholders right across society. As such, it cannot afford to ignore the issue of black empowerment, and so it has been planning its response carefully. It is a strategy that it can pursue in tandem with its existing portfolio and with the development of new products.

Awareness

Mr. van Niekerk believes there will be a far greater awareness of the implications of the question of a post-apartheid SA.

He envisages a move in this direction.

Group marketing manager Eric le Roux says there is strong support for this idea among many of the money managers. He says that the idea of a union is not a new one, but that many have been promoting it for some time.

Factors

If the employer’s contribution becomes the property of the employee, it will become deferred pay and therefore taxable.

Mr. van Niekerk says withdrawal benefits have improved, particularly for those with long service. After 15 years’ service, most funds pay twice their own contribution plus interest.

He says trade union resistance to the traditional way of doing things is a major factor which causes the entire pensions industry to take a long, hard look at the burden of rising medical costs. Pharmaceutical companies and hospitals are paying for another while, reaping fat profits. What is Old Mutual’s explanation and what is being done?

Mr. le Roux says the idea of union is not new, but that many have been promoting it for some time.

GERHARD VAN NIEKERK

vantages and disadvantages, however.

"On the one hand, preservation of funds is increased, especially among the more skilled workers, as they will tend to remain in one industry even if they do drop. On the other, there is nothing to compel employees to contribute to an industry fund. If they decide not to, then the worker will be the loser."

Assistant general manager Henk Beets put the spotlight on medical aids schemes, and said that there has been increasing grumbling from members. Old Mutual is aware that while people are reeling un-
Report urges MPs to drive rift between rival leaders

A TOP secret National Party document setting out an electoral strategy has conceded that South African voters are searching for "new vision".

The document, leaked from NP insiders this week, makes it clear that the party regards the threat from Democratic Party to be more serious than that from the right — even though the right stands to gain more seats.

Voters, observes the document, are "easy to influence".

It also warns that the party faces a similar phenomenon to that in this time on a wider scale.

'Unstopable'

Two years ago the independent movement whose personalities are now leading it in the Democratic Party, was "as strong as it" but it has "virtually stopped".

The document reveals for the first time the components of a National Party election campaign that has so far been running below key — a deliberate strategy not too early.

The document urges NP candidates to emphasise differences between DP leaders such as Mr. Wynand Malan and Dr. Denis Worrall as the right flank and the member of the leadership troika, Dr. Z. Beer, as representing the "measle-mongers".

The two authors of the section of the document dealing with the DP, both regarded as members of the NP's"viper" faction, are Mr. Piet Marais, MP for Stellenbosch; and Mr. Reubin Schoeman, MP for Umkulan. They are typified as "angry" liberals who will not be able to handle the kind of political situation which African-style politics give rise to.

Cycle

The document says the DP's aim of achieving a hung parliament is "negative and "probably unacceptable to the".

Bleeding

Overall, the DP's strategy of bleeding is as much, if not more, supported in a strategy to keep its supporters and win more seats, the DP was looking to a similar voter profile as the DP was, Mr. Botha said.

Now that the NP was established on a reform and renewal plattorm, it stood a greater danger of bleeding to the left than to the right, he said.

However, the NP is proceeding cautiously as it began its final advertising phase today.

Apart from setting out NP views, full-page advertisements attack the DP in English-language newspapers and the CP in Afrikaans-medium newspapers.
Report urges MPs to drive rift between rival leaders

A TOP secret National Party document setting out an election strategy has conceded that South African voters are searching for a "new vision".

The document, leaked from NP inner circles this week, makes it clear the party regards the threat from the Democratic Party to be more serious than that from the right — even though the right stands to gain more seats.

"Voters, observes the document, are now "easy to influence". It also warns candidates the party could be facing a similar phenomenon to that in 1987 — this time on a wider scale.

"Unstoppable"

Two years ago the independent movement, whose personalities are now leading figures in the Democratic Party, was "an emotional flood" that became "virtually unstoppable".

The document reveals for the first time the components of a National Party election campaign that has so far been remarkably low key — a deliberate strategy not to peak too early.

The document urges NP candidates to emphasize differences between DP leaders such as Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, and Mr Harry Schwartz and Mr Jan van Riebeek, Mr Malan is described as leftwing, Dr Worrall as on the right flank, and the third member of the leadership trio, Dr Zach de Beer, as representing the "muddle-mouthed centre".

The two authors of the section of the document dealing with the DP, both regarded as members of the NP's vigilante faction, are Mr Piet Marais, MP for Stellenbosch, and Mr "Rinder" Schoeman, MP for Umshlanga.

In suggesting arguments to use against the DP, the NP tells its candidates that their DP rivals are "naive do-gooders".

"They are typically 'starry-eyed' liberals who will not be able to handle the kind of political situation which African-style politics give rise to.

"Cycle"

The document says the DP's aim of achieving a hung parliament is negative and "probably unacceptable to the average South African". On the Conservative Party, the document says the party is — for the first time — on a "reactive, defensive cycle" and should be kept there.

It says the DP should be tackled on the consequences of its policy shown in Boksburg and Carletonville, its mishandling of events in Namibia/Angola, its overrating of the corruption issue and its weakness on economic issues.

The weighting of the document shows along with other evidence of the NP's emerging campaign strategy that the Government views the DP as the major threat, even though it stands to lose more seats to the CP.

Commenting on this yesterday, Mr Con Botha, the NP's information chief, said the NP believed the CP's campaign may have already peaked.

Its potential seat gains were not an accurate barometer of its support, as its strengths lay mainly in depopulated rural constituencies, while the DP's lay in overpopulated urban seats.

Bleeding

Overall, the DP enjoyed as much, if not more, support.

In a strategy to keep its supporters and win new ones, the NP was looking to a similar voter profile as the DP was, Mr Botha said.

"Skills Touch...Chris Barnard gives his blessing to DP MPs Colin Eglin and Pieter Schoeman"

LUCKY TOUCH... Chris Barnard gives his blessing to DP MPs Colin Eglin and Pieter Schoeman.

"I would love to live in a white South Africa if that was possible... but that's just a pipe dream," he said in a surprise — and possibly off-guard — statement.

However, on the spectrum of a CF election win, Professor Barnard said he would "quit South Africa the day after the CF came to power".

"I would love to live in a white South Africa if that were possible... but that's just a pipe dream," he said in a surprise — and possibly off-guard — statement.

Now that the NP was established on a reform and renewal platform, it stood a great danger of bleeding to the left, he said.

However, the NP was proceeding cautiously as it began its final advertising phase today.

Apart from setting out NP views, full-page advertisements attack the DP in English-language newspapers and the CP in Afrikaans-medium newspapers.

"Picture: TERRY SHEAN"
‘New’ NP plan — but apartheid laws to stay

By Tos Wentzel, Political Correspondent

The National Party has launched its election campaign under the slogan of “new action” after its federal congress enthusiastically approved the party’s new five-year plan.

As part of its election campaign the party will hold a survey of what it calls “voter preferences” and the results will be processed for use in the campaign.

Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has disclosed that President Botha will not take part in the campaign.

Asked about this at a Press conference after the one-day federal congress Mr de Klerk said Mr Botha was no longer active in party politics and we respect his wishes.

Conflict

In a speech winding up the congress Mr de Klerk reiterated the party’s commitment to negotiation.

He said that South and Southern Africa could break out of the cycle of conflict which had gripped it for so long.

“That is what the NP is aiming for. Conflict must be replaced by broadened consensus, better understanding of each other and finally accord with regard to a new dispensation which will be to the benefit of all of us.”

Inside South Africa he had been heartened by a wide range of discussions with various leaders. There was a sense of urgency and the realisation that South Africa had reached a moment of truth.

The new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, weeps after an emotional start to the NP’s federal congress in Pretoria yesterday at which he revealed the party’s new plan to resolve South Africa’s political crisis.

After his talks with European leaders his impression was that the changing atmosphere was causing them to cautiously re-evaluate the situation in southern Africa.

He said he realised that there were many stumbling blocks on the way to achieving a new dispensation, but understanding through negotiation remained the key to the future.

To the white electorate he gave the assurance that in the search for a new dispensation, the NP would guard their safety and interests along with those of others.

The NP was asking for a mandate to put the country on a new course of hope, the breaking of isolation, a move away from growing conflict and in the direction of a new, strong and just South Africa, he said.

Delegates

The NP would not run away from the burning issues of the day. At the end of his speech Mr de Klerk asked the approximately 1,300 delegates in the Pretoria City Hall if they approved of what he described as the party’s “dynamic action programme”.

They leaped to their feet and gave him a long ovation.

When he was asked at the Press conference whether the NP would scrap the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, Mr de Klerk said they could not simply be scrapped because this would create a void.

Talks

The scrapping of the Population Registration Act would cause chaos as the compilation of voters rolls was based on it.

He indicated that in terms of the party’s plan, there would have to be talks about these measures to see what could take their place.

He stressed that the NP did not want to present what appeared to be final blueprints while negotiation was being envisaged.

—and the world is not impressed

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And other political analysts here are openly pessimistic about the plan’s chances of success.

It is understood Mrs Thatcher is worried about whether the NP will go on to address itself to issues the British government regards as crucial — including the state of emergency and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political detainees.

The Prime Minister is believed to have told Mr de Klerk of her reservations during his recent visit here.

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REACTION

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particular, to deliver on Nelson Mandela. But this means not just letting Nelson Mandela free in a political vacuum. He’s got to be released into a context in which negotiations are possible.

“That implies so many conditions: lifting the ban on the ANC, releasing prisoners, lifting the state of emergency. There are a number of very stiff hurdles that he’ll have to get over if he’s going to persuade even conservative blacks like Gatshe Buthelezi to come to the table. He’s got all to play for, but it’s not an easy game.”

Meanwhile in Denmark, Archbishop Desmond Tutu rejected the new election program offered by the NP, saying it was designed to make apartheid more comfortable rather than to dismantle it.

“We don’t want apartheid more comfortable. We want political power,” Tutu said. “We are not interested in reform. We want to see apartheid abolished.”

Seaking to The Associated Press, Archbishop Tutu said the NP appeared to be playing for time.
Electoral

But Whitehall officials are so far understood to regard the plan as part of NP electioneering, rather than a significant step forward in itself. One said: "The key point is that whatever it says, it's not directed at blacks, because blacks don't vote. At this stage, it would have been designed with electoral considerations in mind."

Dr Jesmond Blumenfeld, of Brunel University's Department of Economics and a respected student of South African affairs, described the package as "too little too late".

He said: "If they'd offered that five years ago, or whatever, it may have got a positive response — but I can't see anybody rushing to support it. They've been casting around for an awfully long time, and it doesn't seem to me to be fundamentally different (from what has gone before). It's going to need a lot more to convince people that there is a genuine move towards reform."

Difficulties

He admitted being worried about a repeat of events in 1984 — "expectations are going to be raised, and then they're going to be unfulfilled, and frustrations tend to break loose and there are difficulties again."

Moves to tackle the questions of integrated schools and the Group Areas Act were "interesting", he said, "but then again, there should have been some moves years ago to have dealt with these".

Leicester University's Professor Jack Spence regards Mr de Klerk as "trying to do two things that are not easily reconciled.

"One is to suggest to Western leaders, especially those he's just seen, that the party is committed to breaking the stalemate on reform. The other is to stress to the electorate at home the basic continuity of policy.

Analysis

"What he's saying about negotiations with black leaders has been said many times before, and what he's saying about group rights has been said many times before. In that sense, he's having to talk to an external and an internal constituency, and I daresay in the last analysis it's the internal constituency that matters, especially in the middle of an election."

Professor Spence saw no evidence of any new initiative, "but I wouldn't have expected one in the middle of an election. That only comes — if at all — once the election is over and he's firmly in the saddle.

"He's going to be under pressure constantly thereafter from the West, from Mrs Thatcher in..."

"I think they are basically trying to say to the world, 'We are changing. Give us time.' And we are saying that that kind of change is not what we're looking for," Archbishop Tutu said.

Marbles

"We say, until blacks have a share in the decision-making process, we are only playing marbles."

The Archbishop was in Hillerod, 40 km north of Copenhagen, to help celebrate a festival of the Danish national church. He also is on a private trip through Scandinavia.

Archbishop Tutu said no effective change could take place in South Africa as long as the government left the Population Registration Act intact.

He said the government "wouldn't remove that, because the basis of everything is still race, and power still resides with the white race."

In Johannesburg the NP's plan was described as not being a plan of action, but a recipe for abdication by the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The NP's acceptance of a federal system was yet another deviation from "the tested policy" of self-determination.

Dr Treurnicht said the differences between the NP and the Democratic Party had become even more minimal, since the NP's action plan looked exactly like a DP election manifesto.

"The South African electorate's choices have now become even clearer. In the forthcoming election, voters will have to choose between the NP and the DP's idea of a unitary state which can only lead to black majority rule, or the DP's policy of partition in terms of which every nation will govern itself."

Discrimination

Also in Johannesburg, the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, said the NP plan would be of no use if the cornerstones of discrimination still remained on the statute book.

In a statement in reaction to the plan, he said that while UMSA welcomed the plan the test would be whether the NP voters in the forthcoming elections also wanted peaceful negotiations.

"Total scrapping of the already identified obstacles to negotiations such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act will prove the sincerity of the Nats and their willingness to negotiate."

Any immediate action such as releasing political prisoners would make a meaningful contribution towards a peaceful settlement and would be welcome by UMSA.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said the plan showed that nothing new could be expected under Mr F W de Klerk's leadership.

In a statement, Cosatu said that while the country was sinking deeper into crisis all Mr de Klerk could offer was "re-vamped versions of old formulae".

The so-called "plans" to resolve the crisis were nothing more than a plan for disaster, and "another slap in the face for the oppressed majority".
Economics will play decisive role

that politics does not mean only

prove out to

women
Visiting ANC the 'in-thing', says Stoffel

From SUE LEEMAN
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC's commitment to the armed struggle disqualified it from joining "peace-loving people" around the government's negotiating table, Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said.

And in an interview on the BBC's Newsnight programme yesterday, he dismissed the 120 liberal South Africans now in Lusaka for talks with the ANC as doing what was the "in-thing".

It was now fashionable, he said, to be able to say you had been to Lusaka to meet the ANC, "like driving a Mercedes or having a swimming pool".

British scepticism over the National Party's new five-year plan of action continues with most commentators saying the new manifesto contains little in the way of radical reform.

The BBC said segregation was still assured and black majority rule had been excluded as an option.

Independent Television News said while the manifesto's rhetoric might be reformist, "the wording is woolly and the promises vague and it stops far short of black majority rule."

Newsnight said the opening paragraphs of the NP manifesto seemed to promise radical change when they referred to one undivided state where all South Africans could participate in all levels of government, and opened the way for negotiations.

Dr van der Merwe said the manifesto was historic in that it "opens up a completely new field for discussions... on creating a new South Africa together with all the people of South Africa".

Asked if the South African government would negotiate with the ANC, Dr van der Merwe said the government wanted to talk to "people with a genuine commitment to peace... and I don't think the ANC qualifies on that score".

Questioned whether there could be any settlement without the ANC, he said the government did not consider the organisation's support within South Africa to be "all that strong. We measure their support... the ANC may be one of the stronger (groups), but it is not representative of all black South Africans".

Of the white liberals now in Lusaka, he said: "One always gets a fashion, a vogue, the thing to do. This seems to be the in-thing to do."

He said the government was no longer talking about races but about cultural groups. Free settlement areas would allow blacks more freedom to choose where they lived.
HNP manifesto proposes old-style apartheid

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The reintroduction and strict maintenance of old-style apartheid is proposed in the Herstigte Nasionale Party's September election manifesto, released last week.

But although the manifesto echoes the Conservative Party's policy of self-determination for each population group, it rejects the CP's proposal of a Southern African confederation of states because "the Republic would be reduced to a regional entity which poses a threat to the white volk".

The HNP rejects power-sharing in either a unitary state or a multiracial confederation.

Other policy statements include:

- The HNP supports state ownership of strategic industries.
- White population growth should be promoted financially. The state should advance deposits for houses, and write off that money if a married couple has four children within 10 years.
- Payments on house loans should be deductible from income and interest rates on house loans should not exceed 12.5 percent per annum.

The role of "international money powers" should be restricted, as they are the "traditional enemies of Afrikaner nationalism because they have a higher regard for profits than for patriotism and racial pride".

(Report by E. van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Eradicate race laws, says Slabbert

A bill of rights could be considered in South Africa only when racist regulations had been eradicated, Dr van Zyl Slabbert told a Transvaal Indian Congress conference in Lenasia yesterday.

The director of Idasa was discussing a bill of rights as it related to the ANC's constitutional guidelines. Such a debate involved the relationship between group and individual rights.

Dr Slabbert said he was personally comforted by the insistence in the guidelines that individual rights should be protected. 'But I am also comforted by the proposed recognition of cultural diversity.'

He said there was 'gross' involuntary group participation in South Africa since the Population Registration Act prevented voluntary group classification.

Advocate Zac Yacoob, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, said the ANC was not laying down a constitution, but intended the guidelines to start consultation and offered an opportunity to 'develop a new South Africa through the people's own participation'.

(Report by J Myburgh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Prof criticises Govt’s use of the concept

Law and order in SA ‘a weapon’

Political Staff

DURBAN — The concept of “law and order” has been subverted by the Government to be used as a weapon against its political enemies, says Professor Tony Mathews, dean of the faculty of law at the University of Natal.

This accusation was made here this weekend at a conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) on peace and security.

Professor Mathews said that in 1950, when the National Party introduced its first legislation to maintain law and order, there was one public meeting against apartheid and one minor boycott campaign.

Unrest-related incidents

But from 1985 to 1987 there were 3,500 deaths in unrest-related incidents.

In South Africa, “law and order” was not a phrase used in its normally understood sense, the professor said.

It had become a programme of using criminal control against political opponents.

He criticized South African courts for interpreting Government proclamations in such a way as to allow officials almost total immunity from legal accountability.

The Supreme Court had decided it was not entitled to deal with the merits of a case — but had to accept the Government’s view, which allowed security officials subjective discretion to decide on their actions.

South Africa was being forced to reform because of the grinding down of the economy, said another speaker, Dr Gregory Treverton, senior fellow of the Council for Foreign Relations.

Sanctions — and particularly divestment — had contributed to the situation.

He said while there was a world movement away from communism, there was also a movement towards accepting that politics and economics were interlinked.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall warned that South Africa would face a series of international deadlines for reform after the September 6 elections.

He told the conference he had found on his recent overseas trip that there was a sense of expectation with a new generation of NP leaders and the emergence of the DP.

But if the expectations were not met, South Africa faced increased international isolation.

The Dellums Bill in the United States legislature, calling for far tougher mandatory sanctions, would be raised again.

And sanctions would be an issue at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in November, Dr Worrall said.

(Report by B Cameron, 25 Field Street, Durban)
This 'sell-out' is out to build a new SA

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

If being a sell-out meant having helped create free local authorities, participating in provincial government and talking to government, "then I prefer to be a sell-out", said the chairman of the National Forum, Mr Phillip Nhlapo, this weekend.

Speaking at the inauguration of the National Forum's Transvaal branch in Johannesburg, Mr Nhlapo said he had helped create room for his children and their children in their country.

"I have helped create new structures that will help all proud black people to define and create their own living conditions and surroundings."

"Nothing will be achieved if we sit on the sideline and criticise. I believe in progress by means of peace. Progress must not develop from ruins as in other countries, he said.

"We cannot be proud if we build a new South Africa over the dead bodies of our brothers and the ruins of what used to be development," Mr Nhlapo said.

Of the recent meeting between the State President and imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, he said: "It was a symbolic meeting. Both men have been through the wars of Africa, one a country's leader, the other a prisoner, facing each other as grandfathers across a teatable.

"I chose the word grandfather deliberately. They are both grandfathers of all our people. Embodied in their struggles and the wisdom gained through the years lies the birth of a new South Africa."
By Trevor Walker
cape Town — South Africa, long denied participation in nearly all the representative bodies of the UN, is set to make a comeback at the one body that really counts, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis says: "When I speak at this year’s annual meeting on September 27 I expect member countries to be much more receptive to our economic line of reasoning.

"South Africa is visibly playing a major role in Sub-Saharan Africa and political rhetoric cannot gainay this."

For many years now, when the South African minister of finance delivered his annual address to the IMF, the hall was empty except for a handful of South African and foreign journalists.

It had become a tradition that South Africa’s statement to the meeting was made just after lunch, which allowed delegates an extra coffee.

However, this year the position is different. The political advances that have been made in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique and certain other countries, will be reflected in a more positive approach being adopted by delegates.

Political developments in Sub-Saharan Africa have turned favourable for South Africa in recent months and the pivotal role that it should be allowed to play has become much more obvious and visible.

Deputy Reserve Bank governor Dr Japie Jacobs says South Africa’s sensible and honest approach to development in the region is being recognised.

“Our participation in and financial commitment to the Lesotho Highlands water project has been acknowledged.”

South Africa was a founder member of the League of Nations, the UN and the IMF.

The small economies of Swaziland, Lesotho and Zimbabwe are all represented at the IMF.

Angola, Mozambique and Namibia are expected to be granted membership.

South Africa, despite US sanctions, remains the powerhouse of the continent, south and north of the equator in macro terms.

However, politicians might wish it away, the facts speak for themselves.

Its electricity utility, Eskom, is building five mega stations, any two of which would be able to satisfy the rest of the continent’s electricity requirements.

Egypt, Nigeria, Libya, Zimbabwe, Angola use about the output of one of SA’s power stations.

South Africa has more macadamised roads, rail lines, train engines, aircraft, tugs, ships than any other nation on the continent.

Zimbabwe had recently hired eight locomotives from South Africa because of failures in its own fleet, but if it had had the necessary foreign exchange SA could have supplied 50 units.

The World Bank had prejudiced the positive role that SA should be allowed to play in the economic advance of Sub-Saharan economies, but local political sources say the wheel has turned and the economic realities that fostered perestroika and glasnost have become an equal reality in Southern Africa.
POLICE SCANDAL

MIDW Defiance
Stand By For
Police Soldiers

Cape Comms
Election boycott call

There were proposals for change in the possible mo of the election. If the opposition would call for a boycott of the election, the result is likely to be a defeat for the destructive forces in the country. The opposition should consider the boycott of the election. The boycott could be effective in bringing about a change in the political climate.
Pull-out of union threatens workers' pensions

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg: The withdrawal of the SA Printing and Allied Industries' Federation from the National Industrial Council later this year will dissolve the council and force the liquidation of its R750-million employees' retirement fund.

The federation, along with the industry's three major employer bodies, the Newspapers Press Union, and the SA Typographical Union (Satu) which represents workers, are planning an alternative vehicle for their members' substantial retirement savings.

A council spokesman said he was receiving calls daily from members who were concerned about their investments in the fund.

The federation's executive director, Mr Chris Sykes, said he was meeting pension consultants on August 7 and was confident a solution would be found soon.

Satu's general secretary, Mr Martin Deyzel, said the union was busy considering the matter and would report back to members on August 12.

"People will neither lose their stake in the fund nor be paid out now," said Mr Sykes.

"However, about 60% of our members do not have alternative benefit schemes and we have to decide whether to set up a new fund for the benefit of members."

The pension fund is managed by Old Mutual, Sanlam and UAL. Old Mutual assistant general manager employee benefits Mr Henk Beets said the council had two alternatives once the fund was liquidated.

Either its employer members could set up their own schemes for employers or the federation could decide to opt for a union-managed fund.

Jani has the AWB boss taped

CELEBRITY columnist Ms Jani Allan is in London to escape the consequences of transcripts of telephone messages allegedly left for her by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The messages pleading for contact - published yesterday in the Sunday Times - had been left on the answering machine in Ms Allan's Sandton flat over the past few months.

Ms Allan was sent to London by the Sunday Times last week and was quoted on Saturday in the Sunday Daily Mail as saying she was in the city to avoid "the possible consequences" of the tapes.

"I have been under the most incredible stress the past few months. I only hope I haven't left trouble behind only to walk into even more." Ms Allan said in the Sunday Times.

But contrary to such statements, said Ms Allan in her interview, "it was he who kept calling me at all hours of the day."

The calls had started soon after last December's Paardekraal monument incident - which resulted in Mr Terre'Blanche's being charged with and later acquitted of wilful damage to public property - and had continued until the middle of June.

Extracts from the tapes include: "You were a muchacho. Please call me back. You wanna kill me? Call me back. Please in God's name, call me back."

"I'm still at my office waiting for you to call me back. Oh God, I'm dying (deep sigh)."

Another message goes: "I wanted you to call, Jani Allan. Won't you please phone me now? PLEASE phone me. I'm at home. Bye."

In one call, Mr Terre'Blanche threatened to visit the columnist. "Jani, it's me... please, please, speak to me. If you don't pick up this phone, I'll have to come to you right now."

Two weeks ago, Ms Allan disclosed in another article that Mr Terre'Blanche had fallen asleep in the passage outside her apartment after she had ignored his pleas to be admitted after midnight on June 25.

The report suggested Mr Terre'Blanche might not have been sober.

"He visited the apartment complex several times," she said.

Mr Terre'Blanche, in an interview published in the Citizen newspaper last week, denied he had slept on Ms Allan's doorstep and was quoted as saying: "Ms Allan has never refused to open her door for me."